The History of the Mountain Teachings: 13th century Practice Lineages at rTsisb ri
Marta Sernesi

To cite this version:
Marta Sernesi. The History of the Mountain Teachings: 13th century Practice Lineages at rTsisb ri. Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines, 2022, 64, pp.479-515. hal-03726577
The History of the Mountain Teachings: 13th century Practice Lineages at rTsisb ri*

Marta Sernesi

(École Pratique des Hautes Études–PSL)

During the 13th century, the sacred mountain of rTsisb ri and its adjacent areas, such as Ding ri, were home to a lively religious community. Indeed, solitary hermits chose the mountain’s caves for prolonged retreats, local masters of fame attracted disciples from afar, and new monasteries and hermitages were constructed in the surroundings. Dan Martin has labelled Ding ri “in the decades around the year 1100 as something like what would nowadays be termed a ‘culture contact zone’”, and it seems that a century later it was still a place of exchange with South Asia, where a composite religious environment thrive.

Among the most famous locally born masters was Yang dgon pa rGyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1213–1258), a native of the village of IHa gdong, located west of rTsisb ri, and leader of this village’s temple at age eleven. Also called IHa gdong pa, this teacher was well-known among the local faithful already as a youth, and became one of the most revered and influential masters of his time. In particular, he is credited with compiling a comprehensive set of practice instructions for his pupils who engaged in extended mountain retreats on the rTsisb ri massif, called the Mountain Teachings (Ri chos). The text studied here, the History of How the Mountain Teachings Were Transmitted (Ri chos brgyud tshul gyi lo rgyus), hereafter History of the Mountain Teachings, *

---

* It is with gratitude and friendship that I dedicate the following to Dan. Our exchanges since the early years of my academic studies have not only been extremely informative and helpful in many ways, but also a source of enjoyment. Thank you for sharing with me and all of us so much of your research and ideas!

1 See Martin 2008. Later than Pha dam pa Sangs rgyas, masters still travelled to Ding ri from South Asia to teach to their Tibetan pupils. For example, at the beginning of the 13th c. the mahāpandita Vibhūticandra reached the area via sKyid grong to teach the Kālacakra at the invitation of Ko brag pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan (1170–1249); according to Tibetan tradition, the Indian master also eventually requested teachings from Ko brag pa; see Stearns 1996: 141–145. I heartily thank Cyrus Stearns and Jörg Heimbel for their comments on an earlier version of this paper.
provides the background from which these teachings emerged, detailing the lineages and textual transmissions received by Yang dgon pa. It shows how he was trained in all the main practice traditions of his time, out of which he modeled his unique approach.

Fig. 1 — Ding ri seen from rTsisb ri mountain (photo M. Sernesi, 2016).

Yang dgon pa’s legacy was later claimed by ‘Ba’ ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1310–1391), who was recognized as his rebirth.\(^2\) This master transmitted the teachings of Yang dgon pa, who was then retrospectively considered a ‘Brug pa bKa’ brgyud, belonging to the transmission lineage set forth by ‘Ba’ ra ba.\(^3\) However, the local landscape during the 13th century was eclectic, and individual masters trained in a number of distinct practices, without necessarily identifying with a given school affiliation. This is true for Yang dgon

\(^2\) He was a native of ‘Ba’ ra brag in the Shangs valley, where he later established the monastery of Don grub sdings, which became the home monastery of the lineage and the seat of the ‘Ba’ ra ba sprul skus. Trained at Sa skya, he took his novice vows at Bo dong E, and counted among his teachers the 3rd Karma pa Rang 'byung rdo rje (1284–1339), Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364), and Sa skya Bla mā dam pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan (1312–1375). He travelled to rTsisb ri to receive teachings from Zur phug pa gZhon nu rin chen dpal bzang po, a later holder of Yang dgon pa’s teachings (see below) and took full ordination from him. For this master and his lineage, see Erschbamer 2017.

\(^3\) See ‘Ba’ ra ba gser phreng, in which Yang dgon pa follows rGod tshang pa mGon po rdo rje (1189–1258). For this collection, see Ehrhard 2009.
pa as well, who had a dozen teachers of different traditions. Four were his most important masters, both for the teachings that they transmitted, as recorded in the *History of the Mountain Teachings*, and for the role that they are granted in Yang dgon pa’s life story the *Great Mirror*. These are Ko brag pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan (1170–1249) and rGod tshang pa mGon po rdo rje (1189–1258), who were his two main masters, and ’Bri gung sPyan snga Grags pa ’byung gnas (1175–1255) and Sa skya Pandita Kun dga’ rgyal mtshan (1182–1251), who were renowned religious leaders of the time, and who instructed thoroughly Yang dgon pa. These four teachers transmitted to him the core of the practice transmissions that were integrated into the *Mountain Teachings*. Moreover, according to the *Great Mirror*: “It is said that Bla ma Zhang Rin po che and sPyan snga ba (i.e., Yang dgon pa) were master and pupil for many lifetimes, and in this [lifetime] as well [Yang dgon pa] had the same devotion for him than that for a root-teacher, and thus also performed regularly the [prescribed] memorial services for him.” Indeed, the teaching transmissions of the Tshal pa bKa’ brgyud, as well as a visionary transmission received in a dream directly from Bla ma Zhang g.Yu brag pa (1123–1193) are recorded in the *History of the Mountain Teachings*.

Therefore, Yang dgon pa received bKa’ brgyud and Sa skya esoteric instructions, in both their most common “mainstream” formulations, and as transmitted in some lesser-known lineages. The master was also trained in several other teaching traditions and received instructions from local teachers. By detailing all the distinct textual traditions and related practice transmissions that Yang dgon pa combined in his creative synthesis, the *History of the Mountain Teachings* provides a precious insight into the religious life of rTsib ri hermits in the 13th century.

2. Mountain Teachings

“Mountain teachings” (*ri chos*) is a general term to indicate teachings dedicated to *ri pa*, or mountain dwellers, individuals who engage in extended retreats on the mountains. The most famous teachings of this kind are ascribed to Karma chags med (1613–1678), but the tradition is much older. In fact, the source translated below provides evidence that Yang dgon pa received and integrated into his teaching system instructions for mountain retreats attributed to Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po (1110–1170) and ’Bri gung ’Jig rten mgon po (1143–1217), called

---

5. Rin chen Idan, *Me long chen mo*, p. 85: bla ma zhang rin po che dang sphyin snga ba nyid skyed ba mang po’i dpon slob yin gsum/ da lta’ang rtsa ba’i bla ma dang mos gsum mnyam par yod pas/ dus mchod kyang ma chang pa mdzad/.
Large and Small Vases of Nectar of the Mountain Teachings (Ri chos bdud rtsi bum pa che chung) and Golden Pouch of the Mountain Teachings (Ri chos gser khug ma).\(^6\) The cycle of teachings compiled by Yang dgon pa, however, is much wider in scope, comprising preliminary practices, guidance on choosing the right place for retreat, how to perform daily rituals, step-by-step meditation instructions of the tantric generation and completion stages, teachings on how to manipulate the inner energies of the body through bodily postures, breath control, and the visualization of mantra syllables, as well as clarifications on how to recognize signs of progress and how to overcome the most common obstacles during the retreat.

The extant literature on the Mountain Teachings of Yang dgon pa consists mainly of two manuscript collections preserved in Bhutan.\(^7\) The teaching cycle is centred on the main practice manual, called Gleaming Jewel, The Source of Qualities of the Mountain Teachings (Ri chos yon tan kun 'byung ba rin po che 'bar ba), which was composed by Yang dgon pa himself, and which covers all the main topics.\(^8\) The Gleaming Jewel summarizes not only the path, but also the practical instructions for conducting a solitary retreat. Its seven sections deal with:

1. the characteristics of the practitioners (gang gis nyams su blangs pa gang zag gi mtshan nyid);
2. the characteristics of the places where to practice (gang du nyams su blangs pa gnas kyi mtshan nyid);
3. the stages of the path, [or] how to practice (ji ltar nyams su blangs pa lam gyi rim pa);
4. teachings on the impediments to the path, [or how] to dispel hindrances to meditative absorption (lam de la bar chad kyi chos bsam gtan gyi ges gsal ba);
5. enhancing the practice, [or how] to quickly generate the qualities of the path (lam de la yon tan myur du skye ba bogs dbyungs pa);
6. teachings on the demarcations of the path and on how to generate heat and signs (lam gyi sa mtshams dang drod rtags skye tshul bstan pa);
7. teachings on the fruit at the end of the path (lam de mthar phyin pa'i 'bras bu bstan pa).

---

\(^{6}\) See rDo rje rgyal po, gSung 'bum, vol. 7, 599–611; 'Jig rten gsum mgon, bKa' 'bum, vol. 7, pp. 36–158. The text also states that Yang dgon pa received ri chos teachings from one unidentified Bar 'brog Me lung pa.

\(^{7}\) See Yang dgon pa'i gsung 'bum I (manuscript from Pha jo lding monastery), and Yang dgon pa'i gsung 'bum II (manuscript from rTa mgo monastery). An incomplete cursive manuscript has been published as The Collected Works (gSun-'bum) of Yang-dgon-pa rGyal-mtshan-dpal, Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang, Darjeeling, 1973 (TBRC W23790). This collection includes only a few works and is missing the History of the Mountain Teachings. Also, Yang dgon pa'i gsung 'bum III does not include this text.

At the beginning, the text stresses the importance of renunciation and of receiving the initiations (section 1), and then instructs on how to choose a fitting place in the wilderness for a retreat, which has the appropriate geomantic characteristics (section 2). The third section constitutes the main body of the text, and deals with the preliminaries, the generation stage, and the completion stage: the latter is differentiated into practice with signs—i.e., the generation of the inner heat (gtum mo), the practice of radiance (‘od gsal), illusion (sgyu ma), dream (rmi lam), transference (‘pho ba), and guruyoga—and practice without signs, namely the Great Seal (phyag rgya chen po). These teachings are followed by instructions on the “practice” (spyod pa, cārya) and on the vows. Moreover, teachings on dispelling hindrances (gegs sel) were a specialty of Ko brag pa and are integrated into the system (section 4), paired with the instructions on how to enhance the practice (bogs dbyung), that is to say, how to improve several specific aspects of it, such as visualization, recitation, concentration, etc. (section 5). Finally, there are overviews of the stages of the path (section 6) and of the final attainments (section 7).

The Mountain Teachings textual collections comprise a number of explanatory works on the Gleaming Jewel, codified teachings on specific topics, as well as more informal and punctual instructions and songs. Some of these were composed by Yang dgon pa, but many were in fact written down by his pupils, who also in turn composed explanations, indexes, and further training texts. Yang dgon pa’s attendant and principal pupil was called Rin chen ldan, and he may be regarded as the individual responsible for the first compilation of the Mountain Teachings textual corpus. Born in Ding ri, according to the Blue Annals he was eleven years senior to his teacher (b. 1202), whom he encountered for the first time as a five-year old child. He attended on the master for thirty-five years (that is 1223–1258, from Yang dgon pa’s eleventh to his forty-sixth year, when he died) and in this capacity he accompanied him and received the same teaching transmissions as did Yang dgon pa.9 He is credited with writing the main extant hagiography of his teacher, the Great Mirror (Me long chen mo), which is a long verse eulogy with a prose commentary. This source is organized

---

9 The only extant life story of Rin chen ldan is brief and lacks detail. See Thugs sras spyan minga’ [=snga] rin chen ldan gyi rnam par that pa rin chen mgul brgyan, in ‘Ba’ ra ba gser phreng, vol. 1. It doesn’t provide the dates nor the life span of the master, and states that he received teachings from Yang dgon pa and from the latter’s four main teachers, namely Ko brag pa, rGod tshang pa, Sa skya Paṇḍita, and ‘Bri gung sPyan snga ba [Grags pa ’byung gnas] (ibid., p. 8). This hagiography is attributed to one La stod pa, whom I believe to be Shes rab mgon (see below). The Blue Annals merely summarize this source, but provide a birth date of chu pho kyi, i.e., 1202; see Roerich 1949: 691–692. See also Dan Martin’s biographical sketch of this master in The Treasury of Lives.
topically around the verses of praise, and thus groups together related information, instead of offering a chronologically arranged account of the life of the master.\footnote{See Rin chen ldan, \textit{Me long chen mo}, trans. Guarisco 2015.}

Rin chen ldan also recorded, edited, and collected the teachings received. In particular, he wrote a register (\textit{dkar chag}) in which he organized Yang dgon pa’s teachings into four cycles and their respective ornaments, and listed for each the relevant texts:\footnote{Rin chen ldan, \textit{Ri chos kyi dkar chag}. For a study of this text, an overview of the \textit{Mountain Teachings} textual materials, and the compositional profiles of the principal texts of instruction, see Sernesi 2019.}

\begin{itemize}
  \item[I.] \textit{The Three Cycles of Mountain Teachings ornamented by the Oral Instructions (\textit{ri chos bskor gsum zhal gdams kyi sbrgyan pa})}
  \item[II.] \textit{The Practical Guidance on the Path ornamented by Dispelling Hindrances (lam dmar khrig ggs sel gyis sbrgyan pa)}
  \item[III.] \textit{The Miscellanea, ornamented by the Fragments (\textit{sna tshogs kyi sde tshan sild bus sbrgyan pa})}
  \item[IV.] \textit{The Collected Songs ornamented by their Register (\textit{’gur [=mgur] ’bum dkar chag gis sbrgyan})}
\end{itemize}

The first, which are the \textit{Mountain Teachings} proper, are in turn constituted into three cycles of teachings, for each of which there is a practice manual:

\begin{itemize}
  \item[I.1.] \textit{Gleaming Jewel, The Source of Qualities of the Mountain Teachings (\textit{Ri chos yon tan kun ’byung ba rin po che ’bar ba})}. This is expanded (“ornamented”) by four sets of instructions. These are the supplements (\textit{lhan lhabs}), the religious practices (\textit{chos spyod}), the so-called \textit{Six Mothers} (\textit{Ma drug}), as well as the profound instructions (\textit{zab khrig}).\footnote{The \textit{Six Mothers} are visionary teachings written down by Rin chen ldan; see \textit{Yang dgon pa’i gsung ’bum I}, vol. 2, pp. 231–285, and below.} The latter, also called the “three instructions” (\textit{khrig gsum}), in fact comprise more than three sets of teachings, including the \textit{Six Teachings of Nāropa} (\textit{Nāro chos drug}), instructions on the \textit{Co-emergent Yoga of the Great Seal (Phyag rgya chen po lhan cig skyes sbyor}, the \textit{Four Yogas of the Great Seal (rNal ’byor bzhi’i rim pa), the Secret Practice (gSang spyod) and Dispelling Obstacles (Ggs sels}).
  \item[I.2.] \textit{Hidden Explanation of the Vajra Body (rDo rje lus kyi sbas bshad)}.
  \item[I.3.] \textit{Deliverance from the Perilous Straits of the Bardo (Bar do gnad kyi ’phrang sgrol)}.
\end{itemize}

Hence, these “three cycles of instructions” (\textit{zhal gdams skor gsum}) or “three cycles of mountain teachings” (\textit{ri chos skor gsum}) include the three most important texts of instruction and supplementary explana-
tions taught by Yang dgon pa: Gleaming Jewel, the actual “manual” for hermitic practice, Hidden Explanation of the Vajra Body, a lengthy exposition of the inner bodily energies (“channels, winds and drops”, rtsa lung byang chub sens), and Deliverance from the Perilous Straits of the Bardo (Bar do ’phrang sgrol), a complete practice tradition for the intermediate state. All three of these compilations constitute original syntheses that harmonize and organize for teaching purposes the distinct strands of teachings received by Yang dgon pa.

The Hidden Explanation of the Vajra Body (rDo rje lus kyi sbas bshad) sets out the explanation of the inner bodily energies and pathways, with the goal of reconciling different systems as expounded in the tantras and related commentaries and practice instructions. Yang dgon pa claims to rely on personal experience (having “seen” the vajra body while practicing the path of means), and quotes selectively the scriptures to support the treatise’s overview. In the colophon of the text Yang dgon pa praises the teachings received from ’Bri gung rin chen, lNga rig pan chen (i.e., Sa skya Pandita), the Lord of the Yogins named [rGod tshang pa mGon po] rdo rje, and the “unwavering Victory Banner who perfected Merit” (Ko brag pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan, i.e., Merit Victory Banner). In fact, it has been noted that two bKa’ brgyud works that foreshadow Yang dgon pa’s are rDo rje lus kyi gnas lugs by Phag mo gru pa and Tshangs par spyod pa thig le’i khrida by ’Jig rten mgon po, but that the title echoes instructions on the same topic by Sa skya Paññita named Hidden Explanation of the Path (Lam sbas bshad). Not only were Yang dgon pa’s sources eclectic, but his treatise influenced both bKa’ brgyud and Sa skya later treatments of the vajra body. Indeed, while its influence on Rang ’byung rdo rje’s Profound Inner Principles (Zab mo nang gi don) is noticeable, the Hidden Explanation of the Vajra Body is quoted profusely in Tshar chen Blo gsal rgya mtsho (1502–1566)’s Explanation of the Profound Body Mandala (Zab mo lus dkyil gyi rnam par bshad pa), which remained a Sa skya reference work on the topic. This master’s disciple ’Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse’i dbang phyug (1524–1568) recognized the role of Yang dgon pa in the transmission lineage of the Path and Fruit (Lam ’bras) teachings, listing him among the disciples of Sa skya Paññita (as the disciple “who

---

13 Hidden Explanation of the Vajra Body is studied in Blythe Miller 2013 and translated in Guarisco 2015. For Deliverance from the Perilous Straits of the Bardo, see Cuevas 2003: 56–57.

14 See text and translation of the passage in Blythe Miller 2013: 52–53. She notes that in an interlinear note from a modern edition of the text (Beijing, Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1991), ‘Bri gung rin po che is identified as ‘Bri gung gCung rDo rje grags pa (1210–1278), the 5th abbot of ‘Bri gung.

15 Blythe Miller 2013: 97–99, 142–145. Sa skya Paññita is quoted three times in the work; see trans. Guarisco 2015: 247, 257, 276. Yang dgon pa received the teachings of the Hidden Explanation of the Path from Sa skya Paññita; see below.
upheld the transmission of practice”) in his history of the tradition
titled Expansion of the Great Secret Doctrine (gsang chen bstan pa rgyas byed).16

‘Jam dbyangs mkhyan brtse’i dbang phyug, following his teacher
Tshar chen Blo gsal rgya mtsho, also relied on Yang dgon pa’s Deliver-
ance from the Perilous Straits of the Bardo (Bar do ’phrang sgrol) in the
presentation of the intermediate state in the context of the Path and
Fruit’s Explication for Disciples (slob bshad).

According to the History of the Deliverance from the Perilous Straits of the Bardo (Bar do ’phrang sgrörl gyi lo rgyus) of the Mountain Teachings, these instructions summarize
various strands of presentation of the intermediate state. The core of
the teachings is the Response to the Sisters of Long Life (Tshe ring ma’i zhus len), the famous exchange between the goddesses and Mi la ras pa; the
Five Sisters of Long Life also appeared directly to Yang dgon pa (see
History of the Mountain Teachings, paragraph 13 in the translation
below). But the History of the Deliverance from the Perilous Straits of the
Bardo also mentions other traditions, such as those of Bla ma Zhang
g.Yu brag pa, of the Shangs pa bKa’ brgyud lineage, and of mNga’
bdag N[]/M]yang ral [Nyi ma ’od zer (1124–1192)]. Among these:

Within the instructions of the Path with the Fruit of the Lord of
Yogins Virūpa there are also many points instructing on the very
profound instructions on the intermediate state. [In particular,]
there are also the profound points called Bar do snyan brgyud, Bar
do mkha’ spyod, and Bar do mngon sum by Jo mo lhà rje mà [i.e. Ma
gcig Zh[w]a ma (1062–1149)].18

---

16 For Rang byung rdo rje’s Profound Inner Principles, see Callahan 2014. For Tshar
chen’s Explanation of the Profound Body Mandala that Makes the Lotus Hearts of the
Fortunate Blossom (Zab mo las dkyil gyi rnam par bshad pa skal bzang snying gi pad mo
bzhad pa) “the definitive exposition for the Sakya tradition” which “incorporated
large sections of Yangönpa’s text into his own,” see Stearns 2000: 25, n. 36. For the
reference from the Expansion of the Great Secret Doctrine, see the translation of the
text in Stearns 2006: 239.

17 See Notes on the Outer Creation Stage (Phyi bskyed rim gyi zin bris), trans. Stearns 2006:
523. The other authoritative source mentioned in the text is a treatise by g.Yar sбу
ba ma that is lost; see ibid.: 682, n. 851.

18 See Bar do ’phrang sgrol gyi lo rgyus tshe rings ma’i zhus len, in Yang dgon pa’i gsum
’bum I, vol. 2, pp. 531–549: rnal ’byor gyi dbang phyug bir ba’i lam ’bras bu dang bcas
pa’i gdam ngag nas / bar do’i gdams ngag shin tu zab par gsungs pa’i gnad kyang mang
du yod / jo mo lhà rje ma’i bar do snyan bryug bar do mkha’ spyod dang / bar do mngon
sum ma zhes bya ba / gnad zab pa rnam s kyang yod de / (p. 548). See also Stearns 2001:
241–242, n. 159, who states that Ma gcig Zh[w]a ma’s texts on the intermediate state
do not seem to have survived. The History of the Deliverance from the Perilous Straits
of the Bardo (p. 548) also mentions three other teaching traditions, ascribed to one
pandita mNgon shes can, one bTsun mo can, and one dByar ston dBu ma pa
respectively (unidentified). For the Shangs pa bKa’ brgyud tradition, see Kapstein
These are no doubt the instructions on the intermediate state by Ma gcig Zh[wa] ma that Yang dgon pa received from Ko brag pa, which are mentioned in the History of the Mountain Teachings (paragraph 3 in the translation below). Hence, Yang dgon pa’s synthesis drew from all the main teaching traditions on the bar do known at the time, and remained an important reference text at least until the 16th century.

This overview shows how all three of Yang dgon pa’s main treatises that, according to Rin chen ldan, constitute the core of the Mountain Teachings draw from disparate teaching traditions that Yang dgon pa had received, and combine them to present comprehensive and structured expositions which had long lasting renown. It may be noted that Yang dgon pa’s contemporary O[/U] rgyan pa Rin chen dpal (1230–1309), who was also a prominent pupil of rGod tshang pa mGon po rdo rje, promulgated his own teaching tradition, which, according to his hagiographies, he had received directly from Vajrayogini. These tantric instructions, known as Service and Attainment of the Three Vajras (rDo rje gsun gyi bsnyen sgrub), were also popular among rTsib ri hermits in the 14th century, and were later considered one of the “eight great charriots” or “practice lineages” (sgrub brgyud shing rta chen po brgyad). Therefore, it seems that, at that time, syntheses of eclectic materials that offered complete sets of teachings for advanced tantric practice received good reception and spread rapidly among the religious communities of Western Tibet.

3. The History of the Mountain Teachings

The History of the Mountain Teachings is a brief text detailing the early transmission of Yang dgon pa’s teachings for hermits. The text does not have a narrative character and does not provide any sketch of the life of the teachers of the lineage, nor does it provide any date or other

1980, and for the so-called Six Yogas of Niguma, including the Intermediate State, see Harding 2010. The instructions of Mi la ras pa to the Five Sisters of Long Life are recorded in chapter 30 of the Collected Songs (mGur 'bum) of Mi la ras pa in the redaction by gTsang smyon Heruka (1452–1507) and are lifted from the previous hagiographic tradition; see Stagg (trans.) 2016: 349–375; see also van Tuyl 1975, Tiso 2019.

19 For the life of O rgyan pa, see Li 2011. Note that both bSod nams 'od zer and Zla ba seng ge, two important disciples of O rgyan pa, also figure among Zur phug pa Rin chen dpal bzang’s disciples; see Sernesi forthcoming. The “eight great charriots” were formulated by Phreng bo gter ston Shes rab 'od zer (Prāñāraśmi) (1517–1584) and then also treated in detail by 'Jam mgon Kong sprul Blo gros mtha’ yas (1813–1899) in his Treasury of Knowledge (Shes bya mdzod). They also constitute the organizational principle of the Treasury of Instructions (gDams ngag mdzod). See Kapstein 1996; 2007; Deroche 2009; Ngawang Zangpo (trans.) 2010: 321–375; Harding (trans.) 2007; Barron (trans.) 2013.

20 The work is listed as entry no. 73 in Martin 2020: 87.
chronological data. Instead, it accounts for multiple transmission lineages, recorded from their alleged origin to the text’s compiler, and thereby it reads as an early example of a “record of teachings received” (gsan yig). In fact, in the colophon it is characterized as a “short writing on the way the Mountain Teachings were transmitted and on the way the instructions were collected,” pointing at the process of formation of the textual corpus of the Mountain Teachings.

The work is divided in two distinct sections: the first part details the teaching lineages received by Yang dgon pa that were combined into the Mountain Teachings.21 The list of masters provided therein closely mirrors the information about Yang dgon pa’s religious training that is related in his biography Great Mirror compiled by the attendant Rin chen ldan. However, in inventoring and tracing back the teaching lineages that Yang dgon pa received from each master, the History of the Mountain Teachings greatly enriches the picture, providing an overview of the “practice lineages” (sgrub bgyud) diffused in the rTsib ri region during the early 13th century. These include esoteric teachings of the ‘Bri gung pa, ‘Brug pa bKa’ brgyud pa, and Sa skya pa, major cycles of instructions such as the Path and Fruit (Lam ’bras) in the tradition of Ma gcig Zh[w]a ma, prominent local practice traditions, some rDzogs chen teachings, and other lesser-known cycles of instruction. According to this account, Yang dgon pa “relied on eleven teachers“ (bla ma bcu gcig brten pa’o) in all, although the text mentions in fact thirteen names. Moreover, Yang dgon pa received direct instructions in dreams and visions from deities (yi dam), ďākinīs, and from Bla ma Zhang g.Yu brag pa (1122–1193). Topics (gnad) from all the teachings received and practiced were then skillfully combined in the instructions for mountain hermits.

The second section of the History of the Mountain Teachings is titled “how [the teachings] were transmitted from the venerable teacher to me” (chos rje nas bdag la brgyud tshul ni), and recounts the transmission lineages of the Mountain Teachings during three generations after Yang dgon pa. Indeed, the author of this text is Shes rab mgon, a later holder of the teachings who, according to his own account, received the instructions from the wider community of rTsib ri hermits, made of disciples of disciples of Yang dgon pa. Therefore, this section of the History of the Mountain Teachings provides a picture of the religious community on the sacred mountain at the end of the 13th/beginning of

21 Note that this first part may have been lifted from a lost source known as Ri chos ’byung khungs attributed to sPyan snga Rin chen ldan; see Martin 2020: 88, entry no. 74. According to a later register of the Collected Works of Yang dgon pa, it also existed a “record of teachings received” (gsan yig) of the master, now lost as an independent text. See Chos rje yang dgon pa’i bka’ ’bum gyi dkar chag, in Yang dgon pa’i gsung ’bum III, vol. 2, p. 556.
the 14th century. 'Gos lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal (1392–1481), in the Blue Annals, includes a short biographical note of Shes rab mgon in which he is said to be a native of rHo gdong, that is the same location west of rT希 bi mountain in which Yang dgon pa was born. He studied at first in his birthplace with a local disciple of Yang dgon pa and of O rgyan pa Rin chen dpal called rGyal mtshan 'bum. At age nineteen he took full ordination in the presence of the master Zur phug pa Rin chen dpal bzang (1263–1330)—who was a disciple of Yang dgon pa and of his attendant Rin chen ldan—who is best known as the teacher of 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang po. After training with masters of the hermitic community residing on rT希 bi mountain, he spent there seven years of solitary retreat. Afterwards, he travelled to Central Tibet (dBus) where he received teachings from the 3rd Karma pa Rang 'byung rdo rje (1284–1339) and from Rig 'dzin gZhon nu rgyal po (Kumāraraśa) (1266–1343), that is to say the main teacher of Klong chen Rab 'byams pa (1308–1364).

The Blue Annals mention that he composed biographies of bKa’ brgyud teachers, and in fact he is the compiler of the only extant hagiography of the master Ko brag pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan (1170–1249), which he signed as La stod pa Shes rab mgon. It is likely that he was also the

22 The hermitic community described in this second section of the text is studied more in detail in Sernesi forthcoming.
23 See Roerich 1949: 695–696. 'Gos lo tsā ba mentions a full-fledged life story of Shes rab mgon which has not yet surfaced.
compiler of a brief life story of Rin chen ldan included in the ‘Ba’ ra ba gser phreng, set in writing by one La stod pa, on the basis of extant written narratives and of the oral accounts by Zur phug pa and Grub thob Nyi ma mgon (both pupils of Rin chen ldan and teachers of Shes rab mgon) (see fig. 2). 25

According to the account of the History of the Mountain Teachings, Shes rab mgon sought out the numerous masters who held the Mountain Teachings. They resided at monasteries and hermitages on and around rTsib ri mountain, and most of them had studied with direct disciples of Yang dgon pa. Among those who can be located in the area, are Bla ma lHa sdings pa (lHa [g/]sdings[s] being an hermitage on rTsib ri established by Yang dgon pa), the lead chanter (dbu mdzad) of lHa gdong pa called Slob dpon Shes rab dar, and Bla ma Dar ma bzang po and Bla ma Rin chen mgon po residents of Zur phug: they are both listed as respectively the second and third Zur phug pa (i.e., head of the homonymous hermitage) among the disciples of the “first” Zur phug pa Rin chen dpal bzang in the latter’s biography. 26 Therefore, Shes rab mgon presents himself as an authorized and reliable source for the history of the teachings, having purposefully gathered information from the living tradition. The work was written down for students and a few mountain dwellers (ri pa) at Sham po gang: if this were the Yar lha Sham po mountain in Yar lungs, this would attest to an early diffusion of Yang dgon pa’s instructions in Central Tibet (dBus), among new, far away communities of mountain hermits.

4. Main Practice Lineages

The History of the Mountain Teachings is edited and translated below and divided in distinct numbered paragraphs for convenience. In the following remarks I refer to the text employing these paragraphs’ numbers in square brackets.

The first master mentioned in the text is ‘Bri gung spyan snga Grags pa ’byung gnas, from whom Yang dgon pa received “all the instructions of the Dwags po bKa’ brgyud, starting from the Six Teachings of Nāropa and so forth” [2]. The Great Mirror maintains that the teaching transmission occurred over a year and entailed the complete ‘Bri gung instructions, without mentioning any specific topic except for physical yogic exercises (’khrul ’khor, yantra). 27 In a further


26 For these hermitages and these masters, see Sernesi forthcoming.

paragraph of the *History of the Mountain Teachings* [21] the teachings received from Grags pa 'byung gnas are listed in greater detail. Emphasized are the "profound teachings" (zab chos) or "profound instructions" (zab khrid) of 'Jig rten mgon po (1143–1217), alongside the Fivefold [*Teachings on the Great Seal* (lNga ldan) and the Golden Pouch of the Mountain Teachings (Ri chos gser khug ma); as mentioned above, the latter is a short composition providing instructions to hermits, which is a direct precursor of Yang dgon pa's manual.28

Also detailed is the information about the instructions that Yang dgon pa received from rGod tshang pa mGon po rdo rje, with whom he developed a deep and long-lasting relationship. According to the *Great Mirror*, Yang dgon pa met this teacher young, before his ordination at age twenty-two, while rGod tshang pa was practising at rGod tshang ("The Vulture Nest"), the hermitage on rTsib ri mountain from which the teacher eventually took his name.29 The main teaching transmission occurred some time later at sTeng gro, a monastery founded by mGon po rdo rje in the rGyal nor area north of rTsib ri. According to the *Great Mirror*, on that occasion Yang dgon pa received instructions on the *Path of Means* and on the *Five Rivets for Clearing Obstacles* (Gegs sel gzer Inga).30 In the *History of the Mountain Teachings*, the *Five Rivets* are listed among the instructions that Yang dgon pa received before his ordination [18], while the teachings received from rGod tshang pa are thoroughly listed separately [5, 9, 19]. These include the most representative instructions of rGod tshang pa's teacher gTsang pa rGya ras Ye shes rdo rje (1161–1211), namely the *Six Cycles* [*of Teachings on*] *Equal Taste* (Ro snyoms skor drug). The transmission lineage provided for these teachings [5] reflects the fact that they are considered "treasure texts" (gter ma) ascribed to Ras chung pa (who had received them from the Indian siddha Tipupa) and recovered by gTsang pa rGya ras during a retreat in mKhar chu.31 Moreover, the text specifies that the teaching transmission included the instructions of Phag mo gru pa, and those that Gling ras pas Pad

---

28 For these "profound teachings" see 'Jig rten mgon po, *Bri gung thel chos bdud rtsi'i thigs pa*; for the Ri chos gser khug ma see *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 299–322.
29 Rin chen ldan, *Me long chen mo*, p. 44: *sku dge bsnyen du bzhugs pa'i dus su sku 'khor lnga yis sprang po'i chos su mdzad/ shrt'i dgon pa rnuams gzig su byon pa'i dus su/ chos rje rgod tshang na sgrub pa mdzad pa dang mjil*. For the whole episode of the life story summarizing the main meetings between the two, see *ibid.* pp. 44–48, trans. Guarisco 2015: 147–150. For rGod tshang, see Akester 2016: 665–668, Sernesi forthcoming.
30 Rin chen ldan, *Me long chen mo*, p. 46. A text on this set of practices ascribed to Nāropa is included in *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol. 9 (Ta), pp. 256–276; see Barron (trans.) 2013: 98.
31 For the concealment and discovery of the Ro snyoms skor drug, see Roerich 1949: 438, 668; Tshe dbang rgyal, *lHo rong chos 'byung*, pp. 649–651.
ma rdo rje (1128–1188) had received directly from Ras chung pa’s disciples Sum pa ras pa and rGyal ba lo, and passed on to gTsang pa rGya ras [5, 9].

Ko brag pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan (1170–1249) [3, 4, 15, 20] was one of the most prominent masters of his time. This figure was not claimed by any major school narrative of later date, and thus relatively little is known about him despite his fame during his lifetime. According to the Great Mirror, Yang dgon pa was eleven when he met his teacher, and relied on him until the latter’s death, hence for over twenty-five years. Together with rGod tshang pa mGon po rdo rje, this was the most influential figure in Yang dgon pa’s life. Ko brag pa was the holder of four main teaching transmissions, three of which he passed on to his pupil, namely the practices of Vajravārāhī, which was Yang dgon pa’s chosen deity (yid dam) [4], the Path and Fruit (Lam ’bras) in the tradition of Ma gcig Zhi[wa] ma (1062–1149) [3], and the Pacification (Zhi byed) of Pha dam pa Sangs rgyas [15]. The Pacification tradition is mentioned only in passing—together with the Great Perfection (rDzogs chen) teachings—and does not seem to have had a great impact on the formulation of the Mountain Teachings. This is quite surprising, given that Pha dam pa sangs rgyas had taught it while residing in Ding ri Glang ‘khor, and thus his teaching tradition must have been popular in the area. The transmission lineage of the practice of the goddess provided in the History of the Mountain Teachings [4] is that of the famous corpus of Six Vajravārāhī Scriptures (Phag mo gzhung drug) originating with Lakṣmīkāraṇa and one Virūpa, and passing through the elusive Nepalese teacher Hang du dkar po,

For gTsang pa rGya ras and his teacher Gling ras pa, see Blythe Miller 2005. For Gling ras pa, see also Martin 1979, Walther 2017. Short biographies of both teachers and of rGod tshang ras pa were written by Dan Martin for The Treasury of Lives. For the training of Gling ras pa with disciples of Ras chung pa, see also Roerich 1949: 660–661; Tshe dbang rgyal, lHo rong chos ’byung, p. 632, which states that the master spent altogether ca. fifteen years in gNyal Lo ro (i.e., where Ras chung pa’s community had settled). For a survey of the ’Brug pa teaching cycles, see Kun dga’ dpal ’byor, Tshig gi me tog; Schiller 2014: 239–244; Walther 2017: 68–72. For an early history of the ’Brug pa bKa’ brgyud pa, see Blythe Miller 2006.

For Pha dam pa Sangs rgyas and his Pacification teachings, see Martin 2006, 2008, and a number of unpublished papers and of blogposts on Tibeto-logic. Yang dgon pa also received the Zhi byed rmang lam ma, see below.
that greatly spread in Tibet.\textsuperscript{36} The \textit{History of the Mountain Teachings} \textsuperscript{3} doesn’t specify the lineage of transmission of the \textit{Path and Fruit} to Ko brag pa, but according to the master’s biography (that, as mentioned above, was also compiled by Shes rab mgon), he received these teachings from his two main teachers, namely Zhang ston Se mig pa and gNyos Chos kyi gzi brjid (1164–1224). This important teacher of the gNyos clan, also known as Kha rag pa or lHa nang pa gZi brjid dpal, was the son of gNyos Grags pa dpal (1106–1165/1182?), who controlled the lHa sa area and instructed, among others, Phag mo gru pa.\textsuperscript{37} Chos kyi gzi brjid is best known as a prominent pupil of ’Jig rten mgon, but he also received the transmission of the \textit{Path and Fruit} from sMon d[/]mkhar ba Nyang rgyal po grags. According to Ngor chen Kun dga’ bzang po (1382–1456), Nyang rgyal po grags received the transmission from a direct pupil of Ma gcig Zh[w]a ma named simply “the great meditator from Nyang” (Nyang sgom chen po), and in turn also taught one Shes rab tshul khrims qualified as the son of sMon mkhar ba’s lord or as Zh[w]a ma’s nephew. According to this account, this individual was also a teacher of Ko brag pa. Zhang ston Se mig pa, on the other hand, received the \textit{Path and Fruit} from a disciple of Nyang sgom chen po named sTon g.yung (see fig. 3).\textsuperscript{38} 

\textsuperscript{36} For this transmission, see Roerich 390–397. For the master named Virūpa of this lineage, also known as Eastern Virūpa (Shar phyogs Bir wa pa), and different from the better-known Virūpa of the \textit{Path and Fruit}, see Stearns 2016: 133, 639 n. 123. For Hang du dkar po, who is sometimes identified as one of the Pham ’thing brothers (i.e., the teachers residing in Pham ’[ ]thing in the Kathmandu valley, nowadays Pharping), see Stearns 2001: 206–207, n. 15 and references provided therein. The following teacher in the lineage of the \textit{History of the Mountain Teachings} \textsuperscript{4} is one lCal (!)ston lo tsā ba, which must be corrected to dPyal lo tsā ba, i.e., Se bSod nams rgyal mtshan alias Kun dga’ rdo rje; indeed, one of the lineages of transmission mentioned in the \textit{Blue Annals} passes through dPyal Kun rdor and mNga’ ris kyi ston, matching that of the \textit{History of the Mountain Teachings}; see Roerich 1949: 397. This teacher of the dPyal family was also at the origin of the so-called dPyal system of Hevajra, that he had received “from the elder one of the Pham thing brothers, i.e. ’Jigs med grags pa”; see Sobisch 2008: 48, n. 125.

\textsuperscript{37} For gNyos Chos kyi gzi brjid, see Jñānavajra (Ye shes rdo rje), \textit{lHa nang pa’i rnam thar}. For the gNyos clan, including Chos kyi gzi brjid’s influential father and his nephew lHa rin chen rgyal po (1201–1270), who founded the Gye re lha khang in 1231, see An., \textit{Kha rag gnayos gdung rabs}, esp. pp. 31–41 for Chos kyi gzi brjid; Sørensen and Hazod 2007: 385–391, 413–448. See also Vitali 2004: 133–143; Roerich 1949: 372–373; Tshe dbang rgyal, \textit{lHo rong chos ’byung}, pp. 425–426.

\textsuperscript{38} See Ngor chen Kun dga’ bzang po, \textit{Lam ’bras}, p. 466: de lha bu’i rje btsun ma de la bla ma nyang sgom chen pos lo bcu gnys bsten nas zhus/ de la bla ma smon mkar ba nyang rgyal po grags/ des kha rag gi gnayos chos kyi gzi brjid/ des bla ma ko brag pa/ des bla ma lha srung pa tro la bgrya’ul do/ [yang nyang sgom la ston g.yang gis zhus/ de la zhang ston se mig pas/ de la ko brag pas so/ [yang bla ma smon mkhar bäs/ smon mkar jo sras sam zhwa ma’i dbon po shes rab tshul khrims su grags pa la bshad/ de la ko brag pas so]. This is summarized in fig. 3. See also Stearn 2000: 24, n. 26. For the life of Ma gcig Zh[w]a
Ko brag pa is credited with the compilation of texts of instruction on the Path and Fruit, and in particular on the techniques for “dispelling hindrances” (gogs sel). These teachings, as mentioned above, were incorporated in the Mountain Teachings, and form a specific section of the Gleaming Jewel, followed by instructions on “enhancing the practice” (bogs dbyung).

While this tradition of the Path and Fruit is called the “middling” (’bring) tradition, Yang dgon pa also received what in the History of the Mountain Teachings [6.1] is called the “extensive” (rgyas) tradition of practice, which was transmitted within the Sa skya pa. Indeed, the work accounts for the main transmission lineage from Se ston Kun rig (1025–1122) to the elder of the Zhang ston brothers, namely Chos ’bar (1053–1135), and from him to Sa chen Kun dga’ snying po (1092–1158) and the early Sa skya hierarchs. It was Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga’ rgyal mtshan (1182–1251) who passed it on to Yang dgon pa. According to the Great Mirror, after an initial meeting between them that occurred on the road, Yang dgon pa travelled to Sa skya monastery, where he received from the paṇḍita tantric initiations of Cakrasaṃvara [6.2] and Hevajra, the textual transmission of sūtra and tantra scriptures, as well as several special instructions. Explicitely mentioned is the Hidden Explanation of the Path (Lam sbas bs Fraud) that was bestowed directly from Virūpa to Sa chen Kun dga’ snying po, and “was unknown to others” ma and his brother, see Roerich 1949: 218–229; Stearns 2001: 125–131; 2006: 208–212.

For the writings of Ko brag pa on the topic, see Ngor chen Kun dga’ bzang po, Lam ’bras, p. 467; Stearns 2000: 4, 22 nn. 11–12, 25 n. 34 and references quoted therein. The most famous work by the master on “dispelling hindrances” was titled Geks sel pa dmigs rgya mtsho and is not extant; see also Stearns 2006: 248.

This is the main transmission lineage of the Path and Fruit; see Stearns 2001; 2006: 163–251.
The transmission lineage of the Cakrasamvara practice provided in the *History of the Mountain Teachings* [6.2] is that of the tradition of Ghaṇṭapāda, that Sa chen Kun dga’ snying po had received from Mal lo tsâ ba Blo gros grags.42

5. Other Transmission Lineages

The *History of the Mountain Teachings* also records that Yang dgon pa received teachings of the Tshal pa bKa’ brgyud [7, 8]. In the transmission lineages provided in the text, Bla ma Zhang is followed by rJe Ro skam pa and Sangs rgyas ras pa (or Sangs rgyas ras chen). rJe Ro skam pa is Nyi ma shes rab (1139–1208), the founder of the monastery of Ro skam. He had a nephew called Sangs rgyas rdo rje (1169–1226) who studied with ’Jig rten mgon po and sPyan snga Grags pa ’byung gnas and succeeded his uncle as the second abbot of Ro skam monastery. However, the Sangs rgyas ras chen of the *History of the Mountain Teachings* is more likely the homonymous (seventh) throne holder of Tshal Yang dgon. Indeed, Yang dgon pa travelled there to pay homage to Bla ma Zhang’s statue, so he might have received instructions at the time.43 The teachings that Yang dgon pa

---


42 The lineage is provided in Ngor chen Kun dga’ bzang po, *Thob yig rgya mtho*, p. 206 as follows: /yang bde mchog dril bu pa’i brygyud pa’i bka’ babs gnyis dang ldan pa’i dbang thob pa’i brygyud pa la/ sa lugs kyi brygyud pa ni/ rdo rje ’chang/ rdo rje rnal ’byor ma/ rdo rje dril bu pa’i ras sbal zhas/ ’bar ba ’dzin/ gu hya pa/ tai lo pa/ nā ro pa/ pham mthing ba/ klog skya shes rab brtsegs/ mal dzo lo tshṣa ba/ rje sa chen yab sras gsum/ chos rje sa skya pandi ta/ (…). Here ’Bar ba ’dzin ([*Jālandhara*]) instead of Karnapa is inserted between Rus sbal zhas (*Kūrmapāda*) and Guhyapa. See also Luczanits 2011: 190 table 2, where both *Jālandhara* and Karnapa are listed: the lineage is depicted on a thangka of the deity reproduced in ibid.: 187 fig. 6.9 (private collection, originally acquired by Tucci). See also Roerich 1949: 382: in this account the Pham mthing pa who taught Klog skya Shes rab brtsegs seems to be the younger of the brothers from Pham [*’m*]thing in the Kathmandu valley. For a summary of the information about these brothers that can be gleaned from the *Blue Annals*, see Lo Bue 1997: 643–652. For the transmission from Mal lo tsâ ba to Sa chen, see Stearns 2001: 141, 247 n. 192.

43 For Ro skam pa and his nephew, see Tshal pa Kun dga’ rdo rje, *Deb ther dmar po* pp. 135–136; Grags pa ’byung gnas and rGyal ba blo bzang, *Ming mdzod*, pp. 1621, 1740–1741; Sørensen and Hazod 2007: 117–118. See also the biographical sketch of Ro skam pa by Dan Martin in *The Treasury of Lives*. For Yang dgon pa’s trip to Tshal
held are the *Seven Days Inner Heat* (*gTum mo zhag bdun ma*), that Bla ma Zhang received from rG[yal mtha’u ba gZhon nu dpal (1105/1110–1198/1202) [8], and the *Four Secrets* (*sBas bzhi*) [7], that the master received from Mal yer pa, who was a pupil of Ras chung pa and Gling kha ba, themselves disciples of Mi la ras pa. In the *Mountain Teachings* collection there are texts devoted to both these practices. The “notes” (*zin bris*) on the *Four Secrets*, which teach the manipulation of the inner winds and drops, were compiled by Shes rab mgon at the request of some spiritual friends at mTshur phu, while the *Inner Heat* instructions are ascribed to Yang dgon pa. In both cases, it is stated that Yang dgon pa transmitted the teachings to sPyan snga Rin chen ldan, who instructed Zur phug pa, who in turn taught Shes rab mgon; the *Inner Heat* instructions also provide the alternative lineage Yang dgon pa, Bla ma [rgYal mtshan]’Bum, Sngags rgyas dbon, Shes rab mgon. These are the two main transmission lineages of the *Mountain Teachings* recorded in the second part of the *History of the Mountain Teachings* [27, 28, fig. 2]. Moreover, this text specifies that Shes rab mgon received the *Four Secrets* from another pupil of Rin chen ldan, namely Nyi ma mgon [32, fig. 2].

Yang dgon pa also encountered Bla ma Zhang in dreams and visions. In particular, he received from him instructions on how to take gods and demons as the path (*lha dre lam du khyer ba*) called *Dream Secret Practice* (*gSang spyod rman g lam ma*) [11]. This is one of the so-called *Six Mothers* (*Ma drug*), visionary teachings recorded and compiled after the death of his teacher by the attendant Rin chen ldan.

---

44 Yang dgon, see Rin chen ldan, *Me long chen mo*, pp. 86–87; trans. Guarisco 2015: 180; Tshe dbang rgyal, *IHo rong chos ’byung*, p. 707. For the tenure of Sngags rgyas ras pa, or Sngags rgyas gzhon nu (d. 1260), see Grags pa ’byung gnas and rGyal ba blo bzang, *Ming mdzod*, p. 1742; Sørensen and Hazod 2007: 104. Note, however, that Sngags rgyas ras pa is also mentioned in the *History of the Mountain Teachings* [18] as one of the early masters of Yang dgon pa, so he might also be a homonymous local teacher.

45 For Bla ma Zhang’s two teachers, see Yamamoto 2012: 57–62. For the *Zab mo sba bzhi’i khrid dang ’khrul ’khor gui zin bris*, see Yang dgon pa ’i gsung ’bum I, vol. 3, pp. 143–156; note that in the transmission lineage provided therein, instead of Sngags rgyas ras pa one finds a teacher indicated only with the epithet Bya bral ba chen po (“Great Ascetic”). For the *gTum mo zhag bdun ma*, see Yang dgon pa ’i gsung ’bum II, vol. 1, pp. 355–367; in the transmission lineage therein a dGe ba’i bshes gnyen Ro snyoms pa substitutes Ro skam pa.

Other visionary teachings received by Yangśdong pa are those of the syllable Hūṃ transmitted by the dākinīs [10].

The other teachers of Yangśdong pa are little-known, and some could not be identified. His early teachers were one Phul dmar ba [15], who was the teacher of Yangśdong pa’s father and also instructed him as an infant, and one rDzing phu pa: the latter transmitted to his pupil bKa’ gdam pa teachings, but also the Cutting (gCod), and the Great Perfection teachings in the tradition of A ro Ye shes ‘byung gnas [16]. Another important teacher of Yangśdong pa was Drod chung pa: a disciple of gNyos Chos kyi gzi brjid, he transmitted to Yangśdong pa the Large and Small Vases of Nectar of the Mountain Teachings, and the Pacification Received in Dream (Zhi byed rmang lam ma), which are instructions that Phag mo gru pa received in a dream from Pha dam pa Sangs rgyas [22]. One Bla ma Go lung pa is also mentioned in passing in the History of the Mountain Teachings [25]: Go lung is a locality in Zur tsho (an area west of La stod lHo, near the dPal khud mtsho) where the family lineage of O rgyan pa had settled in the 11th/12th century. Hence, this teacher could be the latter’s uncle (and early teacher) Go lung Nam mkha’ rgyal mtshan. Finally, one Mi bskyod rdo rje transmitted to Yangśdong pa the “teaching cycles of the guru [Padmasambhava]” [17]: the name is common, but this may refer to one La stod pa Mi bskyod rdo rje who was a disciple of Nyang ral Nyi ma ‘od zer (1124–1192) and transmitted the Mani bka’ ’bum [51].

---

46 See Rigs bzhi dā ki’i hūṃ chos gnang tshul dang bcas pa, in Yangśdong pa’i gsung ’bum I, vol. 2, pp. 287–294. For the visionary transmission from the dākinīs, see Rin chen ldan, Me long chen mo, pp. 59–60, trans. Guarisco 2015: 159. Two more direct transmissions are recorded in the History of the Mountain Teachings, namely the ‘Khrul ‘khor bka’ rgya ma received from bDag med ma [12], and intermediate state teachings received from mKha’ ’gro Tshe dbang ma, probably Tshe ring ma [13].

47 These include his uncle named Grub thob Dar ma [23], one Bar ’brog Me lung pa [24], and lHa btsun Swo kha ba [25]. Bar ’brog is an area in La stod, where rGod tshang pa mGon po rdo rje founded the monastery of rDo rje gling, which was the place where he last met with Yangśdong pa and then passed away; see Blythe Miller 2006: 28; Guarisco (trans.) 2015: 202; Li 2011: 134; Roerich 1949: 686. There is also a transmission lineage of the Great Seal in the tradition of Maitreya passing through one rTsang shod pa [14], whom I could not identify. Compare a similar Great Seal transmission lineage in a text from XiXia; see Zhang 2019: 7, 9 table 1 (#3.3).

48 For A ro Ye shes ‘byung gnas, see Roerich 1949: 999–1000; Ostensen 2018.

49 For the Pacification Received in Dream (Zhi byed rmang lam ma), see Schiller 2014: 603 (PHAG 95). Drod chung pa transmitted to Yangśdong pa teachings of the ‘Bri gung pa and the sNyos (!) kyi bdun chos, which I take to be a sevenfold set of teachings of the gNyos lineage [22].

50 See Li 2011: 111 fig. 33, 112.

51 The transmission lineage of the Mani bka’ ’bum passing from Nyang ral Nyi ma ’od zer to La stod pa Mi bskyod rdo rje, and from the latter to the treasure discoverer rje btsun Sākya bzang po, is provided in the opening “supplicatory prayers” (gsol ’debs) of the work; see Ehhrhard 2014: 144, 147 n. 8. See also Martin 2020: 50 no. 13.
The History of the Mountain Teachings details the diversity of instructions and texts received by Yang dgon pa from his many teachers. As shown above, these include the most prominent and famous masters of his time active in the western regions: fervent and gifted practitioners like Yang dgon pa would seek them out to request their particular teaching systems, especially those of the highest tantric practices. The source attests to a religious landscape where these different traditions of practice—eventually considered specialties of distinct Buddhist “schools”—co-existed and intersected. Yang dgon pa was thoroughly trained in the Six Yogas of Nāropa, the Great Seal, the Equal Taste, and the Path and Fruit of two different lineage transmissions, and he also received instructions on the Great Perfection, the Pacification, the Secret Practice, and so on, as well as different styles of teaching on the intermediate state, the dispelling of obstacles, and the physical yogic exercises. He combined and elaborated this lore in his own system of teachings for hermits, a comprehensive presentation of specialized esoteric knowledge.

Tibetan Text of the History of the Mountain Teachings

Witnesses:

B: Yang dgon pa’i gsung ’bum II, Rta mgo, Thimpu 1982 (W23654), vol. 1, pp. 5–12.
C: EAP 570/6/3/6, fols. 1–5.

The manuscript from which the earliest publication (A) was prepared has now been photographed and made available online by the British Library Endangered Archives Programme (EAP). It was documented within Programme 570 in the collection of the Pha jo ldings ’Og min lHa khang (EAP570/6). It consists of two volumes: the first, labelled Ka in the initial dkar chag, and catalogued as EAP 570/6/3/6 (Ri chos brgyud tshul), corresponds to Yang dgon pa’i gsung ’bum I, vol. 1 and vol. 2, pp. 1–293. The second volume, labeled Kha, and photographed as EAP 570/6/3/22 (Ri chos gleng gzhi), corresponds to Yang dgon pa’i gsung ’bum I, vol. 2, pp. 295–643, and vol. 3. See https://eap.bl.uk/project/EAP570 (accessed October 2021).

Abbreviations employed:

em.: emendation; add.: addition; om.: omission

Note: Punctuation follows A, C; variants in B have not been marked.
(A1, B5, C1a) Ri chos brgyud tshul gyi lo rgyus bzhugs so / / (A2, B6, C1b) [1] / bla ma dam pa rnams la phyag btsal te / / slob mas skul phyir lo rgyus bsdus pa bri / / ri chos skor gsum gyi brgyud tshul dang rnam bzhag ni / spyir sde snod gsum dang rgyud sde bzhii'i snying phyung pa yin la / khyad par du gdam ngag zab dgu'i bcud bsdus pa yin te / 

[2] nā ro 52 chos drug la sogs po dags po bka' brgyud kyi gdam ngag thams cad / rdo rje 'chang / te lo pa / nā ro pa / mar pa / mi la / sgam po pa / mtha' rtsa pa / 'bri khung pa / spyan snga rin po che nas dpal yang dgon pa la brgyud / 

[3] lam 'bras 'bring po dang / zha ma'i bar do'i gdam ngag la sogs pa / se ston kun rig / ma gcig zha ma / chos rje ko brag pa nas / dpal yang dgon pa la'o / 

[4] / chos rje'i 53 zhal gzig kyi lha rdo rje phag mo yin cing / ri chos skor du bs kved rime skabs su rdo rje phag mo nges par sgom par bshad cing / zab chos (A3, C2a) thams cad kyi dbu na yang / na mo shri ba dzra yo gi ni ces pa yod / de'i brgyud pa ni rdo rje phag mo / lcam legs smin ka ra / bir 54 ba pa / a wa 55 dhū ti pa / bsod snyoms pa che chung / rje btsun ldong ngar ba / hang du dkar po / dpyal 56 ston lo tsha ba / mnga' ris kyi ston / lha rje ston pa / zhang se mig pa / chos rje ko brag pa / dpal (B7) yang dgon pa la'o / / 'di zhal 57 gzig kyi brgyud pa ma chad pa yin no /

[5] / ro snyoms bskor drug gi gnad thams cad ri chos na yod de / de'i brgyud pa ni / rdo rje 'chang / te lo pa / nā ro pa / ti pu 58 pa / ras chung pa / gtsang pa rgya ras / chos rje rgod tshang pa / dpal yang dgon pa la'o / / gzh an yang rje phag mo gru pas grub thob gling la brgyud pa dang / rje sum pa 59 / rgyal ba lo la sogs pa mang po nas grub thob gling la brgyud / des gtsang pa rgya 60 la brgyud pa'i bsre 'pho la sogs pa'i gnad rnam yod do / 

[6] / lam 'bras 61 rgyas pa dang / (A4 C2b) bde mchog dgyes rdor / lam sbas 62 bshad la sogs pa / sa skya pa'i gdam ngag thams cad yod de / 

[6.1] lam 'bras brgyud pa ni / rdo rje 'chang / bdag med ma / bir ba pa / da ma ru pa / nag po pa / ga ya dha ra / 'brog mi lo tsta ba

52 ro'i AC  
53 rje'i rje B  
54 bir 'bir B  
55 wa em. ba ABC  
56 dpyal em. lcal ABC  
57 zhal em. gzhal ABC  
58 pu phu B  
59 pa em. bha ABC  
60 rgya add. ras B  
61 lam 'bras em. lam ABC  
62 sbas em. rbas ABC
[6.2] / bde mchog brgyud pa ni / bde mchog / phag mo / gha dha pa / rus sbal] zhabs / karna pa / gurna pa / nram rgyal zhabs / te lo pa / nā ro pa / pham mthing pa nas / sa skya lo tshēna nas / dpal yang dgon pa la'o /

[6.3] / lam sbas bshad bir ba pa dngos kyis / sa chen la gnang nas / (B8) chos rje la'o /

[7] / sba bzhi'i brgyud pa ni / rdo rje 'chang / te lo pa / nā ro pa / ra khang ras pa / 'bri sgom gling kha ba / mal yer pa ba / bla ma zhang / rje ro skam pa / sangs rgyas ras pa / dpal yang dgon pa la'o /

[8] / gtsun mo zhag bdun ma'i brgyud pa ni / ye shes kyi mkha' 'gro shri tsa mun tri / dpal rga lo / bla ma zhang / rje ro skam pa / sangs rgyas ras chen / dpal yang dgon pa la'o /

[9] / gsang khrid brgyud pa ni / gong tsho ro snyoms dang 'dra / ras chung pa sku mchod gsum / sna phu pa / gtsang pa rgya / ras pa (A5 C3a) rdo rje ye shes / dpal yang dgon pa la'o /

[10] / hūṃ chos skor ni / mkha' 'gro sde bzhis dpal yang dgon pa la dngos su gnang ngo /


[12] / 'khrul 'khor bka' rgya ma ni / bdag med mas chos rje la dngos su gnang ba'o /

[13] / bar do'i gnad zab mo la so gs gdam ngag mang pa cig / mkha' 'gro tshe dbang mas chos rje la dngos su gsungs so / / de bzhin du / bla ma dang / yi dam dang / ye shes kyi mkha' 'gro mas dngos sam rmi lam du gsungs pa'i gnad mang po yod /

[14] / phyag rgya chen po'i skor tsho / sangs rgyas bde chen mgon po / byang chub smsa dpal blo gros rin chen / ri khrod pa lcam srin / mi tri pa / rgya gar phyag na / rtsang shod pa nas brgyud nas / dpal yang dgon pa la'o /

[15] / rdzogs chen gyi gdam pa ye shes gsang rdzogs la so gs pa'i gnad mang po dang / gzhan yang zhi byed kyi gdam ngag / 'jam dpal smra seng nas / pha dam pa nas / chos rje ko brag pa dang / bla ma

---

63 sbal] em. rbal ABC
64 sbas] em. rbas ABC
65 kyi] ni B
66 sba] em. rba ABC
67 sna phu pa] rna phu ba AC
68 mas] ma'i B
69 ba'o] pa'o AC
70 mkha' 'gro] mkha'<gro AC
71 mkha' 'gro] mkha'<gro AC
72 mgon po] dgon po B
phul dmar ba sku mched dang / sangs rgyas mi bskyod\textsuperscript{73} rdo rje nas bgryun pa'i (B9) gnad kyang bag re yod de /

[16] sgyu 'phrul sms 'jog a ro'i gdam ngag / theg chen blo sbyong la sogs dang / lam sgron la swo bka' gdams kyi skor / spyod 'jug / ma gcig gi (A6 C3b) bdud kyi spyod la swo pa yang / bla ma rdzing\textsuperscript{74} phu la ga sn nas yod do /

[17] / gu ru'i\textsuperscript{75} skor\textsuperscript{76} kyang rsa po ba nas mi bskyod rdo rje nas bgryun nas yod do /

[18] / gzer lnga / gnad lnga / dpal rga lo nas kyi lhan skyes kyi skor / ting nge 'dzin gyi dbang / bla ma'i gsang sgrub / snying rje blo rdeg ma la sogs pa gdam ngag mang po cig / sku dge bshnyen du bzhugs dus / sangs rgyas ras pa la sogs pa la ga sn nas / ri cho sn gnad rams yod do /

[19] / rtsang pa rgya'i rten 'brel gyi bs kor / bla ma sgrub pa'i skor la sogs pa\textsuperscript{77} rams dang / rje rgod tshang pa'i khrid chen bgryu la sogs pa'i gnad rams kyang yod do /

[20] / rje ko brag pa'i thabs lam gyi gnad / thugs kyi gdams pa'i gnad bsm gyis mi khyab pa bzhugs so /

[21] / chos rje 'bri khung pa'i zab chos / bcu chos sum chos / tshe dpag med kyi khrid / chos drug so ma / byams khrid / snying rje'i\textsuperscript{78} khrid / thig le'i khrid / lnga ldan gyi khrid / ri cho gs er khug ma / gro lung ma / gnad bgrya ma la sogs bsm gyis mi khyab pa'i gnad rams / spyan snga\textsuperscript{79} rin po che la ga sn nas yod do /

[22] / sbyor drug / gnyos\textsuperscript{80} kyi bdun chos / ri cho sbud rtsi bum pa che chung / zhi byed rmang lam ma\textsuperscript{81} la sogs pa mang po cig bla ma drod chung pa la ga sn pa'i gnad tsho yod do /

[23] / khu bo grub thob dar ma la cho s mang po cig ga sn pa'i gnad tsho yang yod do /

[24] / bar 'brog me lung pa la ri cho la sogs cho s mang du ga sn pa'i gnad tsho yod do /

[25] (B 10) / gzhan yang bla ma go lung pa dang / lha btsun swo kha ba yang bla ma yin te / bla ma bcu gcig brten pa'o /

[26] / chos rje nyid rdo rje 'chang dngos 'jig rten du byon pa yin zhing / lung dang rtogs pa'i cho s ma lus pa thugs su chud pa'i thugs nyams kyi gnad zab mo bsm gyis mi khyab pa rnam bzhugs so\textsuperscript{82} /

\textsuperscript{73} bskyod] skyod AC
\textsuperscript{74} rdzing] rjing C
\textsuperscript{75} gu ru'i] gu ru B
\textsuperscript{76} skor] bskor AC
\textsuperscript{77} add. sgrub skor AC
\textsuperscript{78} rje'i] rje B
\textsuperscript{79} snga] lnga AC
\textsuperscript{80} gnyos] em. snyos ABC
\textsuperscript{81} ma] om. B
\textsuperscript{82} bzhugs so] bzhugs<s>o C
II. (A7 C4a) / chos rje nas bdag la brgyud tshul ni /
[27] dpal yang dgon pa nas / slob dpon 'bum rin po che / sangs rgyas dbon la brgyud / yang gzhan nas kyang brgyud de / sangs rgyas dbon la ri chos skor thams cad bdag gis rdzogs par zhugs\textsuperscript{83} so /
[28] / yang dpal yang dgon pas chos rje rin chen ldan la gnang / de la dpal zur phug pas lo bcu gnyis brten cing / chos thams cad rdzogs par zhus / gzhan yang dpal yang dgon pa'i bu chen shag rdor ma dang / bla ma sgom ye / mkhan chen tshul khrims snying po / yon sgom rgyal mtshan bzang dang Inga la dpal zur phur pas gtugs\textsuperscript{84} shing / mkhas grub chen por grags cing / ri chos kyi bdag por bzhugs pa de la / bka' lung khrid lag len ma lus pa rdzogs par zhus so /
[29] / dpal yang dgon pa la bslabs\textsuperscript{85} pa'i dngos slob slob dpon 'bum la / bla ma rin gling pa ri chos tsho'i bka' lung gsan dus / brgyud pa nye ba la phan gsung nas / nged lo bcu gcig lon pa cig khrid nas chos thun ma chag par zhus so /
[30] / yang slob dpon gzhon tshul zer ba bzang po cig yod pa la / dpal yang dgon pa la yang slob nas chos 'ga' re gsan 'dug
[31] / chos rje'i slob ma bzang shos gdan sa mdzad pa'i chos rje lo ras la chos thams cad rdzogs par gsan lo mang du brten / de la bdag gis\textsuperscript{86} ri chos phal cher zhugs so /
[32] / yang chos rje rin ldan gyi slob ma / grub thob nyi ma mgon la / sba\textsuperscript{87} bzh'i dmar khrid dang / gsang khrid kyi lag len dmar khrid du zhugs so / / ri chos kyi gzhan yang mang du zhus so /
[33] / yang dpal zur phug pa'i gdan sar bzhugs pa'i / bla ma dar bzangs pas / dpal yang dgon pa'i dngos slob bu rgan nyi shu rtsa Inga la (A8 C4b) gtugs\textsuperscript{88} (B 11) shing / ri chos la shin tu mkhas par bzhugs pa de la gtugs\textsuperscript{89} / 'khrul 'khor lag len / zhul shes / khrid dang / sug dang gnad mang du zhus so /
[34] / dpal zur phug pa'i dbu mdzad bla ma rin mgon la yang ri chos skor gyi ma bde ba zhu btug dang / lag len gyi gsal 'debs la sogs yang yang du zhus so /
[35] / lhag\textsuperscript{90} gdong pa'i dbu mdzad slob dpon shes rab dar la yang ri chos skor mang du zhus so /
[36] / bla ma lha sding\textsuperscript{91} pa la 'phrang sgrol gyi 'khrul 'khor rnam dang / 'gag dang ma bde ba 'ga' re zhus so /

\textsuperscript{83} zhugs] bzhugs B
\textsuperscript{84} gtugs] btugs AC
\textsuperscript{85} bslabs] em. slob AC, slobs B
\textsuperscript{86} gis] gi B
\textsuperscript{87} sba] em. rba ABC
\textsuperscript{88} gtugs] em. btugs ABC
\textsuperscript{89} gtugs] em. bstugs ABC
\textsuperscript{90} lhag] lhag B
\textsuperscript{91} sding] bsdings AC
Translation of the History of the Mountain Teachings

“History of How the Mountain Teachings Were Transmitted”

[1] I pay homage to the holy masters! At the request of the disciples, I will write this short history. This is the means of transmission and the arrangement of the three cycles of Mountain Teachings: in general, they are the essence of the three baskets [of the scriptures] and the four classes of tantric scriptures; in particular, they are the condensed quintessence of the nine profound instructions.

---

92 gyi om. B
93 sba em. rba ABC
94 lha lhag B
95 bu em. bur ABC
96 mchod em. chod ABC
97 sba em. rba ABC
98 po pa A
[2] All the instructions of the Dwags po bKa’ brgyud, starting from the *Six Teachings of Nāropa* and so forth, were transmitted [as follows]: rDo rje ‘chang (Vajradhara), Tilopa, Nāropa, Mar pa, Mi la [ras pa], sGam po pa (1079–1153), mTha’ rtsa pa [i.e., Phag mo gru pa (1110–1170)], ’Bri khung pa [’Jig rten mgon po (1143–1217)], [and] from sPyan snga Rin po che [Grags pa ‘byung gnas (1175–1255)] to dPal Yang dgon pa (1213–1258).

[3] The “intermediate [transmission]” of the *Path and Fruit*, the instructions on the intermediate state by [Ma gcig] Zh[w]a ma, etc., [were transmitted as follows]: Se ston Kun rig (1025–1122), Ma gcig Zh[w]a ma (1062–1149), [and] from Chos rje Ko brag pa (1170–1249) to dPal Yang dgon pa.

[4] Since rDo rje phag mo (Vajravārāhī) is the Venerable [Yang dgon pa]’s [chosen] visualization deity, the time of the generation stage in the cycles of *Mountain Teachings* is certainly explained as the meditation on rDo rje phag mo. Moreover, at the beginning of all the profound teachings, one finds [the verse of homage] namo śrī vajra-yoginī. Its lineage of transmission is: rDo rje phag mo, Lakṣmīkara, Virūpa, Avadhūti, bSod snyoms pa (*Painḍapātika) the older and the younger, rje btsun lDong ngar ba, Hang du dkar po, dPyal ston lo tsā ba, mNyga’ ris kyi ston, lHa rje ston pa, Zhang Se mig pa, Chos rje Ko brag pa, and dPal Yang dgon pa. This is an uninterrupted lineage [of masters who] had visions [of the deity].

[5] In the *Mountain Teachings* there are all the main points of the *Six Cycles of Equal Taste*. Their transmission lineage is: rDo rje ‘chang (Vajradhara), Tilopa, Nāropa, Tipupa, Ras chung pa, gTsang pa rGya ras [Ye shes rdo rje (1161–1211)], Chos rje rGyal tshang pa [mGon po rdo rje (1189–1258)], dPal Yang dgon pa. Moreover, Grub thob Gling [ras pa Pad ma rdo rje (1128–1188)] had received the transmission from Phag mo gru pa, and he had received the transmission from many [masters] such as the Venerable Sum pa ras pa and rGyal ba lo. [In the *Mountain Teachings*] there are many points [of instruction] such as those on *Mixing and Ejecting* transmitted from him to gTsang pa rGya ras.

[6] In the *Mountain Teachings* there are all the Sa skya instructions, including the extensive *Path and Fruit*, the Cakrasaṃvara and Hevajra, and the *Hidden Explanation of the Path*.

[6.1] The transmission lineage of the *Path and Fruit* is: rDo rje ‘chang (Vajradhara), bDag med ma (Nairātmyā), Virūpa, Ṣamarūpa, Kāñha, Gayadhara (d. 1103), ’Brog mi lo tsā ba [Śākya ye shes (993–1077)], Se ’[m]khar chung ba [Se ston Kun rig (1025–1122)], Zhang dGon pa [Zhang ston Chos bar (1053–1135)], Sa chen Kun dga’ snying po (1092–1158), Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147–1216), bSod nams rtse mo (1142–
1182), Paṇchen lo tsā ba [Sa skyā Paṇḍita Kun dga’ rgyal mtshan (1182–1251)], Yang dgon pa.

[6.2] The transmission lineage of Cakrasamvara: bDe mchog (Cakrasamvara), [rDo rje] phag mo (Vajravārahī), Ghanṭapāda, Rus sbal zhabs (*Kūrmapāda), Karnapa, Guhyāpa, rNam rgyal zhabs (*Vijayapāda), Tilopa, Nāropa, and from Pham mthong pa [in a transmission lineage to] Sa skyā lo tsā ba [Paṇḍita Kun dga’ rgyal mtshan] and from him to Yang dgon pa.

[6.3] Virūpa himself gave the Hidden Explanation of the Path to Sa chen [Kun dga’ snying po], and from him [the teachings were transmitted via Sa skyā Paṇḍita Kun dga’ rgyal mtshan] to Chos rje [Yang dgon pa].


[8] The lineage of transmission of the Seven Days Inner Heat: Wisdom Dākinī Tsamuntri (= Cāmūndri?), rG[wa] lo tsā ba [gZhon nu dpal (1105/1110–1198/1202)], Bla ma Zhang, rje Ro skam pa [Nyi ma shes rab], Sangs rgyas ras chen, Yang dgon pa.

[9] The transmission lineage of the Secret Guidance is like that given above for the Equal Taste: from the three “brothers” [disciples of] Ras chung pa to sNa phu pa [i.e., Gling ras pa], gTsang pa rGya [ras Ye shes rdo rje], and to Yang dgon pa [via rGod tshang pa mGon po rdo rje].

[Direct transmissions 10–13:]

[10] The cycle of Hūṃ teachings was given directly from the four classes of dākinīs to Yang dgon pa.


[12] The Seal of Yantra was given directly to Chos rje [Yang dgon pa] by bDag me ma (Nairātmyā).

[13] Many instructions such as the profound points of the Intermediate Štate were given directly to the venerable teacher by the dākinī Tshe dbang ma (= Tshe ring ma?). In the same way, [in the Mountain Teachings] there are many points spoken directly or in a dream by the chosen deities (yi dam) and wisdom dākinīs.

[14] The cycles [of teachings] on the Great Seal were transmitted by the buddha bDe chen mgon po (*Mahāsukhanātha), the bodhisattva Blo gros rin chen (*Matiratna), the sisters Ri khor pa (Śavaripa), Maitrīpa, the Indian Phyag na (= [Vajra]pāni?), rTsang shod pa, and to the venerable Yang dgon pa.
[15] In the *Mountain Teachings* there are many topics such as instructions on the *Great Perfection* [called] *Ye shes gsang rdzogs*, and, moreover, instructions on *Pacification* transmitted from 'Jam dpal smra ba'i seng ge and from Pha dam pa Sangs rgyas through Ko brag pa, and also some little topics transmitted from Bla ma Phul dmar ba and his brother, and from Sangs rgyas Mi bskyod rdo rje.

[16] In the *Mountain Teachings* there are also the teachings that Yang dgon pa received from Bla ma rDzing phu pa: the instructions of A ro [Ye shes byung gnas called] *Illusion Entering the Mind*, the cycles [of teachings] of the bKa'gdams pa such as the *Mind Purification of the Great Vehicle* and the *Illuminating Lamp* (Byang chub lam sgron; *Bodhipathapradīpa*) and so forth, the *Bodhisattvacāryāvatāra*, the practice with demons of Ma gcig (i.e., the *Cutting* [gCod]), etc.

[17] In the *Mountain Teachings* there are also the cycles of [teaching of] Guru [Padmasambhava] transmitted from rNa po ba and from Mi bskyod rdo rje.

[18] In the *Mountain Teachings* there are topics that [Yang dgon pa] received while he was living as a layman (*upāsaka*) from [teachers] such as Sangs rgyas ras pa. These are many instructions like: the *Five Rivets*, the *Five Points*, the cycle on *Co-emergent [Yoga of the Great Seal transmitted]* from the Venerable *rgya ló tsā ba*, the *Empowerment of Samādhi*, the *Secret Sādhanā of the Teacher*, the *Mind Blowing [Teachings on] Compassion*, etc.

[19] In the *Mountain Teachings* there are also topics like the cycles on *Co-dependent Arising* by gTsang pa rGya [ras], the cycles on the *Masters’ Accomplishments*, and the *Eight Great Transmissions* of the Venerable rGod tshang pa.

[20] In the *Mountain Teachings* there are also the points on the *Path of Means* by the Venerable Ko brag pa and inconceivable topics of mind instruction.

[21] Yang dgon pa received inconceivable topics [of instruction] from sPyan snga Rin po che [Grags pa 'byung gnas]: the “profound teachings” of Čhos rje 'Bri gung pa [Jig rtön mgon po], the *Ten Teachings*, the *Transmission of Tshe dpag med* (Amitāyus), the *Six Teachings, Guidance on Love, Guidance on Compassion, Guidance on Drops, Guidance on the Fivefold [Great Seal]*, the *Golden Pouch of the Mountain Teachings*, the *Gro lung ma* (i.e., the *bsTan rim chen mo* by Gro lung pa Blo gros 'byung gnas?), the *Eight Topics*, etc.

[22] In the *Mountain Teachings*, there are also topics from the many [teachings] that he received from Bla ma Drod chung pa, namely the *Six Unions*, the *Seven Teachings of gNyos*, *Large and Small Vases of Nectar of the Mountain Teachings, Pacification [Received in] Dream*, etc.

[23] In the *Mountain Teachings*, there are also topics from the many teachings that he received from his uncle Grub thob Dar ma.
[24] [In the *Mountain Teachings,*] there are topics from the many teachings, such as the *Mountain Teachings,* that he received from Bar 'brog Me lung pa.

[25] Moreover, Bla ma Go lung pa and lHa btsun Swo kha ba were also teachers [of Yang dgon pa]. He relied on eleven teachers [in all].

[26] The Venerable teacher is really rDo rje 'chang who came into this world. He took at heart all the teachings of scriptures and realizations without exception and holds inconceivable profound points of inner experience.

II. How [the teachings] were transmitted from the venerable teacher to me.

[27] They were transmitted from dPal Yang dgon pa to Slob dpon 'Bum rin po che, [and from him to] Sangs rgyas dbon. Sangs rgyas dbon also received the transmission from others, and I completely received from Sang rgyas dbon all the cycles of *Mountain Teachings.*

[28] Moreover, dPal Yang dgon pa entrusted [the teachings] to Chos rje Rin chen idan. Having dPal Zur phug pa trained with the latter for twelve years, he completely received all the teachings. Moreover, dPal Zur phug pa encountered the five major disciples of dPal Yang dgon pa, namely Shag rdor ma, Bla ma sGom ye, mKhan chen Tshul khrims snying po, Yon sgom, [and] rGyal mtshan bzang. Thus, he was known as the great learned and accomplished one and as the Lord of the *Mountain Teachings.* From him I completely received the textual transmission, the explanations, and the practice instructions without exception.

[29] Bla ma Rin gling pa received the textual transmission of the *Mountain Teachings* from Slob dpon 'Bum, who had come and been a direct disciple of dPal Yang dgon pa. At that time, he said that it was beneficial to the close transmission. When I was ten years old, I received [from him] all the explanatory teaching sessions without interruption.

[30] Also there is one good [fellow] called Slob dpon gZhon tshul who also had come [to learn at the feet of] dPal Yang dgon pa, from whom I received some teachings.

[31] The venerable teacher’s best pupil, who founded the seat [of Lo pan] was Chos rje Lo ras pa. [His student] trained with him for many years and received completely all the teachings: from him I received most of the *Mountain Teachings.*

[32] Moreover, I received direct guidance on the *Four Hidden Teachings* (*sBa bzhi*) and direct guidance for the practice of the *Secret Guidance* (*gSang khrid*) from Grub thob Nyi ma mgon, who is a disciple of Chos rje Rin [chen] idan. I also received many *Mountain Teachings* [from him].
Moreover, Bla ma Dar [ma] bzang [po] who took the seat of dPal Zur phug pa, met at age twenty-four an old direct pupil of Yang dgon pa. He thus became very knowledgeable in the Mountain Teachings: having met him, I received [instructions on how to] practice the yogic exercises, the oral instructions, and the explanations, and [instructions] on many topics.

I also went again and again to request [clarifications] on [overcoming] difficulties [in the practice] of the Mountain Teachings, advice on practice, etc., from the lead chanter of dPal Zur phug pa, Bla ma Rin [chen] mgon [po].

I also received many cycles of Mountain Teachings from the lead chanter of lHa gdong pa, Slob dpon Shes rab dar.

I received the yogic exercises [for the practice of] Deliverance from the Perilous Straits [of the Bardo] and some [guidance on overcoming] obstructions and difficulties [of the practice] from Bla ma lHa sdings pa.

I received practice guidance on the Three Great Instructions (Khrid chen gsum) and also some Mountain Teachings from Slob dpon Chos kyi dpal.

I received from rTogs ldan Khro rgyal [guidance on overcoming] the difficulties of the [practice of] Deliverance from the Perilous Straits [of the Bardo], the body training of the Path and Fruit, etc.

I received from Slob dpon dKon mchog bzang po the cycles of Mountain Teachings and many instructions on bKa’ ’phrang (?).

I received from Slob dpon gZhon nu snying po practice guidance on the Four Hidden [Teachings] and many [instructions on overcoming] the difficulties of the [practice of the] Mountain Teachings.

Moreover, I went to request [instructions] from many very good [teachers] such as the old disciples of lHa gdong, Slob spon brTson ’grus mgon and dGe slong grub rgyal.

I also received some topics of the lineage transmissions [descending] from Bla ma bSam [b]sding[s] pa and rDzong kha ba, as well as the lineage transmission of Zhu ston.

Since I wasn’t satisfied with obtaining the books and textual transmission of these Mountain Teachings, I received the practice and liturgical [instructions] of each one. Someone who did not obtain the supreme empowerments doesn’t ask for the Three Great Instructions. Without the complete Three Great Instructions, one does not teach the Three Mountain Teachings. Without the complete Three Cycles [of Mountain Teachings] one does not teach the profound instructions. Without understanding the experiential guidance of those instructions, refrain from the [mere] reading transmission. Refrain from adulterating and fabricating the teachings. The Hidden Explanation, the Four Hidden [Teachings], the Secret Guidance, and so forth are extremely
fierce, so it is of uttermost importance to be careful. May this short writing, written out of love, be helpful to all beings!

[44] This short writing on the way the Mountain Teachings were transmitted and on the way the instructions were collected was written in Sham po gang by the beggar Shes rab mgon, at the request of a few students, friends, and good mountain dwellers. May it be helpful to sentient beings!

Bibliography

*AA.VV.
— gDams ngag mdzod : A treasury of precious methods and instructions of all of the major and minor Buddhist traditions of Tibet, brought together and structured into a coherent system by 'Jam-mgon kong-sprul; edited from a set of the dPal-spungs prints and published at the order of H.H. Dingo Chentse Rinpoche, 18 vols., published by Lama Ngodrup and Sherab Drimey, Paro, 1979–1981. (TBRC W20877)

*An.
Akester, Matthew

Barron, Richard (trans.)

Blythe Miller, Willa

Callahan, Elizabeth (trans.)

Cuevas, Bryan

Deroche, Marc-Henri

Ehrhard, Franz-Karl
— “The Royal Print of the _Mani bka’ bum_: Its Catalogue and Colophon”, in _Nepalica-Tibetica: Festgabe for Christoph Cüppers_, edited by Franz-Karl

**Erschbamer, Marlene**  
The 'Ba'-ra-ba bKa’-brgyud-pa: Historical and Contemporary Studies, Wien, Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, 2017.

**Grags pa 'byung gnas and rGyal ba blo bzang**  
*Ming mdzod*: Gangs can mkhas grub rim byon ming mdzod, Lanzhou, Kan su'i mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1992.

**Guarisco, Elio (trans.)**  

**Harding, Sarah (trans.)**  

**'Jig rten gsum mgon (1143–1217)**  
— bKa’ ‘bum : The Collected Works (bKa’ ‘bum) of Khams gsum chos kyi rgyal po Thub dbaṅ ratna śrī (sKyob pa ‘Jig rten gsum mgon), edited by Drikung Kyabgon Chetsang, 12 vols. New Delhi, Drikung Kagyu Ratna Shri Sungrab Nyamso Khang, 2011. (TBRC W23743)  
— 'Bri gung thel chos bdud rtṣi’i thigs pa, A collection of highly esoteric instructions on various aspects of Buddhist practice, comprising the “sealed” or bka’-rgya-ma portions of the collected writings (gsuṅ-’bum) of 'bri-guṅ Skyob-pa’ ‘jig-rten-mgon-po, Reproduced from a rare set of manuscripts (sic!) from the library of the Ven. Rtogs-ladan Rin-po-che of Sgaṅ-snoṅ Monastery by Tsering Dorma Gelek, 2 vols. New Delhi, 1975. (TBRC W4CZ1721)

**Jñānavajra**  
lHa nang pa’i rnam thar : 'Bri gung skyob pa ‘jig rten mgon po’i dngos slob ’phrin las rang mnyam bcu gsum las dpal gnyos rgyal ba lha nang pa’i rnam thar, Dehradun, Drikung Kagyu Institute, 1997. (TBRC W1KG14663)

**Kapstein, Matthew T.**  

van der Kuijp, Leonard W.J.

Kun dga’ dpal ’byor (1428–1476)
dKar chag tshig gi me tog, in Collected Works (gSuṅ bum) of rGyal-dbaṅ rJe Kun-dga’-dpal-’byor, vol. 2, pp. 339–353 (za), Darjeeling, Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang, 1982. (TBRC W10954)

Li, Brenda

Lo Bue, Erberto

Luczanits, Christian

Martin, Dan
Ngawang Zangpo (trans.)

Ngor chen Kun dga’ bzang po (1382–1456)
— Lam ’bras : Lam ’bras bu dang bcas pa’i man ngag gi byung tshul gsung ngag rin po che bstan pa rgyas pa’i ngyi ’od, in Ngor chen kun dga’ bzang po’i bka’ ’bum, vol. 1, pp. 435–508, Dehradun, Sakya Centre, 199?. (TBRC W11577)
— Thob yig rgya mtsho, in Ngor chen kun dga’ bzang po’i bka’ ’bum, vol. 1, 179–433, Dehradun, Saky Centre, 199?. (TBRC W11577)

Ostensen, Morten

rDo rje rgyal po (1110–1170)

Rin chen ldan (1202–?)
— Me long chen mo : rGyal ba yang dgon pa’i rnam thar bstod pa ma’ang me long chen mo, Kathmandu, Shri Gautam Buddha Vihara, 2002.

Roerich, George N.

Schiller, Alexander
Sernesi, Marta

Sobisch, Jan Ulrich
Hevajra and Lam ’bras Literature of India and Tibet as Seen Through the Eyes of A-mes-zhabs, Wiesbaden, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2008.

Sørensen, Per K. and Guntram Hazod

Stagg, Christopher (trans.)

Stearns, Cyrus

Tiso, Francis

Tshe dbang rgyal (15th c.)
IHo rong chos ’byung : Dam pa’i chos kyi byung ba’i legs bshad lho rong chos ’byung ngam rta tshag chos ’byung, Lhasa, Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 1994.
Tshal pa Kun dga’ rdo rje (1309–1364)
*Deb ther dmar po: Deb ther dmar po rnams kyi dang po hu lan deb ther*, edited by Dung dkar Blo bzang ’phrin las, Beijing, Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1981.

van Tuyl, Charles D.

Vitali, Roberto

Walther, Marco

Yamamoto, Carl S.

Zhang, Linghui