

Nyingma Studies — I

Jigmé Lingpa's Catalogue of the
Collection of Ancient Tantras

by Jean-Luc Achard

edited by Marianne Ginals



Khyung-Lung

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Table of Contents

Preface	7
Jigmé Lingpa's catalogue of the <i>Collection of Ancient Tantras</i>	8
The Ancient Tantras	8
I. The Tantras of Atiyoga (Dzogchen)	10
The Tantras of the Mind Series (<i>Sems sde</i>)	10
The Tantras of the Expanse Series (<i>Klong sde</i>)	11
The Tantras of the Precepts Series (<i>Man ngag sde</i>)	11
II. The Tantras of Anuyoga	13
III. The Tantras of Mahāyoga	14
The synoptic presentation of the <i>Collection of Ancient Tantras</i> according to Jigmé Lingpa	18
Catalogue of the NGB edition prepared by Jigmé Lingpa	12
Volume Ka [1]	19
Volume Kha [2]	20
Volume Ga [3]	21
Volume Nga [4]	22
Volume Ca [5]	23
Volume Cha [6]	24
Volume Ja [7]	24
Volume Nya [8]	25
Volume Ta [9]	26
Volume Tha [10]	27
Volume Da [11]	27
Volume Na [12]	28
Volume Pa [13]	29
Volume Pha [14]	30
Volume Ba [15]	31
Volume Ma [16]	31
Volume Tsa [17]	32
Volume Tsha [18]	33
Volume Dza [19]	34

Volume Wa [20]	35
Volume Zha [21]	35
Volume Za [22]	37
Volume 'A [23]	38
Volume Ya [24]	39
Volume Ra [25]	39
Volume A [26]	40
Paṇḍits and Lotsāwas collaborations	41
Tantras retranslated according to the new language	44
Glossary of selected terms, names and toponyms	47
Bibliography	61



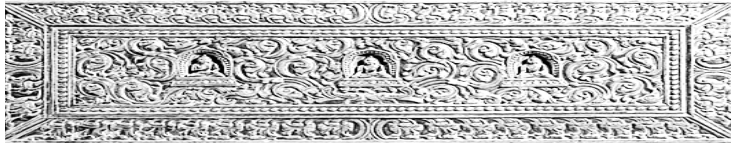
Preface

The material included in the present volume has for the most part already been published in the first issue of the *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* back in 2002 (see the bibliography *in fine*). Since it was written in French and essentially consisted in a catalogue of texts, it merely attracted the attention of a few specialists in the field of Nyingma Studies. I still believe its contents deserve some interest, especially since it has clearly been used (without being quoted) in recent “research” work.

Now that the Khyung-Lung Editions offer me the opportunity to reprint it, I thought that it was a good idea to translate it into English, update it slightly, and add the few parts and sections that had been deleted in the original French version.

This volume is the first that will include my other works: 1. on the *Collection of Ancient Tantras* (*rNying ma rgyud 'bum*, henceforth NGB), starting with the Dergué edition compiled by Rigdzin Tséwang Chokdrub (Gétsé Mahāpaṇḍita, 1761–1829), and 2. on the individual catalogues of the *Four Series of Heart Drops* (*sNying thig ya bzhi*), as well as other Dzogchen collections.

Jean-Luc Achard
Mai 2025.



Jigmé Lingpa's Catalogue of the *Collection of Ancient Tantras**

Jigmé Lingpa (1730–1798) was one of the most important lineage holders of the Nyingma tradition, as well as a precursor of the *Rimé* movement.¹ He was also behind the first xylographic edition of the *Collection of Ancient Tantras* (*rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum*, henceforth NGB), for which he drew up a catalog (*dkar chag*) entitled *The Ornament Embracing the Immensity of the World* (*'Dzam gling mtha'i gru khyab pa'i rgyan*), better known under the abridged title of *The History of the Ancient Tantras* (*rNying rgyud rtogs brjod*). This edition is often confused with that of Gétsé Rinpoché (1761–1829), who engraved the version proposed by Jigmé Lingpa in 1771–72² before preparing a second one, for which he wrote a catalog including a history of the Nyingmapa tradition. It is important to distinguish between the two versions, as they differ considerably from one another, and to specify that the Gétsé Rinpoché's version is not handwritten but xylographic.³

The Ancient Tantras

The ancient Tantras (*rnying rgyud*) represent a corpus of texts whose translations are traditionally said to date back to the dynastic period (8th–9th century). At that time, a vast work of translation was carried out with the help of numerous Indian pandits, including Padmasam-

* Phonetics have been used for the main body of the text, while the Wylie transliteration has been limited to the footnotes. See the glossary *in fine* for equivalences.

¹ On the origins and development of this movement, see G. Smith 1970. On 'Jigmed gling pa's life, see J. Gyatso, *Apparitions of the Self*, *passim*. See also the fascinating paper by S.D. Goodman, "Rig-'dzin 'Jigmed gling-pa and the *kLong-Chen sNying-Thig*" which remains a great source of information, as well as S. Van Schaik, "Sun and Moon Earrings: Teachings Received by Jigmé Lingpa".

² Dan Martin, "NGB Historical Notes", p. 9.

³ See the volume II of the present series.

bhava, Vimalamitra, Vasudhara, Śrī Siṃha and others. Among the important Tibetan translators who took part in the work were Vairocana, Ma Rinchen Chok, Kawa Peltsek, Nyak Jñānakumāra, Namkhai Nyingpo, Nubchen Sangyé Yéshé, etc.

The corpus of translated works most likely included sets of ritual and meditative texts to accompany the root-Tantras, and possibly lists used in order to index the corpus, and so on. However, this immense literary effort did not directly lead to the creation of a specific body grouping all these texts together in a single collection. The latter's designation as *The Collection of Ancient Tantras* (*rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum*) is evidently a late, post-dynastic creation. The oldest version is undoubtedly that compiled by Künpang Drakgyel at the Ugpa Lung site founded by Zurpoché Śākya Jung-né (984–1045), who along with Nyak Jñānakumāra and Nubchen Sangyé Yéshé was one of the "three custodians of transmission" (*bka' babs gsum pa*) of the Mahāyoga, Anuyoga and Atiyoga Tantras.⁴ One of the most recent versions of the NGB is Gétse Rinpoché's classic xylographic edition published in Dergué.⁵

The list of texts drawn up by Jigmé Lingpa in his *History of the Ancient Tantras* (pp. 666–699) first of all includes the titles of the Tantras included in the collection, the number of chapters, if any, and the names of the paṇḍits and translators (in the event of a colophon).

⁴ One of the essential characteristics of the texts collected in the NGB is that they all (or nearly all) belong to the Atiyoga, Anuyoga, and Mahāyoga categories. An exception to this rule is the *'Jam dpal mtshan brjod* (*Mañjuśrīnāmamaṅgīti*) which in gSar ma circles is sometimes considered as a Yogatantra, while rNying ma pas often regard it as an Atiyoga text. It is however classified by Jigmé Lingpa among the Mahāyoga corpus (see no. 201).

⁵ On the various versions and editions of the NGB, see Dan Martin, "NGB historical notes", *passim*; Jampa Samten, "Notes on the bKa'-gyur...", p. 396–397; Rob Mayer, *A Scripture of the Ancient Tantra Collection, The Phur-pa bcu-gnyis*, p. 223–242. See also the excellent paper by Mi nyag Thub bstan chos dar, "rNying ma rgyud 'bum gyi mtshams sbyor", *Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig*, 2000, no. 2, p. 120–140. In this paper, Thub bstan chos dar mentions ten versions of the NGB, namely those of: 1. Zur po che; 2. Nyang ral's son, mNga' bdag 'Gro mgon dpal; 3. Zur bzang po dpal; 4. Ratna gling pa; 5. Gong ra lo tsā ba; 6. gTer bdag gling pa; 7. Ngag dbang bshad sgrub rgya mtsho (d. 1748 ?); 8. sTag bu brag dmar monastery; 9. 'Jigs med gling pa; and 10. sDe dge (i.e., the version prepared by de dGe rtse rin po che). He also mentions the existence of others well-known versions (p. 128), such as: 1. the sKyi grong version; 2. that from mTshams brag; 3. that from gTing skyes; 4. that of the *Bee ro rgyud 'bum*; 5. the two versions kept in Kaḥ thog; 6. that from dPal spungs; 7. the one prepared by the second rDzogs chen rin po che ('Gyur med Theg mchog bstan 'dzin); 8. Gong 'jo jas sang bsod lus (?); 9. that by Padma bstan skyong, the *sde dpon* of mTsho sna; 10. the one prepared by rDo rje snying po and his brother (?); and 11. the version prepared by 'Bri gung Rig 'dzin Chos kyi grags pa. He also mentions at the end of this section (p. 128) the second version of the mTshams brag NGB in 46 volumes.

Much more rarely, the information given by Jigmé Lingpa indicates the place where the translation was carried out, or where the texts were located at the time (see *inter alia* texts nos. 16-18). Interestingly, Jigmé Lingpa also mentions in places the existence of multiple versions of the same Tantra, specifying which one he selected.

His catalogue, however, does not indicate any explicit doxographic affiliation, even though the texts are clearly and precisely organized according to the following classic scheme:

1. the Tantras of Atiyoga,
2. the Tantras of Anuyoga, and
3. the Tantras of Mahāyoga.

Hence, the texts that Jigmé Lingpa listed in his catalogue are those pertaining to the higher or inner Tantras (*nang gi rgyud*) of the Nyingma school, which were for the most part rejected from the Tibetan canons edited by the Sarmapa compilers. In his listing, Jigmé Lingpa opens the enumeration with the Tantras of the Mind Series (*Sems sde*). We shall see elsewhere⁶ that in his own edition of the NGB, Gétsé Rinpoché decided to opt for a different approach that does not follow Jigmé Lingpa's doxographic order. The complex structure of the subgroups of texts is not explicitly described in Jigmé Lingpa's version but these subdivisions appear in the background and are easily recognizable to those familiar with these corpora.⁷

I. The Tantras of Atiyoga (Dzogchen)

The Tantras belonging to this category are divided into three corpora of texts making up what is designated as the Three Series (*sde gsum*) of Dzogchen. These Series are the Mind Series (*Sems sde*), the Expanse Series (*Klong sde*), and the Precepts Series (*Man ngag sde*).

The Tantras of the Mind Series (Sems sde)

These treatises are included in volumes 1 and 2 of the collection, covering texts nos. 1-49. The first volume includes the entire corpus of *The Great Sky of Vajrasattoa* (*rDo rje sems dpa' nam mkha' che*), one of the most important of the Mind Series, and closely associated with

⁶ See the next volume in this series.

⁷ For the general organization of the entire collection, including the Precepts Series, see the synoptic presentation below (p. 16). This system does not take into account the division of the *Man ngag sde* texts into *A ti*, *sPyi ti*, *Yang ti* and *mTha' chen*. On this classification, see Achard, *L'Essence Perlée du Secret*, p. 57-59.

The All-Creating King (*Kun byed rgyal po'i rgyud*, no. 24). It also includes *The Magical Key to the Treasury* (*Bang mdzod 'phrul gyi lde mig*, no. 6), a set of works corresponding to texts nos. 7-9, as well as *The Extraordinary Pure and Perfect Mind* (*Byang chub kyi sems rmad du byung ba*, no. 2, see also nos. 16, 18 and 35).

The second volume includes the corpus of the Tantra of the *All-Creating King* with all its subsidiary treatises or extracts, notably the cycle of the *Eighteen Tantras* (*rGyud bco brgyad*) which forms the very heart of the Mind Series. The final part of this volume includes a series of important *Semdé* texts that are not connected to a specific corpus.⁸

The paṇḍits who took part in the translation of these Tantras are (in the order of the texts listed by Jigmé Lingpa): Śrī Sīmha, (var. Śrī Sīmhakala), Vimalamitra, Jñānagarbha and Śrīlendramitra. The Tibetan translators are Vairocana, Yudra Nyingpo, Nubchen Sangyé Yéshé (under the name Dorjé Yangwang Ter), Kawa Peltsek, Jing Selbar, Nyak Jñānakumāra and Atsara Drenpai Yéshé.

The Tantras of the Expanse Series (Klong sde)

The Tantras of the Expanse Series are grouped together in volume 3 (nos. 50-65), including in particular the root-Tantras (*rtsa rgyud*) such as *The Tantra of the Infinite Great Expanse* (*Klong chen rab 'byams gyi rgyud*, no. 50), *The Celestial Immensity of Samantabhadra* (*Kun tu bzang po nam mkha' che*, no. 51), *The Tantra Known as the Arcane of Wisdom* (*Ye shes gsang ba zhes bya ba'i rgyud*, no. 55), *The Tantra of the Perfection of Wisdom, of the Pure and Perfect Mind* (*Byang chub kyi sems ye shes rdzogs pa'i rgyud*, no. 56), etc.

The Indian paṇḍits who participated in the translations were Śrī Sīmha and Vimalamitra, while the Tibetan translators were Vairocana and Yudra Nyingpo.

The Tantras of the Precept Series (Man ngag sde)

The Precept Series is organized according to four textual groups,⁹ making up actually six specific corpora, presented in the following

⁸ With the exception of the *gSer gyi rus sbal* which, as shown by S.G. Karmay, belongs to the collection known as *The Triple Proclamation of the Great Perfection* (*rDzogs chen bsgrags pa skor gsum*); see Karmay, *The Great Perfection*, p. 220-223.

⁹ 1. The outer and inner cycles (*phyi nang gi skor*), 2. the secret cycle (*gsang skor*), 3. the utterly secret and unsurpassable cycle (*yang gsang bla med skor*), and 4. the cycles of *sPyi ti* and of *Yang ti*.

manner:

1. The outer cycle (*phyi skor*) which includes Tantras such as *The Contemplative Assembly of Mañjuśrī* ('Jam dpal dgongs pa 'dus pa, no. 68), *The Blazing Mound of Charnel Grounds* (*Dur khrod phung po 'bar ba*, no. 70), etc. For the most part, these texts do not have any colophon, except for one (no. 67), whose translation is attributed to Vimalamitra and Nyak Jñānakumāra.
2. The inner cycle (*nang skor*), including *The Divine Tantra known as the Precious Heap* (*Lha rgyud rin chen spungs pa*, no. 81), etc.¹⁰ Here again, these texts are mostly anonymous.
3. The secret cycle (*gsang skor*), grouping together important works such as *The Tantra of the Great All-Illuminating Thiglé* (*Thig le kun gsal chen po'i rgyud*, no. 82), its abridged version (no. 86), etc. The translators are Śrī Simhaprabha, Vairocana, Vimalamitra, Kawa Peltsek and Chokro Lū Gyeltsen.
4. The utterly secret cycle (*yang gsang gi skor*), covering the corpus of *The Seventeen Tantras* (*rGyud bcu bdun*, nos. 94-110) revealed by Dangma Lhüngyel and making up the tradition of *The Heart Drops of the Arcane* (*gSang ba snying thig*) associated with Vimalamitra.¹¹ To this corpus, Jigmé Lingpa adds two versions of the *Longsel Tantra* (*Klong gsal*, nos. 111-112) which is the root-Tantra of *The Heart Drops of Padmasambhava* (*Padma snying thig*) and is therefore the doctrinal source of *The Heart Drops of the Sky Dancers* (*mKha' 'gro snying thig*). The version chosen by Jigmé Lingpa is the one revealed by Dorjé Lingpa, not the version discovered by Shérab Mébar (and later by Ratna Lingpa), which is actually the "classical" *Longsel* associated with *The Heart Drops of the Sky Dancers*.
5. The cycle of *sPyi ti yoga* includes texts nos. 113-127, with crucial works such as *The Tantra Eradicating Saṃsāra from Beginning to End, the Nectar Drops of the Ambrosial Union of*

¹⁰ The precise lists of texts belonging to the respective *phyi skor* and *nang skor* still need to be sorted out as they are not clearly delineated in 'Jigs med gling pa's catalogue.

¹¹ See Achard, *L'Essence Perlée du Secret*, p. 77-99.

Appearances and Existence (sNang srid kha sbyor bdud rtsi bcud thigs 'khor ba thog mtha' gcod pa'i rgyud, no. 113) which is presented as having 110 chapters and which actually counts 108 chapters in the version edited by Gétsé Rinpoché (sDe dge, Kha, fol. 204a-265b), and *The Tantra Gathering the Ambrosial Ocean, the Blazing Quintessential Lights of the Sun and Moon, the King of All Tantras* (rGyud thams cad kyi rgyal po nyi zla'i snying po 'od 'bar ba bdud rtsi rgya mtshor 'khyil ba'i rgyud, no. 126) which are two of the most important texts belonging to this category.

6. The cycle of Yang ti yoga, including nos. 127-156 and 158 which is the root-Tantra of Yang ti, entitled *The Essential Clarity Free from Proliferations* (sPros bral don gsal, no. 127). Texts nos. 157 and 159 do not seem to be directly connected to Yangti but appear as non-affiliated Tantras (in my opinion they actually belong to the utterly secret cycle). No. 157 is in particular known under the title of *The Father Tantra known as the Vast Expanse of the View* (Pha rgyud lta ba klong yangs) and was revealed by Dorjé Lingpa.

Within the corpus of Yangti teachings, one should distinguish the Black quintessence (*yang ti nag po*) from the Brahmans Quintessence (*yang ti bram ze*). The distinctions between these two categories is a topic that is described elsewhere.¹²

II. The Tantras of Anuyoga

Generally speaking, the Tantras included in this category are grouped according to relatively complex subdivisions, such as the corpora of the Twenty-One Tantras and Āgamas (*rgyud lung nyer gcig*), the Ten Sūtras (*mdo bcu*), the Seventy Treatises of the Āgamas (*lung gi yi ge bdun cu*), and so on.¹³ They are, however, grouped in the NGB according to three textual sets: 1. the root Tantras, 2. a group of six Tantras, and 3. a group of twelve Tantras presented as rare (*dkon rgyud*).¹⁴

The four root-Tantras (*rtsa ba'i mdo bzhi*) cover nos. 159, 160, 161, and 162 (in the version in 36 chapters translated by Padmasambhava

¹² I have prepared a short study on the subject that will be published in the present series.

¹³ dGe rtse rin po che, *dKar chag*, fol. 299b.

¹⁴ *Id.*, fol. 299b.

and Vairocana).¹⁵ The individuals who took part in these translations are Dharmabodhi, Dhānarakṣita, Ché Tsenkyé, Padmasambhava and Vairocana.

The six Tantras that dispel the six limitations (*mtha' drug gsal bar byed pa'i rgyud drug*) are nos. 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, and 168.

The twelve rare Tantras (*dkon rgyud bcu gnyis*) are nos. 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174 (together with 175), 176, 177, 180, 190, 191, and 192. Nos. 179 and 181-188 are ritual works. No. 189 is apparently connected to no. 190 since it was translated by the same translators.¹⁶ The masters and translators who have worked on these texts are Prasat(t)va, Péma Rutsé, Vimalamitra, Nyak Jñānakumāra, Padmasambhava, Namkhai Nyingpo, Vasudhara, Nubchen Sangyé Yéshé, Drolö Tsel (Dorjé Drolö Tsel) and Dorjé Zhangdrung.

III. The Tantras of Mahāyoga

The Tantras of Mahāyoga are by far the most numerous among all available editions of the NGB.¹⁷ They cover texts nos. 193-386 and are organized according to the three following textual groups: 1. the eight Tantras describing the various Illusion Webs; 2. the eighteen explanatory Tantras;¹⁸ and 3. the cycle focused on the Eight Herukas.

The eight series of Illusion Webs (*sgyu 'phrul sde brgyad*) are:

1. *The Illusion Web known as the Matrix of Mystery* (*sGyu 'phrul dra ba gsang ba snying po*, no. 193),
2. *The Great Illusion Web of Mañjuśrī* (*'Jam dpal sgyu 'phrul dra ba*

¹⁵ The one included in dGe rtse Rin po che's edition is the version in 33 chapters by Vimalamitra and Chog ro Klu'i rgyal mtshan (*id.*, fol. 299b.6). In his *dkar chag* (fol. 300a), dGe rtse Rin po che adds to this list the *Ye shes rngam pa glog gi 'khor lo zhes bya ba* that 'Jigs med gling pa classifies in the Mahāyoga section (under no. 223).

¹⁶ It corresponds to no. 446 in dGe rtse Rin po che's version.

¹⁷ With the exception of the *Bee ro rgyud 'bum* which essentially includes Atiyoga texts, as well as non-canonical works (such as the *Bee ro 'dra bag*, etc.). Regarding this collection, see Kapstein "The Sun of the Heart and the *Bai-ro-rgyud-'bum*", *passim*. It should however be understood that the *Bee ro rgyud 'bum* is not a special NGB of some sort. The name "*Bee ro rgyud 'bum*" is not attested in history before the publication of the collection in 1971. The reason is that the texts included were manuscripts belonging to the late Tokden Rinpoché who submitted them for publication to the publisher, Tashi Y. Tashigangpa. It is the latter who coined the expression "*Bee ro rgyud 'bum*" in order to publish them as a set of several volumes. I received this explanation orally from Tokden Rinpoche himself during one of his stays in Paris in the early 1990's.

¹⁸ Regarding this set of Tantras, see Kenneth Eastman, "The Eighteen Tantras...", p. 95-96.

- chen mo*, no. 201),
3. *The Illusion Web in Eight Chapters* (sGyu 'phrul brgyad pa, no. 198),
 4. *The Master of the Illusion [Web]* (sGyu 'phrul bla ma, no. 199),
 5. *The Supplementary Chapters of the Illusion [Web]* (sGyu 'phrul le lhag)¹⁹,
 6. *The Illusion Web in Forty Chapters* (sGyu 'phrul bzhi bcu pa)²⁰,
 7. *The Illusion Web of the Goddess* (Lha mo sgyu 'phrul dra ba, no. 200), and
 8. *The Illusion Web in Eighty Chapters* (sGyu 'phrul brgyad bcu pa, no. 195).²¹

The translators of this corpus are Vimalamitra, Nyak Jñānakumāra, Ma Rinchen Chok, and Khenpo Yéshé Zhönu.

The Eighteen Explanatory Tantras (*bshad rgyud tantra sde bco brgyad*) are made up of a first corpus consisting of the five root-Tantras corresponding to the five modalities of Buddhahood (*rtsa ba sku gsung thugs yon tan phrin las kyi rgyud lnga*), and of a second corpus known as “the five series of Tantras revealing the practice of accomplishment” (*sgrub pa'i lag len ston pa'i rgyud sde lnga*):

1. *The Tantra of the Body* (*sku rgyud*), namely *The Union of all the Buddhas* (*Sangs rgyas thams cad mnyam par sbyor ba*, no. 213, with its complementary texts in nos. 214-218),
2. *The Tantra of Speech* (*gsung gi rgyud*), i.e., *The King of the Tantras known as the Thiglé of the Secret Moon* (*Zla gsang thig le zhes bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po*, no. 219),
3. *The Tantra of the Mind* (*thugs kyi rgyud*) corresponding to *The Tantra of the Secret Gathering* (*gSang ba 'dus pa'i rgyud*, no. 220, with its continuation in no. 221),
4. *The Tantra of Qualities* (*yon tan gyi rgyud*), namely *The Original Source of the Glorious Excellence* (*dPal mchog dang po*, non-identified in Jigmé Lingpa's list), and
5. *The Tantra of Liberating Activities* (*Phrin las kyi rgyud*) or the *Garland of Actions* (*Karma ma le*, no. 222),
6. *The Tantra of Heruka's Display* (*He ru ka rol pa'i rgyud*, no. 225),
7. *The Tantra of the Glorious Hayagrīva's Display* (*dPal rta mgrin rol pa'i rgyud*, no. 224),

¹⁹ Not identified with certainty but probably corresponding to no. 198 or 208, the text consisting of 33 chapters.

²⁰ Maybe corresponding to no. 197.

²¹ See also the list provided in Dan Martin, “Illusion Web...”, p. 181-182 who identified these texts in the manuscript editions of the NGB from Thimphu (1973) and from Tsamdrak (1982).

8. *The Tantra of the Glorious Display of Compassion* (*dPal snying rje rol pa'i rgyud*),²²
9. *The Glorious Display of Nectar* (*dPal bdud rtsi rol pa*, no. 226),
10. *The Tantra of the Twelve Phurbas* (*Phur pa bcu gnyis kyi rgyud*, no. 227),
- 11-15. the five auxiliary Tantras (*yan lag tu 'gro ba'i rgyud lnga*) which are shared with Anuyoga;²³ they correspond to nos. 228, 223, 168, 165 and include as well a *Ri bo brtsegs pa'i rgyud* which should not be confounded with no. 124 in Jigmé Lingpa's list, since the latter is a Tantra belonging to the *sPyi ti* tradition,
16. *The One-Pointed Absorption* (*Ting 'dzin rtse gcig*, non-identified in Jigmé Lingpa's list),
17. *The Lasso of Methods* (*Thabs kyi zhags pa*, no. 229), and
18. *The Illusion Web of Vairocana* (*rNam snang sgyu 'phrul dra ba*, non-identified).²⁴

The last Mahāyoga cycle deals with the Eight Herukas (*sgrub sde bka' brgyad*) to whom a large number of texts is associated. These texts are grouped according to the following scheme:

1. the Tantras of Mañjuśrī's Body (*'Jam dpal sku*, nos. 232-262),
2. the Tantras of Hayagrīva's Speech (*Padma gsung*, nos. 263-280),
3. the Tantras of Yangdak Heruka's Mind (*Yang dag thugs*, nos. 284-290),
4. the Tantras of Amṛtakundali Qualities (*bDud rtsi yon tan*, nos. 291-302),
5. the Tantras of Phurba's Activities (*Phur pa phrin las*, nos. 303-343),
6. the Sorcery Tantras of the Mātrikās (*Ma mo rbod gtong*, nos. 344-373),
7. the Tantras of offerings and praises to the Guardians of the Teachings (*bstan srung mchod bstod*), also known as the "Tan-

²² In his *dkar chag* (fol. 302a), dGe rtse rin po che indicates that he was unable to locate *The Tantra of Heruka's Display* (*he ru ka rol pa'i rgyud ni ma rnyed*), whereas he has clearly identified the *dPal snying rje rol pa'i rgyud*. Consequently, despite 'Jigs med gling pa's opinion affirming that the two titles refer to a single Tantra, this seems rather unlikely.

²³ Klong chen pa, *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 345.

²⁴ The lists of these Tantras are often incomplete or show significant variations between sources. See Dan Martin, "Illusion Web...", pp. 179-181; Tulku Thondup, *Buddha Mind*, pp. 30-31. The classification proposed by dGe rtse Rin po che shows also important differences with the present one (*dkar chag*, fol. 301b-302a).

- tras of mundane offerings and praises" (*'jig rten mchod bstod*), presented to worldly entities, and
8. the Tantras of Fierce Mantras sending Maledictions (*rMod pa drag sngags*); the texts from these last two categories can be found under nos. 373-386.

*

All in all, Jigmé Lingpa lists four kinds of works:

- texts translated during the Early Diffusion, or said to have been translated at that time; this category encompasses most of the texts listed in the catalogue itself and overlaps the fourth category since the majority of these works are most certainly *Termas* revealed during the post-dynastic era, although we cannot *a priori* entirely rule out the possibility that some were passed on in the mode of an uninterrupted transmission;
- texts that have been translated both during the Early and Later Diffusions; the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* (no. 221) is a good example of that;
- texts translated during the Later Diffusion; see for instance the *Mahākāla'i rgyud* (no. 382) and possibly others;
- *Terma*-texts revealed during the post-dynastic era, such as text no. 304 explicitly attributed to the revelations of Nyang-rel Nyima Özer (1124–1192).



**The synoptic presentation of the
Collection of Ancient Tantras according to Jigmé Lingpa**

A. The Tantras of Atiyoga

a-1. The Mind Series (*Sems sde*)

a-1-1. Various Tantras

a-1-2. The cycle of the All-Creating King (*Kun byed rgyal po'i skor*)

a-1-3. The cycle of the *Eighteen Tantras* (*rGyud bco brgyad*).

a-2. The Expanse Series (*Klong sde*)

a-2-1. The root-Tantras

a-2-2. The complementary works.²⁵

a-3. The Precepts Series (*Man ngag sde*)

a-3-1. The outer and inner cycles (*phyi nang gi skor*)

a-3-2. The secret cycle (*gsang skor*)

a-3-3. The utterly secret, unsurpassable cycle (*yang gsang bla med skor*)

a-3-4. The cycles of *sPyi ti* and *Yang ti*.

B. The Tantras of Anuyoga

b-1. The four root-Tantras (*rtsa ba'i rgyud bzhi*)

b-2. The six Tantras clarifying the six limitations (*mtha' drug gsal bar byed pa'i rgyud drug*)

b-3. The twelve rare Tantras (*dkon rgyud bcu gnyis*)

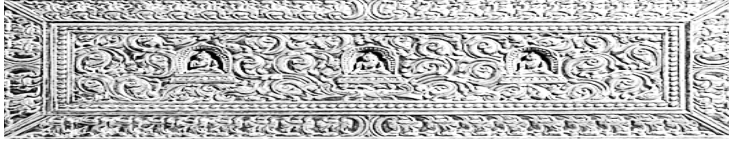
C. The Tantras of Mahāyoga

c-1. The eight cycles of the Illusion Web (*sgyu 'phrul sde brgyad*)

c-2. The eighteen explanatory Tantras

c-3. The practice cycle of the Eight Herukas (*sgrub sde bka' brgyad*).

²⁵ The *Klong sde* Tantras here are not described according to a complex doxographic structure likely to have been retained by Tibetan doxographers (the same is true of the NGB version of dGe rtse Rin po che, Dergué, A, fol. 297b-298a). We could certainly elaborate such a configuration and isolate texts or groups of texts associated with structures that are specific to *Klong sde*. The latter's complex classification into white Expanse (*klong dkar po*), black Expanse (*klong nag po*), variegated Expanse (*klong khra bo*) and infinite Expanse (*klong rab 'byams*) should also be applied to this scheme. On this system, see Longchenpa, *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 357 *passim*.



**Catalogue of the NGB edition
prepared by Jigmé Lingpa**

Volume Ka [1]

1. **rDo rje sems dpa' nam mkha' che bram ze rgyas pa'i rgyud:** 16 chapters.
2. **Byang chub kyi sems rmad du byung ba:** 42 chapters, translated by Śrī Śiṃha and Vairocana.
3. **Byang chub kyi sems bsgom pa yi ge med pa'i rgyud:** 10 chapters, translated by Śrī Śiṃha and Vairocana.
4. **Chos thams cad sems nyid ye shes kyi rgyud dngos grub rang byung du spyod pa dbang bskur ba rNa rgyud zam pa:** no chapter divisions, version ending with the words: *skal ldan gyi bcud chos rdzogs so*.
5. **rDzogs pa chen po chos nyid byang chub kyi sems thig le rgya mtsho gnas la 'jug pa zhes bya ba'i rgyud:** 10 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Yudra Nyingpo.
6. **Byang chub sems kyi man ngag rin chen phreng ba'am Bang mdzod 'phrul gyi lde mig:** 61 chapters.
7. **Man ngag thams cad kyi sdom sam/ Man ngag spyi rgya mdud ces bya ba:** no chapter divisions.
8. **Yang 'byed 'phrul gyi lde mig:** 14 chapters.
9. **Bang mdzod 'phrul gyi me long:** 10 chapters, translated by gNubs chen and styled as *gNubs chen gyi man ngag gter rgyud*.
10. **Thag ring du 'gro ba nam mkha' dang mnyam pa'i rgyud:** 25 chapters.
11. [without title, starting with:] **ston pa 'khor lo rdo rje:** 4 chapters, translated by Jñānagarbha and Vairocana.
12. **Byang sems rin chen 'khor lo zhes bya ba'i rgyud:** 10 chapters.
13. **rDo rje sems dpa' nam mkha' che rgyas pa zhes bya ba rgyud:** 11 chapters.
14. **Nam mkha' che rgyas pa zhes bya ba rnal 'byor ma rgyud:** 13 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Peltsek.
15. **Byang chub kyi sems nya mo bag la nyal:** 26 chapters.
16. **Byang chub kyi sems rmad du byung ba'am/ Chos chen po rmad du byung:** 20 chapters.

17. **rDzogs pa chen po chos nyid byang chub kyi sems rin po che bkod pa rnam par dbye ba'i rgyud:** 5 chapters, translated by Śrīlendramitra and Jing Selbar.
18. **Byang chub kyi sems rmad du byung ba:** 11 chapters; these last three tantras were to be found in the Zabmo Pori Temple (Zab mo po ri'i lha khang).
19. **rDo rje sems dpa' nam mkha' che gsang ba snying po rnal ma don gyi rgyud:** 12 chapters.
20. **gSang sngags lam mchog 'dus pa'i rgyud:** 5 chapters, translated by Śrī Siṃha and Dorjé Yangwang Ter.
21. **Thugs kyi rgyud rin po che spungs pa'i rgyan:** 5 chapters.
22. **gSang ba spyi rgyud:** 25 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Nyak Jñānakumāra.
23. **Rin chen rgyas pa chen po'i rgyud:** 61 chapters.

Volume Kha [2]

24. **Byang chub kyi sems kun byed rgyal po lta ba nam mkha' ltar mtha' dbus med pa'i rgyud:** 84 chapters, translated by Śrī Siṃhakala²⁶ and Vairocana.
25. **Chos thams cad rdzogs pa chen po byang chub sems su 'dus pa'i mdo.**
26. **La zlo gsang ba'i 'khor lo zhes bya ba'i rgyud:** 11 chapters.
27. **Chos thams cad rdzogs pa chen po 'khor ba rtsad nas gcod pa nam mkha' dang mnyam pa yi ge med pa'i rgyud:** 13 chapters, translated by Śrī Siṃha and Vairocana.
28. **rDzogs pa chen po 'khor ba rtsad nas gcod pa rgya mtsho dang mnyam pa rnyog pa med pa'i rgyud:** 7 chapters, translated by Śrī Siṃha and Vairocana.
29. **rDzogs pa chen po 'khor ba rtsad nas gcod pa nyi zla dang mnyam pa dri ma med pa'i rgyud:** 11 chapters, translated by Śrī Siṃha and Vairocana.
30. **Rin po che dang mnyam pa skye ba med pa'i rgyud:** 14 chapters, translated by Śrī Siṃha and Vairocana.
31. **Sems sgom don drug:** translated by Śrī Siṃha and Vairocana.
32. **Man ngag rtsal chen:** translated by Śrī Siṃha and Vairocana.
33. **Byang sems khyung chen:** translated by Śrī Siṃha and Vairocana.
34. **rDo rje sems dpa' nam mkha' che:** translated by Śrī Siṃha and Vairocana.

²⁶ So far, I have not found this variant of Śrī Siṃha's name outside this catalogue. It is possible that it appears elsewhere, in sources I have not consulted.

35. **Byang chub kyi sems rmad du byung ba:** included under this title are the "Thirteen Later Translations" (*phyi 'gyur bcu gsum*) attributed to Vimalamitra; Jigmé Lingpa does not provide the list itself.
36. **Byang chub kyi sems rtsal sprug:** 9 chapters, translated by Śrī Siṃha and Vairocana.
37. **Byang sems khyung chen:** 10 chapters, corresponding to the version starting with *de nas bcom ldan 'das dpal rdo rje sems dpa' la.../*, translated by Śrī Siṃha and Vairocana.
38. **Nam mkha' che rgyas pa yi ge med pa'i rgyud:** 8 chapters.
39. **Byang chub sems sgom rdo la gser zhun:** version without chapter divisions.
40. **Byang chub sems sgom 'jam dpal bshes gnyen phyi ma'i man ngag.**
41. **rDzogs pa chen po ye shes bdun byung gi rgyud:** 8 chapters, corresponding to the version starting with *bkra shis dpal.../*.
42. **Rig pa'i khu byug:** 7 chapters, translated by Śrī Siṃha and Vairocana.
43. **Byang sems bkra shis mi 'gyur ba gsal bar gnas pa'i rgyud:** 10 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Yudra Nyingpo.
44. **rGyud kyi rgyal po gser gyi rus sbal rtsa ba'i rgyud ces bya ba:** 30 chapters, translated by Vairocana.
45. **Rin po che snang byed kyi rgyud:** 19 chapters.
46. **Byang sems rma bya 'jing bsnol:** 6 chapters.
47. **rMa bya 'jing bsnol:** 5 chapters, version ending with *mun sel chen mo zhes bya ba*.
48. **rDzogs pa chen po lta ba ye shes gting rdzogs:** 27 chapters, translated by Atsara Drenpai Yéshé who brought it to the country of Tibet (*bod yul du bsnams pa*).
49. **Byang chub kyi sems sgom pa'i rgyud:** 11 chapters, version ending with *gsham na theg pa'i snying po rdzogs so*.

Volume Ga [3]

50. **Klong chen rab 'byams rgyal po'i rgyud:** 47 chapters.
51. **Kun tu bzang po nam mkha' che rtsa ba bsdus pa'i rgyud:** 17 chapters, translated by Śrī Siṃha and Vairocana.
52. **Byang chub kyi sems kun tu bzang po rig pa rang gi rtsal shar ba'i rgyud:** 14 chapters.
53. **rDo rje sems dpa' nam mkha'i mtha' dang mnyam pa'i rgyud chen po:** 27 chapters, translated by Śrī Siṃha and Vairocana.
54. **rDo rje sems dpa' nam mkha' che kun tu bzang po gsang ba snying po'i rgyud kyi mdo:** 26 chapters, translated by Śrī

Siṃha and Vairocana.

55. **Ye shes gsang ba zhes bya ba'i rgyud:** 12 chapters.
56. **Byang chub kyi sems ye shes rdzogs pa'i rgyud:** 10 chapters, translated by Śrī Siṃha and Vairocana.
57. **rDzogs pa chen po byang chub kyi sems kun la 'jug pa rnam dag ston pa'i rgyud:** 5 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Yudra Nyingpo.
58. **Byang chub kyi sems rdo rje 'od 'phro ba'i rgyud:** 12 chapters, translated by Śrī Siṃha and Vairocana ; the text is also entitled *Byang sems rje btsan dam pa* but it appears there is some actual confusion with the *rJe btsan dam pa* which is one of the root-Tantras of *Semdé* (*Sems sde*) and not of *Longdé* (*Klong sde*), corpus to which this volume is dedicated.
59. **Rin po che 'phags lam bkod pa'i rgyud:** 10 chapters, translated by Śrī Siṃha and Vairocana.
60. **rDo rje sems dpa' nam mkha'i mtha' dang mnyam pa'i rgyud:** 27 chapters, translated by Śrī Siṃha and Vairocana.
61. **rDo rje sems dpa' nam mkha'i mtha' dang mnyam pa'i rgyud:** chap. 28-64, dispatched in eleven sections or *bam po*, translated by Śrī Siṃha and Vairocana.
62. **Rin po che gdams ngag sna tshogs 'khor lo'i rgyud:** 4 chapters.
63. **Rin po che gdams ngag sna tshogs 'khor lo'i rgyud phyi ma:** 16 chapters.
64. **Rin po che 'khor lo zhes bya ba'i rgyud:** 8 chapters.
65. **Ye shes gsang ba sgron ma rin po che man ngag gi rgyud:** 16 chapters, translated by Śrī Siṃha and Vairocana.

Volume Nga [4]

66. **Rin po che srid pa bar do snang ba'i rgyud:** 16 chapters.
67. **'Jam dpal gyi bshad rgyud rin po che'i phreng ba:** 9 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Nyak Jñānakumāra.
68. **'Jam dpal dgongs pa 'dus pa:** 6 chapters.
69. **sKu gsum gyi snang ba gsal bar ngo sprod pa'i rgyud:** 7 chapters.
70. **Dur khrod phung po 'bar ba:** 11 chapters.
71. **rDo rje yang rtse'i rgyud:** 21 chapters.
72. **rDo rje yang tog snying po'i rgyud:** 15 chapters.
73. **sNying po rdo rje rin po che thams cad gcig pa'i rgyud:** 23 chapters.
74. **Dam tshig bkod pa sa gzhi'i rgyud:** 3 chapters [not to be confounded with text no. 168 below].

75. 'Byung po kun 'dus rgyud: 32 chapters.
76. rDo rje gsang ba rin po che dbyig gi sgrol ma shes rab chen po'i mdo zhes bya ba rgyud skad 'gyur bzhi pa: 4 chapters.
77. Lha ma yin g.yul ngo bzlog pa'i rgyud: 30 chapters.
78. Ro sreg thal ba nag po'i rgyud: 6 chapters.
79. 'Jig rten gyi phrin las sprod pa bsod noms chen po rdzogs pa shes rab chen po'i rgyud dam/ thal ba nag po'i rgyud: 16 chapters.
80. Lha rgyud rin chen spungs pa: 33 chapters.
81. Lha rgyud rin chen dbang gi 'khor lo zhes bya ba: 13 chapters.
82. Thig le kun gsal chen po: 97 chapters, translated by Pelden Sengé Öchen (Śrī Simhaprabha)²⁷ and Vairocana.
83. Ye shes mar me'i rgyud: 3 chapters.
84. rDo rje sems dpa'i dgongs pa tshig gsum gyi rgyud: 3 chapters.
85. Man ngag snying dgongs: 14 chapters.
86. Thig le kun 'dus chen po'i rgyud: 12 chapters.
87. sKu'i rgyud padma 'khyil pa: 21 chapters.
88. rDo rje rtse mo 'dus pa'i rgyud: 10 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra, Kawa Peltsek and Chokro Lū Gyeltsen.
89. Ye shes bla ma chen po'i rgyud: 7 chapters.
90. Byang sems rgyal mtshan rtse mo'i rgyud: 5 chapters.
91. rDo rje srin po rno ba rdo rje mchu can gyi rgyud dam/ 'khor ba dong sprugs chen po'i rgyud: 7 chapters.
92. rDzogs chen thig le gsang ba'i nges rgyud: no chapter divisions.
93. Thig le gsang ba'i brda rgyud: 18 chapters.

Volume Ca [5]

94. rDzogs pa rang byung: 24 chapters.
95. Rig pa rang shar chen po'i rgyud: 86 chapters.
96. sGra thal 'gyur: 5 chapters plus one section entitled *rjes 'brang*; this description is rather unusual, to say the least, as the *sGra thal 'gyur* traditionally consists of six chapters, as can also be seen by checking Vimalamitra's Commentary on this text.
97. Rig pa rang grol chen po'i rgyud: 10 chapters.
98. bKra shis mdzes ldan rgyud: 5 chapters.

²⁷ This is the fuller form of Śrī Simha's name.

Volume Cha [6]

99. **Seng ge rtsal rdzogs rgyud**: 13 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra.
100. **Nor bu phra bkod**: 24 chapters.
101. **Mu tig phreng ba**: 8 chapters.
102. **Yi ge med pa gsang ba'i rgyud**: 6 chapters.
103. **rDo rje sems dpa' snying gi me long gi rgyud**: 8 chapters.
104. **Kun tu bzang po thugs kyi me long**: 4 chapters.
105. **Nyi zla kha sbyor rgyud**: 4 chapters.
106. **Ngo sprod spras pa'i rgyud**: 3 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Kawa Peltsek.
107. **sKu gdung 'bar ba**: 3 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Kawa Peltsek.
108. **Rin po che spungs pa**: 5 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Kawa Peltsek.
109. **sGron ma 'bar ba**: 4 chapters.
110. **Klong drug pa**: 6 chapters.
111. **Klong gsal 'bar ba nyi ma'i rgyud**: 113 chapters.
112. **mKha' 'gro kun gyi snying thig klong gsal (phyi ma'i rgyud)**: 142 chapters.

Volume Ja [7]

113. **sNang srid kha sbyor bdud rtsi'i thigs pa 'khor ba thog mtha' gcod pa'i rgyud**: 110 chapters, translated by the great ācārya (*slob dpon chen po*) Padmasambhava and Kawa Peltsek.
114. **Rin po che bcud kyi yang snying thog mtha' dras thag gcod pa'i rgyud**: 10 chapters.
115. **sPros pa gcod pa sde lnga rgyud**: 14 chapters, translated by Padmasambhava and Kawa Peltsek.
116. **Rin po che bdud rtsi bcud thigs rgyud**: 15 chapters, translated by Padmasambhava and Kawa Peltsek.
117. **Rin po che snang gsal spu gri 'bar bas 'khrul snang thams cad rtsad nas gcod pa nam mkha' dang mnyam pa'i rgyud**: 35 chapters, translated by Padmasambhava and Kawa Peltsek.
118. **Rin po che spyi gnad skyon sel thig le kun gsal rgyud**: 9 chapters.
119. **gTer snying rin chen spungs pa'i rgyud**: 9 chapters.
120. **Thig le ye shes bcud spungs sgron ma 'od 'bar gyi rgyud**: 17 chapters, translated by Padmasambhava and Kawa Peltsek.
121. **bdud rtsi bcud thigs sgron ma brtsegs pa'i rgyud**: 22 chapters, translated by Padmasambhava and Kawa Peltsek.
122. **sNying po bcud spungs nam mkha' klong yangs**: 20 chapters,

- translated by Padmasambhava and Kawa Peltsek.
123. **Thugs kyi yang snying dgongs bcud 'dus pa nyi zla 'bar ba'i rgyud:** 13 chapters, translated by Padmasambhava and Kawa Peltsek.
 124. **Sangs rgyas kun gyi dgongs pa'i bcud bsdus ri bo brtsegs pa'i rgyud:** 21 chapters.
 125. **Dri med ka dag gi rgyud rin chen gsal ba chen po zhes bya ba:** 10 chapters.
 126. **rGyud thams cad kyi rgyal po nyi zla'i snying po 'od 'bar ba bdud rtsi rgya mtshor 'khyil ba'i rgyud:** 81 chapters, translated by Padmasambhava and Kawa Peltsek.
 127. **sKye med ka dag zang ka:** 10 chapters.
 128. **sPros bral don gsal chen po'i rgyud:** 123 chapters.
 129. **rGyud thams cad kyi rtse rgyal nam mkha' 'bar ba'i rgyud:** 39 chapters, translated by Śrī Ratnavajra and Heruka.
 130. **rGyud thams cad kyi spyi phud nyi zla bkod pa'i rgyud:** 15 chapters, translated by Padmasambhava and Peltsek.
 131. **Nam mkha' 'brug sgrogs thog bab klong 'dus spyi rgyal rgya mdud kyi rgyud:** 10 chapters, translated by Padmasambhava and Peltsek.
 132. **lTa ba la shan chen po rin po che sgron ma'i rtsa ba'i rgyud:** 14 chapters, translated by Padmasambhava and Peltsek.
 133. **rTsa rlung thig le'i rgyud:** 7 chapters.
 134. **lTa ba la thal chen po'i rgyud:** no chapter divisions.
 135. **sNang byed spu gri'i rgyud:** no chapter divisions.
 136. **'Bras bu ye grol chen po'i rgyud:** no chapter divisions.
 137. **Srog gi 'khor lo'i rgyud:** no chapter divisions.
 138. **rGyud kyi rtse rgyal nyi zla 'od 'bar mkha' klong rnam dag rgya mtsho klong gsal gyi rgyud:** 24 chapters, translated by Padmasambhava and Peltsek.

Volume Nya [8]

139. **rDzogs pa chen po nges don 'dus pa:** 81 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and the ācārya Drenpa Yéshé.
140. **rDzogs pa chen po rin po che 'khor ba rtsad gcod kyi rgyud:** 24 chapters.
141. **rDzogs pa chen po lta ba'i yang snying nam mkha' klong yangs kyi rgyud:** 53 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Drenpa Yéshé.
142. **rDzogs pa chen po dgongs pa bka' bgros kyi rgyud:** 65 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Drenpa Yéshé; this work is also defined as *po ti se ru mthing shog can*.

143. **rDzogs pa chen po shin tu rnal 'byor sangs rgyas thams cad 'byung ba rang byung bde ba 'khor lo'i rgyud:** 66 chapters; the text is also defined as *gser gyi sgril shing can*; translated by Vimalamitra and Drenpa Yéshé.
144. **rDzogs pa chen po nges don 'dus pa'i yang snying kun tu bzang po ye shes klong gi rgyud:** 37 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Drenpa Yéshé.
145. **rDzogs pa chen po rmad byung don gyi snying po rang byung bde ba'i 'khor lo rgyud:** 27 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Nyak Jñānakumāra.
146. **rDzogs pa chen po nges don rig pa'i gsung rang byung bde ba 'khor lo'i rgyud:** 33 chapters.
147. **rDzogs pa chen po lta ba thams cad kyi snying po'i rgyud:** 28 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Nyak in Butsel.
148. **rDzogs pa chen po kun tu bzang po ye shes gsal bar ston pa'i rgyud:** 12 chapters.
149. **rDzogs pa chen po kun tu bzang po ye shes gsal bar ston pa'i rgyud phyi ma:** 4 chapters.
150. **rDzogs pa chen po kun tu bzang po ye shes gsal bar ston pa'i rgyud phyi ma'i phyi ma:** 4 chapters.
151. **rDzogs pa chen po kun tu bzang po ye shes gsal bar ston pa phyi ma gsang ba'i rgyud:** 4 chapters, translated by Śrī Simha and Dorjé Yangwang Ter.
152. **Ye shes 'khor lo'i rgyud:** 7 chapters.
153. **rDzogs pa chen po ye shes 'khor lo gsang ba thugs kyi rgyud:** 19 chapters.
154. **'Jam dpal 'dus pa'i rgyud:** 16 chapters.
155. **sPyan ras gzigs ting 'dzin rtse gcig gi rgyud:** 13 chapters.
156. **rDzogs pa chen po ma rig mun pa sel bar byed pa lta ba ye shes gting rdzogs rgyud:** 41 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and ācārya Drenpa Yéshé; the text is also defined as *dngrul gyi sgril shing can*.

Volume Ta [9]

157. **Chos thams cad kyi don bstan pa rdzogs chen thig le nyag gcig ye nas bya rtsol bral ba'am/ klong chen rab 'byams kyi rgyud:** 53 chapters.
158. **rDzogs pa chen po nges don thams cad 'dus pa ye shes nam mkha' dang mnyam pa'i rgyud:** 212 chapters.
159. **Byang chub kyi sems lung rnal 'byor chen po'i rgyud dam/ sems lung chen po'i mdo:** 40 chapters.

Volume Tha [10]

160. **De bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi thugs gsang ba'i ye shes don gyi snying po rdo rje bkod pa'i rgyud rnal 'byor grub pa'i lung kun 'dus rig pa'i mdo'am/ Sangs rgyas thams cad kyi dgongs pa 'dus pa'i mdo:** 75 chapters, translated in Khrom in the country of Brusha, by the Indian abbot Dharmabodhi, *ring lugs chen po* Dhānarakṣita and Ché Tsenkyé.
161. **De bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi thugs gsang ba'i ye shes don gyi snying po khro bo rdo rje'i rigs kun 'dus rig pa'i mdo:** 36 chapters, translated by Padmasambhava and Vairocana.
162. **Dur khrod khu byug rol pa:** 14 chapters.

Volume Da [11]

163. **Kun tu bzang po che ba rang la gnas pa'i rgyud:** 31 chapters.
164. **dBang bskur rgyal po'i rgyud:** 10 chapters.
165. **rGyud kyi rgyal po ting 'dzin mchog gi rgyud:** 11 chapters.
166. **Phrin las kyi rgyal po skabs sbyor bdun pa'i rgyud:** 7 chapters.
167. **sPyod pa thams cad kyi rgyal po brtson pa don ldan gyi rgyud:** 6 chapters.
168. **Dam tshig bkod pa'i rgyud:** 34 chapters.
169. **Zhi ba lha rgyud chen po:** 9 chapters, translated by the Indian abbot Prasatva and Péma Rutsé.
170. **Chos nyid zhi ba'i lha rgyud:** no chapter divisions, translated by Vimalamitra and Nyak.
171. **Khro bo lha rgyud:** 7 chapters, translated by Prasatva and Péma Rutsé.
172. **Khro bo lha rgyud kyi rtog pa chen po:** no chapter divisions.
173. **Thugs rje chen po'i gtor ma'am gTor²⁸ rgyud chen mo:** 44 chapters, translated by Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra and Namkhai Nyingpo; checked and then amended by Vasudhara and Nubchen Sangyé Yéshé.
174. **rNal 'byor nam mkha'i tshogs rgyud chen mo:** 8 chapters.
175. **[rNal 'byor nam mkha'i tshogs rgyud chen mo] phyi ma'i rgyud:** 15 chapters, corrected by Nub, using the "new language" (*skad gsar*).

²⁸ *gTer* in the Fifth Dalai Lama's *gSan yig*, vol. 4, 509. There, the full title is given of this Tantra is given as *Thugs rje chen po sha khrag rus pa'i gter rgyud chen mo*.

176. **dPal 'bar khro mo'i rgyud**: no chapter divisions.²⁹
177. **Rakta dmar gyi rgyud**: 15 chapters, translated by Drolö Tsel.
178. **rDo rje dur mo'i tantra zhes bya ba**: 5 chapters.
179. **sByin sreg**: 2 chapters.
180. **Khro bo'i sbyin sreg**: 2 chapters.
181. **mChod 'bul**: 1 chapter.
182. **bsTod pa**: 2 chapters.
183. **'Gugs 'dren**: 1 chapter.
184. **Phur bu**: 2 chapters.
185. **gTor ma**: 3 chapters.
186. **bShig bral gtor ma**: 4 chapters.
187. **gTub pa**: chapters 5-9.
188. **Ho ma rgyud**: 2 chapters, version ending with: *rdo rje sems dpa' zhal gdangs kyi ma rgyud rdzogs so/*.
189. **sKu gdung 'bar ba tsha tsha mchod rten gyi rgyud**: 9 chapters.³⁰
190. **Hūm mdzad chen po'i rgyud**: 11 chapters, translated by Dorjé Drolö and Zhangdrung.
191. **Zla gsang chen po'i rgyud**: 25 chapters.
192. **Rin chen me lha zhi bar 'gyur pa 'bar ba'i rgyud**: 26 chapters.

Volume Na [12]

193. **dPal gsang ba snying po de kho na nyid nges pa**: 21 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra, Nyak Jñānakumāra and Ma Rinchen Chok. In the Nyingma tradition, this Tantra is available in three different translations: the oldest (*snga 'gyur*) is the one done by Buddhaguhya (Sangyé Sangwa) and Vairocana; the intermediate translation has been produced by Padmasambhava and Nyak Jñānakumāra; the latest is the one that Jigmé Lingpa chose (i.e., that of Vimalamitra, Nyak, and Ma Rinchen Chok). There exist two other translations done without the assistance of an Indian paṇḍit: one by Tharpa Lotsāwa (Nyima Gyeltsen) and one by Gö Lotsāwa. The version in twenty-three chapters and another one in twenty-four chapters, both based on original Indian texts (*rgya dpe*), were translated by Tharpa Lotsāwa. The version produced by Gö Lotsāwa is also said to have been based on an Indian original text.
194. **dPal gsang ba snying po'i rgyud phyi mtha'**: 5 chapters, trans-

²⁹ Presented in some editions as having been translated by the ācārya rDo rje gro lod rtsal and the lotsāwa Zhang drung.

³⁰ This *sKu gdung 'bar ba* Tantra should not be confounded with no. 107 which belongs to the corpus of the *Seventeen Tantras* (*rGyud bcu bdun*).

- lated by Jñānagarbha and Vairocana.
195. **sGyu 'phrul brgyad cu pa:** 80 chapters, version starting with *dpal rdo rje sems dpa' la phyag 'tshal lo/* and translated by Vimalamitra and Khenpo Yéshé Zhönu.
 196. **gSang ba snying po de kho na nyid nges pa:** 46 chapters.
 197. **[No title]:** version in 33 chapters, starting with *de bzhin gshegs pa dgyes pa chen pos...*, and ending with *dam tshig tu ston pa'i rgyud rdzogs so*. Jigmé Lingpa indicates that the number of chapters of this Tantra should be checked as they do not seem to be in order.
 198. **gSang ba'i snying po de kho na nyid nges pa zhes bya ba'i sgyu 'phrul brgyad pa:** 8 chapters.
 199. **sGyu 'phrul bla ma:** 13 chapters.
 200. **Lha mo sgyu 'phrul drwa ba:** 12 chapters.
 201. **'Jam pa'i (= dpal) sgyu 'phrul drwa ba:** 14 chapters, version du *mTshan brjod* de Mañjuśrī (i.e., the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*) according to the tradition of the ancient translations (*snga 'gyur*).

Volume Pa [13]

202. **sGyu 'phrul drwa ba me long rtsa ba'i rgyud ces bya ba:** no chapter divisions, ending with *bshad pa rtog pa'i rgyal po rdzogs so/*.
203. **sGyu 'phrul me long:** 13 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Jñānakumāra.
204. **sGyu 'phrul drwa ba ye shes snying po'i rgyud:** 13 chapters.
205. **sGyu 'phrul thal pa'i rgyud:** 26 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Jñānakumāra.
206. **sGyu 'phrul rgya mtsho:** 22 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Jñānakumāra.
207. **rDo rje gsang ba'i snying po rtsa ba'i rgyud de kho na nyid nges pa:** 33 chapters, the other title of the Tantra being *rGyud kyi rgyal po sgyu 'phrul drwa ba zhes bya ba*.
208. **sGyu 'phrul rol pa chen po:** 13 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Jñānakumāra.
209. **rGyud kyi rgyal po sgyu 'phrul drwa ba theg pa chen po'i yang chen po'i tshul zhes bya ba:** 10 chapters.
210. **gSang ba'i snying po de kho na nyid nges pa khro bo chen po'i stobs:** 1 *dum*.
211. **Khro bo chen po'i stobs kyi rnal 'byor dbang phyug sgrub pa zhes:** translated by Vimalamitra and Vairocana.
212. **sGyu 'phrul drwa ba snying po bkod pa:** 8 chapters.

Volume Pha [14]

213. **Sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor ram sGyu ma bde mchog**: 10 chapters, translated by the Indian Abbot Vajrahāśya and Ma Rinchen Chok; it is said that there is also a translation of this Tantra in 22 *rtog pa* (standing here for “chapters”) but it has been actually compiled in this version in 10 *rtog pa*. We should note that in the edition prepared by Gésé Rinpoché, the text has eleven chapters (no. 218).
214. **[Sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor] rgyud phyi ma**: 7 chapters (*rtog pa*);
215. **[Sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor] phyi ma'i phyi ma**: this version corresponds to the abridged Tantra (*bsdus pa'i rgyud*).
216. **rDo rje gdan bzhi'i rgyud**.
217. **rGyud kyi rgyal po sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor sdus pa'i rgyud dam pa**: 10 chapters, translated by Guhya Sangwa and Drokmi Pelgyi Yéshé.
218. **Sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor mkha' 'gro ma sgyu ma bde mchog gi rgyud phyi ma'i yang phyi ma**: 22 chapters plus a 23rd chapter included after the end of the text (*rdzogs mtha'*) and entitled *dnagos bstan*. Here, Jigmé Lingpa indicates that the first seventeen chapters are missing and that the text actually begins with chapter 18. He invites his reader to check the issue on a complete original Indian version.
219. **Zla gsang thig le zhes bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po mchog tu gsang ba**: translated by Padmasambhava and Peltsek. The text was then translated according to the lexicon of the new language (*skad gsar*) by the Kashmiri paṇḍit Tédza Déva and the Tibetan translator Phakpa Shérab.
220. **dPal gsang ba 'dus pa**: 17 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Peltsek; it was then translated again by Śraddhākaravarman and Rinchen Zangpo.
221. **[dPal gsang ba 'dus pa] rgyud phyi ma**: 1 chapter (chapter 18), translated by Déjé Gocha and Rinchen Zangpo; it was later on translated by Gö Lotsāwa Zhönu Pel from an original Indian version.
222. **rGyud kyi rgyal po chen po las kyi phreng ba'am / Karma mā le**: 9 chapters, translated by Dharmasīrī Prabha, Vimalamitra and other paṇḍits with the translator Ratna Adrak.
223. **Ye shes rngam pa glog gi 'khor lo**: 17 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Chokro Lū Gyeltsen; it seems that there is also another version translated by Viśvāmitra and Pe-ro (possibly for Bee ro, i.e., Vairocana).

Volume Ba [15]

- 224. **rTa mchog rol pa**: 32 chapters.
- 225. **dPal snying rje rol pa'i rgyud dam He ru ka rol pa**: 10 chapters, translated by Vidyākara Siddha, Viśvāmitra and Khujin Tsünpa; later, a version was adapted to the changes of the new language (*skad gsar*) by the Nepalese master Śrī Ghirti in the Jamtrin Temple in Mangyül. Jigmé Lingpa also indicates that there exist numerous other versions of the text.
- 226. **bDud rtsi rol pa rim par phye ba rgyas pa**: translated by Vimalamitra and Nyak Jñānakumāra.
- 227. **Phur pa bcu gnyis kyi rgyud ces bya ba'i mdo**: 24 chapters.
- 228. **Glang po rab 'bog gi rgyud**: 28 chapters, translated by Viśvāmitra and Jing Selbar ; there are three Tantras with this title, the present version corresponding to the explanatory Tantra (*bshad rgyud*).
- 229. **'Phags pa thabs kyi zhags pa padmo phreng ba'i don bsdus pa zhes pa'i rgyud**: 42 chapters.
- 230. **Dri med bshags rgyud**: 16 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Nyak Jñānakumāra.
- 231. **gZi ldan 'bar ba mtshams kyi rgyud**: no chapter divisions, ending with: *khro bo bcu'i smon lam...*

Volume Ma [16]

- 232. **dPal zla gsang nag po'i rgyud**: 75 chapters; it is described as a "great root-Tantra" (*rtsa ba'i rgyud chen po*), which has been translated and corrected three times by the three great lotsāwas (Ma Rinchen Chok, Chokro Lü Gyeltsen, and Kawa Peltsek).
- 233. **Zla gsang nag po'i rtsa rgyud**: 74 chapters, version ending with the words *ngan sngags kyi rgyud ces bya ba rdzogs so* ; this work was hidden by Mañjuśrīmitra in a pillar of the Tsangpa Lunö Temple where Jñānagarbha found it before transmitting it to Namkhai Nyingpo.
- 234. **Zla gsang nag po'i rgyud**: 58 chapters, translated by the ācārya Vasudhara and Nubchen Sangyé Yéshé.
- 235. **Zla gsang drag sngags nag po bshan pa spu gri'i rgyud**: 97 chapters, translated by the Nepalese Vasudhara and Nubchen Sangyé Yéshé.
- 236. **Drag sngags zla gsang nag po'i rgyud**: 25 chapters, the text contains Nubchen's precepts (*gnubs chen gyi man ngag*).
- 237. **'Jam dpal dmar po'i sngags rgyud kyi rgyal po**: 10 chapters,

translated by Śāntigarbha and Nubchen Sangyé Yéshé.

- 238. **gNod sbyin ma ru rtse ro langgs gsang ba'i rgyud**: 8 chapters; this *Tantra*, also known as the *Drag po'i sngags rgod padma dbang rgyal gyi bka' zhes pa*, contains Nubchen's precepts.
- 239. **'Jam dpal ma ru rtse'i sngags rgyud bstan pa**: 17 chapters.
- 240. **Dregs pa pho mo 'dus pa'i las rgyud**: 17 chapters, entrusted (*gtad pa*) to Dorjé Terzhé Tsel.³¹

Volume Tsa [17]

- 241. **'Phags pa 'jam dpal gyi dri ma med pa'i gsang rgyud**: 26 chapters.
- 242. **'Jam dpal gshin rje'i gshed nag po chen po gsang ba'i rgyud**: 33 chapters, translated by the ācārya Mahānavikūṭapata.
- 243. **Khro bo rnam par rgyal ba'i rgyud phyi ma yang phyi ma zhes bya ba**: 22 chapters.
- 244. **dPal tshe bdag nag po'i phrin las kyi dgongs pa thams cad rdzogs pa'i rgyud chen po**: 30 chapters, said to have been transmitted in the land of the gods (*lha yul du grags pa zhes zer*).
- 245. **'Jam dpal gshin rje sdig pa snying 'dzings**: 14 chapters, translated by the Nepalese Vasudhara and Nubchen Sangyé Yéshé.
- 246. **gShin rje gshed kyi gsang rgyud**: 8 chapter, belonging to the tradition of Nub Péma Wangyel.
- 247. **'Jam dpal gshin rje'i rgyal po sdig pa stobs chen gyi rgyud**: 21 chapters, translated by the Nepalese Vasudhara and Dorjé Tritsuk.
- 248. **'Phags pa 'jam dpal las bzhi 'khor lo gsang ba'i rgyud**: 13 chapters to which is added a supplementary section numbered chapter 14.
- 249. **gShin rje nag po gsang ba de kho na nyid kyi rgyud kha thun**: 8 chapters, transmitted to King Dza (Indrabhūti), before eventually reaching Nubchen.
- 250. **gShin rje nag po kha thun gsang ba'i de kho na nyid phyi ma'i rgyud ces bya ba**: 5 chapters, translated by Vasudhara and Nubchen.
- 251. **Tshe bdag nag po drag sngags mngon du phyung ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po**: 21 chapters.
- 252. **'Jam dpal khro bo snying gzer gsang ba'i rgyud**: 5 chapters (*skabs*), translated by Nubchen.
- 253. **Drag po phung byed kyi rgyud**: 21 chapters.
- 254. **sNgags kyi de kho na nyid bshad pa**: 8 chapters.

³¹ Wrongly spelt rDo rje gter *gzhan* rtsal.

- 255. **Ngan sngags gtsug gi rgyud phyi ma'i phyi ma:** no chapter divisions.
- 256. **'Jig rten gsum gyi bshad pa dregs rgyud:** 8 chapters.
- 257. **De bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi dgongs pa khro bo 'dus pa'i rgyud:** 9 chapters, translated by Vasudhara and Dorjé Yangwang Ter.
- 258. **gShin rje nag po chu thigs sngon mo'i rgyud:** 18 chapters.
- 259. **gShin rje nag po ngan sngags phyir bzlog pa'i rgyud:** 7 chapters; this is the *rgyud phyi ma* of the preceding Tantra (*chu thigs sngon mo'i rgyud phyi ma*), translated by Nubchen.
- 260. **'Phags pa 'jam dpal mched bzhi'i sngags rgyud:** 9 chapters, described as the root-Tantra (*rtsa ba'i rgyud*) to which no. 262 is associated.
- 261. **'Jam dpal ma ru rtse'i rgyud phyi ma:** 7 chapters.
- 262. **dPal gshin rje nag po'i me rlung skyin thang 'khrugs pa'i rgyud:** 53 chapters.

Volume Tsha [18]

- 263. **rTa mchog rol pa'i rgyud:** 208 chapters, translated by Rakṣisiddhi and Che Kuku Rādza.
- 264. **dBang rgyas rta mchog rol pa:** 60 chapters.
- 265. **Padma dbang chen dregs pa srung bzlog yon tan gyi rgyud:** 9 chapters, translated by Padmasambhava and Khaché Anandha (Ananta).
- 266. **Padma dbang chen dregs pa dbang sdud kyi rgyud:** 13 chapters, translated by Padmasambhava and Khaché Anandha.
- 267. **Padma dbang chen 'dus pa'i rgyud chen po:** 35 chapters, translated by Rakṣisiddhi and Kuku Rādza, subsequently verified by Nubchen Sangyé Yéshé.
- 268. **dBang chen 'dus pa'i tantra:** 11 chapters to which is added a chapter dealing with ritual dance, counted as the 12th chapter. Then comes a 13th chapter followed by an entire series of complementary sections making up a total of 62 chapters. The text most certainly corresponds to no. 305 of Gétsé Rinpoché's list which has 64 chapters.
- 269. **Padma dbang chen dregs pa gzan la 'bebs pa'i rgyud:** 12 chapters, translated by Padmasambhava and Khaché Anandha.
- 270. **Padma dbang chen dregs pa gnad 'bebs kyi rgyud:** 11 chapters, translated by Padmasambhava and Khaché Anandha.

Volume Dza [19]

271. **De bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi dgongs pa lung bstan pa dbang chen 'dus pa'i rgyud:** 24 chapters, translated by Padmasambhava, Ba Sangshi, Ngenlam Gyelwa Chokyang and Chokro Lü Gyeltsen.
272. **rNgog ma le brgan gyi rgyud:** 17 chapters, translated by Péma Zhab, Khaché Anandha and Vairocana.
273. **rTa mgrin las rgyud:** 11 chapters, translated by Padmasambhava and Gyelwa Chokyang.
274. **rTa mgrin gsang rgyud:** 25 chapters.
275. **Padma dbang chen dregs pa tshar gcod kyi rgyud:** 29 chapters, translated by Padmasambhava.
276. **Padma dbang chen yang gsang khros pa'i rgyud:** 13 chapters, entrusted by Vairocana to king Trisong Détsen.
277. **dPal rta mgrin gsang ba phrin las kyi rgyud ces bya ba:** 22 chapters, transmitted by the second Buddha of Oḍḍiyāna (Padmasambhava) to Trisong Détsen and Gyelwa Chokyang.
278. **Phyir mi bzlog pa sdom can rta mgrin gyi rgyud:** 6 chapters.
279. **Padma dbang chen gyi rgyud.**
280. **Klu 'dul ba'i rgyud:** 37 chapters.
281. **rDo rje sems dpa'i yi ge brgya pa dbang mchog rgyal po'i rgyud:** 28 chapters, translated by Padmasambhava and Namkhai Nyingpo.
282. **rDo rje sems dpa'i yi ge brgya pa'i rgyud:** 27 chapters, summarized and entrusted by Vajrapāṇi to Padmasambhava who then translated it with Namkhai Nyingpo.
283. **rDo rje sems dpa' yi ge brgya pa dbang bskur rgyal po'i rgyud:** 21 chapters.³²
284. **He ru ka gal po:** 23 chapters (designated as *brtag pa*, segments), transmitted by Padmasambhava to Vasudhara and by the latter to Nubchen Sangyé Yéshé.
285. **He ru ka'i thugs kyi rgyud gal po:** 9 chapters, translated by Padmasambhava and Namkhai Nyingpo.
286. **dPal he ru ka gal po:** 16 chapters.
287. **Khro bo puṇḍarika'i rgyud:** 22 chapters, summarized by Vajrasattva and developed by Padmasambhava.

³² These three Tantras (281, 282 et 283) do not seem to be in the correct place. They are actually works belonging to the corpus of the Black Quintessence (*yang ti nag po*), as can be seen in dGe rtse Rin po ché's version of the NGB (nos. 14, 15, and 16).

Volume Wa [20]

288. **dPal khrag 'thung he ru ka 'dus pa'i rgyud chen po:** 32 chapters, also known as *He ru ka gal po dur khrod mngon par 'byung ba'i rgyud*, translated by Padmasambhava and Vairocana.
289. **'Jig rten las 'das pa'i mdo zhes bya ba'i rgyud:** 11 chapters, translated by Padmasambhava and Namkhai Nyingpo.
290. **De bzhin rigs kyi sgrub thabs gsang ba me dpung thugs kyi rgyud:** 22 chapters.
291. **bDud rtsi rin po che ye shes gsang ba'i 'khor lo'i rgyud:** 22 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Zhang Jñāna, subsequently amended by Kawa Peltsek.
292. **bDud rtsi rin po che 'khrungs pa'i rgyan:** 27 chapters, taught in Akaniṣṭha, translated by Vimalamitra and Nyak Jñānakumāra.
293. **bDud rtsi bam brgyad:** in 8 parts or *bam po*.
294. **Thams cad bdud rtsi'i rang bzhin bdud rtsi bum pa dum bu gsum pa'i rgyud bu chung:** in 3 fragments (*dum bu*).
295. **bDud rtsi 'khor lo 'bar ba'i rgyud:** 7 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Nyak Jñānakumāra.
296. **bDud rtsi rin po che phreng ba'i rgyud:** 7 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Nyak Jñānakumāra.
297. **bDud rtsi bde ba chen po'i rgyud:** 10 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Nyak Jñānakumāra.
298. **dNgos grub chen po nye ba'i snying po'i rgyud:** 15 chapters, transmitted by Vimalamitra.
299. **bDud rtsi las rgya mtsho'i rgyud:** 20 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Nyak Jñānakumāra.
300. **bDud rtsi chen po chos nyid gsang ba'i rgyud:** 6 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Nyak Jñānakumāra.
301. **bDud rtsi 'khyil ba 'chi med tshe rgyud:** 14 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Jingchim Selbar.
302. **bDud rtsi ye shes 'od ldan gyi rgyud:** 59 chapters, treasure (*gter ma*) revealed by Ngadak Nyang-rel.

Volume Zha [21]

303. **Phur ba rtsa rgyud rdo rje khros pa:** 17 chapters, translated by Padmasambhava and Ngamdré Salé in the sanctuary of Chimphu Gégong.
304. **Phur pa rtsa dum:** translated by Padmasambhava, Che Kuku Rādza and Drangti Jayarakṣita; subsequently another version was compiled by Lama Khyungpo Trobar from the treasures

- (*gter ma*) revealed in the Samyé temple and consisting in the copy made for the king (*rgyal po'i bla dpe*), and in treasures previously revealed by Mutik Bama (Mu tig ba ma, ?).
305. **rDo rje khros pa phur pa rtsa ba'i rgyud kyi bshad pa:** 13 chapters, translated at the base of the stūpa located in the Bhaṣika charnel ground in Kashmir, by Jétsün Dorjé Semma³³ and Gar Shérab Jung-né; the translation was then amended and fixed by Dorjé Semma and Dromtön Gyelwa.
306. **rDo rje phur pa gsang ba'i rtsa ba rnal 'byor chen po yang dag gi rgyud:** 20 chapters, translated by Padmasambhava and Drangti Jayarakṣita.
307. **De bzhin gshegs pa chen po rdo rje phur pa'i rgyud dam bshad pa'i rgyud:** 44 chapters.
308. **Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud dam/ Karma ku ru'i rgyud:** 15 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Nyak Jñānakumāra, before being amended by Ma Rinchen Chok with the new language (*skad gsar*).
309. **Phur pa las kyi rgyud dam Phrin las kyi rgyud:** 14 chapters, brought to Tibet by Padmasambhava from the land of the Dākinīs in Oḍḍiyāna and translated by Rongzom Zhönu Lodrö.
310. **rDo rje phur pa chen po gtor ma'i rgyud:** 100 chapters.
311. **Phur bu za byed yaksha 'bar ba'i rgyud:** 11 chapters.
312. **rDo rje phur bu chos thams cad mya ngan las 'das pa'i rgyud:** 28 chapters, translated by the ācārya Bhāṣita.
313. **sKu dang ye shes thams cad 'dus pa sangs rgyas mdud pa'i rgyud:** 15 chapters, translated by Jñānagarbha and Vairocana.
314. **rGyud kyi rgyal po khro bo hūṃ kā ra'i rgyud:** 5 chapters.
315. **Khro bo rnam rgyal rgyud:** 7 chapters.
316. **dByug sngon rgyud:** 5 chapters.
317. **gShin rje gshen rgyud:** 4 chapters.
318. **Mi g.yo ba'i rgyud:** 5 chapters.
319. **Khro bo rta mgrin rgyud:** 6 chapters.
320. **Khro bo gzhan gyis mi thub rgyud:** 5 chapters.
321. **bDud rtsi 'khyil ba'i rgyud:** 6 chapters.
322. **Khams gsum rnam rgyal gyi rgyud:** 7 chapters.
323. **sTobs po che'i rgyud:** 5 chapters.
324. **dPal rdo rje phur pa me long gsal ba'i spu gri reg gcod 'khor lo'i rgyud:** 7 chapters.
325. **rGyud kyi rgyal po dpal 'jig rten snang byed ces bya ba:** 27 chapters, translated by Jñānagarbha and Vairocana, before being checked by the translators Ka (i.e., Kawa Peltsek), Chok

³³ In the colophon, she is styled as “having obtained siddhis” (*dnegos grub brnyes pa*). See Almogi, “Tantric Scriptures”, p. 13.

(Chokro Lü Gyeltsen), and Zhang (Zhang drung).

326. **rGyud kyi rgyal po rdo rje phreng ba zhes bya ba**: 16 chapters, translated by Jñānagarbha and Vairocana, before it was eventually amended with the new language (*skad gsar*).

Volume Za [22]

327. **Phur pa rdo rje bkod pa rnal 'byor chen po'i rgyud**: 15 chapters, translated by the Indian Abbot Śrī; a newer translation based on this version was produced by Péma Thötreng Tsel and Pelgyi Yéshé.
328. **Sangs rgyas thams cad kyi ye shes rtse mo'i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po**: 52 chapters.
329. **rDo rje phur pa chos thams cad kyi gsang ba'i don gyi rgyud**: 5 chapters.
330. **sBas pa zab mo mdung rtse'i rgyud**: 9 chapters, translated by Jñānagarbha and Vairocana.
331. **bSe sgrom dmar po'i rgyud**: 4 chapters, said to have been transmitted by Padmasambhava to Trisong Dêtsen's sons and daughters.
332. **Shwa na dkar nag gi rgyud**: 4 chapters.
333. **rDo rje phur pa phrin las kyi 'khor lo gab pa gsang ba'i rgyud**: 12 chapters, translated by Guru Padma (Padmasambhava) and Nyak Jñānakumāra.
334. **rDo rje 'bar ba gsang ba'i rgyud chung**: translated by Jñānakumāra and Vairocana.
335. **rDo rje 'bar ba'i rgyud**: 17 chapters in four *bam pos*, translated by Jñānakumāra and Vairocana before being amended with the new language (*skad gsar*).
336. **Phur pa gsang ba'i dgongs rgyud chen po**: 82 chapters, translated by Péma Thötreng, Che Kuku Rādza, and Drangti Jayarakṣita.
337. **rDo rje phur pa zhe sdang yongs su dag pa'i rgyud**: 22 chapters, extracted from the *Cycle of the Phurbu Collection* (*Phur bu 'bum sde*) by the Indian ācārya Nakpo Zhab (Kṛṣṇa pāda) born in Kāmarupa, and translated by Śrī Bha la kun tra dhana de ba, before being checked and fixed in Ömai Tsel in Central Tibet (Ü).
338. **rDo rje phur pa gsang ba gdams ngag can gyi rgyud**: 18 chapters.
339. **Phur pa bcu gnyis 'byung ba'i rgyud chung du bstan pa**: 12 chapters, translated by Vimalamitra and Nyak Jñānakumāra.
340. **rDo rje phur pa bcu gnyis kyi rgyud**: 12 chapters.

341. **rDo rje phur pa gsang ba'i rgyud**: 44 chapters, translated by Che Kuku Rādza and Drangti Jayarakṣita.
342. **rDo rje phur ba gsang ba'i sngags rgyud 'byung po kun 'dul**: 16 chapters, extracted by Padmasambhava from a volume entitled *Ta ma la 'bum sde'i tan tra* and translated in the Dūdül Sangngak Ling Temple by Che Kuku Rādza and Drangti Jayarakṣita, before being handed over to the Lady of Kharchen, Yéshé Tsogyel (probably for hiding it as treasure).
343. **rDo rje phur pa mdung rtse dmar po'i rgyud**: 19 chapters.

Volume 'A [23]

344. **Yum gzungs ma'i dngos grub chen mo'i rgyud**: 53 chapters.
345. **Ma mo srid pa'i rgyud lung gi rgyud phyi ma**.
346. **Ma mo srid pa zla gsang thig le'i rgyud**: 12 chapters, translated by Guhya Sangwa and Drokmi Pelgyi Yéshé.
347. **Ma mo lam rgyud lung**: 14 chapters, translated by Guhya Sangwa and Drokmi Pelgyi Yéshé.
348. **Ma mo thams cad kyi las rgyud lung zhes bya ba**: 16 chapters.
349. **Srid pa mtsho bzhi'i rgyud**: 22 chapters.
350. **[No title, starting with]** *bcom ldan 'das dpal kun tu bzang mo la phyag 'tshal lo...*, in 8 chapters.
351. **Ma mo 'dus pa'i tantra**.
352. **[No title, starting with]** *dPal khrag 'thung gi rgyal po dang/ yum rigs pa'i rgyal mo la phyag 'tshal lo*, in 9 chapters; its final title is: *Srid pa rgyud lung gi rgyud phyi ma kha 'bar nag po las rgya mtsho'i rgyud ces bya ba*.
353. **Las kyi mkha' 'gro ma de kho na nyid gsum du 'dus pa zhes bya ba'i rgyud**: containing the introduction chapter (*gleng gzhi'i le'u*) and ending with *las kyi mkha' 'gro ma'i rgyud chen rdzogs so*, translated by Śāntigarbha and Ché Tashi.
354. **Ma mo 'bum tig gi rgyud**: 48 chapters; ending with the line *rtsa ba'i rgyud rdzogs so*.
355. **Ma mo byang chub kyi sems gsang ba'i rgyud**: 142 chapters, starting with *bcom ldan 'das rdo rje he ru ka'i rgyal po la phyag 'tshal lo*.
356. **[No title, starting with]** *sNgon 'das pa'i dus ma byung ba'i sngon rol na*: 32 chapters, translated by Nub Namkhai Nyingpo.
357. **[No title, starting with]** *bcom ldan 'das dpal kun tu bzang po la phyag 'tshal lo*: 12 chapters, ending with *byang skor gyi rgyud phyi ma rdzogs so/*.
358. **Lha mo nag mo'i sngags rgyud**: 11 chapters.
359. **Lha mo nag mo'i sngags rgyud phyi ma**: starting with *de nas*

- byang chub sems dpa' phyag na rdo rje dang...* ; in 12 chapters.
360. **dByings gsang ba'i 'khor lo'i rgyud**: 9 chapters.
361. **Phra men spyang ki las kyi rgyal mo'i rgyud**: 24 chapters, ending with *phra men spyang rgyal gyi rgyud rdzogs*.
362. **sNying thig bskor ba'i rgyud 'ug pa'i gdong can zhes bya ba**: 20 chapters.
363. **mKha' 'gro me lce 'bar ma'i rgyud**: 22 chapters, translated by Chokro Lü Gyeltsen.

Volume Ya [24]

364. **dPal sngags kyi srung ma e ka dza tī'i rgyud**: 96 chapters, translated by Dhanasamskrita and Drokmi Pelgyi Yéshé.
365. **E ka dza tī sbas pa nag mo'i rgyud**: 5 chapters.
366. **E ka dza tī za byed sbyang rgyal nag mo'i rgyud**: 32 chapters, transmitted by Devacandra to Vairocana.
367. **'Phags pa he sdud 'bar ma'i rgyud**: 11 chapters.
368. **dPal lha mo nag mo'i thugs kyi srog sgrub gsang ba'i rgyud**: 18 chapters.
369. **bDud bya rog mgo brtsegs gsang ba sgrol byed kyi rgyal po ki kang rog tī'i rgyud**: 15 chapters.
370. **'Phags pa lha mo rdo rje nag mo dbang phyug ces bya ba sngags kyi rgyud kyi rgyal po**: 15 chapters.
371. **[No title, starting with] de nas byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po lag na rdo rjes mngon rdzogs rgyal po la 'di skad ces**; it corresponds to the *rDo rje nag mo dbang phyug ma phyi ma'i rgyud*, in 12 chapters.
372. **Nag mo sngags kyi rgyud phyi ma'i phyi ma**: 7 chapters, this work and possibly others in this volume are said to come from Vajrāsana.
373. **Lha 'dre stong gi drwa ba'i rgyud**: 53 chapters.
374. **Srid pa'i bem dngos bstan**: 40 chapters.
375. **rJes 'brel skabs**: in 20 sections.

Volume Ra [25]

376. **dPal mgon po nag po dur khrod mngon par rol pa mtshon cha 'khor lo'i rgyud**: 36 chapters, translated by the brahman Selwa Gyen and Vasudhara.
377. **dPal mgon nag po chen po sku gsung thugs khros pa'i rgyud**: 18 chapters.
378. **dPal mgon nag po gsang ba snying gi 'khor lo**: 15 chapters

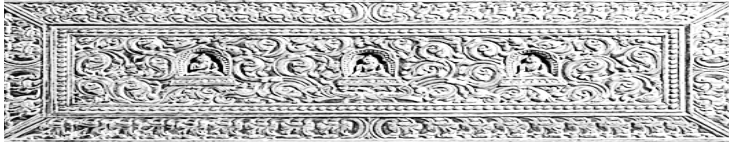
- (designated as *rtog pa*), translated by Nubchen Sangyé Yéshé.
379. **dPal nag po chen po me lce phreng ba'i rgyud**: 45 chapters, translated by Dhanasaṃskṛita and Pagor Vairocana.
380. **dPal nag po chen po'i rgyud dur khrod nag po zhes bya ba**: 12 chapters.
381. **Man ngag brtsegs pa gri gug gi rgyud dam pa ma hā kā la'i rgyud**: 21 chapters, transmitted by Jetsün Śāntibhadra to the monk Tsültrim Gyelwa who did the translation.³⁴
382. **dPal nag po chen po drag po'i brtag pa dur khrod chen po'i rgyud**: 10 chapters, translated and codified by Nanam Lama (Dorjé Dūdjom).
383. **Nag po chen po las mgon bya rog dgong gi rgyud**: 15 chapters.
384. **Nag po chen po gzugs can gcer bu'i rgyud**: 12 chapters.
385. **rNal 'byor dbang phyug chen mo ral gcig ma'i rgyud**: 14 chapters.
386. **Ral gcig ma chos kyī bdag mo spu gri ya ma'i rgyud**: 25 chapters, translated by Dānaśīla and Yangwang Ter.

* Volume A [26]

De bzhin gshegs pas legs par gsung pa'i gsung rab rgya mtsho'i snying por gyur pa rig pa 'dzin pa'i sde snod dam/ snga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rin po che'i rtogs pa brjod pa 'dzam gling tha grub khyab pa'i rgyan ces bya ba — Theoretically, this version should include the catalog section (*dkar chag*) of Jigmé Lingpa as the twenty-sixth volume [probably numbered A]. In the xylographic edition of the *Collected Works* (*gsung 'bum*) of Jigmé Lingpa published in Adzom Chögar, this catalog is included in volume Pa [13]. It can also be found in volume 33 of the Thimphu NGB, as well as in volume 3 of *The Collected Works of Kun-mkhyen 'Jigs-med-gling-pa* in the Gangtok edition (1972), which reproduces the Dergué xylograph.



³⁴ These two masters are 11th century figures, generally associated with the Later Diffusion (*Phyi dar*) and the translation of texts pertaining to the gSar ma tradition.



Paṇḍits and Lotsāwas collaborations

The tacit rule that applied during the course of the gigantic translating work that took place under the reign of Trisong Détsen and his sons was that a Tibetan translator would undertake his work with the assistance of an Indian paṇḍit. This arrangement implied that:

- either the paṇḍit knew Tibetan, in order to offer clarifications on difficult points (*dka' gnad*), both doctrinal and grammatical; or
- the lotsāwa knew the Indian dialect spoken by the Indian master, so that he could ask questions and understand the answers;
- in rarer cases the paṇḍit was fluent in Tibetan and the lotsāwa had the same linguistics facilities in the language of the Indian master.

There have therefore been famous collaborations that can be easily traced back using the data provided by Jigmé Lingpa in his catalogue. The following individuals can be highlighted as having worked in collaboration:

1. Śrī Siṃha and Vairocana
2. Śrī Siṃha and Dorjé Yangwang Ter
*
3. Vimalamitra and Yudra Nyingpo
4. Vimalamitra and Kawa Peltsek
5. Vimalamitra and Nyak Jñānakumāra
6. Vimalamitra, Kawa Peltsek, and Chokro Lū Gyeltsen
7. Vimalamitra and Chokro Lū Gyeltsen
8. Vimalamitra and Drenpa Yéshé
9. Vimalamitra, Nyak Jñānakumāra and Ma Rinchen Chok
10. Vimalamitra and Khenpo Yéshé Zhönu
11. Vimalamitra and Vairocana
12. Vimalamitra and Zhang Jñāna
13. Vimalamitra and Jingchim Selbar

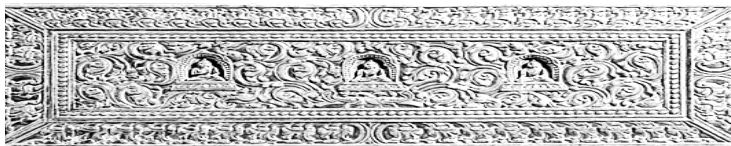
14. Padmasambhava and Kawa Peltsek
15. Padmasambhava and Vairocana
16. Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra, and Namkhai Nyingpo
17. Padmasambhava and Khaché Anandha (Ananta)
18. Padmasambhava, Ba Sangshi, Ngenlam Gyelwa Chokyang
and Chokro Lü Gyeltsen
19. Péma Zhab, Khaché Anandha and Vairocana
20. Padmasambhava and Gyelwa Chokyang
21. Padmasambhava and Namkhai Nyingpo
22. Padmasambhava and Ngamdré Salé
23. Padmasambhava, Che Kuku Rādza and Drangti Jayarakṣita
24. Padmasambhava and Drangti Jayarakṣita
25. Padmasambhava and Rongzom Zhönu Lodrö
26. Péma Thötreng Tsel and Pelgyi Yéshé
27. Padmasambhava and Nyak Jñānakumāra
*
28. Vasudhara and Nubchen Sangyé Yéshé
29. Vasudhara and Dorjé Tritsuk
30. Vasudhara and Selwa Gyen
*
31. Jñānagarbha and Vairocana
32. Jñānagarbha and Namkhai Nyingpo
*
33. Rakṣisiddhi and Che Kuku Rādza
34. Rakṣisiddhi and Kuku Rādza, and Nubchen Sangyé Yéshé
*
35. Viśvāmitra and Pe-ro (Bee ro, Vairocana)
36. Viśvāmitra and Jing Selbar
*
37. Jétsün Dorjé Semma and Gar Shérab Jung-né
38. Dorjé Semma and Dromtön Gyelwa
*
39. Śraddhākaravarman and Rinchen Zangpo
40. Déjé Gocha (Śraddhākaravarman) and Rinchen Zangpo
*
41. Śāntigarbha and Nubchen Sangyé Yéshé
42. Śāntigarbha and Ché Tashi
*
43. Dhanasaṃskṛita and Pagor Vairocana
44. Dhanasaṃskṛita and Drokmi Pelgyi Yéshé
*
45. Śrīlendramitra and Jing Selbar
46. Śrī Ratnavajra and Heruka

47. Dharmabodhi, Dhānarakṣita and Ché Tsenkyé
48. Prasatva and Péma Rutsé.
49. Dorjé Drolö and Zhangdrung
50. Buddhaguhya and Vairocana
51. Vajrahāsyā and Ma Rinchen Chok
52. Guhya Sangwa and Drokmi Pelgyi Yéshé
53. Tédza Déva and Phakpa Shérab
54. Dharmasrī Prabha, Vimalamitra and Ratna Adrak
55. Vidyākara Siddha, Viśvāmitra and Khujin Tsünpa
56. Jñānakumāra and Vairocana
57. Nakpo Zhab and Śrī Bha la kun tra dhana de ba
58. Che Kuku Rādza and Drangti Jayarakṣita
59. Jetsün Śāntibhadra and Tsültrim Gyelwa
60. Dānaśīla and Yangwang Ter

As is evidenced by the list above Vimalamitra and Padmasambhava are the Indian masters who were involved with the largest number of collaborators. Among the translators, Vairocana appears to have been the one working with the highest number of Indian paṇḍits.

These collaborations do not rule out the fact that some lotsāwas worked alone, as for instance Drenpai Yéshé who translated *The Profound Perfection of Wisdom, of the View of the Great Perfection* (*rDzogs pa chen po lta ba ye shes gting rdzogs*, no. 48) from a manuscript that he had brought to Tibet.





**Tantras retranslated
according to the new language (*skad gsar*)**

According to traditional narratives about the “language of translation”, there have been three instances leading to establishing an easily readable language compared to the first initial translations that were produced from Indic language (essentially sanskrit).³⁵ The idea was to remove archaic forms and expressions that were difficult to read and write (*‘bri klog mi bde ba*). This older terminology (*brda’ rnying*) was amended and the lexicon was changed, although this appears to be actually limited to special formulations (f.i., *gzhung* for *grangs* or *rnam grangs*)³⁶ not to the entire lexicon used for translating Buddhist works. There was a first, initial edict promulgated during the reign of Trisong Détsen, followed by another one under Tri Relpachen. The modifications were made by Kawa Peltsek, Chokro Lü Gyeltsen, and Zhang Yéshé Dé who were apparently involved in the lexical changes on both occasion. The third instance happened at the time of Lha Lama Yéshé Ö with the changes operated by the great Lotsāwa Rinchen Zangpo (958–1055).³⁷

In Jigmé Lingpa’s catalogue, only six works belonging to the *Collection of Ancient Tantras* are explicitly styled as having been corrected using the new language (*skad gsar*). To my knowledge, and except for the first one which pertains to the tradition of Anuyoga, the others are all texts included in the Mahāyoga section. They are:

- *The Tantra of the Suite of the Great Tantra of the Celestial Assembly of the Yogis* (*rNal ‘byor nam mkha’i tshogs rgyud chen mo phyi ma’i rgyud*, no. 175) which is presented as having been corrected by Nub (i.e., Nubchen Sangyé Yéshé) but there is no mention of the original translators. It is a “suite” (*phyi ma*, ut-

³⁵ See in particular the fascinating paper by Cr. Scherrer-Schaub, “Enacting Words”, *passim*.

³⁶ As noted by Stein, “Tibetica Antiqua I”, p. 150 n. 1. Stein’s paper mainly focuses on translations from Chinese into Tibetan showing archaisms that have not been addressed in the newer lexicon but his analysis remains certainly the best on the topic.

³⁷ On Rin chen bzang po, see Tucci, *Rin-chen-bzan-po and the Renaissance of Buddhism in Tibet Around the Millenium*.

tara) of the *rNal 'byor nam mkha'i tshogs rgyud chen mo* (no. 174) also known as the *rNal 'byor nang gi tshogs rgyud chen po* but this root-text has no colophon in the versions available to me.³⁸

- *The Supremely Secret King of the Tantras known as the Thiglé of the Secret Moon* (*Zla gsang thig le zhes bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po mchog tu gsang ba*). As indicated in its colophon, the text was originally translated by Padmasambhava and Kawa Peltsek. It was subsequently re-translated based on the production of the new language by the Kashmiri paṇḍit Tédza Déva and the Tibetan translator Phakpa Shérab.³⁹ The transcription of the name of the Kashmiri master is confirmed by the spelling given in the Dergué NGB (vol. Na, fol. 88b).⁴⁰
- *The Glorious Tantra of The Compassion Display, or The Display of Heruka* (*dPal snying rje rol pa'i rgyud dam he ru ka rol pa*, no. 225). As shown in the catalogue above, it was translated by a prestigious assembly of three individuals, Vidyākara Siddha, Viśvāmītra and Khujin Tsünpa.⁴¹ The first two were Indians, while the third was in all evidence a Tibetan. An original version of the text was kept in the Jamtrin temple in Mangyül, where the Nepalese master Śrī Ghirti set about translating it according to the lexicographic rules established in the new language.
- *The Tantra of the Perfection of Activities or Tantra of the Master of Activities* (*Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud dam Karma ku (=gu) ru'i rgyud*, no. 308). Jigmé Lingpa indicates that the text was first translated by the combo of Vimalamitra and Nyak Jñānakumāra, after which Ma Rinchen Chok undertook to amend it according to the rules of the new language.
- *The King of Tantras, known as the Adamantine Garland* (*rGyud kyi rgyal po rod rje phreng ba zhes bya ba*, no. 326). It is described as having been translated by Jñānagarbha and Vairocana but

³⁸ However, 'Jigs med gling pa's wording greatly suggests that the root-Tantra and its suite were both amended by gNubs chen according to the new language.

³⁹ He was a native of Zangs dkar.

⁴⁰ According to [bdr:P7230](#), he is known as Jo bo te dza de ba (Tejadeva) and was himself a student of the Kashmiri Paṇḍita Sa dza na (Sajjana). He lived around the 11th century.

⁴¹ Martin, "Tibetan Proper Name Index" identifies him correctly with mChog gi shes rab.

was later on amended with the new language, although no one is mentioned for these corrections.

- *The Tantra of the Blazing Diamond* (*rDo rje 'bar ba'i rgyud*, no. 335). It is said to have been translated by Jñānakumāra and Vairocana but was eventually modified according to the new language. Here again, there is no mention of the person who undertook the modifications.





Glossary of selected terms, names and toponyms

Numbers at the end of the following entries refer to the text numbers listed in the preceding catalogue section.

Adzom Chögar (A 'dzom sgar) — This is the name of a monastery located in Kham and founded in 1842 by Drodül Pawo Dorjé ('Gro 'dul dpa' bo rdo rje), the first Adzom Drukpa Rinpoche (A 'dzom 'brug pa rin po che, 1842–1924). It is famous for its printing house which has published numerous key collections of Nyingma teachings, such as the *Four Cycles of Heart Drops* (*sNying thig ya bzhi*), the *Seventeen Tantras* (*rGyud bcu bdun*), and so forth.

Atsara Drenpai Yéshé (Dran pa'i ye shes) — There are conflicting opinions about his dates. Some state that he was involved in the early translation phase around the time of Trisong Détsen, while others assert that he lived in the 11th century and that he completed translations independently, without assistance. Some sources say that he came from India and traveled to Tibet without having been invited. He was accompanied by a Tibetan translator who died on the way. Drenpai Yéshé was captured and enslaved for some time. He was eventually liberated by someone who paid for his release, after which he traveled to Kham. Most of his translation work is included in the Tibetan Canon, along with an original work on grammar authored by him. It is interesting to note that he appears in the NGB as the translator of a text belonging to the category of Atiyoga

(Dzogchen). — 48.

Ba Sangshi (sBa Sang shi) — Name of a Tibetan monk sent by Trisong Détsen to China to invite Buddhist monks. In the company of Ba Selnang (sBa gSal snang), he brought back numerous Chinese Buddhist texts but buried them because the political situation was not favorable at the time. — 271.

Bhaṣika — Name of a charnel ground located in Kashmir. — 305.

Bhāṣita (Bha shi ta) — He is sometimes presented as a ṛṣī who took part in translating Mind Series Tantras (such as *The Wheel of Life* [*Srog gi 'khor lo*]), or Phurba texts. — 312.

Buddhaguhya (Sangs rgyas gsang ba) — An important Mahāyoga master who worked with Drokmi Pelgyi Yéshé, Vairocana, etc. — 193.

Butsel (Bu tshal) — Name of a temple of the large Samyé complex. It is sometimes spelt dBu tshal, its full name being Bu tshal gser khang ling. — 147.

Che Kuku Rādza (ICe Ku ku rā dza) — A Lotsāwa native from Mangyül who was sent to India to invite Padmasambhava. After his translation work was over, he lived like a hermit in a Cave, practicing the teachings he received

from Padmasambhava and others. — 263, 267, 304, 336, 341, 342.

Ché Tashi (ICe bKra shis) — An important translator of sūtric and tantric texts during the Early Diffusion (*snga dar*) who assisted several paṇḍits, such as Mūnicandra and Śāntigarbha. He is famous for what is probably the first translation of the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* done in collaboration with Kawa Peltsek during the 8th century. Note that according to Jigmé Lingpa's catalogue of the NGB, this translation was actually done by Vimalamitra and Kawa Peltsek (see no. 220). — 353.

Ché Tsenkyé (Che btsan skyes) — A lotsāwa originating from Drusha (Gilgit) and translator of the root Anuyoga Tantra. He was also a master of Nubchen Sangyé Yéshé. — 160

Chimphu Gégong (mChims phu dge gong) — Name of a cave located in Chimphu, above Samyé. — 303.

Chok (Cog, ICog) — See under Chokro Lū Gyeltsen.

Chokro Lū Gyeltsen (Cog ro Klu'i rgyal mtshan, 8th c.) — One of the main translators of the Early Diffusion (*snga dar*) period. He is essentially associated with the translation of Vinaya works, starting with the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* in collaboration with the famed Kashmiri paṇḍit Jinamitra. Trisong Détsen sent him to India with Kawa Peltsek in order to invite Vimalamitra to Tibet. He has also worked extensively with Vimalamitra, Jñānagarbha, and Surendrabodhi. Chokro is counted among the twenty-five main disciples of Padmasambhava whom he assisted in the transcription and concealment of precious Termas (*gter ma*). He is said to have reached Buddhahood in a single lifetime (at Chuwori in Central Tibet). His later emanations include numerous famous figures such as Karma Lingpa (14th c.) and others. — 88, 223, 232, 271, 325, 363.

Dānaśīla (Dā na śī la) — There seems to have been several masters bearing this name. One was a Kashmiri invited at the time of Trisong Détsen (r. 755–797) to take part in translations of Indian texts. He apparently collaborated with Yéshé Dé, Dorjé Yangwang Ter, and others. One Dānaśīla is also said to have been invited by Tri Relpachen (ca. 806–836). Another Dānaśīla is said to have come to Tibet from the land of Singala and was probably an early paṇḍit associated with the Later Spread (*phyi dar*) of Buddhism in the Land of Snow and with the teachings of Tārā that he is said to have passed on to the early Sakya Master Melgyo Lotsāwa (according to *The Blue Annals*, Roerich, p. 1051). — 386.

Dangma Lhüngyel (IDang ma Lhun rgyal, IDang ma Lhun gyi rgyal mtshan) — The son of Dangma Gechok (IDang ma dGe mchog) who was the custodian of the Temple of the Zhai Lhakhang and a disciple of Bé Lodrö Wangchuk (sBas Blo gros dbang phyug). In *907 AD, Dangma Lhüngyel received a prophecy from Dorje Lekpa telling him where the corpus of *The Seventeen Tantras* (*rGyud bcu bdun*) was hidden. Dangma revealed the texts and placed gold as a substitute for the Termas he had unearthed. It seems that this gold was the property of Nyang Dharmarāja, the temple's chief steward, and that this "loan" was the cause of Dangma's flight from the temple. In *922 AD, fifteen years later, Dangma met Chetsün Senge Wangchuk (ICe btsun Seng ge dbang phyug) at Nyangtso (Myang mtsho), a lake in the Nyangro (Myang ro) region. Three years later, he decided to pass on to him the corpus of *The Seventeen Tantras*. Chetsün entrusted five scribes with the task of copying the texts. However, Dangma died before receiving the gifts Chetsün was to offer him as "payment" for the transmission he had received. According to Zhangtön Tashi Dorje, the year of Dangma's death corresponds to *937 AD. Dangma's full name was Dangma Lhüngyi Gyeltsen (IDang ma

Lhun gyi rgyal mtshan). — 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110.

Dhānarakṣita — An important Indian lineage holder of the Anuyoga root-Tantras who was invited in Gilgit by the lotsāwa Ché Tsenkyé to translate this corpus of texts. He is said to have taught it to Dharmabodhi and Vasudhara in Nepal. — 160

Déjé Gocha (Dad byed go cha, Śraddhākaravarman) — Translator of the supplementary section (*rgyud phyi ma*) to the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*. See below under Śraddhākaravarman. — 221.

Dergué (sDe dge) — Name of an eastern Tibetan kingdom and of his capital city. It was also the navel of the *Rimé* movement and is famous for its large printing house.

Devacandra (8th c.) — An Indian master who came to Central Tibet and Samyé monastery in order to take part in the translation activities patronized by the king Trisong Détsen. In the context of Jigmé Lingpa's catalogue of the *Collection of Ancient Tantras*, his name appears only once, in the colophon of a work on the main female Protector of Dzogchen teachings. He is said to have translated that work with Vairocana. He also appears in the lineage of the Yamāntaka Tantras contained in the NGB, where he stands as a disciple of Tsuklak Pelgé (gTsug lag dpal dge) who himself studied with the ācārya Mañjuśrīmitra. — 366.

Dharmabodhi — An Indian Abbot who worked with Dhānarakṣita and Chétsen Kyé on Anuyoga. — 160.

Dhanasaṃskṛita — An Indian paṇḍit who worked with Vairocana and Drokmi Pelgyi Yéshé on Mahāyoga Tantras (and more precisely the Tantras of the Mātrikās). He was one of the eight great accomplished ācāryas (*grub pa'i slob dpon chen po brgyad*). — 279, 364

Dharmaśrī Prabha — Name of an Indian ācārya from India (*rgya gar gyi slob dpon*) who worked with the Tibetan translator Ratna Adrak. — 222.

Dorjé Drolö (rDo rje gro lod) — Name of an ācārya who worked with Zhangdrung on Anuyoga. He is also known as Drolö Tsel and Lopön Drolö Tsel. — 190.

Dorjé Düdjom (rDo rje bdud 'joms) — see under Nanam Lama.

Dorjé Semma (rDo rje sems ma) — See under Jetsün Dorjé Semma.

Dorjé Terzhé Tsel (rDo rje gTer bzhad rtsal) — A name of Nub Yönten Gönpö (gNubs Yon tan mgon po), the son of Nubchen Sangyé Yéshé. — 240.

Dorjé Tritsuk (rDo rje khri gtsug) — A childhood name used by Nubchen Sangyé Yéshé in the translation of text no. 247.

Dorjé Yangwang Ter (rDo rje yang dbang gter) — See under Nubchen Sangyé Yéshé. — 20, 148, 149, 150, 151, 259.

Dramétsé (dGra med rtse) — Name of a monastery located in eastern Bhutan, which housed a version of the NGB in 47 volumes.⁴²

Drangti Jayarakṣita (Brang ti Jayarakṣita) — One of the Tibetan scholars who took part in the composition of the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* during the reign of King Sénalek (Khri lde srong btsan, 761–815). He was one of the envoys sent to invite Padmasambhava and hailed from a place named Taktse (sTag tshal) in Upper Nyang. — 304, 306, 336, 341, 342.

⁴² 46 volumes according to Cantwell & Mayer, "Restoring the text of a Mahāyoga Tantra", p. 329, but see http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/WEA_P105-1-1.

Drenpa Yéshé (Dran pa ye shes) — A translator who assisted several Indian masters, such as Vimalamitra with whom he worked on texts belonging to the *Yangti* category. He should be clearly distinguished from the Indian erudite Smṛtijñānakīrti (Dran pa'i ye shes grags [pa]). — 139, 141, 142, 143, 144, 156

Drogön Pel ('Gro mgon dpal) — Name of Nyang-rel Nyima Özer's son who is otherwise known as Namkha Pel, 1164–1221).

Drokmi Pelgyi Yéshé ('Brog mi dPal gyi ye shes) — A lotsāwa from the Drogmi ('Brog mi) familial clan. He worked on numerous sūtric and tantric texts such as the *Tantra of the Matrikāś* (*ma mo'i rgyud*) and so forth. He received initiation from Padmasambhava, at which time he threw his ritual flower on the Heruka maṇḍala and thereafter received transmissions associated with the Matrikāś. He had visions of their maṇḍala and could bound them to his service. He spent time in retreat in Yartö Shampo where the local deity, Lhachen Shampo, gave him a life stone (*bla rdo*). — 217, 346, 347, 364.

Drolö Tsel (Gro lod rtsal) — Also known as Lopön Dorjé Drolö Tsel (Slob dpon rDo rje gro lod rtsal), he worked with the lotsāwa Zhangdrung (Zhang drung). He is essentially associated with the translation of works belonging to the Anuyoga tradition. — 177.

Dromtön Gyelwa ('Brom ston rgyal ba) — Name of a Tibetan translator who worked with Jétsün Dorjé Semma on a Phurba Tantra. — 305.

Drusha ('Bru zha) — The region of Gilgit-Baltistan in today's Pakistan. In the 8th century, it was a place associated with Anuyoga. — 160.

Drushül Lhündrub Phodrang (Gru shul Lhun grub pho brang) — Name of the place in Lhodrak where Ratna Lingpa's NGB was housed.

Düdül Sang-ngak Ling (bDud 'dul gsang sngags gling) — Name of a temple. — 342.

Gangteng (sGang steng) — Name of a monastery following the Péma Lingpa (1540–1521) tradition. It was founded in 1613 and housed two sets of NGB designated as Gangteng-a and Gangteng-b.

Gar Shérab Jung-né — (Gar Shes rab 'byung gnas) — Name of a Tibetan translator who worked with Jétsün Dorjé Semma in Kashmir. — 305.

Gétsé Rinpoche (dGe rtse rin po che) — Also known as Gétsé Mahāpaṇḍita or as Rigdzin Tsewang Chokdrub (Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang mchog grub, 1761–1829). Some biographical data will be provided in volume II of this series.

Gongra Lochen Zhenphen Dorjé (Gong ra Lo chen gZhan phan rdo rje, 1594–1654) — An important lineage holder of the Black Quintessence (*Yang ti nag po*) who prepared three copies of the NGB.

Guhya Sangwa (Guhya gsang ba) — A supposedly Indian paṇḍit who worked with Drokmi Pelgyi Yéshé on some Mahāyoga Tantras, including the famed *Sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor*. His name is a mixture of a Sanskrit word meaning "secret" and a Tibetan word also meaning "secret". Gruber (p. 151 n. 303) proposes to correct this name into Sangyé Sangwa (Sangs rgyas gsang ba). According to the *Blue Annals* (p. 170), Sangyé Sangwa (as Buddhagupta) was a disciple of Jñānapāda (Ye shes zhabs) and a master of Vimalamitra (in the lineage of the Mind Series). However, the name can also be rendered as Buddhaguhya who happen to have been a master of Vimalamitra (in the lineage of the Precepts Series). In all likelihood, Sangs rgyas gsang ba should be rendered as Buddhaguhya, and Sangs rgyas sbas pa as Buddhagupta. On this topic, see Karmay, *The Great Perfection*, pp. 61–63. — 217, 346, 347.

Gyelwa Chokyang (rGyal ba mchog dbyangs) — One of Padmasambhava's twenty-five disciples. See Ngenlam Gyelwa Chokyang. 271, 273, 277.

Heruka (he ru ka) — Name of a Tibetan lotsāwa who worked with Śrī Ratnavajara on the translation of one of the root-Tantras of the *sPyi ti* category. — 129.

Jamtrin (Byams sprin) — Name of a temple in Mangyül, positioned on the right foot of the Demoness lying on her back (*srin mo gan rkyal*), on which see Vitali, *Essays on the History of Tibet*, p. 79 *et seq.* — 225.

Jétsün Dorjé Semma (rJe btsun rDo rje sems ma) — Name of an Indian or Kashmiri female master. She worked with Gar Shérab Jung-né and Dromtön Gyelwa. — 305.

Jétsün Śāntibhadra (rJe bstun Śāntibhadra) — An 11th century paṇḍit who took part in the translation of Sarma Tantras, in particular with Tsültrim Gyelwa and other lotsāwas. He was also involved in the translation of commentaries on the *Prajñāpāramitā* in twenty-five thousand lines. — 381.

Jigmé Lingpa ('Jigs med gling pa, 1730–1798)⁴³ — Jigmé Lingpa was born on February the 6th, 1730. At the age of six, he enrolled Pelgyi Riwo monastic college and offered his tonsure to Ngawang Lobzang Péma, a *tulku* of Yéshé Tsogyel, from whom he received the name Péma Khyentsé Özer. He then took novice vows with Ngawang Künga Lekpai Jungné, the great patriarch of Nésar. During the same period, he received from Néten Künzang Özer the empowerments and the reading authorizations of two important cycles: *The Liberating Pearls known as the Natural Freedom of Contemplation* or *Dröltik*

Gongpa Rangdröl (Grol tig dgongs pa rang grol) by Shérab Özer (1518–1572/84) and the *Lama Gongdü (Bla ma dgongs 'dus)* by Sangyé Lingpa (1340–1396). When Jigmé Lingpa was thirteen years old, he met his root master, Rigdzin Thukchok Dorjé who gave him the transmission of *The Liberating Vision of Wisdom according to the Great Symbol (Phyag rgya chen po ye shes mthong grol)*, which initiated the ripening of his continuum and propelled him toward the concrete practice of the Path. One day, during a vision of Clear-Light, a Wisdom Ḍākinī connected to the Stūpa of Bodhnath gave him the index to a Treasure written in Ḍākinī script, and it was from these symbolic letters that he began to write down the *Longchen Nyingthik*. For the next few years, he lived as a hidden yogi, using his limited fame at this stage of his life to teach an ever-growing number of disciples the secret precepts of the *Heart Drops (snying thig)*. His *Complete Works (gSung 'bum)* consist essentially of his own Heart Treasure (*thugs gter*), namely the *Longchen Nyingthik*, but also of texts pertaining to the tradition of the Phurpa Tantras (*phur pa rgyud lugs*) associated with the transmission received in vision from Langchen Pelgyi Sengé, as well as of his *Treasury of Qualities (Yon tan mdzod)* with its root text and commentaries, his historical catalogue of the *Nyingmai Gyübum*, etc. Other less important texts are also contained in this nine-volume collection. He passed away on Friday, 12 October, 1798 in his hermitage at Tséring Jong.

Jing Selbar ('Jing gSal 'bar) — Tibetan translator associated with texts from the Atiyoga and Mahāyoga categories. He worked with Śrīlendramitra, Viśvāmitra and Vimalamitra. — 17, 228.

Jingchim Selbar ('Jing mchims gSal 'bar) — see under Jing Selbar. — 301.

Jñānagarbha (Ye shes snying po) — Ācārya Jñānagarbha gave ordination

⁴³ This is adapted from Achard, *The Threefold Heart Advice of Jigmé Lingpa*, Khyung-Lung, 2024.

vows to Śāntarakṣita. It is unlikely that he is the same person as the eponymous paṇḍit who took part in the translation of some Tantras with the Tibetan lotsāwa Vairocana. His name is associated with works from the Atiyoga section. — 11, 194, 233, 313, 325, 326, 330

Ka (sKa) — see under Kawa Peltsek.

Kāmarupa — A region corresponding to present-day Assam. — 337.

Kawa Peltsek (sKa ba dPal brtsegs, 8th c.) — One of the seven men on probation (*sad mi mi bdun*) to become the first Tibetan monks in Samyé monastery. He thus received the ordination vows directly from Śāntarakṣita before becoming a close disciple of Padmasambhava. King Trisong Détsen dispatched him to India with Chokro Lü Gyeltsen invite Vimalamitra to teach Dzogchen in Tibet. Together with the latter Indian paṇḍit, he was involved in the translation of several (if not all) of *The Seventeen Tantras* (nos. 94-110). — 14, 88, 113, 115, 116, 117, 120, 121, 122, 123, 126, 130, 131, 132, 138, 219, 232, 291, 325.

Khaché Anandha (Kha che Ananta) — One of the most important translators working with Indian paṇḍits during the reign of king Trisong Détsen. He was also Śāntarakṣita's personal translator. — 265, 266, 269, 270, 272.

Khenpo Yéshé Zhönu (mKhan po Ye shes gzhon nu) — See under Yéshé Zhönu.

Khrom — Name of a place located in the country of Drusha (Bru sha, Gilgit). — 160.

Khujin Tsünpa (Khu byin btsun pa) — A Tibetan translator who worked with Vidyākara Siddha and Viśvāmītra on Mahāyoga. — 225.

Lama Khyungpo Trobar (bla ma Khyung po Khro 'bar) — Name of a Tertön (*gter ston*) who compiled a ver-

sion of the *Phur pa rtsa dum* based on revelations made in Samyé. — 304.

Ma Rinchen Chok (rMa Rin chen mchog, 8th c.) — A Tibetan lotsāwa who was born in Matso (rMa gtso) in Phenyül ('Phan yul). He was one of the seven men in probation (*sad mi mi bdun*) who took ordination vows from Śāntarakṣita during the reign of Trisong Détsen. He advocated the view of Nāgārjuna and refuted the theories of Hoshang Mohoyen (和尚摩訶衍). He worked intensively on the translation of sūtric and tantric texts and also became a disciple of Padmasambhava. — 193, 213, 232, 308.

Mahānavikūṭapata — An Indian ācārya associated with the translation of a Yamāntaka Tantra. The spelling of his name is uncertain. — 242.

Mangyül (Mang yul) — Name of a region of Western Tibet, included in the Ngari Korsum larger province. Dzongkar (rDzong dkar, "The White Castle") was to become its royal capital during the Middle Ages. — 225.

Mañjuśrīmitra ('Jam dpal bshes gnyen) — Mañjuśrīmitra was born in a small village west of Vajrāsana (Bodhgaya), called "the Two Phases" (Rim gnyis). He was the son of Lekden Tönpa (Legs ldan ston pa), a brahmin married to Nangwa Drönma (sNang ba sgron ma). From an early age, he engaged in the study of the five sciences (*rig gnas lnga*) and soon became a true expert in them. Following a prophecy, he went to the charnel ground of Śītavana, where he met Garab Dorje who gave him the complete transmission of the Atiyoga teachings, before manifesting the Rainbow Body ('*ja' lus*). It was precisely at that time that he transmitted to Mañjuśrīmitra a small reliquary containing the epitome of the Trekchö (*khregs chod*) teachings, in the form of a Testament ('*das rjes*). According to the post-dynastic tradition, after his master's *nirvāṇa*, Mañjuśrīmitra organized the Great Perfection teachings by divid-

ing them into three series, namely: 1. the Mind Series (*Sems sde*), which emphasizes Clarity; 2. the Expanse Series (*Klong sde*), which emphasizes Emptiness; and 3. the Precepts Series (*Man ngag sde*), which emphasizes the non-differentiation of Emptiness and Clarity. He is also credited with dividing the Precepts Series into two systems known as: 1. the Oral Transmission (*snyan brgyud*), which exists in written (*yi ge can*) and unwritten (*yi ge med pa*) forms, and 2. the Explanatory Transmission (*bshad brgyud*). Mañjuśrīmitra annotated the texts belonging to the Oral Transmission but found no chalice (i.e., qualified disciple) likely to receive the Explanatory Transmission. He resolved to hide the texts under a rock marked with a double vajra, northeast of Vajrāsana before leaving for the Sosai Ling charnel ground. A few years later, Śrī Siṃha came to meet him to receive his complete transmission, after which Mañjuśrīmitra manifested the Rainbow Body. — 233.

Mindröling (sMin grol gling) — See under Minling.

Minling (sMin gling) — Abridged form of the name of Mindröling monastery founded in 1676 by Terdak Lingpa ('Gyur med rdo rje, 1646–1714) and main monastery of the Nyingma tradition in Central Tibet.

Mutik Bama (Mu tig ba ma, ?) — Name of a *Tertön* (*gter ston*) who revealed texts about Phurba practice. The spelling of his name is uncertain — 304.

Nakpo Zhab (Nag po zhabs, Kṛiṣṇa pāda) — An Indian ācārya from Kāmarupa who translated a Phurba Tantra. — 337.

Namkha Pel (Nam mkha' dpal, 1164–1221) — Name of Nyang-rel Nyima Özer's son. He is said to have prepared an edition of the NGB as an offering presented during the funerals of his father.

Namkhai Nyingpo (Nam mkha'i snying po, 8th c.) — See under Nub Namkhai Nyingpo.

Nanam Lama (sNa nam bla ma) — Title given to Dorjé Düdjom (rDo rje bdud 'joms), one of Padmasambhava's twenty-five disciples. He is often associated with the practice of Phurba but, in Jigmé Lingpa's list, he does not appear as a translator of Phurba Tantras. — 382.

Ngadak Nyang-rel (mNga' bdag Nyang ral, Nyi ma 'od zer, 1124–1192) — Name of a *Tertön* (*gter ston*) who revealed a large quantity of treasures (texts and ritual objects). In particular, he discovered one of the most important *Kagyé* (*bKa' brgyad*) collection entitled *The Assembly of the Blissful Eight Herukas* (*bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa*). — 302.

Ngamdré Salé (Ngam 'bres Sa le) — Name of a translator who worked with Padmasambhava in Chimphu, on a Phurba Tantra. — 303.

Ngenlam Gyelwa Chokyang (Ngen lam rGyal ba mchog dbyangs) — Born in Phenyül ('Phan yul) in Central Tibet, he took ordination with Śāntarakṣita and was one of the seven men on probation (*sad mi mi bdun*). His personal practice was focused upon the practice of Hayagrīva which he intensively performed in isolated hermitages. — 271, 273.

Nub Namkhai Nyingpo (gNubs Nam mkha'i snying po) — Born in the Lower Nyel (gNyal smad) region, he took ordination vows from Śāntarakṣita. During the initiation he received from Padmasambhava, his flower fell on the Yangdak Heruka section of the maṇḍala. He learned the art of translation and then travelled to India where he studied with several masters including the ācārya Hūmkara. He was subjected to calumny by bönpo ministers and had to live in a cave in Lhodrak Kharchu. It is said that at the end of his

life, he travelled to Khechara without leaving his body behind. — 173, 281, 282, 285, 289, 233, 356.

Nub Péma Wangyel (gNubs padma dbang rgyal) — A son of Nub Yönten Gyamtso (the son of Nubchen Sangyé Yéshé). — 246.

Nubchen Sangyé Yéshé (gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes, 8th c.) — Nubchen worked with several important masters of his time, including Vasudhara, Śrī simha and Padmasambhava. According to the Anuyoga tradition (exemplified by the *mDo dbang gi bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar*, Rigdzin Péma Thrinlé's compilation of the biographies of the patriarchs of this lineage, 1640–1718), Nubchen took the vows from Śāntarakṣita, during the reign of Trisong Detsen (755–797). He was considered one of the most talented translators of his time, and is said to have been responsible for the translation of a very large number of Sūtras and Tantras. According to late tradition, he made several trips to Nepal (rgya bal) to receive transmissions of consecrations (*dbang*), tantras (*rgyud*) and precepts (*man ngag*), some of which he hid as Treasures (*gter ma*) on his return to Tibet. His great spiritual specialty was the practice of wrathful deities (*khro bo*) and fierce formulas (*drag sngags*), which he used during internecine wars between Ü (dBus) and Tsang (gTsang). Namkhai Norbu Rinpoche has rightly demonstrated the identity between Drak Sangyé Yéshé (sGrag Sangs rgyas ye shes) and Nub Sangyé Yéshé in his *sBas pa'i rgyum chung* (p. 77), a work of great importance that has unfortunately remained overlooked by most specialists. In the NGB, he is sometimes named Dorjé Yangwang Ter. He has apparently played an important role in the diffusion of Anuyoga and Dzogchen teachings presenting them in a coherent manner, essentially the contents of the texts from the Mind Series (*Sems sde*). His dates are still uncertain since he is presented as one of the twenty-five disciples of Pad-

masambhava and as someone active during the fall of the dynasty and the period that followed. We can see from Jigmé Lingpa's list that he is also associated with the tradition of *Yangti* as he was involved in the translation and concealment of some Tantras of this category. The discoverer of these texts was known as Nub Yönten Gyamtso (gNubs Yon tan rgya mtsho) who happened to be the son of Nubchen Sangyé Yéshé as well as one of his main disciples. Yönten Gyamtso's biographical elements have been preserved in the manuals belonging to the So tradition (So lugs), i.e., the lineage of So Yéshé Wangchuk (So Ye shes dbang phyug) who was himself a direct disciple of both Sangyé Yéshé and Yönten Gyamtso. He is also the author of the celebrated text entitled *The Eye-Lamp of Concentration* (*bSam gtan mig sgron*). — 9, 20, 173, 175, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 245, 249, 250, 252, 257, 259, 267, 284, 378.

Nyak Jñānakumāra (gNyags Jñānakumāra, 8th c.) — Initiator of a lineage of transmission of the Mind Series which was later—in post-dynastic times—disseminated in the Nyang clan and was thus called the "Nyang Tradition" (*Nyang lugs*). Jñānakumāra is also known as a translator and assistant to Vimalamitra, notably in the translation of Tantras associated with the Mind Series. In the later tradition, he is presented as a disciple of Vairocana, Yudra Nyingpo, and Vimalamitra. According to *The Blue Annals*, Jñānakumāra was born in the Yarlung region, into the Nyag (gNyags) clan. His father was called Tadra Lhanang (sTa sgra lha snang) and his mother, Drönmakyi (sGron ma skyid), Lady of Sugza (Sru gza'). After receiving ordination from the Abbot Śāntarakṣita, he followed Padmasambhava's teachings and then became a great scholar by studying with Vimalamitra and Yudra Nyingpo, from whom he received what are known as the four great streams of transmission, namely: 1. the flow of detailed explanations of classical texts,

accompanied by abridged commentaries; 2. the flow of oral instructions, accompanied by additional notes; 3. the flow of blessings and consecrations, accompanied by direct introductions (*ngo sprod*); and 4. the flow of practice and mantric formulas for the protection of the Buddhas' Revelation. His most important disciples include: Sogpo Pelgyi Yeshé (Sog po dPal gyi ye shes), Gar Pelgyi Nyingpo (Gar dPal gyi snying po), Lhalung Pelgyi Dorje (Lha lung dPal gyi rdo rje, who killed king Glang dar ma), Otrang Pelgyi Zhönu ('O phrang dPal gyi gzhon nu), Nyen Pelyang (sNyan dPal dbyangs, famous for his instructions on Mahāyoga), Tsumnak Yeshe Pel ('Tshur nag Ye shes dpal), Upa Desel (U pa de gsal), Thangzang Pelgyi Dorje (Thang bzangs dPal gyi rdo rje), Gyé Phakpa Shérab (dGye 'Phags pa shes rab), and Bhusuku Chokgyi Jangchub (Bhu su ku mChog gi byang chub). — 22, 67, 145, 147, 170, 193, 203, 205, 206, 208, 226, 230, 292, 295, 296, 297, 299, 300, 308, 333, 334, 335, 339

Nyingma (rNying ma) — Name of the old tradition of Tibetan Buddhism, connected to the early diffusion (*snga dar*) of the Buddha's teachings in Tibet, during the imperial period (8th-9th c.).

Nyingma Gyübum (rNying ma rgyud 'bum) — *The Collection of Ancient Tantras*.

Ömai Tsel ('Od ma'i tshal) — Name of a place located in Central Tibet. — 337.

Padmasambhava (Pad ma 'byung gnas, 8th c.) — Name of the second Buddha, born in Oḍḍiyāna and invited to Tibet in order to tame demons preventing the diffusion of Buddhism in the Land of Snow. He is the main source of the treasure (*gter ma*) tradition and a master of all tantric lore. He is essentially associated with Atiyoga and Mahāyoga. When he completed his work for the sake of Tibet, he decided to travel to the Copper Colored Mountain (Zangs mdog dpal ri). According to

the teachings of Dzogchen, he is said to have manifested the very rare sign of Buddhahood known as the Body of the Great Transfer (*'pho ba chen po*), thus avoiding in his ultimate birth the experiences of death and of the Bardo states. — 113, 115, 116, 117, 120, 121, 122, 123, 126, 130, 131, 132, 138, 161, 173, 193, 219, 265, 266, 269, 270, 271, 273, 275, 277, 281, 282, 284, 285, 287, 288, 289, 303, 304, 306, 309, 331, 333.

Pagor Vairocana (8th c.) — Pagor is a clan name. See under "Vairocana." — 379.

Phangtangma ('Phang thang ma) — A catalogue of texts that were held in the Phangtang palace in the 8th c.

Pelden Sengé Öchen dPal Idan Seng ge 'od can (Śrī Simhaprabha) — The longest form of Śrī Simha's name, dPal seng ge 'od being another, slightly shorter but frequent form. — 82

Pelgyi Yeshé (dPal gyi ye shes) — See under Drokmi Pelgyi Yeshé. — 327.

Peltsek (dPal brtsegs) — See under Kawa Peltsek. — 14.

Péma Thötreng (Padma thod phreng) — A name of Padmasambhava. — 336.

Péma Thötreng Tsel (Padma thod phreng rtsal) — A name of Padmasambhava. — 327.

Péma Rutsé (Padma Ru rtse) — 169, 171.

Péma Zhab (Padma zhab) — Name of Padmasambhava used in the colophon of text no. 272.

Pero (Pe ro) — Most certainly a variant of *Bee ro*, i.e., Vairocana. — 223.

Phakpa Shérab ('Phags pa shes rab) — A Tibetan translator born in the Gyé (dGye) clan and who became a disciple of Nyak Jñānakumāra. — 219.

Prasatva (Pra sa twa) — An Indian abbot (*rgya gar gyi mkhan po*) who worked with the lotsāwa Péma Rutsé (Padma ru rtse) on two Anuyoga Tantras. — 169, 171.

Rakṣisiddhi (Rak shi siddhi) — An Indian paṇḍit who took part in the translation of the *rTa mchog rol pa'i rgyud*, with the Tibetan lotsāwa Che Kuku Rādza. He is identified as Siddhirakṣita by Meisezahl, 1986, p. 348. — 263.

Ratna Adrak (Ratna a grags) — Name of a Tibetan Lotsāwa who assisted Dharmaśrī Prabha and Vimalamitra in the translation of a Tantra. — 222.

Rimé (Ris med) — An ecumenic movement that developed in the late 19th century in Eastern Tibet, in reaction to Geluk expansionism (both doctrinal and political). Its most eminent figures at the time were Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo ('Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po, 1820–1892), Kongtrül Lodrö Thayé (Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas, 1813–1899), Chogyur Lingpa (mChog gyur gling pa, 1829–1870), Peltrül Rinpoché (dPal sprul rin po che, 1808–1897), and many others.

Rinchen Zangpo (Rin chen bzang po, 958–1055) — The most famous lotsāwa associated with the Sarma Tantras. — 220, 221.

Rongzom Zhönu Lodrö (Rong zom gZhon nu blo gros) — A Tibetan lotsāwa who translated a Phurba Tantra said to have been brought to Tibet by Padmasambhava. — 309.

Samyé (bSam yas) — Name of the first Tibetan monastery, built in Central Tibet, in ca. 779–780 AD. — 304.

Samyé Chimphu (bSam yas mchims phu) — Name of a mountain next to Samyé characterized by its many caves.

Śāntibhadra — See under Jétsün Śāntibhadra.

Śāntigarbha — A disciple of ācārya Devacandra with whom he studied the Yamāntaka Tantras. In this lineage, his main disciple was Dhanadhala and possibly Trakthung Nakpo (who was Vasudhara's main master, together with Padmasambhava). — 237, 353, 381.

Sarma (gSar ma) — The newer Schools of Tibetan Buddhism.

Selwa Gyen (gSal ba rgyan) — Described as a brahman who worked with Vasudhara on the translation of a Mahāyoga Tantra. — 376

Śraddhākaravarman (Dad byed go cha) — An important Kashmiri paṇḍit who was invited in Tibet by Lha Lama Yéshé Ō and worked extensively with Rinchen Zangpo, the famed translator of the Later Diffusion (*phyi dar*). — 220.

Śrīlendramitra — The only instance I have found of this name appears in connection with the translation of text no. 17, carried out in collaboration with Jing Selbar. It is possible that he has been confused with Śrīlendra Bodhi, who was invited by the Tibetan King Tri Relpachen to assist in the dissemination of Buddhist teachings. — 17.

Śrī Bha la kun tra dhana de ba — Unknown figure, associated with text no. 337.

Śrī Ghirti — A Nepalese master who worked on the translation of the *He ru ka rol pa* (no. 225, an important Mahāyoga Tantra) in the Jamtrün Temple in Mangyül. He actually corrected the previous translation using the new language (*skad gsar*) established during the reign of Sēnalek (Khri lde srong btsan). — 225.

Śrī Ratnavajra — A Kashmiri paṇḍit who was involved with Padmasambhava in the translation of one Tantra belonging to the *sPyi ti* tradition. In other sources, he is presented as the author of the *Caturthasadbhāvopadeśa*

but so far we cannot be certain that this attribution refers to the same master. — 129.

Śrī Siṃha (dPal seng ge, 8th c.) — According to the Nyingma tradition, Śrī Siṃha was born in the Chinese town of Shokhyam Nakpo (Sho khyams nag po) which is in fact probably located in Central Asia. One day, he received a prophecy from Avalokiteśvara exhorting him to travel to the Sosa Ling (So sa gling) charnel ground located west of Vajrāsana in India. Owing to his siddhis, he was able to reach that charnel ground by walking slightly above the ground, without pause, for nine consecutive days. As he reached the prophesized location, he met Mañjuśrīmitra (Garab Dorje's main disciple) and became his student. He thus received from his new master all the secret instructions of the Great Perfection. When Mañjuśrīmitra reached his *parinirvāṇa*, he gave Śrī Siṃha his ultimate testament entitled *The Six Meditative Experiences* (*sGom nyams drug pa*). Śrī Siṃha subsequently unearthed the texts that Mañjuśrīmitra had hidden under a rock at Vajrāsana years ago and traveled to China, to the Temple of the Bodhi Tree. He is credited with the division of the contents of the Precepts Series (*Man ngag sde*) into outer, inner, secret, and utterly secret cycles of teachings. He hid the first three categories in a pillar of the Tashi Trigo (bKra shis khri sgo) Temple and entrusted the last one to the Ḍākinīs, before remaining in the Siljin (bSil sbyin) cemetery. — 2, 3, 20, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 42, 51, 53, 54, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 65, 82, 148, 149, 150, 151.

Śrī Siṃhakala — A variant of Śrī Siṃha's name that appears in connection to text no. 24.

Tashi Rabten Ling (bKra shis rab brtan gling) — Name of a monastery that housed a fragmentary collection of Ancient Tantras, now amounting to 5 volumes. One should note that the first

of the five available volumes is in fact Vimalamitra's commentary to the *sGra Thal 'gyur*, the root of the *Seventeen Tantras* (*rGyud bcu bdun*).

Tédza Déva (Te dza deva) — A paṇḍit born in Kashmir. He worked with Phakpa Shérab on the translation of *The Thiglé of the Secret Moon* (*Zla gsang thig le*). Nothing else appears to have survived about this master. — 219.

Terchen Ratna Lingpa (gTer chen Ratna gling pa, 1403–1479) — A Nyingma treasure revealer (*gter ston*) who produced a 40-volume version of the NGB. It is said that, there was an original version written in black ink, and a second one in gold, which was kept at Drushül Lhündrub Phodrang.

Tingkyé (gTing skyes) — Name of a monastery located in an eponymous district in southern Tibet, next to the frontier with Nepal and Sikkim. It used to house a 36-volume version of the NGB (with 6 additional volumes).

Trisong Detsen (Khri song lde btsan, r. 755–797) — King of Tibet who declared Buddhism the State religion of the Land of Snow. He is presented as one of Padmasambhava's disciples. — 276,

Tsamdrak (mTshams brag) — Name of a monastery located in Bhutan, which housed a 46-volume manuscript version of the NGB.

Tsangpo Lunö (mTshangs pa klu gnod) — Name of a temple in which Mañjuśrīmitra hid *The Root-Tantra of the Black Secret Moon* (*Zla gsang nag po'i rtsa rgyud*) which was later rediscovered by Jñānagarbha. — 233.

Tsültrim Gyelwa (Tshul khri ms rgyal ba, 11th c.) — A monk who was sent to India by the king Lha Lama Yéshé Ö to invite Atiśa in Tibet. He is also well-known as Nakso Lotsāwa (Nag tsho lo tsā ba). In Jigmé Lingpa's catalogue, he is associated with the venerable erudite

Śāntibhadra with whom he translated at least one Tantra on Mahākāla. — 381.

Ü (dBus) — The region of Central Tibet, where the capital (Lhasa) is located.

Ugpa Lung ('Ug pa lung) — The Valley of the Owls. This was an important abbatial establishment associated with the Zur clan, located in the upper part of the Pen Thagma (sPan thag ma) valley. The place is also often known as Ugja Lung ('Ug bya lung).

Vairocana (8th c.) — An early translator and one of the first Tibetan monks. He is essentially associated with the lineage of the Mind Series (*Sems sde*) and the Expanse Series (*Klong sde*). He is also a central figure of Dzogchen in the Bönpo tradition, in particular in the lineages of New Bön (*Bon gsar*). According to later sources, he was sent to India in search of the teachings of the Great Perfection. There, he became a disciple of the great Śrī Sīṃha from whom he received the transmission of numerous sets of Dzogchen instructions. After an extensive stay in India, he returned to Tibet but was falsely accused of misbehavior and was exiled by king Trisong Detsen in Tsawa Rong (Tsha ba rong) in Eastern Tibet where he essentially spread the teachings of the Mind and Expanse Series. His main disciple, Yudra Nyingpo, was instrumental in the king's decision to cancel the exile and welcome him back in Samyé. Vairocana was involved in the translation of numerous works belonging to the Nyingma and Bön traditions. He was praised as the most gifted translator among all the lotsāwas of the Earlier and Later Diffusions. — 2, 3, 11, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 42, 44, 51, 53, 54, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 65, 82, 161, 193, 194, 211, 272, 276, 288, 313, 325, 326, 330, 334, 335, 366, 379

Vajrahāsyā — A Vajrahāsyā is said to have been a direct student of Garab Dorjé (dGa' rab rdo rje), the human founder of the Atiyoga teachings. It is

said that he is the same Vajrahāsyā who worked with the Tibetan translator Ma Rinchen Chok in the 8th century. He also appears under the name of ācārya Dorjé Zhépa (rDo rje bzhad pa). Vajrahāsyā was a lineage holder of Atiyoga, Anuyoga, and Mahāyoga transmissions. He played an important role in the lineage of the *Guhyasamāja* and was a contemporary of Hūmkara, giving teachings to Padmasambhava, as well as to Nubchen Sangyé Yéshé (despite the obvious chronological inconsistencies implied by these affirmations). — 213.

Vasudhara (8th c.) — Various presented as an erudite from Kashmir⁴⁴ or as a Newar king of Nepal (*bal po'i rgyal po*),⁴⁵ although it is possible that these were two distinct individuals. The Newari Vasudhara was a contemporary of Padmasambhava and Dharmabodhi and was apparently invited to Tibet by Trisong Detsen to take part in the process of translating texts into Tibetan language. Traditionally, he is also presented as a master of Nubchen Sangyé Yéshé, which raises chronological issues if he is identified with the paṇḍit who took part in the early phase of translations in Central Tibet. Nubchen is said to have received from him the transmission of the Anuyoga Tantras. According to the Fifth Dalai Lama's *gSan yig* (vol. 4) their meeting occurred during Nubchen's seventh journey to Nepal, on which occasion he received the *Fire Razor* (*Me'i spu gri*), a black magic text that he hid in Phungpo Riwoché. Gya Zhangtrom rediscovered it in this sanctuary. In the context of the transmission of the Yamāntaka Tantras during the Early Diffusion, Vasudhara appears as a disciple of the Indian master Trakthung Nakpo (Khrag 'thung nag po) who was a direct disciple of

⁴⁴ This is rather unlikely. He is anyway clearly identified as a Nepalese in Jigmé Lingpa's catalogue.

⁴⁵ Often rather described as a prince, namely a son of a Newar king.

Padmasambhava (who himself obtained these Tantras from Mañjuśrī-mitra). — 173, 234, 235, 245, 247, 250, 257, 284, 376.

Vidyākara Siddha — An Indian master who took part in the first translation of the *He ru ka rol pa* Tantra, together with Viśvāmītra and the Tibetan translator Khujin Tsünpa. — 225.

Vimalamitra (Dri med bshes gnyen, 8th c.) — A direct disciple of Śrī Simha and Jñānasūtra from whom he received the ultimate quintessence of all Dzogchen teachings. He was invited to Tibet after Nyang Tingdzin Zangpo had a dream about the instructions of the Great Perfection, believed to grant the attainment of Buddhahood within a single lifetime. Nyang informed king Trisong Détsen of these teachings and the king subsequently dispatched three emissaries to invite Vimalamitra: Kawa Peltsek, Chokro Lū Gyeltsen, and Ma Rinchen Chok. As Vimalamitra set off for Tibet, certain Indian masters dreamt that the Indian sun was setting over Tibet, and that all the fruit trees were tilting their tops towards the Land of Snow. Upon his arrival at Samyé, Vimalamitra began translating Tantras belonging to the Mahāyoga, such as the *rDo rje sems dpa' sgyu 'phrul drwa ba*, etc., during the day, while his nights were devoted to transmitting Dzogchen teachings to the king (Trisong Détsen), prince Muné Tsenpo, Nyang Tingdzin Zangpo, Kawa Peltsek and Chokro Lū Gyeltsen. When he had completed all his teachings, he collected all the translated Dzogchen treatises and hid them at the Red Rock of Chimphu, on the outskirts of Samyé, before leaving Tibet for Wu tai shan (五台山) where he manifested the Body of the Great Transfer (*'pho ba chen po'i sku*). — 5, 14, 22, 43, 57, 67, 88, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 139, 141 142, 143, 144, 145, 147, 156, 170, 173, 193, 195, 202, 205, 206, 208, 211, 222, 223, 226, 230, 291, 292, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 308, 339.

Viśvāmītra — In Tibetan, he appears under the translation of his Sanskrit name as Natsok Shényen (sNa tshogs bshes gnyen) or Küngyi Shényen (Kun gyi bshes gnyen). He is the famous author of an important commentary of the supplementary section (*phyi ma*) of the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* entitled *The Oceanic Drops of the Precepts on the Glorious Tantra of the Secret Assembly* (*dPal gsang ba 'dus pa'i rgyud kyi man ngag gi rgya mtsho thigs pa*). This is this commentary that has some quote of the *Guhyagarbha Tantra*, thus demonstrating the Indian origin of the *gSang ba snying po*. — 228, 223, 225.

Yangwang Ter (Yang dbang gter) — A name used by Nubchen Sangyé Yéshé, in particular in his translation of works belonging to the Yangti category. — 386.

Yéshé Tsogyel (Ye shes mtsho rgyal) — The Lady from Kharchen (mKhar chen bza'); she was once a wife of King Trisong Détsen before she became a consort of Padmasambhava. She is said to have taken part in the concealment of numerous treasures (*gter ma*) in various parts of Tibet. — 342.

Yéshé Zhönu (Ye shes gzhon nu) — Tibetan version of Jñānakumāra's name. — 195.

Yudra Nyingpo (g.Yu sgra snying po) — Originally from Gyelmo Tsawarong in Eastern Tibet, he was recognized as a rebirth of Tsang Lekdrub, Vairocana's companion who died in India while returning to Central Tibet. Yudra was a disciple of Vairocana and eventually became an extraordinary scholar and accomplished master in his own right. He joined a group of 108 translators and also received *The Precept known as the Garland of the Views* (*Man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba*) directly from Padmasambhava himself. He is said to have manifested magical abilities, such as transforming his body into a golden vajra and he also became a great master of the teachings of the Great Perfection.

He was instrumental in ending Vairocana's exile in Eastern Tibet by meeting with Vimalamitra, who convinced King Trisong Detsen to allow Vairocana's return to Central Tibet. He is in particular known as an important lineage holder of the Mind and Expanse Series (*sems klong*) of Dzogchen. — 5, 43, 57

Zabmo Pori Temple (Zab mo po ri lha khang) — Name of temple.— 16, 17, 18.

Zhang (Zhang) — See under Zhangdrung.

Zhangdrung (Zhang drung) — A lotsāwa associated with the ācārya Drolö Tsel with whom he translated some Tantras belonging to the Anuyoga tradition. According to an interlinear note in the *bSam gtan mig sgron*, this lotsāwa appears to be identical with Nyak Jñānakumāra. However, and for good reasons, Dylan Esler disagrees with this identification.⁴⁶ — 190, 325.

Zhang Jñāna — Name of a Tibetan translator who worked with Vimalamitra. — 291.

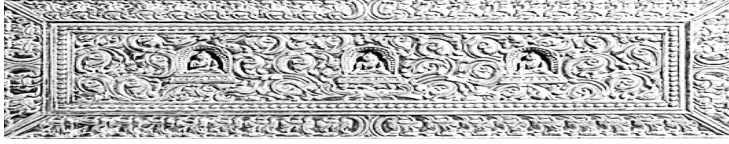
Zhichen Göñ (Zhi chen dgon) — Name of a monastery associated with Kathok Gönpa, which housed a manuscript edition of the NGB in 39 volumes.

Zur (Zur) — Name of a clan originating from Eastern Tibet.

Zur Zangpo Pel (Zur bZang po dpal, 13th c.) — A lineage holder of the Zur clan who traveled to China to raise funds which he used to produce a manuscript version of the NGB.



⁴⁶ See Esler, *The Lamp for the Eye of Contemplation*, p. 306 n. 362.



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