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TSIU MARPO

THE CAREER OF A TIBETAN PROTECTOR DEITY

By

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I dedicate this work to my parents,
George and Wanda Bell,
for their limitless and unconditional support
in all of my endeavors.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- DCTS** Lelung Jédrung Zhepé Dorjé (Sle lung rje drung Bzhad pa'i rdo rje; b.1697). 1979. *The Unprecedented Elegant Explanations Describing Mere Portions of the Hagiographies of the Ocean of Oath-bound Guardians of the Teachings (Dam can bstan srung rgya mtsho'i rnam par thar pa cha shas tsam brjod pa sngon med legs bshad)*, vol. 2. Thimphu: Kunzang Topgey, pp. 113-124.
- MPG** Ngari Pañchen Padma Wangyel (Mnga' ris Pañ chen Padma dbang rgyal; 1487-1542). 19th century. *The Warlord's Tantra with Accompanying Sādhanas (dmag dpon gyi rgyud sgrub thabs dang bcas pa bzhugs so)*. In *The Great Treasury of Termas (Rin chen gter mdzod chen mo)*, vol. 62. Jamgön Kongtrül Lodrö Tayé ('Jam mgon Kong sprul blo gros mtha' yas; 1813-1899), pp. 299-332.
- NBGL** Lozang Penden Yeshé (Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes; 1738-1780). 18th century. *The Perfect Feast Petition Offering for Tsiu Marpo, King of the Violence Demons and War Gods (Gnod sbyin dgra lha'i rgyal po tsi'u dmar po la gsol mchod rdzogs ldan dga' ston)*.
- SCBD** u.a. u.d. *The Lightning Garland of Quick Amending and Restoring Liturgies for the Oath-bound Dharma Protectors of the Subjugating and Wrathful Lands that Agitate the Mind (Bsam lcog dbang drag gling gi dam can chos srung rnams kyi bskang gso myur mgyogs glog gi phreng ba)*.

ABSTRACT

I propose to examine the mythological and ritual significance of an important yet little-known Tibetan protector deity named Tsiu Marpo (Tsi'u dmar po). Tsiu Marpo is the protector deity of Samyé (Bsam yas) monastery (est. 779 C.E.), the oldest Buddhist monastery in Tibet. Almost nothing is known of this figure in available scholarship. De Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, Gibson 1991, and Kalsang 1996 are the only secondary sources available on Tsiu Marpo, and the latter source provides a very poor and rudimentary history. The first two sources are informative; however, de Nebesky-Wojkowitz is outdated and Gibson only briefly examines Tsiu Marpo for the purpose of his larger argument.

Due to this paucity of information, in order to understand better this deity and his importance in Tibet, I will explore Tsiu Marpo through four venues representative of his influential role: his origin story and its connection with Tibetan cultural history, his iconography and its representation of Tibetan expressions of violence, his involvement in apotropaic ritual, and his importance within the Tibetan oracle tradition. This last venue of exploration will pull from all previous venues in order to elaborate on the oracle tradition as a dynamic outlet, through which the ritual program of the deity is enacted for a social service, and which utilizes iconographically significant ritual implements to submerge the service within a realm of sacrality. Through this detailed examination of one Tibetan protector deity, I hope to provide a template for further studies on protector deities as a whole, an arena of Tibetan studies that is still dim and disorganized.

Therefore, my thesis will begin with an introduction to Tibetan protector deities, the texts through which they are encountered, and the various sources that have contributed to the figure of Tsiu Marpo and of protector deities in general. From there my focus will contract into a detailed exploration of the protector deity Tsiu Marpo and expand outward into his iconographic, cosmologic, ritual, and oracular importance. My conclusion will tie these observations together to illustrate the multifaceted connections between the ritual and the social in Tibetan Buddhism and the importance of protector deities as a cohesive force between multiple cultural milieus, particularly lay and monastic communities.

INTRODUCTION

Since the arrival of Buddhism in Tibet during the seventh century C.E., the religion has had a complex, at times uncomfortable, relationship with the indigenous religious forces of the land. In cultural myth and history, this relationship is personified by the constant interaction between Buddhist agents and supernatural deities of the Tibetan landscape. This interaction is not wholly unique to Tibet and can be found in the development of Buddhism in China, Japan, Sri Lanka, and elsewhere in Asia. However, what is unique is how such relationships develop, given Tibet's particular history, and how the forces involved help solidify the Buddhist community along lay and monastic divisions, the two major social elements of the religion. These two divisions have a complex relationship in all Buddhist communities; they are symbiotic because the monastic community relies materially on the lay community, while the latter relies spiritually on the former. Nonetheless, the goals of these communities are different, with the monastic community concerned with enlightenment and the lay community concerned with more pragmatic interests.¹

The Tibetan cultural landscape is overrun with the lives, adventures, and influences of innumerable gods and demons, both foreign and autochthonous. These deities play a significant role in shaping the religious history of Tibet and continue to have a strong presence in the daily practice and worship of Tibetans. As such, to better understand Tibetan religious history and practice it is important to study these deities, where they come from, and how they evolve. Despite this importance, very little research has been conducted on Tibetan deities, compared to the overwhelming scholarship on Tibetan Buddhist philosophy. I suspect this is a preferential bias that still exists toward the high value of Buddhist philosophy and the belief that it is the core of Buddhist religion.² The central perspective of my study is that this biased attitude is simply

¹ This division of concerns is not mutually exclusive, as lay members of a Buddhist community do have a long-term interest in enlightenment and monastic community members have practical motivations in daily life. These issues will be explored further in this study as well as in the conclusion.

² Bentor (1996, p. xix) makes a similar observation about ritual: "The great majority of studies on Tibetan Buddhism focus on scholastic and philosophical aspects. Yet, the greatest Tibetan intellectuals today, as in the past, engage themselves not only in Buddhist philosophy, but in ritual performances as well... If the tradition itself does not divide philosophy from ritual, there is no justification for the fact that ritual is so often belittled or ignored by scholars of Tibetan Buddhism."

that. In order to have a fuller understanding of Buddhism and its practice in Tibet, an exploration of its deities and their involvement in ritual is necessary.

Though research has been minimal, there nonetheless exist a number of resources that focus exclusively on Tibetan deities, and their value and content will be further explored below. For now it can be said that these previous studies have an overall tendency to be excessively broad, providing no detailed examination of one single deity. The goal of this thesis, then, is to provide a different perspective by focusing exclusively on the mythic career of a particular Tibetan deity. This deity is Tsiu Marpo.

Tsiu Marpo

Tsiu Marpo (Tsi'u dmar po), literally "Red Pith," is a Tibetan protector deity (Tib. *chos skyong*; Skt. *dharmapālas*), which signifies that he has been assigned as a guardian of the Buddhist teachings, ensuring its continued survival in Tibet, and, by extension, the world. As such, he is a worldly deity, a classification that will be examined below. Tsiu Marpo resides at Samyé (Bsam yas) monastery (est. 779 C.E.), the oldest Buddhist monastery in Tibet. It would seem this connection to such a central location in Tibetan history would be enough to warrant a prolonged examination of this significant Tibetan deity, yet very little mention of Tsiu Marpo is found in secondary materials. To remedy this deficiency, this study will provide a thorough examination of Tsiu Marpo along multiple venues. These venues include Tsiu Marpo's mythic origins, iconographic representation, ritual significance, and oracular manifestation. This method of exploration will provide a number of perspectives on the evolution of Tsiu Marpo as well as increase understanding of Tibetan protector deities and the powerful roles that they play along mythic, ritual, communal, and political lines. Aside from providing a full image of this important yet little known protector deity, this study aims to illustrate more broadly how deities like Tsiu Marpo are necessary elements of the Tibetan socio-religious landscape. We will see that deities are instrumental in strengthening social cohesion on multiple levels and in multiple contexts.

Review of the Literature

The available research on Tibetan deities is scant. To this day, the most comprehensive treatment of Tibetan gods, demons, and oracles is *Oracles and Demons of Tibet: the Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities* by René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, which was first published in 1956. This early date does not necessarily make the text obsolete, as its approach is synchronic and descriptive, but it severely dates it. The text contains obscure or incorrect information that has since been responsibly clarified in more recent scholarship. De Nebesky-Wojkowitz conducted his research between 1950 and 1953 in the town of Kalimpong on the Indo-Sikkimese borderland. His resources were three Tibetans and their individual Tibetan texts. As such, the bulk of de Nebesky-Wojkowitz's information rests on very limited resources despite the extensive text citations found at the end of the book. Also, the text is not especially friendly to non-specialists; he continues to use many Tibetan words in their transliteration without phonetic equivalents or translations in several instances. The general style of the writing also makes it especially difficult material even for specialists.

The book's greatest deficiency is its lack of explicit organization. The table of contents does a cursory job of categorizing various deities; beyond this, the individual chapters are little more than extensive and unorganized descriptions of these deities's attributes. There is no grand unifying methodology tying these descriptions to the greater cultural and ritual traditions of Tibet and thus there is no concise statement on their importance and relationship to Tibetan religion. The book, like its individual chapters, starts and ends abruptly with no solid connections.

Despite these weaknesses, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet* provides a wealth of information and is groundbreaking in its depth. It continues to be the springboard from which later works on Tibetan protector deities, including this one, begin their investigation. It is also one of only three English-language works that explicitly discuss Tsiu Marpo, dedicating an entire chapter to him and his cohorts.³ Of these three sources, de Nebesky-Wojkowitz's treatment is the most descriptive, providing details on Tsiu Marpo's origins and iconography, though lacking in any detailed examination of his ritual and historical importance.

Todd Gibson's dissertation, "From *btsanpo* to *btsan*: The Demonization of the Tibetan Sacral Kingship," completed in 1991, is a much more recent survey on Tibetan deities. This text

³ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz [1956] 1998, pp. 166-176.

specifically explores the demon class called *tsen* (*btsan*; called "might demons" in this study), the class with which Tsiu Marpo is associated. Gibson provides a brief examination of Tsiu Marpo as such.⁴ This examination lacks the descriptive accounts provided by de Nebesky-Wojtkowitz, but provides much-needed textual analysis, placing Tsiu Marpo firmly within the evolution of the *tsen* deity class in Tibetan history. By contrast, Gibson's study is heavily diachronic and provides a well organized examination of a specific class of deity as well as its relation to the early Tibetan kingship. It is an excellent resource and provides a fresh approach to the study of Tibetan deity cults. However, its focus on *tsen* deities as a whole prevents any more than a cursory glance at Tsiu Marpo, though its research is useful. His discussion of Tsiu Marpo exists only to further the greater argument of his dissertation, and so the deity is at best of secondary importance.

The final text that gives any prolonged attention to Tsiu Marpo is *The Guardian Deities of Tibet* by Ladrang Kalsang. The scholarly value of this text is so low that it almost does not warrant mention. The book as a whole is an unorganized collection of the origin stories of a number of Tibetan deities, including Tsiu Marpo.⁵ The chapter on Tsiu Marpo is a basic history lacking any analysis; there are even a number of inconsistencies. The book is simply an unscholarly introduction to a number of Tibetan deities and cites no resources. It exists in a vacuum apart from the rich cultural complexity of Tibet. Therefore, its value for this study is simply to recognize its existence, its variation on Tsiu Marpo's origins, and its deficiency as a viable resource.

All other major contributions to the academic study of Tibetan deities are journal articles. An important collection dedicated to the advancement of this research is *Tibetan Mountain Deities, Their Cults and Representations*, edited by Anne-Marie Blondeau.⁶ This is an excellent multi-lingual resource with the majority of articles taking a more limited approach and exploring individual deity cults in various Tibetan localities. Other significant resources include works by John Bellezza, Anne-Marie Blondeau, Eva Dargyay, Samten Karmay, Béla Kelényi, Russell Kirkland, and Kevin Stuart.⁷ Bellezza's book is in many ways similar to *Oracles and Demons of*

⁴ See Gibson 1991, pp. 200-211.

⁵ See Kalsang 1996, pp. 114-116.

⁶ See Blondeau 1998.

⁷ See Blondeau 1971; Bellezza 1997; Dargyay 1985; Karmay 1998c, d, e, and f; Kelényi 2003; Kirkland 1982; and Stuart 1995. Blondeau's article is an outline of a prominent Tibetan text on the various classes of Tibetan deities

Tibet, with the advantages of being more recent and organized. It also attempts a broad overview of important deity cults in Tibet, taking a primarily archaeological approach supported by textual and ethnographic materials. It is impressive for this scope, but Bellezza's central arguments are too speculative and rest too heavily on his own personal opinions and beliefs.

Due to the deficiencies still present in the study of Tibetan protector deities, this discussion hopes to contribute to further dialogue on the subject. Nonetheless, my methodological approach and the various elements involved in my research have borrowed heavily from the above studies.

Methodology

The methodological approach of this thesis is primarily synchronic with diachronic elements. The synchronic elements consist of four Tibetan texts that exclusively concern Tsiu Marpo. These works are the foundation of my study and include:

1. *The Warlord's Tantra with Accompanying Sādhanas (Dmag dpon gyi rgyud sgrub thabs dang bcas pa)*. This text consists of seven chapters and accompanying propitiatory ritual scriptures. It was written by Ngari Pañchen Péma Wangyel Dorjé (Mnga' ris Pañchen Padma dbang rgyal rdo rje; 1487-1542) with redactions by Chokyur Dechen Zhikpo Lingpa (Mchog gyur bde chen zhig po gling pa; 1829-1870), and is found in the 62nd volume of *The Great Treasury of Termas (Rin chen gter mdzod chen mo)* compiled by Jamgön Kongtrül ('Jam mgon Kong sprul; 1813-1899). It will be referred to as *The Warlord's Tantra* when discussed within this study. This text is Tsiu Marpo's root text (*gter gzhung*), meaning that it is the core text that concerns him and his ritual program. *Tantra*, as well as other textual and ritual terms encountered here, will be defined and explored more fully in chapter 1.

2. A section concerning Tsiu Marpo found in *The Unprecedented Elegant Explanations Describing Mere Portions of the Hagiographies of the Ocean of Oath-bound Guardians of the Teachings (Dam can bstan srung rgya mtsho'i rnam par thar pa cha shas tsam brjod pa sngon med legs bshad)*. This text was written by Lelung Jédrung Zhepé Dorjé (Sle lung rje drung Bzhad pa'i rdo rje; b. 1697) and will be referred to as *The Unprecedented Elegant Explanations*.

called "Chronicles of the Gods and Demons" (*Lha 'dre bka'i thang yig*), the first chapter of the *Bka' thang sde lnga*; see Guru Orgyan Lingpa 1986.

3. *The Perfect Feast Petition Offering for Tsiu Marpo, King of the Violence Demons and War Gods (Gnod sbyin dgra lha'i rgyal po tsi'u dmar po la gsol mchod rdzogs ldan dga' ston)*. This invocation text was written by the third Panchen Lama Lozang Penden Yeshé (Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes; 1738-1780). It will be referred to as *The Perfect Feast Petition Offering*.

4. A short prayer to Tsiu Marpo found within a collection of various prayers to protector deities written by an unknown author and called *The Lightning Garland of Quick Amending and Restoring Liturgies for the Oath-bound Dharma Protectors of the Subjugating and Wrathful Lands that Agitate the Mind (Bsam lcog dbang drag gling gi dam can chos srung rnams kyi bskang gso myur mgyogs glog gi phreng ba)*.⁸ It will be referred to as *The Lightning Garland*.

The Warlord's Tantra will serve as the foundation for my central research and observations, with the other scriptures acting as further support. Translations of these texts are provided as appendices. Their content and fragments are quoted and analyzed within this study to support my arguments. Other synchronic materials include ethnographic information culled from secondary sources as well as field observations that I have made personally. These observations were conducted from June to August 2005 in Tibet, where I was involved in a Summer Language Program organized by the University of Virginia and Columbia University in cooperation with Tibet University, Lhasa. The time spent during this summer afforded me the opportunity to advance my research on Tsiu Marpo exponentially. The second and third texts described above were given to me by Tibetan lamas during this time and I was able to conduct a number of impromptu interviews. I also had the opportunity to visit Samyé monastery along with Tsiu Marpo's main temple there, the details of which are provided in chapter 2. The information garnered from this trip permeates this work.

The secondary diachronic elements of this study have been pulled from the above works and secondary materials. The central goal of this thesis is to provide a detailed description and greater analysis of Tsiu Marpo, and through him the relationship between protector deities and the Tibetan Buddhist community. However, this cannot be done without a cursory knowledge of Tibetan history as well as an understanding of the historical contexts surrounding these texts and associated practices. Therefore, there will be a constant awareness of these events as happening in history, but a detailed historical examination will not be provided.

⁸ It is possible that this text is an edition of *The Lightning Garland of a Hundred Thousand Quick Invocations (Bskul 'bum myur mgyogs glog gi phreng ba)* by Sangyé Lingpa; however, this can only be confirmed by exploring this text. See Sangyé Lingpa 14th century.

Overall, I liken my multilayered approach to that utilized by Yael Bentor in her study of consecration manuals. My foundation will be a study of Tibetan texts combined with the added support of secondary materials and observations.⁹

Chapter Outline

This study is organized in five chapters. The first chapter will establish the cosmological, historical, and ritual background of Tibet in which Tsiu Marpo exists. This is necessary in order to understand the multiple contexts in which Tsiu Marpo and other protector deities participate, as well as the social solidarity that they help to maintain.

The second chapter will provide the origin myth of Tsiu Marpo as recounted in the primary Tibetan texts concerning him. This chapter will discuss how Tsiu Marpo evolved from a fallen Buddhist monk to a local malicious spirit and, finally, into an important protector deity. This section will also elucidate on Tsiu Marpo's connection to Samyé monastery.

The third chapter will explore the iconography surrounding Tsiu Marpo and his demonic cohorts. This chapter will discuss the significance of the frightening visual appearance these deities tend to share and how these appearances are understood in a *tantric* ritual context. Like his origin story, the descriptions for Tsiu Marpo's iconography are found within his texts. This section will also explore the concept of the Buddhist *maṇḍala* and how it situates Tsiu Marpo as well as other deities within the Tibetan mythic landscape.

The fourth chapter will explore these foundational texts for the ritual manuals that they are. Tsiu Marpo's mythic origins and iconography are vividly descriptive, but they exist as part of a larger ritual goal that these texts embody. A detailed exploration of the organization and structure of these ritual texts will yield rich information on the process and function of Tibetan ritual and on the central role of protector deities within this process. This section will conclude with a speculative exploration of such texts as fields for monastic and lay intersection within the Tibetan religious sphere.

The fifth and final chapter will analyze the oracle tradition in Tibet and Tsiu Marpo's connection with it. Tibetan oracles are individuals who act as vessels for a protector deity and thus are divinely possessed. In their possessed state of trance, oracles provide communal advice

⁹ See Bentor 1996, p. xxi.

through the power of clairvoyance. Historically important oracle lineages, such as the Nechung (Gnas chung) oracle of the Dalai Lamas, were even regularly consulted concerning nation-wide political matters. As there was once a Tsiu Marpo oracle, a final examination of Tibetan oracles is important in order to uncover the full range of ritual practice and interpretation surrounding this deity. This last chapter will then pull from all previous chapters to elucidate the oracle tradition as a dynamic outlet through which the ritual program of the deity is enacted for a social service and that utilizes iconographically significant ritual implements to submerge the service within a realm of sacrality. This section will end with a comparative examination of another protector deity named Pehar. Pehar is of equal importance and popularity to Tsiu Marpo and shares a connection with Samyé monastery. A brief exploration of Pehar similar to the detailed and layered method used on Tsiu Marpo will provide further information on protector deities and will also fill in some holes that remain in the narrative of Tsiu Marpo.

This thesis will end with a summary of the conclusions reached in these chapters as well as provide an outline for further study. This research intends to shed much-needed light on an obscure but important protector deity. By doing so, I hope to arrive at a greater understanding of Tibetan protector deities in general who act as personified cohesive elements within the broader social community. I also hope that the methodological approach and organization used in this study will prove useful in future examinations of other protector deities who have yet to come fully to the attention of scholars. By recognizing, discussing, and expanding on the various natures and aspects of a single deity we develop a vivid image not only of that deity but of all deities within the cultural, textual, and ritual traditions of Tibet. In order to develop a complete understanding of Tsiu Marpo, we must explore his mythic, iconic, and ritual evolution, elements that make up the diverse and multivalent career of a protector deity.

A Note on Tibetan Transliteration

Contending with Tibetan transliteration and phonetic transcription has been a constant difficulty in scholarship, as many Tibetanists are aware. Tibetan words do not translate well into English transliteration due to the presence of many hidden consonants that aid in the construction of a Tibetan syllable but that are not necessarily pronounced. Given that so many Tibetan words are homophones, these silent consonants are essential to distinguish the definition of words and

so are necessary for Tibetan scholars and students alike. Therefore, the eminent Tibetan scholar Turrell Wylie has devised a transliteration scheme that has become the standard over the last thirty years.¹⁰ While this standard has solved the problem of transliterating specific Tibetan words accurately, it poses a new problem of Tibetan phonetic pronunciation. "Khri srong lde'u btsan" may be a proper Tibetan spelling because it includes the silent consonants, but one unfamiliar with the intricacies of Tibetan syllabic construction would not know that this name is pronounced Trisong Deutsen.

Therefore, in order to make this study more accessible to readers, I have implemented a system already recognizable in the bulk of this introduction. Tibetan names and words will be written phonetically with the first instances of words followed by its Tibetan transliteration in parentheses. Wylie's scheme has become the standard for transliteration, but a standard for phonetic pronunciation does not yet exist. This is evident in the innumerable ways that even popular names have been phonetically transcribed in Tibetan scholarship: Tr'isong Deutsen, Trhi Songdetsen, Trihsong Détsen. Some authors, such as de Nebesky-Wojkowitz and David Snellgrove, have even decided to forego equivalent pronunciations and transcribe all Tibetans words in Wylie; however, this reduces accessibility.

Nonetheless, the Tibetan Himalayan Digital Library (THDL) has created a phonetic transcription system in order to combat the incongruities created when individual authors devise their own phonetic systems based on personal notions of pronunciation. It is hoped that this system, the THDL Simplified Phonetic Transcription of Standard Tibetan, will become the eventual standard. Because this system is simple and effective, I have based my phonetic transcriptions on it, using the rules outlined on the THDL website.¹¹ I have also chosen to follow English convention and capitalize the first letter of Tibetan transliterated words instead of the root letter, as is done in some scholarship.¹² With these systems in place, this study should be accessible to non-specialists and provide for specialists the necessary information for further study.

¹⁰ See Wylie 1959. This scheme has only become standard in primarily American scholarship on Tibet. European systems continue to rely on their own schemes, all of which depend heavily on diacritics.

¹¹ See Germano and Tournadre 2003.

¹² See Cuevas 2003, p. xi; and Martin 1997, pp. 20-21 for the details on capitalizing the first letter of Tibetan words and following other English conventions.

1

TIBETAN TEXT AND CONTEXT

In order to understand Tsiu Marpo and his place in Tibetan culture and history, it is important to understand the latter. As a Tibetan protector deity, Tsiu Marpo is deeply inured within the larger cosmographical, historical, and ritual environment that makes up Tibet's cultural identity. Therefore, we will take a brief foray into this environment in order to understand the greater Tibetan contexts in which deities like Tsiu Marpo function. A description of the ritual textual categories that will be explored more fully in chapter 4 will also be necessary.

Tibetan Cosmography

The Tibetan understanding of cosmology and geography is multilayered and consists of indigenous and imported Buddhist elements alike. Regarding the indigenous elements, there is an ancient belief that the world is divided into three major levels, the heavens (*gnam*), the intermediate spaces (*bar*), and the earth (*sa*). These realms in turn have multiple levels; the earth realm notably consists of the surface realm inhabited by humans and the subterranean realm of serpent deities (*klu*) and other malevolent spirits. It is in the intermediate spaces just above the surface of the earth where the various classes of worldly deities are found, making close interaction with humans possible.¹³

Once Buddhism came to Tibet, the country adopted the universal Buddhist cosmology of *samsāra*, the realm of birth, death, and rebirth. *Samsāra* consists of six realms: the god, demi-god, human, animal, hungry ghost, and hell realms. The previous schema now intersects this Buddhist system. The subterranean realm is associated with the hell realms; the hungry ghost realm overlaps the surface realm of humans, which also includes a host of diverse demonic beings; the human and animal realms are also found on the surface; and the heaven realm is where the gods and demi-gods reside. The intermediate realm is somewhat extraneous in this

¹³ See Haarh 1969, pp. 134-136 for the development of this cosmological scheme.

scheme and so has become a location for a great deal of potential involvement, being an expansive abode of many hidden realms and deities.¹⁴

Geographically, the Tibetans have adopted the Indian view of a universe with the mythical Mount Meru at its center acting as the *axis mundi*. This central mountain is surrounded by four major continents and eight subcontinents. India, as well as Tibet and surrounding countries like Khotan and Mongolia, form the southern continent of Jambudvīpa (’Dzam bu gling).¹⁵ This structure, along with the multiple overlapping realms full of various entities, is mimicked in the powerful representative symbol of the *maṇḍala*, which will be explored more fully in chapter 3. Tibetans further attribute a great deal of sacred significance to the landscape and the necessity for its constant taming; this concept and its personification in Tibetan religious history will also be examined in chapter 3 and discussed further below.

The Divine Hierarchy

Because of the numerous deities, demons, and various other spirits that inhabit the vast and multifaceted landscape in Tibetan Buddhism, it is helpful to provide a concise classification of these beings as such systems have come to evolve both in Tibetan texts and scholarly research. Geoffrey Samuel’s classification scheme, discussed below, is most helpful toward this end because it incorporates the two-part system explored in de Nebesky-Wojkowitz’s work with the taxonomy of deities provided by Giuseppe Tucci in his monolithic opus, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*.

This scheme involves four major divisions. First, there are the symbolic tutelary deities (Tib. *yi dam*; Skt. *iṣṭadevatā*) of Tantric Buddhism (also called Vajrayāna), the form of Buddhism practiced in Tibet. These deities are encountered at the highest levels of Buddhist monastic ritual practice. De Nebesky-Wojkowitz intentionally ignores this category of beings in his study. Second are the transcendental deities (*’jig rten las ’das pa’i srung ma*), who consist of the heavenly gods and the innumerable buddhas and bodhisattvas; such beings are not concerned with mundane worldly affairs. Third are the worldly deities (*’jig rten pa’i srung ma*) who inhabit the intermediate spaces, are associated with geographical features like mountains, lakes, and forests, and are subject to the laws of karma. These deities constantly interact with humans.

¹⁴ See Samuel 1993, pp. 158-160 for more on this overlapping system of realms.

¹⁵ See Wylie 1962 for a full examination of this geographical scheme. Also see Tucci 1965.

Tsiu Marpo is most popularly considered a member of this category. It is these last two categories that De Nebesky-Wojkowitz's study exclusively explores. Fourth, there are the numerous malevolent spirits and ghosts who constantly bring harm to human beings through illness, bad luck, and calamity.

As Samuel explains, the last two categories of worldly deities and malevolent spirits are not wholly distinct, there is a degree of fluidity between them.¹⁶ However, a common distinction that is made is that worldly deities were malevolent spirits that have since become tamed and who now serve the Buddhist teachings, a concept that will be explored later in relation to Tsiu Marpo. In turn, those deities still classified as malign are placed within the retinues of worldly deities. This fluidity exists in all four divisions and there appears to be a degree of mobility between these classifications. This fluidity and its connection to the multiple layers of Buddhist orientation will be examined further in the conclusion.

In keeping with the theme of intersecting systems prevalent in the Tibetan cultural consciousness, a further "demonic taxonomy" exists of the various deity classes within the universe that overlaps the above scheme. The term "demon" has become popular in referring to these deities, given their initial penchant for pernicious activity; de Nebesky-Wojkowitz's own book title illustrates this usage. This is unfortunate given the stigma and strong malicious nature associated with the word in the West. The term also suggests the linguistic difficulty inherent in translating these various spirit classes into English. While English has one overarching term for demons, there are several kinds that exist in Tibet that are indicative of vastly different attributes and qualities both beneficent and malevolent. Nonetheless, because most of these beings are in the habit of being angry, violent, and harmful, I have decided to continue the convention of the term. However, I have also developed a system for demon classification that assigns equivalent English terms in order to recognize their etymological distinctions. Below I have provided the most important demon terms that we will encounter in this study. The system is imperfect, but it is nonetheless an attempt at remedying the inadequacy of past translations:¹⁷

¹⁶ See Samuel 1993, pp. 161-167. Samuel (1993, p. 167) relates the Tibetan pantheon to the Tibetan political system with its lack of centralization and formal bureaucratic structure.

¹⁷ The main sources used to compile this list are Samuel 1993, pp. 162-163; Tucci 1999, pp. 717-730; Beyer 1978, pp. 293-301; Kelényi 2003, pp. 28-44; and Lozang Tsering 1982, pp. 384-387. The latter Tibetan source discusses demons and their relation to illness and medicine.

1. Violence Demons (Tib. *gnod sbyin*; Skt. *yakṣa*): These deities were initially malicious beings that caused disease epidemics. As a way to signify their later conversion to guardians of the Buddhist teachings, they have come to be associated with the ancient Indian spirits called *yakṣas*, beings popularly found in Hinduism, Jainism, and Indian Buddhism.
2. Obstacle Demons (Tib. *bdud*; Skt. *māra*): Obstacle demons are openly malevolent spirits endowed with the nature of their namesake. They create obstacles, usually to prevent the successful completion of rituals or to prevent success on the path to enlightenment. They were opposed to the Buddhist teachings in their past lives, are said to be black in color, and eat human flesh. The Sanskrit word associated with them refers to the kind of behavior exhibited by the god Māra, the personification of *saṃsāra*, who attempted—and ultimately failed—to hinder the enlightenment of the historical Buddha Śākyamuni.
3. Flesh-eating Demons (Tib. *srin po*; Skt. *rākṣasa*): As with the obstacle demons, the most common attribute of flesh-eating demons is implied by their name. They are associated with the Indian demons called *rākṣasa*, the most popular demons encountered in Indian epics and lore.
4. Serpent Demons (Tib. *klu*; Skt. *nāga*): These entities are serpentine deities who generally abide in lakes, rivers, and subterranean realms. They are known to pollute water and hinder the construction of dykes and irrigation works. If angered, they can cause diseases such as leprosy. Their name implies the shape they commonly hold, though iconographic representations also depict serpent deities with human upper bodies and a snake tail instead of legs.
5. Might Demons (Tib. *btsan*): These are indigenous Tibetan deities who are known to be war-like and wrathful. They are red in color and inhabit mountains and rocks. They are generally believed to be the spirits of past monks who have rejected their Buddhist vows; the life story of Tsiu Marpo, who is a might demon, will attest to this. Once they are tamed, might demons are assigned as the protectors of temples, sanctuaries, and monasteries.
6. Gods (Tib. *lha*; Skt. *deva*): This class of beings does not really fit in with the other "demons." Gods, as discussed above, are the celestial beings that inhabit the heavenly realm; they are white in color. The use of the term in this study will refer exclusively to this type of being in order to remain uniform. The words "deity" and "divinity" have thus provided suitable umbrella terms for all manner of supernatural beings. It is important to note that the Tibetan word *lha* is far more convoluted in use. Textual sources tend to use *lha* equally to refer to different beings, including *tantric* and worldly deities.

7. Savage Demons (Tib. *dmu*): These demons are somewhat obscure, though they are considered to be very ancient Tibetan deities. They are extremely savage and noxious in nature, and cause dropsy and drought. One of the primeval clans of Tibet was also called *dmu*. Mythologically, there is some connection between the tribe and the demon, which is related to Tibet's early history.¹⁸

8. Conqueror Demons (Tib. *rgyal po*): Conqueror demons are the spirits of evil kings or high lamas who have broken their vows. They are generally white in color.

9. Violator Demons (Tib. *dam sri*): These are spirits who have violated their vows in past lives and who can inspire individuals to do the same. They are part of a larger class of ambiguous demons called *sri*.

10. Sky Demons (Tib. *the'u rang*): These are ancient Tibetan deities of ambiguous nature but who are primarily associated with the sky. They are also harmful, causing death and disease. Erik Haarh explains that these deities were originally the spirits of Pre-Buddhist ancestors found in the heavenly spheres.¹⁹

11. Hindering Demons (Tib. *bgegs*): These are lesser obstacle demons that are generally known to hinder ritual success.

12. Female Sky-goers (Tib. *mkha' 'gro ma*; Skt. *ḍākinī*): These important deities are by no means demonic, though they can be wrathful. They are not usually involved in this classification scheme given their excessively Buddhist significance. I include them here for the significant role they will play later in this research. Given the abundant use of the Sanskrit word *ḍākinī* in scholarship and the awkward phrasing of the English, I will continue with convention and refer to these beings as *ḍākinīs* from this point forward. *Ḍākinīs* are a class of ancient female beings, limitless in number, that are found in the entourages of all major Buddhist deities. They fill the intermediate spaces of *maṇḍalas*, are messengers and inspirers of Buddhist texts, and represent pervasive wisdom, which is personified as feminine in Buddhism. As such, *ḍākinīs* are involved in all major Buddhist ritual processes and can be invoked for protective purposes; they are said to guard scriptures as well.²⁰ There are male sky-goers (Tib. *mkha' 'gro*; Skt. *ḍāka*), but they are not nearly as popular in Tibetan Buddhism.

¹⁸ See Tucci 1999, pp. 713-717; and Gyaltzen 1996, pp. 75-80 for more on the first Tibetan tribes as well as their mythic descent from a demoness. This will be discussed further in chapter 3.

¹⁹ See Haarh 1969, pp. 216-219.

²⁰ See Snellgrove 2002, pp. 167-168; Beyer 1978, pp. 45-47, 399; and Simmer-Brown 2001.

Given the overlapping natures of these demons, many of these distinct class titles have been used synonymously with each other. Individual demons can also be associated with multiple categories. For instance, Tsiu Marpo traditionally belongs to the might demon (*btsan*) class but is considered the king of the violence demons (*gnod sbyin*); many of his appellations also refer to him as a violence demon. Also, despite the numerous Sanskrit terms associated with each demon, they are not necessarily indicative of the origin of these deities in India. Most of these deities are indigenous and have been later assimilated into Indian *tantric* classification systems, yet they still retain many of their Tibetan attributes. However, it certainly appears that the Tibetan divinity system has mimicked if not inherited the numerous classes of demonic entities found in the Indian system.²¹

This classification scheme will be most useful in the translated materials, as it will provide recognition of the individual demon terms underlying the translation, terms that in the past may have all been simply glossed as "demon". Despite the similar characters of these demons, I believe it is necessary to maintain such distinctions faithfully in translation in order to illustrate the nuance that Tibetan writers themselves place within the text when referring to these numerous entities.

Tibetan Bodies and Souls

As they must interact with the world and its various denizens, humans too have a specific role in existence. In this complex scheme of realms and deities, overlaid with Buddhist cosmology and divinity, humans are also categorized by systems concerning their bodies and souls. These systems likewise are an admixture of indigenous and Buddhist beliefs that complement and, at times, contradict each other. Tibetans hold a belief in multiple bodies and souls, a tradition that is apparently pre-Buddhist.

There are two major bodies within the Tibetan system: the coarse and subtle bodies. The coarse body is simply the physical body, through which we encounter the world on a daily basis. The subtle body, as its name implies, is hidden metaphysically beneath the gross physical shell. As a Buddhist concept, the subtle body is *tantric* and *yogic* in origin and is a structure of

²¹ See Bhattacharyya 2000 and DeCaroli 2004.

intersecting channels (Tib. *rtsa*; Skt. *nāḍi*) that fill the coarse body. There are six knots (Tib. *'khor lo drug*; Skt. *cakraṣaṣ*) at the major intersections of these channels, and these are found vertically along the central axis of the body. An individual's mental constituencies (*sems*), their life-breath (*dbugs*), and various impurities travel along these channels propelled by subtle winds (Tib. *rlung*; Skt. *prāṇa*). In *yogic* and *tantric* practices, the control and purification of these various elements and the unwinding of the knots aids the process of liberation. To illustrate this metaphorically, Samuel likens the subtle body to a mental model of the nervous system.²²

To accompany the body, the various souls are the *la (bla)*, "life-force," *sok (srog)*, "life-energy," and *wuk (dbugs)*, "life-breath." As with the demon taxonomy, different terms for "soul" are not available in English to express the nuanced differences of these Tibetan terms; therefore, compound phrases must be concocted that aim to convey these distinctions. The life-force (*bla*) is an ancient Tibetan concept of a soul that is tied to an individual and yet is also connected to a geographical feature, such as a mountain or lake. The well-being of the individual is thus dependent on the proper care of these geographical sites. For instance, a chief or king whose life-force is bound to a forest will fall ill and die if that forest is cut down. Also, a person's life-force can wander or even be stolen from them by malicious deities. Rituals must be performed to appease such forces and replace the life-force. Samuel speculates that the homophonic similarity between the words god (*lha*) and life-force (*bla*) is not a coincidence and is tied to an ancient belief that the two were ultimately the same, given the indigenous nature of deities as abiding in local mountains and rivers. He claims that gods came out of an anthropomorphization of this binding force, possibly enhanced by Buddhist influence, while the life-force retains its original, more intangible nature.²³

The life-energy (*srog*) is perhaps more consistent with Western notions of a soul as it resides within the body, specifically in the heart. The life-energy does not wander like the life-force, but it can be stolen by demonic forces, resulting in severe illness and death. The life-breath (*dbugs*) consists of vital air that travels through the subtle channels, as described above; it can also be stolen, resulting in the death of an individual. Tucci conflates these latter forces to a

²² See Samuel 1993, p. 237. See Tucci 1988, p. 262 n.16; and Samuel 1993, pp. 236-242 for more on the subtle body.

²³ See Samuel 1993, pp. 186-191. See Tucci 1988, pp. 190-193; de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, pp. 481-483; and Karmay 1998a for more on the life-force.

degree, ascribing to them both the respiratory nature of traveling through the channels.²⁴ I will add one other word to this classification, that of the mind (*sems*), as it is understood in wholly Buddhist terms.²⁵ This mind consists of the karmic constituencies that also travel through the subtle channels. These constituencies are the ever-fluctuating elements of a person that are constantly reborn within *samsāra*; in this way the mind has the quality of a soul as the term is used in the West. Both Tucci and Samuel mention another principle called *wang tang* (*dbang thang*), though this is more akin to fate or fortune; it acts according to the state of one's karmic merit in order to influence the direction of one's life.²⁶

The Buddhist philosophical tenets of the Mādhyamika School heavily influence Tibetan Buddhism. Mādhyamika states that there are two truths, relative and ultimate. Relative truth perceives phenomena and persons to exist as they appear, as substantial and independent; this is the truth of an ignorant consciousness. Ultimate truth perceives these objects for what they really are, as lacking solid, substantial, and independent existence; everything is interdependent. This true nature is called "emptiness," meaning all things are devoid of innate and immutable nature separate from its context. Emptiness states that nothing can be separated from its surroundings and reduced to quintessential elements.²⁷ This is an expansion of the notion of no-soul (Skt. *anātman*), an early and universal Buddhist belief that individuals do not possess changeless and eternal souls, but are merely the combination of mental constituencies conditioned by karma. This is important because it allows these indigenous notions of souls to continue to be recognized within a Buddhist framework. Souls exist, but only on a relative level. An advanced Buddhist practitioner more aware of the ultimate truth will recognize that the various kinds of souls discussed above are simply designations of illusory forces. These forces then can be understood for what they really are and thus mastered for the purposes of liberation. It is for this final purpose that the multiple bodies and souls continue to exist in Tibetan religious practice. The karmic constituencies of which an individual consists must be comprehended and extinguished. The process by which this is done involves a control over one's subtle body during ritual exercises, and directing that control and awareness toward liberative ends. This

²⁴ See Tucci 1988, pp. 190-193; and Stein 1972, pp. 223-229 for more on this and the various souls.

²⁵ See Tucci 1988, pp. 63-67.

²⁶ See Tucci 1988, p. 192; and Samuel 1993, p. 595 n.12.

²⁷ This is also an expansion of the Buddhist theory of causation (Skt. *pratīyasamutpāda*).

plurality of body and soul plays an integral part in the understanding of the Tibetan worldview and is important in the monastic context so that it may be utilized toward Buddhist ends.

Ritual Texts

Tibet has an extensive literary tradition. The vast array of genres and textual categories is too grand to cover briefly, but a description of some of the key textual types that will be encountered in this study is necessary.²⁸

Tantra (*rgyud*) is a Sanskrit word that refers to a specific category of texts. These are the central texts studied and practiced within Vajrayāna Buddhism since its conception in North India. They are considered to be composed or inspired by great bodhisattvas and in some instance *ḍākinīs*. Richard Payne notes that, despite the bibliographic origin of the word, *tantra* has become an abstract label synonymous with Vajrayāna Buddhism overall, and thus we have the more familiar Tantric Buddhism.²⁹ Also, *tantras* are commonly contrasted with *sūtras* (*mdo*), the teachings of the historical Buddha. *Sūtras* are utilized in some lineages of Tibetan Buddhism as part of a combined approach to doctrinal studies. As both text classes refer to central Buddhist teachings, Payne likens *sūtras* to the warp (lengthwise thread) of a loom, with *tantras* being the woof (crosswise thread), and thus they string the central teachings of the *sūtras* together.³⁰ Since both words etymologically mean "thread," this is an apt metaphor. *Tantras* embody practices elaborated on in *sādhana*s, to be discussed below. As such, they are texts that aid in the embodiment of divine energies that are utilized for a ritual endeavor, the ultimate endeavor being enlightenment.

Termas (*gter ma*) are wholly Tibetan texts developed primarily within the Nyingma (Rnying ma) sect of Tibetan Buddhism, the oldest of the four major sects. However, the three other sects, Kagyü (Bka' brgyud), Sakya (Sa skya), and Geluk (Dge lugs), recognize a number of *termas*, despite a tradition within each of these schools—especially the latter—of discounting their authenticity. *Terma* literally means "treasure" or "concealed text" and refers to a category of scripture that originated in the eleventh century. The tradition states that the great Buddhist

²⁸ See Cabezón and Jackson 1996 for an exquisite collection of articles that explores the multiple facets of Tibetan literature.

²⁹ See Payne 2006, pp. 5-6.

³⁰ See Payne 2006, p. 5. See White 2000, pp. 3-38; Williams 2000, pp. 192-276; Samuel 1993, pp. 406-435; Snellgrove 1988; Hopkins 2005; and Payne 2006 for more on Buddhist *tantras*.

master Padmasambhava realized clairvoyantly that the practice of Buddhism in Tibet would be persecuted and all but extinguished shortly after his time.

This dark period of persecution divides the two major ages in which the Buddhist teachings entered Tibet from India. The early transmission period (*snga dar*) began in the early seventh century with the first introduction of Buddhism in Tibet and ended with the death of Langdarma (Glang dar ma; 803-846 C.E.), one of the last kings of the Yarlung Dynasty. Popular Tibetan belief is that Langdarma actively persecuted Buddhism and was the impetus for its diminished practice, which was punctuated further by the fall of the kingdom that institutionalized the religion. The later transmission period (*phyi dar*) began in the early eleventh century with the arrival in Tibet of the Buddhist monk-scholar Atīśa (b. 972/982), who reformed and propagated the Buddhist teachings. This latter period continues to this day.

Since Padmasambhava was aware of things to come, he hid a number of his supreme teachings throughout the Tibetan landscape, further contributing to its sacrality for Nyingma practitioners. Once Buddhism was reestablished, these teachings were discovered by individuals considered to be incarnations of Padmasambhava's disciples. For this reason, these incarnations are called "treasure-revealers" (*gter ston*). *Termas* can take several forms. They can be actual texts hidden in caves or under holy images; "mental texts" concealed within the minds of treasure-revealers and discovered through meditation or visionary experiences; or sacred objects such as statues and ritual implements that, once found, excite the hidden memories of treasure-revealers that contain the teachings. One other way that treasures are concealed is by the use of *dākinī*-script, a series of characters that look Tibetan but are illegible upon closer examination (Figure 2). A few of these characters may be discovered on a small piece of parchment that signifies a treasure. Only a treasure-revealer can decipher these few letters, which recall his or her previous memory as a disciple of Padmasambhava. The *terma* is then composed by the treasure-revealer, having come forth from memory and residing initially in the small code of *dākinī*-script. In this way, all *termas* are really mentally encoded texts that are then remembered.

These treasures are believed to be buried by Yeshe Tsogyal (Ye shes mtsho rgyal), Padmasambhava's consort, and are deciphered by treasure-revealers with the aid of *dākinīs*.³¹ By composing these teachings, the treasure-revealer brings them back into the dialogue of Buddhist practice. Until these treasures are discovered, they are guarded by protector deities and

³¹ See Gyatso 1998, pp. 254-256.

ḍākinīs. More ancient tradition states that other important historical figures were holders of *termas*, including King Songtsen Gampo (Srong btsan sgam po; 617-649). However, as the tradition has solidified, Padmasambhava has become its central figure.

Despite the later popularity of Padmasambhava as the chief originator of *terma* texts, it is significant that such prestigious figures of Tibet's ancient empire—specifically its most lauded kings—were initially attached to the *terma* tradition. Davidson, in his exploration of the tradition's early history, suggests that *termas* provide a perceptible connection to Tibet's dynastic past. Certainly the fallen empire itself, or at least the Buddhist ideals that have come to recreate it, became viewed as a treasure to be continually discovered across Tibet's mythic landscape.³² As Padmasambhava was connected to this past he became a popular figurehead of the *terma* tradition, authenticating the teachings of the Nyingma sect, which has its roots in this dynastic period. We will continue to see multiple methods by which Tibetans envision a continued connection to this glorified past, including in the development of Tsiu Marpo.

Understandably, *termas* provide a vast field of possibility for the creative enhancement of Buddhist teachings in Tibet. Tibetan textual lineages make the concept of transmission a necessity as a matter of propagation and maintenance. The *terma* tradition allows transmission to be no longer contingent on the survival of lineage-holders or linear propagation. Rather, it has created a new form of transmission, one that is perpetually open to new additions that can tap into the powerful authenticity of Padmasambhava and his teachings. This authenticity relies upon the notion that Padmasambhava, as an agent of Buddhist truth who achieved enlightenment, is constantly active within the world through his revealed teachings. Indeed, his clairvoyance and omniscience is such that he is said to have intentionally timed when certain *termas* should be discovered, allowing scriptures to be revealed when they are needed most and within a fitting context. In turn, the charismatic nature of the treasure-revealer helps to bolster such claims. It is the given popularity of a revealer and the teachings in their treasure that have allowed certain *terma* lineages to thrive.³³

Sādhana (*sgrub thabs*), "means of achievement," is a Sanskrit word that refers to a specific series of ritual steps to be followed in order to succeed in a ritual performance. The word also refers to specific liturgical manuals. These manuals are prolific in Tibetan ritual

³² See Davidson 2005, pp. 210-243.

³³ See Germano and Gyatso 2000; Gyatso 1996 and 1998; and Doctor 2005 for more on the *terma* tradition and famous treasure-revealers.

practice because they explicitly provide the instructions for attaining the goal of a ritual exercise. For Bentor, the *sādhana* represents the means by which the *tantric* practitioner—through the use of visualizations, *mudras* (hand gestures), and *mantras* (powerful spoken formulae)—dissolves the constructed, relative reality during a ritual program and arrives at an exalted state of reality full of the visual wonders detailed in the texts. It is in this exalted state that ultimate reality manifests out of emptiness to be approached by the practitioner. Thus, the *sādhana* is the means by which this middle ground of the exalted realm is created between the constructed world and ultimate truth in order for the practitioner to commune with that truth in an embodied form for the purpose of ritual endeavor.³⁴ The content and use of a *sādhana* will be explored along with its ritual context in chapter 4.

These terms are significant for the discussion to follow. I define them here in order to justify the continued use of these terms without the aid of uncomfortable English equivalents. *Tantra* and *terma* are important as categories and it is the convention of most scholarship to leave them untranslated. Likewise, *sādhana* as a ritual manual is a significant term to retain in its original language. English words such as "liturgy" are too broad to define properly the specific nature of the *sādhana*; conversely, attempts at English phrases based on the etymology, like "means of achievement manual," are too awkward. Therefore, establishing these terms now will prove to be efficient in the course of this study.

Important Figures

A short introduction to some central figures will help to understand the religious and historical context in which Tsiu Marpo and the protector deity tradition is based. Not all of these figures are historical; those that are have come to be surrounded by an air of mythic importance.

Trisong Deutsen (Khri srong lde'u btsan; 742-796) is the second in a triumvirate consisting of the most noble and revered Tibetan Buddhist kings of the Yarlung Dynasty (Figure 3). The other two kings are the first Buddhist king of Tibet, Songtsen Gampo (Srong btsan sgam po; 617-650), and Relpacen (Ral pa can; 815-841). The Yarlung Dynasty is the first and only grand dynasty in Tibetan history. It is considered to be the only time that Tibet has experienced complete imperial centralization and its mythic origins are found deep within Tibetan pre-history;

³⁴ See Bentor 1996, pp. 1-5.

nonetheless, it fell in the ninth century.³⁵ Trisong Deutsen is important for further popularizing Buddhism in Tibet. Part of this process involved his inviting Padmasambhava to Tibet in order to establish the first Tibetan Buddhist monastery, Samyé.³⁶

Aside from being Tibet's oldest monastery, Samyé is famous for a debate that took place there at the end of the eighth century. This debate was between Indian Buddhists represented by Śāntarakṣita's disciple Kamalaśīla, who propounded that the "gradualist" way of Vajrayāna was the correct path to enlightenment, and Chinese Buddhists represented by the Chinese Chan master Hwashang Mahāyāna, who represented the "spontaneous" enlightenment tradition. There is actually some dispute as to who won, but tradition holds that Kamalaśīla defeated Hwashang, thus resulting in the full adoption of Vajrayāna by Tibetans.³⁷

Padmasambhava (8th century) is the *tantric* master invited to Tibet by Trisong Deutsen to aid in the popular institutionalization of Buddhism (Figure 4).³⁸ Mythically, this process required that the numerous indigenous spirits of Tibet be tamed; as a *tantric* master, Padmasambhava had the skill for this task. Upon disciplining these deities, he assigned to many of them the job of protecting the Buddhist teachings—hence their universal label as protector deities. This process of taming or subjugation will be encountered several times in this study, especially in regards to Tsiu Marpo. Once this taming was completed, Samyé could be successfully constructed and the Buddhist monastic community could be institutionalized.³⁹

Tamdrin (Tib. Rta mgrin; Skt. Hayagrīva), "the Horse-necked One," is a wrathful aspect of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Spyan ras gzigs), one of the most important figures in Tibetan Buddhism. Tamdrin's name is suggested in his iconographic representation, which often depicts him as a red snout-nosed deity with an angry face and an aura of flames. He wears a crown, from which the head of a turquoise horse sprouts (Figure 5). As a bodhisattva, Tamdrin fits into the category of powerful *tantric* and tutelary deities, and has been fully assimilated from the Indian deity of Hayagrīva, found in both Buddhist and Hindu *tantric* traditions. As a wrathful deity, Tamdrin is particularly known for keeping all protector deities in line. In some traditions,

³⁵ For the first extensive study of the Yarlung Dynasty and its kings, see Haahr 1969. Also see Sørensen 1994 and Gyaltzen 1996.

³⁶ Trisong Deutsen actually first invited the monk Śāntarakṣita (8th century), who was not powerful enough to tame the wild local deities of Tibet and so he recommended Padmasambhava for this task. See Samuel 1993, pp. 168-170, 451-455 for more on Trisong Deutsen.

³⁷ See Samuel 1993, pp. 451-455; Ruegg 1989; Houston 1974; Jackson 1982; Richardson 2003; Wayman 1977; van der Kuijp 1984 and 1986 for more on the Samyé debate.

³⁸ Padmasambhava was originally from Uddiyana in the Swat valley, which is in modern-day Pakistan.

³⁹ See Samuel 1993, pp. 168-171.

it is Tamdrin who first subjugates the local deities of Tibet. He is propitiated in many rituals for protector deities so that he may overpower these deities yet again and force them to succumb to the will of the ritual practitioner.⁴⁰

Since *The Warlord's Tantra* is central to this study, a note should be made on two important treasure-revealers who are connected with it. The first is Ngari Pañchen Péma Wangyel Dorjé, who discovered this *terma* and composed it; the second is Chokyur Dechen Zhikpo Lingpa, who added interlinear notations to the text in order to illuminate its obscurities.

Ngari Pañchen, "the great paṇḍita of Ngari," was a Nyingma scholar born in the district of Lowo Matang, which is in present-day Mustang, Nepal. In his youth, he studied the lineages of various Buddhist teachings under his father, who was a great accomplished master. Later he received teachings from other spiritual teachers and lamas, becoming a fully ordained monk (*dge slong*) at the age of twenty-five. Ngari Pañchen continued his studies and began composing celebrated texts at the age of thirty-eight. One such composition is *The Treatise which Ascertains the Three Vows* (*Sdom gsum rnam par nges pa'i bstan bcos*).

Ngari Pañchen's most famous text is a *terma* he discovered and composed when he was forty-six, *The Final Gathering of the Transmitted Precepts which is the Doctrinal Cycle of the Entire Gathering of Awareness-holders, the Means for the Attainment of the Seven-Chapter Supplication* (*Bka' 'dus phyi ma rig 'dzin yongs 'dus kyi chos skor gsol 'debs le'u bdun ma'i sgrub thabs*). This *terma* was discovered at Samyé; perhaps he discovered *The Warlord's Tantra* around the same time. Along with his younger brother, Lekden Dorjé (Legs ldan rdo rje; 1512-1625), and a treasure-revealer named Rinchen Püntso Chökyi Gyelpo (Rin chen phun tshogs chos kyi rgyal po; 1509-1557),⁴¹ he reconsecrated Samyé monastery. Ngari Pañchen is considered to have been a great propagator of Buddhist wisdom and Nyingma teachings.⁴²

Chokyur Dechen Zhikpo Lingpa is considered to have been a reincarnation of Trisong Deutsen's son. He had a vision of Padmasambhava at thirteen and was soon after admitted into monastic life as a novice. Chokyur Lingpa received transmissions and instructions from many teachers of multiple sects, including Kagyü and Nyingma. He discovered and composed the majority of the *termas* ascribed to him at the age of thirty-nine; however, his discovery of *termas*

⁴⁰ For a story illustrating Tamdrin's role as subjugator of deities, see Kapstein 2000, pp. 170-176.

⁴¹ See Guru Trashi Ngawang Lodrö 1990, pp. 211, 237-238, 299-301; Bradburn, et al. 1995, pp. 216-217; Cuevas 2003, pp. 147-148; and Dudjom 2002, pp. 676-677 for more on Rinchen Püntso Chökyi Gyelpo.

⁴² This account is a summary of Ngari Pañchen's biography available in Dudjom 2002, pp. 805-808.

started as early as thirteen.⁴³ Since Chokyur Lingpa is a reincarnation from Trisong Deutsen's line, it is appropriate that he was allowed to redact and possibly transmit *The Warlord's Tantra*; the text declares more than once that only those who are of Trisong Deutsen's line can transmit its instructions without detrimental consequences.

Establishing these concepts now will allow the following deeper analysis to develop without the constant repetition or tangential introduction of such foundational details. Having presented this material, let us now look more closely at the protector deity tradition in Tibet through the eyes of Tsiu Marpo.

⁴³ This account is a summary of Chokyur Lingpa's biography available in Dudjom 2002, pp. 841-848. See Doctor 2005 for a more detailed account of Chokyur Lingpa's life and compositions. Also see Bradburn, et al. 1995, pp. 353-354.

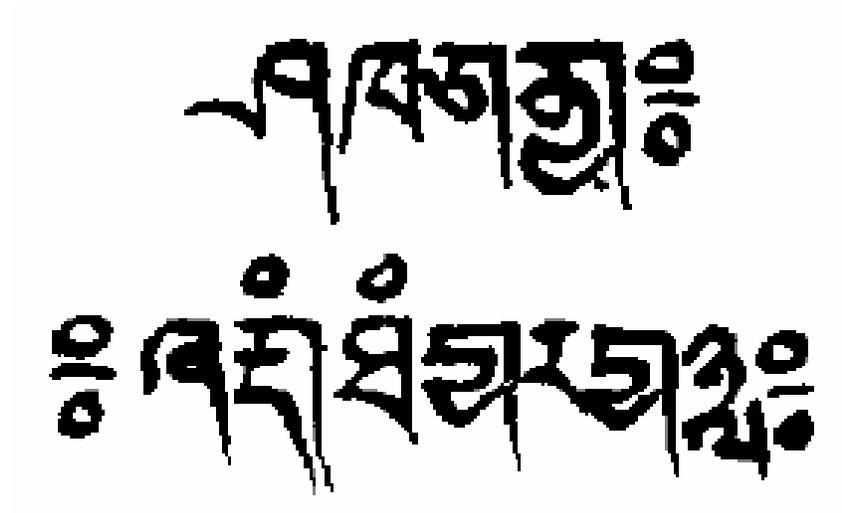


Figure 2. An example of *dākinī*-script; found within *The Warlord's Tantra*. (MPG, pp. 315, 320)



Figure 3. The Tibetan Buddhist King Trisong Deutsen, who invited Padmasambhava to Tibet in order to institutionalize Buddhism. Statue at Pabongkha (Pha bong kha) monastery, Lhasa. (Photo: C. Bell 2005)



Figure 4. Padmasambhava, the *tantric* master who tamed the indigenous spirits of Tibet. Statue at the Jokwukhang (Lcog dbug khang) temple, residence of Tsiu Marpo at Samyé. (Photo: C. Bell 2005)



Figure 5. Tamdrin, the wrathful aspect of Avalokiteśvara. Notice the turquoise horse head sticking out of his crown. Statue at the kumbum temple (*sku 'bum*) in the city of Gyantse (Rgyal rtse). (Photo: C. Bell 2005)

ORIGINS

In order to understand Tsiu Marpo in his multiple contexts, it is necessary to begin with his origins. What follows is an account of Tsiu Marpo's birth and subsequent exploits as provided in his root *tantra*, *The Warlord's Tantra* by Ngari Pañchen. Portions of this account also draw on Lelung Zhépé Dorjé's text, *The Unprecedented Elegant Explanations*. After discussing his origins, I will explore Tsiu Marpo's current residency at Samyé, as well as his entourage, the seven riders. An analysis of the various settings found within the Tsiu Marpo narrative will follow, along with a discussion of significant variations within the story. The chapter will conclude with a brief look at Tsiu Marpo's origins within textual history.

Where He Began

What follows is a short narrative account of Tsiu Marpo's beginnings. This summary is based on the translations provided in the appendices, but I have allowed for a degree of paraphrasing in order to enhance flow and continuity.

A long time ago, when the Buddha Kaśyapa's teachings were in decline, Sangwa (Gsang ba), king of Khotan, and his queen Utpelgyen (Utpal rgyan) had a son named Chorwa (?Phyor ba). When he reached adulthood, Chorwa became extremely religious and joined a monastery. His monastic name was Candrabhadra. He later went to dwell within a forest in the kingdom of King Dharmasrī.

One day, as Chorwa was in the forest, the daughter of the king, named Majin (Ma byin), was bathing in a pleasant pool. She was attacked by a poisonous snake, and Chorwa, seeing her distress, came and applied medicine to her wound. At that very moment, two of the king's ministers, who delighted in sexual acts, saw this and, misinterpreting it, reported back to the king. They said, "A ruffian is having sex with the princess!" The king became very angry and summoned his servants; he ordered them to find the monk and kill him.

Upon her return, the princess told them what actually happened and pleaded with her father, but no one would listen to her. Frustrated, she uttered an evil prayer, saying, "I will be reborn as Chorwa's future mother and I will become your executioner!" After saying, this she committed suicide by leaping off a cliff. Chorwa was later informed of these events by a friend, and so he fled the kingdom on a golden horse. Due to this traumatic affair, his thoughts became disturbed and he regressed in his practice.

He went to Tibet, and in the domain of a king related to Dharmasrī, he poisoned the men and raped the women. One day, the king sent forth his champion soldiers and they captured Chorwa on a mountain path. He was pierced by many swords; near death as he passed from this life, he said, "I will be reborn as a malicious, terrifying violence demon and I will become the executioner of all beings. I will come to destroy the king and his ministers together with his retinue." After saying this, he died.

He was immediately reborn in the west, in the red fields of a might demon land called Chongri Zangtso ('Chong ri zangs mtsho). On the copper peaks of this land, a hundred might demons race alongside soaring dark vultures. Along the middle of the mountains, carnivorous beasts roam about grassy fields of copper. Along the surrounding copper hills, there are terrifying storms of copper. Within the red copper mountain there is a boiling lake of blood. At the center of the blood lake, there is a dark leather castle endowed with a golden dome, gates of conch shell, copper locks, and stairs of lapis lazuli. Here, due to his maliciousness and arrogance, Chorwa was reborn in a red egg of blood. His parents were the savage demon lord Lekpa (Legs pa), "Excellent," and the violence demoness Dongmarma (Gdong dmar ma), "Red-faced Woman." The latter is the daughter of the might demon lord Dawa Tökar (Zla ba thod dkar), "White Skull Moon," forefather of all might demons. When the egg burst open, the malicious violence demon Tsiu Marpo was born.

Due to his great maliciousness and hatred, six might demons emanated from Tsiu Marpo's body. From his head the black obstructive might demon arose. From his white bones the divine might demon arose. From his body heat and radiance the rock might demon arose. From his blood the defiling might demon arose. From his pus the serpentine might demon arose. From his rotten garments of flesh the knife might demon arose. Having become associated with

red mountains and plains, these seven deities slaughtered everyone in the vicinity. They consumed the life-energy of all sentient beings and brought ruin to the three realms.⁴⁴

At some point, the great bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara angrily admonished these seven deities for their severe misconduct. In response, these seven riders, with Tsiu Marpo as the leader, offered up their life essence for karmic benefits and food offerings.

Later, in India, the great spiritual master Padmasambhava arrived at a charnel ground on the banks of a boiling lake of man-eating demons. At the midnight hour of the day he arrived, seven wolves with blood-clotted hair cried out. In response, the spiritual master manifested the form of the glorious Tamdrin (Skt. Hayagrīva). The wolves retreated to their masters, the seven horsemen, and the latter prostrated themselves before Padmasambhava.

The spiritual master asked, "Who are you?"

The master of the horsemen replied, "I am Tsiu Marpo, lord of the violence demons. Previously, Tamdrin conferred empowerments on my team, and from then on we promised to guard the Buddhist teachings."

Padmasambhava then asked, "Tell me, where is your abode? Who are your parents? Where is your essence?"

Tsiu Marpo replied, "My abode is this very charnel ground of India. In Tsang (Gtsang),⁴⁵ it is called the split cavern. My father is the savage demon lord Lekpa. My mother is the violence demoness Dongmarma. The essence of my life-energy is a *tantra* recited by glorious Tamdrin."

Then the great spiritual master bestowed empowerments and gave Tsiu Marpo his secret name of Künkyap Dorjé Drakpotsel (Kun khyab rdo rje drag po rtsal), "The Power of the Fierce, All-pervading Vajra." Later, when Padmasambhava arrived in Tibet, he was welcomed by Tsiu Marpo and his team of riders.

There is some complexity in the conversion portion of this narrative. The root *tantra* explains that Tsiu Marpo and his team of horsemen were subdued and converted by Avalokiteśvara, yet its accompanying ritual scripture and Lelung Zhépé Dorjé's text describe how the seven horsemen were initially subdued by Tamdrin.⁴⁶ After an encounter with

⁴⁴ This Refers to three realms discussed in the introduction; the heavenly, intermediate, and earthly realms.

⁴⁵ One of the two main provinces of central Tibet, the other being Ü (Dbus).

⁴⁶ See MPG, p. 327.4 and Appendix A, p. 159; and DCTS, p. 122.18-20 and Appendix D, p. 215, respectively.

Padmasambhava, the horsemen's vows to protect the teachings of Buddhism were renewed. This seeming confusion is resolved when we are reminded that Tamdrin is a wrathful aspect of Avalokiteśvara, as explained in the introduction.

Where He is Now

Surprisingly, there is nothing explicit in the root *tantra* or the other texts concerning Tsiu Marpo's residency at Samyé monastery. This has simply become a culturally recognized truism.⁴⁷ Due in part to a lack of scriptural support, there is no specific time understood in the mythos when Tsiu Marpo came to Samyé monastery; neither is it clear when he became its head protector deity.⁴⁸

Regardless of these uncertainties, Tsiu Marpo has an understandably strong presence at Samyé monastery. De Nebesky-Wojkowitz provides an evocative account of the temple at Samyé that houses Tsiu Marpo, called the Jokwukhang (*Lcog dbug khang*). It is here that the Samyé oracle of Tsiu Marpo once resided:

The most important medium of *Tsi'u dmar po* resides at Samye in the so-called *Tsi'u dmar lcog dbug khang*... The outer walls of this edifice are covered by red cloth. The upper floor of the building is reserved as living-quarters for the oracle-priest, and on the lower floor, next to the *mgon khang*,⁴⁹ lies a room which is opened only once a year, at the time when the so-called *glud 'gong* [person embodying a ransom ritual] arrives at

⁴⁷ However, it is significant that Tsiu Marpo's root *tantra* and accompanying liturgical texts were discovered at Samyé or at temple sites on nearby mount Chimpu (Mchims phu). See Appendix A, p. 171.

⁴⁸ The most common answer that I have been given by Tibetan monks has been that the time Tsiu Marpo came to Samyé is uncertain, but it was probably around the time of Padmasambhava. This would suggest he was assigned as a protector of Samyé soon after his conversion. (Personal correspondence with Lodrö Gyeltsen (Blo gros rgyal mtshan), lama of Tengyéling (Bstan rgyas gling) monastery, Lhasa. July 24th, 2005). Gibson (1991, pp. 200-201) cites two Tibetan sources claiming that Tsiu Marpo was a member in Pehar's retinue—a figure to be discussed in chapter 5—which would place his appointment at Samyé to be around the time of Pehar, again the same era of Padmasambhava. De Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1998, p. 168-170) also connects Tsiu Marpo to Pehar's retinue through the figure of Yamshü Marpo (Yam shud dmar po), whom he argues is a form of Tsiu Marpo.

While the time of Tsiu Marpo's appointment at Samyé is uncertain, an exploration of the mythic history of Pehar suggests that Tsiu Marpo may have taken over as head protector of Samyé after Pehar left. These details will be examined in chapter 5.

⁴⁹ The *gönkhang* (*mgon khang*) is the chapel found within most monasteries that houses the statues of the protector deities.

Samye on his way from Lhasa to Tsetang (rTse thang).⁵⁰ According to popular belief this chamber is supposed to be the place where *Tsi'u dmar po* sits in judgement of the souls of men, an activity assigned otherwise by orthodox traditions to *Yama*, the ruler of the hells. The chamber is said to have only one extremely narrow window, and legends claim that through this fissure the souls of the dead have to squeeze through at night-time, in order to appear before *Tsi'u dmar po*. As some of them find it rather difficult to pass, one is able—as the legend tells—to see around this window numerous scratches which these unfortunate spirits had caused by their nails. Some people even allege that a strong smell of blood comes out of this window, as inside the chamber, after the judgement had been pronounced, the souls are cut to pieces by the acolytes of *Tsi'u mar po*. A wooden chopping-block is kept to this purpose in this chamber, and some of my Tibetan informants who had stayed at Samye claimed that at night they could hear the sound of thuds coming from within the room. Monks of this monastery also allege that annually a new chopping-block has to be placed into this chamber, since the old block is after the lapse of a year covered with countless cuts and reduced to a fraction of the original size. The old blocks are not preserved, but thrown away or burnt. An enormous sword, bundles of lances, pieces of armour, etc. are kept in the *Tsi'u dmar lcog dbug khang*. These are supposed to be the weapons and the armour of *Tsi'u dmar po's* warlike retinue.⁵¹

De Nebesky-Wojkowitz also offers in footnote an alternative narrative to the judgment chamber aspect of Tsiu Marpo's position:

A similar legend tells that a messenger (*pho nya*) of *dPal ldan lha mo* [Penden Lhamo] or *Tsi'u dmar po* stands near the death-bed of a dying man to carry his "last breath" either to the chapel of *dPal ldan lha mo* in the *Jo bo gtsug lag khang* [Jowo Tsuklakang] or to the *Tsi'u dmar lcog dbug khang*. The "last breath" is seen by these deities in the form of a corpse. This body is later cut up on the chopping-block and its blood, flesh and bone are distributed to the ferocious gods and goddesses. The above-mentioned chapel is situated on the upper floor of the Lhasa Cathedral⁵² and it is dedicated to an extremely ferocious

⁵⁰ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 510; and Karmay 1998b, pp. 348-359 for further information on the *glud 'gong* ritual.

⁵¹ De Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, pp. 167-168.

⁵² This temple is synonymous with what de Nebesky-Wojkowitz previously refers to as the *Jo bo gtsug lag khang* and is the Jokhang temple, an ancient and important temple at the center of Lhasa.

form of *dPal ldan lha mo*. It contains a smaller room whose entrance is, just like in Samyé, kept closed. The souls of the dead who are supposed to enter this room, have to creep inside through a narrow fissure.⁵³

This account not only provides greater detail on understanding the soul as the "last breath" in this context, but also suggests the fluidity that many elements in these protector deity traditions possess. Part of the difficulty in classifying these divinities is no doubt due to the sharing of positions they engender, which is evident in parallel narratives such as this.

Tsiu Marpo is believed to reside in the Jokwukhang (Figure 6) at Samyé to this day, but the building—along with other temples at the monastery—is currently in the process of being rebuilt after the damage inflicted during the Cultural Revolution. The medium no longer resides at the Jokwukhang and there is no conclusive evidence to suggest that the Tsiu Marpo mediumship even exists anymore. If this oracle tradition still persists, it most likely made its way to India along with the Nechung Oracle.⁵⁴ The *gönkhang* is now on the second floor of the temple rather than the first, and the room where the souls of the dead are meant to congregate for judgment no longer exists (Figure 7).⁵⁵ The Jokwukhang, however, does have a central chapel on the second floor where the main statue of Tsiu Marpo resides (Figure 8). Several other statues of deities also reside within the room. Notably, there are seven deities lined up behind the main statue of Tsiu Marpo. While these deities do not specifically represent the six horsemen detailed above, they are nonetheless other manifestations of Tsiu Marpo—though one of these statues is actually of Pehar. This notion of deities emanating from one another as a means of personifying specific attributes or characteristics of a greater deity is not uncommon in divine pantheons found within both Tibetan and Indian cosmology. In this instance, some of these figures may simply possess variant names of the seven riders.⁵⁶

Tsiu Marpo not only has a strong presence at Samyé monastery; his influence is widespread. Due to the ecumenical nature of Samyé monastery—partially attributed to its antiquity—many of its protector deities are recognized to varying degrees by most if not all of the four Tibetan Buddhist sects. Though Tsiu Marpo is recognized across sectarian divisions, he

⁵³ De Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 168 n.4.

⁵⁴ To be discussed in Chapter 5.

⁵⁵ These details were made evident both by personal correspondence (Lodrö Gyeltsen, Lhasa. July 24th, 2005) and by direct observation of the temple site.

⁵⁶ See below for a brief discussion of the seven riders.

is of highest rank in the Nyingma sect. There are three Sakya ritual texts that involve Tsiu Marpo⁵⁷ as well as a Geluk invocation manual written by the third Pañchen Lama, as noted in the introduction. That such a prestigious figure of the Geluk sect wrote an invocation to Tsiu Marpo is important considering the deity's relatively minor position in the Geluk hierarchy of divinities.⁵⁸ This minor position is certainly noticeable given the peripheral status of Tsiu Marpo statues in Geluk temple *gönkhangs* (Figures 9 and 10). However, the historical importance of Tsiu Marpo to the Geluk sect is nonetheless evident in the Samyé oracle, who was at one point instrumental in the discovery of the Dalai Lama's rebirth.⁵⁹ Perhaps this suggests that Tsiu Marpo's importance to the Geluk sect was stronger prior to the Cultural Revolution. Finally, there is a satellite monastery of Samyé called Tengyéling monastery in Lhasa. Understandably, the central deity of its main chapel is Tsiu Marpo (Figure 11). This statue is a replacement of the original, which was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. The original statue was supposedly made out of the remains of an oracle who died in a trance.⁶⁰

The Seven Riders

Tsiu Marpo's narrative history discusses a group of figures called the "seven attendant riders" (*ya ba rkya bdun*).⁶¹ Other synonymous titles are the "seven violence demon brothers" (*gnod sbyin mched bdun*), the "seven emanating riders" (*rol pa rkya bdun*), and the "seven radiant brothers" (*'bar ba spun bdun*). This is a team consisting of Tsiu Marpo and the six horsemen who emanated from his body as illustrated above. With Tsiu Marpo at the helm, this group leads all might demons. Surprisingly, the seven riders are well-described in de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, but he only knows them as the "seven radiant brothers" and similar variants.⁶² He

⁵⁷ I have been informed of the existence of this text cycle by E. Gene Smith through the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (<http://www.tbrc.org/>). The English title with which I was provided is "Three Sakya ritual texts: including a *torma* throwing ritual associated with Vajrakīlaya, a ritual offering rite of Tsiu Marpo, and a *torma* throwing ritual associated with Tsiu marpo." However, I was unable to procure a copy of this Tibetan text by the date of this composition. Gibson (1998, p. 204 n.51) discusses another Sakya invocation manual that mentions Tsiu Marpo.

⁵⁸ By contrast, Penden Lhamo (*Dpal ldan lha mo*) is one of the most important divinities in the Geluk pantheon; a significant fact considering the contrast between her and Tsiu Marpo discussed above. See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, pp. 22-37; and Heller 2003 for more information on Penden Lhamo.

⁵⁹ See chapter 5.

⁶⁰ See Alexander 2005, p. 216.

⁶¹ The Tibetan word *rkya*, translated as "rider," is especially archaic and difficult to translate. In some variations, it is spelled *skya*. For the pertinent definition, see Dungkar Lozang Trinlé 2002, p. 203.

⁶² See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, pp. 171-173.

does not mention them as the "seven attendant riders" or recognize their significance in this context. Todd Gibson does draw this connection and even mentions their early appearance in the Tibetan epic of Gesar.⁶³ While such a detailed analysis of this particular group is beyond the scope of this thesis, a stronger association between Tsiu Marpo and the seven riders should be recognized. Their involvement in Tsiu Marpo's history and much of his ritual activity underlies many of his key texts, particularly in the primary resources utilized for this study.⁶⁴ For future study, a fuller exploration of these deities would first require a translation and analysis of the root ritual text of the seven riders, also written by Ngari Pañchen and available in *The Great Treasury of Precious Termas*; understandably, it immediately follows *The Warlord's Tantra*.⁶⁵

Settings

It is self-evident that Tsiu Marpo's origin story takes place in legendary time, in the uncertain past. Such uncertainty is the nature of cosmogonic narrative; a specific placement in time is unimportant. Tsiu Marpo's mythic pre-existence in a Buddhist land like Khotan is a common motif found among Tibetan protector deities.⁶⁶ Also common is that these deities were Buddhist monks in their past lives who regressed in their practice, as is seen in Tsiu Marpo's own previous life. Later, Tsiu Marpo's physical abodes change a number of times to the point of ambiguity. When Chorwa is murdered, he is reborn as Tsiu Marpo in a land of might demons called Chongri Zangtso. The location of such lands is unclear; they are believed to exist within the actual geography of Tibet, though their specific site is ambiguous other than generic designations of direction.⁶⁷ Between this point and Tsiu Marpo's later understood residency at Samyé, it is unclear exactly where he dwelled.

⁶³ See Gibson 1991, p. 200 n.42. This association with the Gesar epic is also mentioned in Bellezza 2005, p. 215 n.132; and Martin 2001, p.188 n.11. Of these texts only Bellezza (2005, pp. 287-302) explicitly discusses the seven riders beyond these brief notations.

⁶⁴ Their existence pervades much of the ritual preparation and iconographic depictions found in the primary texts, as future chapters will elucidate and as the appendices illustrate.

⁶⁵ See MPG, pp. 333-349.

⁶⁶ Gibson (1991, p. 204-205) contrasts Tsiu Marpo with another deity named Yangneber (Yang ne ber), who was also a prince of Khotan in a previous life. See the conclusion for a further analysis of this deity.

⁶⁷ Tibetans have a penchant for instilling the surrounding geography with multiple layers of sacrality. Also, it is widely believed among Tibetans that there are hidden lands within the Tibetan geography accessible only to spiritually adept practitioners. These secret holy lands are Buddha fields manifested on Earth to advance the enlightenment of individuals. See Dowman 1988; Gyatso 1987; and Huber 1999, pp. 39-57 for more on Tibetan

Tsiu Marpo tells Padmasambhava that his abode is a charnel ground in India as well as a specific cavern in Tsang. Indeed, though Tsiu Marpo first meets Padmasambhava in India, he and his horsemen later welcome the spiritual master on his entry into Tibet. This is significant for two reasons. First, it implies that Tsiu Marpo and his team are accessible everywhere, a notion that establishes the mythological foundation for ritual propitiation. Second, Tsiu Marpo's dwelling in India ties him to the land highly revered in major Tibetan histories and *tantras*; the supremacy of India is permanently glorified as the originating land of the Buddha. Although Tsiu Marpo is an indigenous Tibetan deity with no known texts that tie him to India, this creative connection further authenticates him as a Buddhist protector despite his low stature as a worldly deity. This is also evident in Tsiu Marpo's root *tantra*, which begins with the title in Tibetan-transliterated Sanskrit.⁶⁸

A word should be said on the altering perceptions regarding India and Tibet. There is a consistent reverence for India within Tibet; even so, a spiritual evolution has taken place in Tibetan historiography. Beginning from the period of the later transmission (eleventh century) onward, the land of Tibet is perceived as a Buddha land manifested out of the compassion of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Matthew Kapstein argues convincingly that this change was due to a dual process of Buddhist conversion. During the height of imperial expansion in the Yarlung Dynasty, Buddhism was incorporated for a number of political reasons to validate the empire as a center of the Buddha's knowledge and power. After the dynasty fell, this mythic self-representation remained and the empire was in turn mythologized to validate Buddhism. The attitude of conquest in Tibet during these periods shifted from political to spiritual. By this process, the cult of Avalokiteśvara expanded in popularity, and in this view Tibet itself came to supersede India as a land of Buddhist origins.⁶⁹

The evolution of Tsiu Marpo's dwelling place is intriguing because it is cumulative rather than progressive. Tsiu Marpo is tied to the prestigious Buddhist country of Khotan, the might demon lands and thus the hidden lands of Tibetan deities, India and its Buddhist past, central Tibet, and finally Samyé monastery, the first Buddhist monastery in Tibet. Tsiu Marpo continues to be associated with his previous dwellings and their significance despite new

sacred geography. See Childs 2004, pp. 74-97; Diemberger 1993; Reinhart 1978; Acharya and Dokham 1998; and Sardar-Afkhami 1996 for more on Tibetan hidden lands.

⁶⁸ This method of authentication, which establishes a supposed connection to a true Sanskrit *tantra* now lost, is a common motif within the *terma* textual tradition. See MPG, p. 300.1 and Appendix A, p. 155.

⁶⁹ See Kapstein 2000, pp. 51-65.

locations that become connected to him. This fact is succinctly described in *The Perfect Feast Invocation*, which declares, "He who has iron-hooked light rays appearing in his heart center resides at the red copper fields in the might demon land of the west, the changeless and spontaneous Samyé temple, the temple at Badhahor,⁷⁰ the dark willow grove in Khotan, the thirty-three heavenly realms, the land of the *ayon* *dākas*,⁷¹ and the uninterrupted skies of India."⁷² A number of extra realms not previously mentioned are even included.

Tsiu Marpo's presence is recognized everywhere his statue is raised, and certainly there are regional legends throughout Tibet that involve Tsiu Marpo as well as other important protector deities. Naturally, such legends would at times contradict details as well as create new ones based on local lore.

Variations

The nature of narrative evolution, both in oral and textual traditions, prevents any concretizing of a given story or etiology. Certainly, in the imperfect art of historiography, records are selective; the events in the lives of significant historical figures are exaggerated while those of less significant figures can become conflated or even lost. This tendency occurs in order to create a coherent narrative structure that coincides with the particular agendas of the historian. Hayden White explains this phenomenon with regards to Western historiography as a literary stylization. History is not fictional, but it incorporates many similar elements found within fiction, such as moods and a timeline with a perceivable beginning, middle, and end. This occurs because a historian pulls information from a sea of data that he or she considers especially significant in order to create a narrative in which these points of information act as the causes and results of certain events.⁷³ Such protocol is even stronger in the records of ahistorical figures such as protector deities where events primarily operate within a mythic space.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ To be discussed in connection with Pehar in chapter 5.

⁷¹ This is the male variant of the *dākinī*, as discussed in the introduction.

⁷² NBGL, fol. 3b.2: *bdag nyid kyi thugs ka'i 'od zer lcags kyu'i rnam pa can gyis nub phyogs btsan yul zangs thang dmar po / bsam yas mi 'gyur lhun gyis grub pa'i gtsug lag khang / ba dha hor gyis gom grwa / li yul lcang ra smug po / lha gnas sum cu rtsa gsum / ayon mkha' 'gro'i gling / rgya yul nam mkha' chad chod sogs gar bzhugs.*

⁷³ See White 1985.

⁷⁴ It is important to note that protector deities are not strictly ahistorical. Certainly, deities often act within time and are tied to various events associated with political history. That Tsiu Marpo is associated with an oracle lineage—to be discussed in chapter 5—illustrates his direct influence on the world of recorded events. Aside from this, some

Nonetheless, innate incongruities are worth exploring for the nuances they reveal in the propagation of deity narratives and origins. *The Unprecedented Elegant Explanations* happens to be an excellent resource for providing and comparing the multiple variations of Tsiu Marpo's origin story as it exists in previous sources including the root *tantra*. There are numerous variations, but a few in particular are worth examining for their illuminating idiosyncrasies.

First, Tsiu Marpo, as well as most other deities and even peripheral characters and settings, have variant names. Tsiu Marpo himself is variously called Tsi Marpo (Rtsi dmar po, Tsi dmar po), Tse Marpo (Tse dmar po, Rtse dmar po), Tsi Mara (Tsi ma ra), Chökyong Nöjin Marpo (Chos skyong gnod sbyin dmar po), the "Red Violence Demon, Protector of the Doctrine," and Pudri Marpo (Spu gri dmar po), the "Red-razored One," as he is referred to in his root *tantra*. As a prince in his previous birth, the name "Chorwa" has two variants. They are nearly homophonic, but with slightly different meanings that add suggestively to this character: Chorpo (Mchor po), meaning "handsome or vain," and Chorwa ('Phyor ba), meaning "a dandy or rich person;" both of these definitions connote the kind of lifestyle that personifies a prince. Other names, as with Tsiu Marpo, are merely variations with little change in meaning. "Chandrabhadra"⁷⁵ is written as "Chandrabhaha" in one instance; clearly a misspelling.⁷⁶ The princess is named variously as Majin (Ma byin), Dejin (Dde sbyin), and Demajin (Bde ma sbyin), the last two variants providing the fully intended meaning of her name, "Giver of Bliss." Lastly, even the might demon land has two homophonic variations: Chongri Zangtso ('Chong ri zangs mtsho,⁷⁷ Mchong ri bzangs mtsho⁷⁸). Much of this nuance can only be visible within the Tibetan itself, as a great degree of topographical distinction is lost in phonetic transcription.

Second, some of the natural evolution of the narrative has been maintained in Lelung Zhépé Dorjé's account. He provides not only variations but also explains how certain details became popularly accepted as time passed. For instance, in examining Tsiu Marpo's heritage, Lelung Zhépé Dorjé reveals that at first his father was either the savage demon lord Lekpa or the might demon lord Dawa Tökar, who became the forefather of all might demons. Lelung Zhépé Dorjé then explains that most *tantras* in his day state that Tsiu Marpo was born to the savage

protector deities have even stronger connections to historical periods that are not clouded in legendary time. For instance, the origins of the deity Dorjé Shukden (Rdo rje shugs ldan) are deeply tied to political intrigues in the seventeenth-century involving the fifth Dalai Lama. This figure will be mentioned further below.

⁷⁵ A Sanskrit name meaning "Beautiful Moon."

⁷⁶ Misspellings within Tibetan texts are not at all uncommon.

⁷⁷ "Holding Mountain, Copper Lake."

⁷⁸ "Leaping Mountain, Multi-leveled Lake."

demon lord Lekpa and the violence demoness Dongmarma, daughter of the might demon lord Dawa Tökar.⁷⁹ This is important because Tsiu Marpo's root *tantra* agrees with the latter account. This suggests that either an oral tradition surrounding Tsiu Marpo existed and had its beginning in the former ambiguity, or that Lelung Zhépé Dorjé, perhaps also relying on oral tradition, is retroactively situating Tsiu Marpo's narrative within an older *tantric* tradition. This latter possibility certainly agrees with general methods of authentication institutionalized within the *terma* tradition. Tsiu Marpo's mother is also questionable, as she is variously described as a serpent demoness named Zangdrinma (Zangs mgrin ma), "Copper-necked Woman;" a queen of the might demons named Shelmikma (Shel mig ma), "Crystal-eyed Woman;" and a demoness named Sasin Mamo (Sa srin ma mo), "Earth Demoness."

Finally, Lelung Zhépé Dorjé makes another appeal to oral representation. He claims that some learned ones stated that the six might demons who emanated from Tsiu Marpo's body actually arose from the six body parts of the murdered Chorwa. Whether these specific incongruities can be substantiated is irrelevant; they detail the degree to which variations pervade this narrative as well as similar narratives. Such details are not as important as the Buddhist elements and plot direction, which are the key features necessary to explain and warrant the birth and evolution of Tsiu Marpo as the king of the violence demons.

Tsiu Marpo in History

Tracing the narrative history of Tsiu Marpo lends itself to analysis far more than does tracing his textual history or the history of his cult within actual recorded time. Understandably, the further back in time we go, the more uncertainties approach and impede our analysis. *The Warlord's Tantra*, as Tsiu Marpo's root text, is an early sixteenth-century *terma* that concretely establishes Tsiu Marpo's history and ritual cult. Variations of both can be found in later texts, such as *The Perfect Feast Invocation* and the fragment within *The Unprecedented Elegant Explanations*. Prior to this, however, there are very little texts that discuss Tsiu Marpo. Gibson explains that a late-fifteenth-century *terma* discovered by Padma Lingpa (Padma gling pa; 1450-1521) mentions Tsiu Marpo and appears to be the earliest text to do so.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ See DCTS, p. 116.11-22 and Appendix D, pp. 213-214.

⁸⁰ See Gibson 1991, p. 201. His variant name in this text is Tsi Mara (Tsi ma ra).

Conversely, the twelfth-century history of Nyangrel Nyima Özer (Nyang ral nyi ma ‘od zer; 1136-1204) and the *Ba Zhé (Dba’ bzhed)*⁸¹ do not mention any name similar to Tsiu Marpo’s within their respective lists of protector deities appointed to guard the various sites at Samyé, despite the fact that these lists enumerate numerous deities.⁸² This strongly suggests that Tsiu Marpo as a specific deity was not necessarily a founding protector of Samyé but rather a later creative development. This is not uncommon in Tibetan historiography where previous historical accounts are either overwritten or refashioned to suit religious purposes. Tsiu Marpo’s position at Samyé was certainly established by the middle of the eighteenth century, as the quote from *The Perfect Feast Invocation* provided above clearly indicates. This position, if not explicitly stated, is strongly alluded to in both *The Warlord’s Tantra* and *The Unprecedented Elegant Explanations*.

Thus, an evolution appears to have taken place. These observations offer a glimpse at how Tsiu Marpo may have begun as a minor protector deity in Pehar’s retinue, increased in importance due to the discovery of his root *terma* by Ngari Pañchen, and finally retroactively established as the main protector of Samyé monastery. However, speculation along this line can only be confirmed by further exploration of the texts that mention Tsiu Marpo, and of histories that detail any political shifts during the early sixteenth century that also may have involved Samyé. Further speculation along this line, as well as Tsiu Marpo’s relation to an obscure deity named Yangleber (Yang le ber), will be explored in the conclusion.

Though Tsiu Marpo may not have started as far back as Samyé, he has nonetheless grown in importance. As previously mentioned, his ritual cult has been established as far back as the early sixteenth century. His importance is reflected in that he is recognized as the king of all violence demons. That he is connected to both violence and might demons secures his position firmly as a protector deity tied to Tibet’s ancient mythic past. This is also indicated by his connections to multiple significant locations. A strong sign of Tsiu Marpo’s ritual development is the multifaceted detail and significance within his iconographic representations. This iconography and its importance in a Tantric Buddhist context is the focus of the next chapter.

⁸¹ This is a particularly significant Tibetan history as it is one of the first; it contains a great deal of information on the late imperial period of Tibet. Its date is uncertain, though it is considered to be earlier than the twelfth century. For a translation of the oldest available copy of the *Ba Zhé*, see Wangdu and Diemberger 2000.

⁸² See Gibson 1991, p. 201.



Figure 6. The Jokwukhang temple, residence of Tsiu Marpo at Samyé. (Photo: C. Bell 2005)



Figure 7. Inner courtyard of the Jokwukhang. The entire lower floor is gutted and under construction. (Photo: C. Bell 2005)



Figure 8. The central Tsiu Marpo statue within the Jokwukhang. (Photo: C. Bell 2005)



Figure 9. The Tsiu Marpo statue at Kündeling (Kun bde gling) monastery, Lhasa. This statue is placed furthest right from the middle in this monastery's *gongkhang*. (Photo: C. Bell 2005)



Figure 10. The Tsiu Marpo statue at Sera (Se ra) monastery, Lhasa. The placement of this statue is the furthest left from the middle in this monastery's *gönkhang*. (Photo: C. Bell 2005)



Figure 11. The central Tsiu Marpo statue at Tengyéling monastery, a satellite monastery of Samyé in Lhasa. (Photo: C. Bell 2005)

ICONOGRAPHY

Tsiu Marpo's story is important for what it reveals about his placement within Tibetan Buddhist mythic history. However, Tsiu Marpo's iconography is more significant for what it reveals about Tibetan Buddhism. The hostile expressions these iconographic descriptions convey may seem initially contrary to the more popular notion of Buddhism as peaceful. However, the intense and gruesome visual nature of iconography so ubiquitous in Tibetan Buddhism has an underlying historic, pragmatic, and *tantric* importance.

The iconography of Tsiu Marpo is not especially unique, but it provides an excellent example of how Tibetan protector deities are visualized and what their appearances signify, particularly in regards to wrathful deities. After providing a selection of iconographic depictions commonly ascribed to Tsiu Marpo and his entourage, this chapter will explore the multiple layers of meaning intended by these depictions. A detailed examination of the *maṇḍala* as ritual territory will conclude the chapter. This examination will illustrate how the environment of the deity is important by exploring where the deity resides within the mythic landscape—as introduced in the previous chapter—and how that environment is understood and utilized for ritual purposes—as will be elucidated in the next chapter.

Tsiu Marpo and Company

What follows is a collection of common iconographic depictions of Tsiu Marpo and his closest retinue. I have provided summaries of the representations provided in the Tibetan texts themselves, as well as elaborations based on my own observations of Tsiu Marpo drawings, paintings, and statues. As with his origin narrative provided in the previous chapter, these following descriptions paraphrase the translation offered in the appendices, and so a degree of license has been taken.

In Lelung Zhépé Dorjé's *The Unprecedented Elegant Explanations*, Tsiu Marpo is described as having a resplendent greenish-red body color. His red locks are radiant flames,

meteors spring from his eyes, bloody hailstones fall from his mouth, blizzards of disease swirl from his nostrils, and poisonous black serpents issue from his ears. He wears a cloak of red silk with sleeves of variegated blue satin. On his head rests a majestic turban of red silk, and around his waist a belt of golden jewels is tied. He was born with the brilliance of a hundred thousand suns.⁸³

A far more explicit description is provided in *The Perfect Feast Invocation*: Atop the swirling waves of the ocean in the intermediate space, amid the body parts and corpses of enemies, the violence demon Tsi Marwa (Tsi dmar ba) whistles violently. His face is gathered in a wrathful grimace and his upper teeth gnaw his lower lip. He is endowed with the marks of a hero. He brandishes a red silken spear in his right hand. With his left hand he holds the lasso of the might demons, which shines like the rays of the sun. He throws it as fast as lightning and gathers the life-energy of the enemy. With the fourth finger of his right hand he spins the red lasso. On his right he carries a tiger-skin quiver and on his left a leopard-skin bow case. He rides a black horse with white heels. On his head he wears a helmet of leather adorned with vulture feathers, and on his body he wears an armored coat covered with scorpion shells.

Assembled around him are a hundred thousand inexhaustible might demon soldiers, twenty thousand groups of serpent demon soldiers, countless sky demons as well as a limitless gathering of falcons, eagles, tigers, leopards, monkeys, and such. In front of him there are five hundred monks wearing lacquered hats, holding mendicant staffs and begging bowls, and speaking true words. On his right there are five hundred exorcists wearing black hats and exorcist robes, holding daggers and skull cups, and uttering fierce *mantras*. On his left there are five hundred armed men holding swords and shields and reciting courageous words. Behind him there are five hundred black women shaking their black garments and shouting curses. The division leaders of these four groups are surrounded by emanations along with the emanations of those emanations. All the deities and their retinue, which fill the whole earth, are decorated with the syllable OM on their foreheads, the syllable ĀḤ on their throats, and the syllable HŪM on their hearts.⁸⁴

⁸³ See DCTS, p. 118.20-119.3 and Appendix D, p. 215.

⁸⁴ See NBGL, fol. 2a.1-3b.2. De Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1998, p. 166) provides a translation of this very portion of the text. However, it seems that his source copy was a slightly different version than mine, his being a subchapter of a much larger text. The chapter title is only slightly different from my copy: *Gnod sbyin dgra lha'i rgyal po rtsi'u dmar po gsol mchod bya ba'i rim brdzogs ldan dga' ston zhes bya ba bzhugs so* (fols. 16b-21a). De Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 578 also lists this work as composed by the third Panchen Lama Lozang Penden Yeshé;

Here we are first introduced to Tsiu Marpo's broader retinue, a concept that will be explored in greater detail below. The six riders are part of Tsiu Marpo's assembly, he being their leader; they are directly under Tsiu Marpo since they are emanations of him. These other numerous figures are the servants and entourage of Tsiu Marpo, who hail his coming and sing his praises. As the king of all might demons, this iconographic depiction is especially cogent given the royal imagery utilized here and in many other representations of protector deities.

Before discussing the retinue and its importance within the broader *tantric* cosmography, let us look closer at Tsiu Marpo and his immediate entourage of the riders that accompany him. As detailed in these two accounts, and noticeable in his statues and paintings, Tsiu Marpo is primarily red in body color, in keeping with the generic description of all might demons. His upper teeth gnaw at his lower lip and his face is permanently contorted with rage. In some of these depictions, he has three eyes to represent his connection with Buddhist truth and knowledge. In paintings (Figure 12) and drawings (Figures 13 and 14), he is often mounted on his horse and spearing someone who hangs by his lasso below his horse's hooves. This being personifies the enemy of the Buddhist teachings.

He is surrounded by red flames and smoke, and appears to ride over a red ocean of blood. In contrast, statues of Tsiu Marpo tend to be less dynamic. They maintain the same key descriptors associated with Tsiu Marpo, such as the red skin, piercing eyes, and gnawed lower lip, but these figures are stationary,⁸⁵ though there are exceptions (Figures 10 and 15).

The slight variations noticeable in all descriptions of Tsiu Marpo exist for the same reason that there are variations in his narrative accounts; they provide nuances significant to the individual painter, sculptor, or textual narrator. The historian also relies on these nuances in order to tease out historical distinctions and details pertinent for analysis. These are all methods of expressing the excessively volatile nature of this deity. Such methods are not unique to Tsiu Marpo and can be observed in the narratives and iconography of all wrathful deities. It is this violent expression that is key to Tsiu Marpo's iconographic representation. Nonetheless, one should be aware of the constant fluidity in the descriptions of these deities.⁸⁶

however, the folio size is half the size of my copy. The iconographic description of Tsiu Marpo detailed above is provided on fol. 17a of de Nebesky-Wojkowitz's copy.

⁸⁵ See Figures 8, 9, and 11.

⁸⁶ See Gibson 1991, pp. 190-191.

Similarly, the six might demon riders who manifested from Tsiu Marpo and who, along with him, comprise the seven riders are described in like manner. Oddly, an iconographic description of Tsiu Marpo as vivid as the accounts provided above is lacking in *The Warlord's Tantra*, yet one of its accompanying liturgical texts provides descriptions of his six might demon riders:

[1] The divine might demon is endowed with a radiant light yellow body color and wears a robe of red-striped satin. He has a tiger-skin quiver on his right and a leopard-skin bow case on his left. He rides a dark-skinned horse and carries golden arrows and a golden bow. When he pulls the bow string, he strikes the heart of the enemy. He plagues his enemies with magical delusions.

[2] The rock might demon is overlord of the red copper rock. He blazes with the fire light of a red body color and wears violet robes. He rides a horse with white heels and carries a sword in his right hand. He carries in his left hand a copper lasso that he throws at his enemies. He plagues his enemies with magical delusions.

[3] The serpentine might demon has a terrifying dark red body color and wears clear boots and garments. He wears a belt of malicious snakes. He has a tiger-skin quiver on his right and a leopard-skin bow case on his left. He rides a yellow tiger and brandishes a red iron spear with his right hand. He carries a lasso of poisonous snakes in his left hand. He plagues his enemies with magical delusions.

[4] The knife might demon has a terrifying red body color and wears fur-lined red robes. He has a tiger-skin quiver on his right and a leopard-skin bow case on his left. He brandishes a red leather spear in his right hand and a lasso of might demon intestines in his left. He rides a red donkey with a white upper belly. He plagues his enemies with magical delusions.

[5] The obstructive might demon has a terrifying blue-green body color. He wears a big robe of black silk on his body and the black silk turban of obstruction demons on his head. He rides a tan horse with a black middle and brandishes a black silk banner in his right hand. He throws a lasso of rosaries from his left hand. He plagues his enemies with magical delusions.

[6] The knife might demon has the red body color of blood and wears red copper armor. He wears a majestic turban of red silk. He has a tiger-skin quiver on his right and a leopard-skin bow case on his left. He has a red leather shield endowed with fire light and a gleaming bronze

dagger. His red silk banner swirls about like the wind. His red might demon horse runs swiftly. He leads a pack of wolves and jackals, and soars over mountain birds and crows. He plagues his enemies with magical delusions.⁸⁷

These iconographic descriptions follow an obvious pattern detailing body color, wardrobe, mounts, and the weapons these figures bear. This pattern is also observable in the descriptions of Tsiu Marpo. Furthermore, these riders each have an accompanying hound that they incite to attack their enemies. These hounds are actually dog-headed goddesses that act as harbingers for these riders and they have their own iconography:

[1] The bitch Dungdok Tselmikma (Dung mdog mtshal mig ma), "Conch Shell-colored Vermillion-eyed Woman," blows poisonous vapors from her mouth. She catches the scent of human flesh and blood. She captures the breath of the enemy and gulps it down. She follows the divine might demon and curses the enemy with insanity.

[2] The bitch Marmo Tselmikma (Dmar mo mtshal mig ma), "Red Vermillion-eyed Woman," opens her mouth and bares her fangs of copper. A fog of disease swirls from her mouth. She catches the enemy's breath and drinks warm blood from the transgressor's brain. She follows the rock might demon and consumes the brain of the enemy.

[3] The bitch Marnak Trakmikma (Dmar nag khrag mig ma), "Dark Red Blood-eyed Woman," gathers clouds of poisonous vapors. Her iron teeth and claws are sharp like weapons. She steals the life-force of the enemy and gulps down the life-force of the vow-violator. She follows the serpentine might demon and cuts the lifeline of the enemy.

[4] The bitch Marmo Tingmikma (Dmar mo mthing mig ma), "Red Azure-eyed Woman," opens her mouth, bares her fangs, and vomits warm blood. She catches the smell of blood from afar. She catches the breath of the enemy and gulps down the warm blood of his heart. She is the follower of the red knife might demon and drinks the enemy's blood.

[5] The bitch Marmo Zimikma (Dmar mo gzi mig ma), "Red Bright Onyx-eyed Woman," opens her mouth and shouts in the ten directions. A satchel of diseases is bound to her neck.

⁸⁷ See MPG, pp. 324.5-326.5 and Appendix A, pp. 175-176. Demons 4 and 6 are both called "knife might demon" in the text. The one demon left unmentioned is the defiling might demon. Considering the homophonic relationship between "defilement" (*dri*) and "knife" (*gri*), I speculate that either 4 or 6 is meant to be the defiling might demon. The parallels here with the list of these demons in the second chapter of *The Warlord's Tantra* suggest that it is more likely that the last demon is the defiling might demon.

She catches the breath of the enemy and gives infectious diseases to the vow-violator. She is the follower of the black obstructive might demon and gives the enemy infectious diseases.

[6] The bitch Marmo Zimikma (Dmar mo gzi mig ma), "Red Bright Onyx-eyed Woman,"⁸⁸ opens her mouth, bares her fangs, and smells blood. She gathers her bloody mane. She cuts the neck and catches the life-breath of the enemy, and gulps down the blood of the transgressor's heart. She is the follower of the red knife might demon and digests the enemy's heart.⁸⁹

The Purpose of Violence

The violence and gore that fill these accounts is ubiquitous in all descriptions of wrathful deities and their entourages. Indeed, this ferocity is believed to be so intense that in some depictions, particularly statues, the fierce visages of such deities as Tsiu Marpo must remain hidden behind a concealing cloth (Figure 15). There are a number of interpretations behind these hostile appearances. Foremost, such visuals are evocative and memorable, given their hyperbolic nature. These are figures of power and thus their power is manifest in these harsh iconographic depictions. With might demons—particularly Tsiu Marpo, a kingly might demon—a military power is strongly suggested in these images. These figures ride powerful horses, send forth their hunting hounds, wear elaborate armor, and carry war banners. Indeed, this is redundantly clear in the title of the root *tantra*, which is a *tantra* of Tsiu Marpo as a warlord. This is a specifically iconic representation of royalty and martial force, as well as the power and subjugation inherent in each.

Before expansion, Tibet was known as a land of disputing tribes and families; this is still indicative in many of the sectarian conflicts that pervade Tibetan history. Intertribal strife was common until the various groups of ethnic Tibetans became centralized under one kingdom. Nonetheless, border societies always held a fluctuating status in their relationship with the central ruling power. Such early beginnings are mythologized in accounts of Tibet being a land of demons in its prehistory; even the early Tibetan tribes were considered to have descended

⁸⁸ This hound goddess has the same name as the previous.

⁸⁹ See MPG, pp. 312.3-314.3 and Appendix A, pp. 165-167.

from a rock demoness.⁹⁰ This wild and vicious self-characterization continued to exist during imperial expansion, when such passionate energies were directed toward military and political endeavors.⁹¹ In this regard, Todd Gibson has done a convincing job of associating might demons with the imperial kingship. He suggests that, once the Yarlung dynasty fell, might demons became popular personifications that continued to embody the power and dominion of the kingship, as well as the military might indicative of Tibet's period of expansion.⁹² The intense anger attributed to might demons developed as a mythic response to the fall of the kingdom as well as to any later degradation of the Buddhist doctrine. Here we have almost an inversion of Kapstein's theory. As religion became the prominent force in Tibet after political centralization crumbled, the powerful mythology of Buddhism remained to reshape early Tibetan history. In turn, demons were likewise recast as vicious but nonetheless positive defenders of the Buddhist teachings.

No doubt parallels were also drawn between Tibetan kings and the great Buddhist king of ancient India, Aśoka (3rd century B.C.E.). While the Buddha is the conqueror of delusion and vice, the king is the conqueror of men. With a Buddhist king, the two attributes are combined; people are conquered in order to be liberated eventually.⁹³ Tessa Bartholomeusz, in her study on just-war rhetoric in Buddhist Sri Lanka, explains how such parallels were drawn between Sri Lankan kings and Aśoka. However, as she argues, this element of conquest is superseded by the only circumstance in which violence is acceptable in a Buddhist context: defense. Nonetheless, it is possible to envision almost any instance of violence as one of defense. In the Buddhist milieu of Sri Lanka, violence is perpetrated in reaction to what Buddhist practitioners feel is an encroachment on their religion. Thus, actions must be taken to remove forcefully any impediments to the solidarity of Buddhism. Indeed, unbelievers and "men of evil life" are considered no better than beasts and thus not worthy of inclusion in lists of war casualties.⁹⁴ In Tibet, forceful attacks on enemies of Buddhism have been mythologically represented by the

⁹⁰ Recall the conflation between the *dmu* tribe and demon type discussed in the introduction. See Haahr 1969 for more on the history of the Yarlung Dynasty.

⁹¹ See Beckwith 1987, particularly pp. 11-54, for a quintessential study of Tibet's era of military conquest and imperial expansion. Also see McKay 2003, pp. 9-68. As discussed in chapter 2, see Kapstein 2000, pp. 51-65 for his theory on how the popularity of Buddhism in Tibet related to imperial expansion.

⁹² See Gibson 1991. Gibson (1991, pp. 209-214) also provides an iconographic comparison between Tibetan might demons and Iranian war spirits called *fravashi*.

⁹³ Bartholomeusz 2002, pp. 23-25.

⁹⁴ See Bartholomeusz 2002, p. 56. See this text for more on such elements of violence in Sri Lankan Buddhism, particularly pp. 38-64.

taming of malicious indigenous forces. However, Buddhism having been established, there is always a constant threat to its survival. Therefore, these beings who were once its demonic enemies are employed to ensure its prosperity.

This later position is especially visible in Tsiu Marpo since his primary task is to attack those who do not uphold the Dharma. De Nebesky-Wojkowitz's vivid translation of Tsiu Marpo being requested to attack these enemies will suffice as an illustration:

You, the *yakṣa*, king of the *btsan*, residing in the middle of blazing chain-lightnings, who open wide your horrifying mouth and stare with red eyes—together with your hordes, come surging forward, soar quickly atop of the enemies, send the painful illness of the *btsan* into the upper part of the bodies of your foes, and cast colic into the lower part of their bodies. Having gathered big black clouds on the sky, cast thunder, lightning, thunderbolts, and great pieces of hail, order the *the'u rang* demons to cause fits of madness, and command the *ma mo* [demonesses] to cause fits of fainting to your foes. Bind tightly your enemies by means of your red snare, strike them hard with the great stick. With the flaming sword, cut them into huge pieces. With the flaming iron hook, tear out their heart-veins; having chewed the bodies of the foes with your flaming teeth, swallow them down into your stomach which is like a '*rākṣasa-hole*'. Send various kinds of illusions to deceive your enemies. Send suddenly the illnesses called *gag nad*⁹⁵ and *gzer nad*.⁹⁶ Destroy seven generations of the multitude of obstacle-creating demons and enemies.⁹⁷

This task reiterates the descriptions of Tsiu Marpo's actions described above as well as those activities performed by his coterie of riders and their hounds. This is not surprising, as the latter are simply his manifestations.

These figures have an especially vicious hatred for those who break their vows to practice and propagate Buddhism. This is significant considering that Tsiu Marpo was once a monk who discarded his own practices. I speculate that protector deities in general tend to strike out at those figures who embody the vices they once possessed or, conversely, those figures who

⁹⁵ An illness that swells the throat.

⁹⁶ A painful illness.

⁹⁷ De Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 167. NBGL, fol. 6b.6-7b.1.

oppose the positive attributes these deities personify.⁹⁸ The common motif that protector deities were once backsliding monks,⁹⁹ as discussed in chapter 2, certainly explains why their common enemy is the vow-violator. This is also understandable since, as protectors of the Buddhist doctrine, these deities would act most hateful toward those who disparage it.

When an enemy is destroyed or consumed by a protector deity, the act is considered to be ultimately good. The justification for such violence is that the enemy, once dispatched by a being representing Buddhist truth, will ultimately be liberated. In many instances, the body of the enemy is offered up to transcendental and *tantric* gods for the production of merit.¹⁰⁰ However, we must keep in mind that most of these violent activities are symbolically enacted in ritual. This is not to say that violence no longer occurs in the Tibetan Buddhist context, but rather that a great deal of the violence indicative of Tibet's past has been redirected through ritual means. René Girard, in his book on violence and the sacred, discusses how the concept of sacrifice is implemented in order to redirect violence away from the community. He states that violence is unavoidable but controllable; therefore, communities develop systems of sacrifice in which violence can be directed.¹⁰¹ In Tibetan Buddhism, violence is directed against human and supernatural enemies through ritual means in order to defend Buddhism and its practitioners.

Though Girard primarily focuses on texts within the Western religious traditions, such as the Bible and the Greek story of Oedipus, his arguments can be applied to Asian contexts. This notion of redirecting violence can be observed in a number of Tibetan rituals, including the texts to be discussed next chapter. For instance, the *lū* (*glud*) ritual binds a demon within an object that is then removed from the site that the demon plagued and taken far away to be destroyed.¹⁰² In ritual dances (*'cham*), effigies that embody subjugated demons are made and destroyed in order to liberate them.¹⁰³ In many instances, these notions of killing, expelling, and liberating are conflated; also, they are not always directed at supernatural enemies. Catherine Cantwell discusses the "liberation" killing ritual (*sgrol ba*) in its multiple contexts and describes a scenario

⁹⁸ By contrast, the primary enemies of the Geluk deity Dorjé Shukden (Rdo rje shugs ldan) are members of the Geluk sect who do not keep the lineage pure of other sectarian influences. Dorjé Shukden is another little-studied protector deity who deserves greater scholarly attention. See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, pp. 134-144 for more on Dorjé Shukden. See Dreyfus 1998 for information on modern political intrigues surrounding Dorjé Shukden.

⁹⁹ This is especially true of might demons; see Samuel 1993, p. 162.

¹⁰⁰ See the "feast" ritual (*tshogs*) discussed in the next chapter.

¹⁰¹ See Girard 1979, particularly pp. 1-68.

¹⁰² The *lū* (*glud*) ritual will be discussed in a fuller ritual context next chapter.

¹⁰³ See Kohn 2001. Tibetan ritual dance will be discussed more fully in chapter 5 in the context of the oracle tradition.

where the ritual was performed against the Chinese during their incursion in the 1950s. The justification for such actions even in a ritual context is that it is liberative. This contrasts with murders performed in other contexts, which is motivated by blind anger and ignorance.¹⁰⁴ Again, this is not to say that physical violence does not occur; indeed, many instances have been recorded in Tibetan history.¹⁰⁵ Rather, violence and violent imagery have been sacralized in the Tibetan Buddhist context through protector deities and associated rituals. In keeping with the *tantric* paradigm of using elements of *samsāra* in order to attain *nirvāṇa*, this violence is transformed into a liberating force, justifiable in the defense of Buddhism and its teachings.

A contrast should be redrawn here between tutelary deities, transcendental deities, and worldly deities, as discussed in the introduction. While tutelary deities are personifications of the buddha nature that a practitioner can embody, worldly deities still exist within *samsāra* and are thus susceptible to karmic accretion. Transcendental deities are beyond the world and dwell in the highest realm of existence, the heavenly realm. Because they exist in *samsāra*, beings are still capable of being reborn as these deities. Worldly deities, however, are entities that exist and operate within our own realm. Because they still share human emotions such as anger and jealousy, they are much more accessible for pragmatic ritual requests. All of these deities have a peaceful and wrathful appearance. The peaceful appearance is the truer pacifying visage of the deity that lies beneath the vicious and wrathful aspect outwardly conveyed to destroy enemies. Nonetheless, there is no grand distinction indefinitely separating these three categories and so there is a degree of mobility between them, no doubt contingent on the popularity of a given deity cult.¹⁰⁶

For now, the most important similarity between the deities of these categories is that they are all iconographically represented and even propitiated in remarkably similar fashion. Aside from minor variations in the ritual program, the only core distinction is the aim of the ritual. Iconography is important for this very reason, as it is a foundational visual element in summoning these deities. Furthermore, all of these figures are the central deity of their own dominion, surrounded by their own retinue. The explicit iconographic descriptions above provide us with a detailed account of Tsiu Marpo's immediate entourage and the subsequent

¹⁰⁴ See Cantwell 1997, p. 110 for the liberation killing ritual performed against the Chinese. See this full article as well as Mayer 1996 for more on ritual killing.

¹⁰⁵ See Shakabpa 1967.

¹⁰⁶ This notion of deity mobility will be discussed further in the conclusion.

retinue of countless deities, beings, and animals that surround him on all four sides. Likewise, Tsiu Marpo and his retinue are situated in specific locations that are either reminiscent of the might demon lands or that are intentionally placed within intermediate spaces. Such spaces signify the ubiquitous nature of these settings, as well as the potential for these sacred arenas to be recreated in the process of summoning the deity.

The *Maṇḍala*

The *maṇḍala*, Sanskrit for "circle," is one of the most powerful religious symbols in Buddhism. It has its origins in early Vedic rituals and is still recognized for its symbolic wealth in Hinduism. In Buddhism, particularly esoteric Buddhism, the symbolism and significance of the *maṇḍala* has flourished. Because of this, a great deal of scholarship exists on the *maṇḍala* and its multilayered significance. I discuss it here, however, to relate it further to the exploration of Buddhist cosmology in Tibet. Furthermore, we will see how *maṇḍalas* relate to the iconographic analysis conducted in this chapter and to the ritual programs discussed in the next. The *maṇḍala* is significant in this discussion first and foremost because it is the personification of setting. The importance of setting was discussed in the previous chapter in regards to Tsiu Marpo, but this importance is true with all Buddhist deities. These deities are potentially in all places; this ubiquitous nature is symbolized by the *maṇḍala*, which exists everywhere, in all lands both pure and profane, and ultimately in the minds of the buddhas, which *maṇḍalas* equally represent.

As its etymology indicates, a *maṇḍala* is a circle that represents the cosmogram of a buddha or bodhisattva. The central deity can either represent a practitioner's tutelary deity or anyone from the panoply of Buddhist figures and protectors whom one wishes to propitiate. As a circle, the outer ring of the *maṇḍala* encompasses a smaller square that represents the palace of the central deity. Four ornate gateways (Skt. *torāṇa*) mark the entrances of the four cardinal directions. In most *maṇḍalas*, this main circle and square are elaborated with further concentric layers. Within the palace that is the square, another circle is situated that is then divided into nine sectors. These sectors either repeat the pattern on a smaller scale or house the central deity within the central sector. In the latter case, the surrounding sectors house manifestations of the central deity, representing related Buddhist gods and goddesses. Furthermore, the overall pattern

can be contained within a larger square with smaller repeated *maṇḍalas* at each of the four corners (Figures 16 and 17). This is the most popular pattern for the *maṇḍala*, though there are numerous variations (Figure 18). Within the intermediate spaces there tend to be other buddhas and bodhisattvas or various ornate gardens and animals, and an array of important Buddhist symbols.

David Snellgrove provides the most succinct examination of the *maṇḍala*, stating that it is a metaphysical representation of the mind and pure realm of the central Buddhist deity. This Buddhist deity belongs to a five-part buddha family, with the key deity at the center, the four other buddhas in the immediate surroundings facing all four directions, and the consorts of these four buddhas residing in the intermediate quadrants between the cardinal directions. Other bodhisattvas representing the retinues of each of these buddhas are depicted further outward. Central to Snellgrove's interpretation is that the *maṇḍala* is a sacred space in contrast to and separate from the profane space around it.¹⁰⁷ However, Ronald Davidson advances the understanding of the *maṇḍala* not only by placing its development within the historical context of medieval India but also by stressing its importance as a symbol of ultimate place. Davidson theorizes that the *maṇḍala* took on greater political significance during the sixth and seventh century in North India as complex feudal relationships developed between various kingships. The fluctuating political alliances at this time were represented by *maṇḍalas*. The king of a particular dominion stood as the central figure of the *maṇḍala*. The vassal lords of the surrounding kingships were represented by the immediate kingly figures facing the four directions. These were surrounded by the lesser vassal dominions represented by the broader entourages. This relationship can subsequently change, with previous vassal lords gaining power due to the shifting political climate and thus becoming the central king of the political *maṇḍala*. This pattern, which Davidson labels "sāmanta-feudalism,"¹⁰⁸ is a pragmatic design that ensures that the various kings of the greater domains do not actually come into direct conflict with each

¹⁰⁷ Snellgrove 2002, pp. 198-213.

¹⁰⁸ The term "sāmanta-feudalism," as Davidson duly notes, was actually coined by Brajadulal Chattopadhyaya. This is a distinct term that holds the initial definition of feudalism as signifying a specific political arrangement that entails land tenure and authority without the necessary ideological baggage that has come to surround the term. Adding the Sanskrit word *sāmanta*, meaning "neighbor," adds a complex Indian understanding signified by the *maṇḍala* structure.

other. This system maintains a respectful diplomatic distance, leaving any disputes exclusively within the border regions symbolized by the various entourages.¹⁰⁹

The *sāmanta*-feudalism system is not wholly dissimilar from the "galactic polity" model developed by Tambiah in relationship to Theravādin Buddhist states in Southeast Asia.¹¹⁰ This model was later utilized by Samuel in order to define the decentralized and changing political systems common throughout Tibetan history after the fall of the Yarlung Dynasty.¹¹¹ Samuel even describes this model as a "*maṇḍala*-type structure."¹¹² This system also lacks a constant center, though once a temporary center is established, it is recognized as exemplary in relation to neighboring dominions. This shift from central to subordinate status can occur without any drastic change to the identities of the interrelated domains. However, there is one major distinction between the models. While the *sāmanta*-feudalism model is primarily concerned with land—its acquisition and its tenure under vassal states—the galactic polity model in the context of Tibet is primarily concerned with people. Labor force has been a constant concern of the major political administrations in Tibetan history. Land was abundantly available in Tibet, yet the general population was low by comparison; thus, labor was a greater commodity.¹¹³ Davidson does not make this contrast, nor does he seem to be aware of the galactic polity model.

Regarding these various meanings of the *maṇḍala*, Snellgrove focuses strictly on its religious purpose and Davidson provides a sociopolitical perspective. Davidson considers his research to work contrariwise to Snellgrove's in one respect. Snellgrove's religious definition of the *maṇḍala* functions from an archetypal, metaphysical realm downward to influence the monastic and political institutions of Buddhism. By contrast, Davidson believes that it is rather the structure of North Indian political institutions that provided a ready model to comprehend the metaphysical realms of the buddhas. These buddhas in turn represented the spiritual kings of all existence in contrast with the temporal kings of the various Indian states. Furthermore, Davidson elaborates on the understanding of the *maṇḍala* in both its religious and political milieus by suggesting the English word "state" as a fitting definition. This combines the term's meaning as a physical location encompassed by a political institution and as a mental condition.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ See Davidson 2002, pp. 131-144.

¹¹⁰ See Tambiah 1976, pp. 102-131.

¹¹¹ See Samuel 1993, pp. 61-63.

¹¹² Samuel 1993, p. 62.

¹¹³ See Samuel 1993, p. 62.

¹¹⁴ See Davidson 2002, p.131-132.

The *Maṅḍala* and Tibetan Deities

To relate this brief survey of the *maṅḍala* back to protector deities and to Tsiu Marpo in particular, I would like to look more closely at the mythographic nature of the Tibetan landscape. The language and myth of Tibet abounds with the concepts of taming and subjugation. This taming, or disciplining, is most pragmatically that of the initiate who must be disciplined in their *tantric* practice by their teacher. However, culturally, the concept relates back to the era of Padmasambhava, who tamed the various demonic deities of Tibet—including Tsiu Marpo—as part of the effort to establish Buddhism. Still further back through the curtains of legend, there is the first Buddhist king Songtsen Gampo. This king subdued the giant demoness who represented the entire land of Tibet as a wild and unpredictable environment. Songtsen Gampo, impelled by his two queens, constructed thirteen Buddhist temples throughout Tibet in order to pin down this wild demoness and help firmly establish Buddhism, which was under constant attack by such demonic influences (Figure 19). These temples were constructed in concentric circles radiating out from Lhasa at the center. I accept Robert Miller's argument for fashioning the diagram of these temples as concentric circles rather than the concentric squares model first volunteered by R. A. Stein.¹¹⁵ The places where these temples were built geographically signified a part of the demoness's body. Thus, the first concentric circle out from the center consisted of four temples that pinned down the demoness's right and left shoulders, and right and left hips. The second circle of temples further out pinned her right and left elbows, and right and left knees. The final circle out pinned her right and left palms, and right and left feet. Finally, her heart at the center in Lhasa consisted of a lake that symbolized her life blood. This lake was filled in and the Jokhang temple (Figure 20) was built on top. This completed the complex act of subjugating the demoness of the land in order to tame the wilderness and thus properly establish Buddhism.¹¹⁶

I relate this myth because it is clear from its description that a *maṅḍala* has been symbolically overlaid on the Tibetan landscape in order to subjugate the fierce indigenous deities symbolized wholly by the demoness. The *maṅḍala* manifests as the ritual act of purifying the land to further Buddhist goals. This, then, can be read as a physical act of redefining the

¹¹⁵ See Miller 2003 and Stein 1972, p. 39.

¹¹⁶ For further references on the "supine demoness," see Gyatso 1987, who provides a survey of this myth in multiple contexts, and Miller 2003, who discusses this legend in the context of the consolidation of the Tibetan empire. For a feminist interpretation, see Marko 2003. See also Blondeau and Gyatso 2003.

mythographic landscape of Tibet along a Buddhist narrative parallel to the symbolic reenvisioning of the Tibetan past through a Buddhist lens, as discussed in chapter 2. Significantly, such a symbolic reenvisioning through temple construction can also be found in the architecture of Samyé monastery, intentionally structured like a *maṇḍala* (Figure 21).

Thus, the *maṇḍala* becomes a method of control, superimposing the order of a Buddhist universe on a hostile land. On a smaller scale, the *maṇḍala* is initially used to establish the abode of a deity before continuing with a ritual program. With the *maṇḍalas* of tutelary deity, the ultimate ritual goal is to become fully associated with that deity as an expedient means toward enlightenment. In the case of Tsiu Marpo, as well as otherworldly deities, the goal is to establish his presence at the site of the ritual by first drawing the *maṇḍala* of Tamdrin. The first chapter of *The Warlord's Tantra* sets the scene by visually situating the reader within Tamdrin's *maṇḍala*: "In the pure realm of the Unsurpassed that reveals magical emanations; in an expanse of a blazing flame heap that represents malicious anger, amid an expanse of turbulent waves that represent lust; within a *maṇḍala* that is a blazing dark-red triangle, the blessed one, glorious king Tamdrin himself [recites] the *mantra* to cultivate meditative stabilization, which subjugates the three realms."¹¹⁷ As discussed in the introduction, Tamdrin is a wrathful manifestation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara; as such, he is one of the highest of Buddhist deities. Tamdrin also has the ambiguous position of being closely related to the worldly protector deities whom he must constantly keep in check. It is therefore understandable that one can only ritually access Tsiu Marpo by first propitiating and possibly embodying Tamdrin. The initial act, however, is first to establish the *maṇḍala* as the abode of these deities and, through this, contact them directly.

The iconography of Tsiu Marpo and his horde is part of a much larger Tibetan *tantric* tradition that commonly expresses its innumerable deities in wrathful guises. The reasons for this are multiple, but in the context of Tsiu Marpo and otherworldly protector deities, the purpose is primarily to convey a deity who engenders the dual powers of military and royal might. These powers are used to destroy the enemies of Buddhism, as is expected of a protector deity. Visual representations are also part of a much grander iconographic tradition where visualization is an important element in summoning deities for ritual purposes. The act of this summoning and

¹¹⁷ MPG, p. 300.2: 'og min cho 'phrul bstan pa'i zhing khams na / zhe sdang gdug pa me dpung 'bar ba'i klong / rakta chags pa'i rba klong 'khrugs pa'i dkyil / dmar nag gru gsum 'bar ba'i dkyil 'khor na / bcom ldan 'das dpal rta mgrin rgyal po nyid / khams gsum dbang du sdud pa'i ting nge 'dzin bsgoms par sngags so.

subsequent propitiation is initiated by establishing the abode of the deity within the world through the symbolic drawing of the *maṇḍala*.

While Snellgrove and Davidson have provided excellent descriptions behind the history and purpose of the *maṇḍala*, I would actually combine their two approaches and extend it further within the context of Tibet. The *maṇḍala* is an important element because of its ability to reshape the landscape. Through the process of ritual, the *maṇḍala* is drawn as a sacred location to be distinguished from the surrounding profane environment, as Snellgrove posits. Yet this is only one layer of its greater significance. Once drawn, the *maṇḍala* acts as a conduit, a central ground by which the entire Tibetan landscape is transformed and reestablished as a land of Buddhist agency. The *maṇḍala*'s origins were pragmatic and political, and its later Buddhist symbolism developed a thoroughly religious capacity. However, it has come to incorporate the elements within the political institutionalization of Buddhism during the Yarlung dynasty symbolized by the subjugation of the giant demoness.

Tsiu Marpo and other protector deities represent this on a small but constant scale. They were once subjugated by Padmasambhava to serve the Buddhist teachings and must now constantly be propitiated and reminded of their vow in order to advance the ritual service. This service is initiated by drawing the *maṇḍala* associated with these deities who are situated within a specific retinue under Tamdrin; he is then associated with the retinue of the greater buddha families. This pattern continues to duplicate as visually indicated by the common iconographic diagram of the *maṇḍala*.

Finally, once the *maṇḍala* is established and the entirety of the Tibetan landscape is symbolically redefined, the deity can then be called upon to perform various desired deeds by means of the process enumerated in the ritual program. These desired deeds are specified in the iconographic descriptions of these deities and intensified in their artistic rendering. The deeds expected to be performed are believed to be successfully activated in the world by the very fact that these deities are actually working within the *maṇḍala* realm that has come, symbolically, to subsume the world. To understand these deeds and the methods by which they are activated, we will examine, in the next chapter, the ritual programs of Tsiu Marpo as detailed in *The Warlord's Tantra* and other texts.



Figure 12. Painting of Tsiu Marpo on the wall within the main chapel at Tengyéling monastery, Lhasa. (Photo: C. Bell 2005)



Figure 13. A common iconographic representation of Tsiu Marpo. (DCTS, p. 325)



Figure 14. A colored drawing of Tsiu Marpo in the central *gömkhang* at Tengyéling monastery, Lhasa. (Photo: C. Bell 2005)



Figure 15. A statue of Tsiu Marpo with a covered face. Notice the wall painting of Tsiu Marpo behind the statue. This figure of Tsiu Marpo guards the door of a Śākyamuni chapel on the ground floor of Tsiu Marpo's temple at Samyé, the Jokwukhang. (Photo: C. Bell 2005)

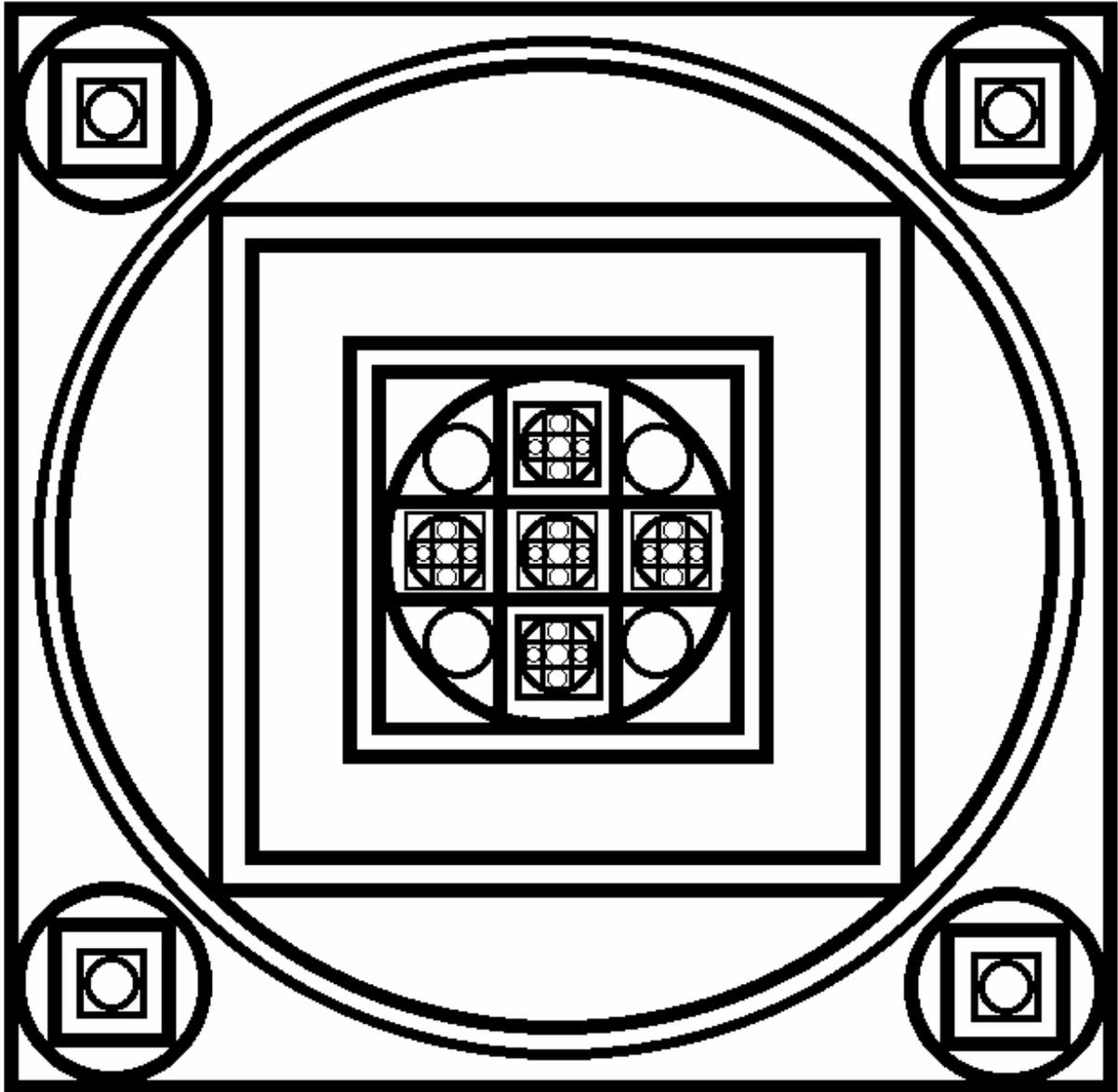


Figure 16. A general representation of a *maṇḍala* diagram. Notice the repetition of essential forms as well as the dynamic appearance of a radiation outward from the center. (Figure by C. Bell)



Figure 17. A grand *maṇḍala* painted on the wall of a temple dedicated to the great Tibetan scholar Butön Rinchendrup (Bu ston rin chen grub; 1290-1364), located at the kumbum temple, Gyantse. The central statue that is aligned with the center of the *maṇḍala* is of Butön. Notice the other *maṇḍalas* on the sides as well as the miniature duplicate *maṇḍalas* in the interstices. The four colors filling the middle *maṇḍala* suggest a radiating outward from the center. (Photo: C. Bell 2005)



Figure 18. More *maṇḍalas* found on the walls of the Butön temple, Gyantse. Notice the difference in pattern. The right *maṇḍala* illustrates well the central buddhas and their individual entourages expanding outward. (Photo: C. Bell 2005)

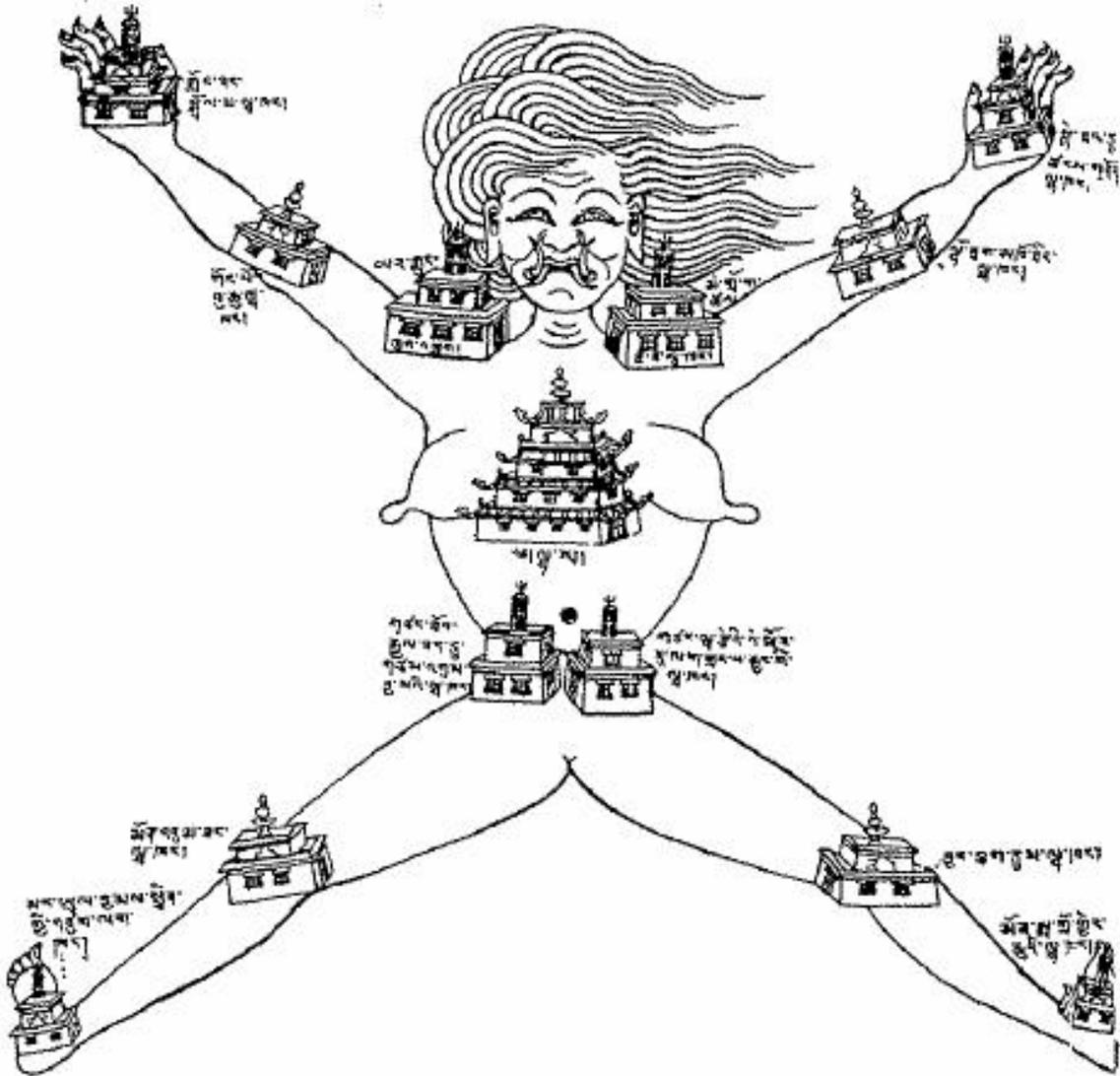


Figure 19. The giant demoness pinned by thirteen Buddhist temples.
 (Drawing by Khempo Sangyay Tenzin 1970; Blondeau and Gyatso 2003, p. 17)



Figure 20. The Jokhang temple at the center of Lhasa; believed to have been built over the heart of a giant demoness. (Photo: C. Bell 2005)



Figure 21. Samyé monastery. This monastery was intentionally constructed in the shape of a *maṇḍala*. The central temple, called the Utse (Dbu rtse), represents the center of the *maṇḍala* as well as the mythic mountain Meru at the center of existence. The surrounding temples represent the four main continents of the world and the eight subcontinents, creating a complete cosmogram. (Photo: Wesley Borton 2005)

TEXT AND RITUAL

Tsiu Marpo's mythic history and iconographic paradigm are important in order to understand how he is represented in the religious environment of Tibet; however, his central purpose is one of ritual. Since ritual is so important in Tibetan Buddhism—as well as the entirety of religious traditions¹¹⁸—it is necessary to examine the key texts that are the foundation of this study along their ritual programs. However, due to the grand variety of ritual forms in Tibetan Buddhism, I will restrict my focus to those ritual forms and aims of the texts studied herein, only to make passing references to other significant ritual expressions for the purposes of contrast and understanding. Visually and spatially establishing a ritual site, as well as the focus of that site, namely the deity, is essential before a ritual service can be conducted. Once these necessities have been established, the full ritual program can commence.

Three specific texts will be examined here; the root text, *The Warlord's Tantra*, and two smaller texts, *The Perfect Feast Petition Offering* and the fragment from *The Lightning Garland*. The model for the outlines given here is inspired both by Stephan Beyer and Yael Bentor, whose works are quintessential studies on Tibetan ritual.¹¹⁹ These texts are ritual documents at their core and they cross both temporal and sectarian boundaries. The first two texts were not only composed two centuries apart, but while *The Warlord's Tantra* is a Nyingma text, *The Perfect Feast Petition Offering* is Geluk, two sects that are considered by many to be decidedly antithetical.¹²⁰ My comparison between these texts will provide insight into the varied schemes of a specific ritual task and reveal the utility of the complex ritual accoutrement required for these power-instilling activities. Also, the ritual purpose behind these texts will reveal something of the complex relationship between the monastic and lay community in Tibetan Buddhism as well as the concerns they both share.

¹¹⁸ See Bell 1992 for an examination and summary of the study of ritual within religious studies as well as other disciplines.

¹¹⁹ Beyer 1978, pp. xii, 175-177, and Bentor 1996, pp. vii-x. See Chabpel Tseten Phuntsok 1991 for an exploration of the structure and history of deity invocation rituals similar to those explored in this chapter.

¹²⁰ See especially Samuel 1993, pp. 270-308, 499-524.

Ritual Materials

Before discussing the ritual programs, it is necessary to describe briefly some of the key ritual materials that are constructed and used during these activities. These ritual implements are found in many Tibetan rituals and their purposes vary depending on their symbolic significance and role within the specific junctures of a ritual. Most of these materials are offerings and thus represent various magical and precious objects. In the texts, these materials, represented symbolically within the ritual program by colored water or dough, tend to be described as substances such as blood, hearts, bones, and flesh from human or animal sources—items generally considered highly impure. Their significance is two-fold. First, they represent the base substances that protector deities like Tsiu Marpo once feasted upon during their careers as malicious local deities before subjugation. As these figures still exhibit such fierce tendencies and appetites, these offerings act as lures to attract them. Second, as the goal of such rituals is connected with a Tantric Buddhist program, such profane substances, which are indicative of *samsāra*, are transmuted into sacred substances within the environment of the ritual site to suit ritual ends. These references to flesh and blood are also indicative of the symbolically antinomian nature of *tantric* practice, which recognizes distinctions like pure and impure, sacred and profane, to be equally empty from the perspective of non-duality between subject and object.¹²¹ These concepts will be explored further below. Nonetheless, on a relative level, sacred objects consecrated for ritual use are certainly distinguished from the profane substances from which they are constructed as well as other objects that are connected to more mundane contexts.

The effigy is of particular significance because of its broad utility in Tibetan ritual practice. The Tibetan word commonly translated as "effigy" is a Sanskrit transliteration, *linga* (*ling ga*), and is understood in this ritual context as a "sign" or "mark" of something else. An effigy is a small dough figure constructed to represent an individual, human or otherwise. Human effigies are generally built for ransom rituals, called *lü* (*glud*), where demonic forces plaguing a person or household are exorcised by first attracting them to an effigy representing the afflicted person. This effigy is then removed from the vicinity of the individual and

¹²¹ For more on these material substances and their various significances, see Bentor 1996, pp. 192-193; Beyer 1978, pp. 165, 324-325; Kohn 2001, p. 113-134; and de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, pp. 343-368.

destroyed, eradicating the demonic influences in the process.¹²² Demonic effigies are built to represent demonic forces directly. Once constructed and imbued with the demonic presence, these effigies are destroyed by the ritual performer; this is not wholly unlike the human effigy, though lacking a specific afflicted individual.¹²³ Deity effigies, as in the context of the first ritual outlined below, are constructed primarily to act as temporary vessels representing the deity and to which offerings are made.¹²⁴ The representative nature of the effigy can be broadened to encompass all offerings, such as *tormas* (*gtor ma*), which represent other objects.¹²⁵

The *torma* is a small conical offering cake made of dough and butter and decorated with butter medallions (Figures 22 and 23). There is an incredible diversity of *tormas* within ritual use, as they can vary in size, color, design, and purpose depending on the focus of the ritual and the deity to whom the *tormas* are being offered. A *torma* can be constructed to represent any symbolic offering and can even represent vast geographic objects, such as lakes and forests, and extremely high numerical values, such as a hundred thousand animals. The structure, color, and items included within the *torma* determine its symbolic designation once it is consecrated as a sacred object. This expansive utility is the reason *tormas* are used in practically every Tibetan ritual.¹²⁶

Lastly, objects known as magical pills (*ril bu*) are made from various substances, such as herbs and animal dung, to be consumed by the performer during the ritual for protective and empowering purposes. Other more common offerings are incense, flowers, perfume, and music.

The Warlord's Tantra

The Warlord's Tantra is an early sixteenth-century Nyingma *terma* root text and is the oldest known text on Tsiu Marpo and attendant rituals. Chapter 2 of this study culls the key portions of Tsiu Marpo's mythic history from this text, but that history is only one chapter of the full *terma*. This reveals that, though his history is important, Tsiu Marpo's origins are required

¹²² See Beyer 1978, pp. 310-312; Karmay 1998b; and de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, pp. 359-362.

¹²³ Such a demonic effigy is the central focus of the Mani Rimdu religious dance detailed in Kohn 2001, see especially pp. 73-86.

¹²⁴ See Beyer 1978, pp. 100-104.

¹²⁵ De Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1998, p. 360) follows an opposite classification, considering the *linga* to be a ritual object under the broader label of the *torma*.

¹²⁶ For more on *tormas*, see de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, pp. 347-368; Beyer 1978, pp. 217-222; and Kohn 1997.

in a ritual context only inasmuch as it places him within the mythic history of demonic subjugation. The account of his past life derives readily from available templates, which appear to be shaped by other demonic origin narratives. Such narratives are necessary in order to lead up to his eventual placement within the pantheon and *maṇḍala* of deities who protect the Buddhist teachings. In short, his history is secondary to the larger ritual purpose of the text; it acts as a preliminary narrative involved in the placing of Tsiu Marpo within the larger sacred environment. Nonetheless, beyond this ritual context, his history is significant for cultural purposes in matters of explaining relations of power and authenticity in Tibet. Once this has been established, the ritual activities can be performed. The outline for *The Warlord's Tantra and Accompanying Sādhanas* is as follows:

Title Page

1. Part I: The Warlord's *Tantra*

1.1 The Seven Chapters of Pudri Marpo's Heart *Tantra*

1.11 Chapter 1: Introduction

1.12 Chapter 2: Lineage

1.13 Chapter 3: Ritual Materials and Preparation

1.14 Chapter 4: *Mantra*

1.15 Chapter 5: Characteristics and Stages of Approach and Accomplishment

1.16 Chapter 6: Essential View and Conduct

1.17 Chapter 7: Transmission

1.2 Colophon

2. Part II: Accompanying *Sādhanas*

2.1. Preliminaries

2.11. Sending Forth the Dogs of the Seven Might Demon Attendants

2.12. Drawing the Circle of Protection

2.2. The Great Violence Demon Accomplishment Cycle based on the Outer Propitiations

2.21. a. Introduction: The Four Stages

b. First Stage: [Summon] by means of the outer offerings

2.22. Second Stage: [Summon] by means of the inner cane whip

2.23. Third Stage: [Summon] by means of secret life stone and life wheel

2.24. a. Fourth Stage: [Summon] by means of the ultimate red spear lasso

b. Secret Text

- 2.25. Colophon
- 2.3. *Sādhana* of Violence Demon Offerings
- 2.4. Violence Demon Invocation and History
- 2.5. *Terma* Entrusting the Warlord's Life-energy to Tamdrin

The first part is the *tantra* itself and the remainder of the text consists of the accompanying *sādhana*s. The title page consists of the title of the *tantra* as well as the title of the entire text. This overarching title is contained within an iconographic representation of a heart superimposed over the *tantra* title (Figure 24). I suspect that this iconic heart is a symbolic representation stamped on the text both to seal it and to signify the actual heart essence of Tsiu Marpo, who is forever bound to this text by Tamdrin.

The sections are distinguished within the text by several means. For the *tantra*, the chapters all end with a concluding remark on the nature of that chapter, though the text is otherwise visually indistinct. The *sādhana*s are more visually distinguished by pictographic images of hearts within or next to the title, and offerings representing intestines, sinew, and bones nearby (Figures 25 and 26). Here the term *sādhana* has two simultaneous meanings. First, it refers to all the texts within the second part, the majority of which are preliminary ritual exercises. Second, it refers to the central *sādhana* ritual manual (2.3), surrounded by the preliminary texts (2.1, 2.2, 2.4, and 2.5) that include further ritual preparations and related rites, invocations, and histories. Though it is important to understand this distinction, during the course of this study the term *sādhana* will be used to refer to all the texts within this second part, as they are all involved with the greater ritual instructions found within the central manual.

The first and most extensive *sādhana* (2.2) is particularly distinct, as its title is presented in the same fashion as the title page of the entire *terma*, with an offering heart surrounding the words (Figure 27). The subsections of this *sādhana* are distinguished with a command to seal and secure the text found at the end of every subsection: *samaya rgya rgya rgya*. This command is found in this and many other *termas*. It signifies the completion of the ritual section and secures its completion by invoking the vow (*samaya*) to which the deity is bound. The repetition of *rgya*, "seal," suggests the secret nature of these texts and the importance of concealing its ritual power from those who are unworthy to practice and transmit it. This sealing formula is then followed by a pronounced punctuation line (*shad*).

1.1 The Seven Chapters of Pudri Marpo's Heart Tantra

1.11 Chapter 1: Introduction

The first chapter reiterates the title of the *tantra* and provides a Sanskrit title in transliterated Tibetan in order to authenticate the text with a connection to a supposed Indian original. In chapter 2 we saw that India, as the source of Buddhism, is revered and the teachings from India are taken to be most authentic. The authenticity of a scripture is judged on the criterion that it, too, originated from India. Issues of authenticity are constant concerns of *terma* texts and treasure-revealers. In order to justify the validity of a teaching, it must be related to the true speech of buddhas and bodhisattvas.¹²⁷

This first chapter sets the environment by situating the ritual practitioner in the presence of Tamdrin, who is within his *maṇḍala* and surrounded by his retinue of various celestial beings. This retinue includes an assortment of the various demons and other malicious beings under his subjugation. Also included are a number of *ḍākinīs*. One such *ḍākinī* named Dorjé Dechéma (*Rdo rje bde byed ma*), "Bliss-producing Vajra Woman," rises from her seat and begins a conversation with Tamdrin that frames the entire *tantra*. This conversation is a series of comments or questions that Dorjé Dechéma asks and that are answered successively by Tamdrin as the subject of each chapter.

For the remainder of the first chapter, Dorjé Dechéma entreats Tamdrin to subjugate the vicious demons of the world. Tamdrin responds in kind by reciting his *mantra*. Having been subjugated, these demons then give up their life-energy to Tamdrin, who receives this as well as the vows of the deities to protect the Buddhist teachings.

1.12 Chapter 2: Lineage

In the second chapter, Dorjé Dechéma asks Tamdrin about the origins of the seven riders. Tamdrin's answer is Tsiu Marpo's history, detailed in chapter 2 of this study. The remaining five chapters are the actual ritual process.

¹²⁷ The creative manner in which the *terma* tradition responds to disputed authenticity was explored in chapter 1. See Mayer 1996, pp. 6-21 for Buddhist concerns involving canonicity and authenticity.

1.13 Chapter 3: Ritual Materials and Preparation

The third chapter details the ritual materials and preparations required for the ritual performance, and it begins with establishing a sacred ritual site. Such materials involve making a red dough effigy that represents Tsiu Marpo. It is toward this effigy that the future offerings and invocations will be made. This effigy is further ornamented with the effigies of a horse and weapons. The text suggests that all of these items are placed within a larger constructed palace, though the details on the construction of this palace are not provided. The main effigy also appears to represent an offering to Tsiu Marpo, as the fifth chapter of the *tantra* details. Other material preparations include molding *torma* offerings and arranging the other less abstract offerings of flowers, incense, and purified scented water. The *torma* offerings specifically involve seven molds symbolic of food offerings that will be given to the seven riders during the ritual. All of this is in effort to localize the deities in temporal space, a process that is further aided by the visualizations that fill the text and are performed mentally by the ritual performer.

1.14 Chapter 4: Mantra

The fourth chapter provides the lengthy *mantra* that begins the ritual service after the preparations have been made and that is reiterated at various junctures. Its recitation permeates the ritual activities, which are projected further inward to a central point that is accomplished in the fifth chapter of the *tantra*. This moving inward to a central ritual moment of power and efficacy is common in the structure of Tibetan rituals. The ritual starts from an excessively preliminary point, moves inward toward the central action, and moves back outward to the ritual conclusion with a series of offerings, praise, and dedications.

1.15 Chapter 5: Characteristics and Stages of Approach and Accomplishment

The fifth chapter details the procedure for "approach and accomplishment." This stage instructs the performer on how to approach the deity properly and what the signs of the accomplishment or hindrance of that approach will be. "Approach" refers to developing a complete communion with the deity. In order to approach Tsiu Marpo, activities such as *mantra*

recitation and propitiation offerings must be performed during the days and nights; the text clarifies which activities must be performed when. This is the first explicit mention of the ritual's length, which is clearly more than one day. It is here that a movement further inward takes place with the accompanying *sādhanas* being brought into the practice. The preliminary activities of the *sādhanas* are performed followed by the detailed ritual program of *sādhana* 2.3, detailed below. This inclusion is made clear within the text despite the *sādhanas* being included as a separate and secondary portion of the greater *terma*.

The chapter ends with a description of specific signs, of which the performer should be aware. These signs signify the arrival of the appropriate gods required for the continuation of the ritual or of enemies who would interrupt the ritual in order to dispel the protection it promises to offer. Once the presence of the deity has been established in this step, the ritual can commence. With the deity now in the presence of the performer, as understood by the successful signs of accomplishment, requests can be made to that deity. This is the central goal of the ritual. The *sādhanas* contain details on the appropriate actions and petitions to make toward the deity to ensure the requests of the performer are properly carried out.

1.16 Chapter 6: Essential View and Conduct

The sixth chapter explains what the ritual performer must do if the previous ritual procedure does not obtain the full attention of the deity or if the deity attempts to leave the ritual site before the process is complete. Furthermore, in order to ensure the success of the ritual, the performer is encouraged in the third chapter to secure this proper view and conduct toward the deity. In this manner, the sixth chapter seems almost preparatory, and indicates that the ritual performer would no doubt have to be well-acquainted with this entire text before proceeding. This acquaintanceship would be due to the great familiarity that a ritual performer would have with the general structure of Tibetan ritual, having grown accustomed to them after years of monastic study and performance. This knowledge is then applied in the performance of specific rituals, which allows the performer to move efficiently through the service and even incorporate some adaptation. In ritual programs such as this, the performer draws on the content of multiple chapters simultaneously in order to perform the ritual properly. This is not unlike Bentor's observation, where the accomplishment of the ritual is simulated at the very start of the program

in order to secure its true accomplishment at the end.¹²⁸ Here is further evidence of the ritual's cyclic nature. The text specifies details that the performer would know to be preliminary and reiterates them explicitly as a means to work out from the center of the ritual and its text once that center has been achieved by the performer. We will explore this circular structure as it pertains more to Buddhist cosmology below.

1.17 Chapter 7: Transmission

The seventh and final chapter details other actions that are detrimental to proper ritual achievement. The ritual concludes by establishing the seven riders as the support and protectors of future endeavors, thereby securing its transmission. The *tantra* ends with the colophon, explicitly crediting the writing of this text to Ngari Panchen; however, no date or location of composition is provided.

As is apparent from the lack of explicit ritual detail in chapter five, the *tantra* only provides the broadest outline for ritual procedure. The ritual process proper is provided in the accompanying *sādhanas* that make up the second part of the text and yet are performed at the center of the ritual program. The *sādhanas* themselves also have preliminary stages. Here, the hounds of the riders, as discussed in the previous chapter of this study, are incited. They are symbolic precursors to the arrival of Tsiu Marpo and his riders through the ritual invocation. Next, the performer draws the circle of protection. This circle secures the sacred site from outer demonic influences so that the ritual may proceed properly. Such methods of protection are indicative of the high degree of security sought for a successful ritual. For a ritual to succeed against the multiple problems that could occur during the process, such as demonic disturbances and human errors, "fences" must be constructed around the ritual proceedings.¹²⁹ Once this circle of protection is drawn, the *sādhana* practices that accompany the *tantra* can be conducted. Again, it is the ritual conduct of these *sādhanas* that is performed during the central point of the ritual outlined in the fifth chapter of the *tantra*.

¹²⁸ See Bentor 1996, p. 2.

¹²⁹ See Beyer 1978, pp. 415-416, 456-457 for more on circles of protection.

2.2. *The Great Violence Demon Accomplishment Cycle based on the Outer Offerings*

2.21. *a. Introduction: The Four Stages*

b. First Stage: [Summon] by means of the outer offerings

The first *sādhana* is a preliminary text that provides the basic propitiation formula by which Tsiu Marpo and his riders are summoned and entreated. This *sādhana* does not have specific chapters as does the *tantra*, but is nonetheless partitioned by stages, framed by an introduction and a concluding statement on the secret text. The introduction outlines four so-called scrolls that are the four stages by which Tsiu Marpo and his retinue are summoned and directed toward the ritual goal. The first stage, the outer offerings, initially attracts Tsiu Marpo and his riders, who assemble before the ritual performer. These offerings are the golden and turquoise drinks, signified by bowls of colored water or beer.

2.22. *Second Stage: [Summon] by means of the inner cane whip*

The second stage, the inner cane whip, lures the deities further by striking a ritual whip during the *mantra* recitation, followed by other ritual activities. It is at this point that the deities are entreated to perform specific deeds that the practitioner expresses.

2.23. *Third Stage: [Summon] by means of secret life stone and life wheel*

The third stage, the secret life stone and life wheel, seals these deities with *mantras* into their office as protectors of the temple and region. These *mantras* are written on the specific ritual implements of the life stone and life wheel. The life stone refers to a ritual stone that signifies the life-essences of the seven riders. De Nebesky-Wojkowitz mentions a life stone in reference to Tsiu Marpo, stating that it is a stone representing the seat of the deity's life-force. This is fitting, as a ritual performer who possesses a stone endowed with Tsiu Marpo's life-force would then be able to exact his will on the deity, akin to the acts of subjugation performed by Tamdrin and Padmasambhava.¹³⁰ The life wheel, equally, is a circle of *mantras* that bind the

¹³⁰ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, pp. 174, 491; Tucci 1988, p. 191; Gyatso 1998, p. 70; and Karmay 1998a for more on life stones.

life-energy of the deity to ensure his cooperation. By building these objects and consecrating them as the items they represent, the performer is able to bring the deity under his control. From this point, specific tasks can be assigned.

2.24. a. *Fourth Stage: [Summon] by means of the ultimate red spear lasso*

b. *Secret Text*

The fourth stage, the ultimate red spear lasso, commands Tsiu Marpo and his riders to destroy all the enemies of the practitioner, in keeping with Tsiu Marpo's primary purpose described in chapter 3 of this study. This command is accompanied by the creation of a ritual red spear with the *mantras* of the previous stage inscribed on it.

Here the central goal is revealed: Tsiu Marpo and his riders are ordered to destroy the enemies of the temple in battle and also to defeat the opposing sects. In keeping with his violent nature as well as his position as a protector deity, Tsiu Marpo is commanded by this ritual process both to protect the location of the ritual performer, specifically a temple or monastery, and to destroy anyone who attempts to harm it and its residents.

The concluding section explains the extremely secret nature of this text, requesting that it be properly guarded and entrusted only to those of King Trisong Deutsen's lineage. This section warns that if it is entrusted to others not of this lineage, though they will have a good family and wealth, it will be evanescent, with disasters and untimely deaths plaguing these individuals despite their sincere devotion. The section ends explaining where this ritual manual should be safely concealed and how its proper practice will result in protection and temple restorations. For purposes of authentication, the text explains that it was presented during the time of Trisong Deutsen. The *sādhana* ends with a colophon crediting Ngari Pañchen and also lacking explicit composition details.

2.3. *Sādhana of Violence Demon Offerings*

The next *sādhana* is the primary ritual text, detailing the various offerings for the seven riders. The purpose of this text is to increase the offerings to the seven riders in order to secure their protection. These offerings, many of which are described in Sanskrit-transliterated Tibetan,

include *tormas*, sacred pills, nectar and blood oblations, incense, flowers, perfume, and food offerings, as well as music. This happens to be the first explicit mention of music as accompanying these ritual programs.

2.4. *Violence Demon Invocation and History*

The third *sādhana* is an invocation specifically to the six riders who accompany Tsiu Marpo as well as their individual entourages. This section provides a great deal of the iconography of these figures. The invocation ends with an exhortation for these deities to destroy the enemy by various means: "Send warfare and jackals toward the enemy. Send darkened clouds and sharp knives toward the enemy. Send avalanches and wolves toward the enemy. Send violent suicide toward the enemy."¹³¹ The second half of the text is a history of the seven riders, specifically the conversation between Padmasambhava and Tsiu Marpo paraphrased in chapter 2. The text ends requesting that it not be bestowed.

2.5. *Terma Entrusting the Warlord's Life-energy to Tamdrin*

The final text is a *terma* that seals the previous texts by reiterating some of their key elements. It begins by praising Tamdrin and beseeches him to entrust the Buddhist teachings to the seven riders. A short description of the ritual process of building Tsiu Marpo's mansion follows, along with a mention of the offerings. Offerings are then given to Tamdrin after he is summoned in hopes that he will secure the oath to which Tsiu Marpo and his riders are bound. This act of securing also involves reestablishing the connection between Tsiu Marpo's life essence and his root *tantra*. The text even explicitly states that Tsiu Marpo is the protector deity of Trisong Deutsen, and that these texts must only be entrusted to his lineage, as previously recommended. An invocation of protection for the royal lineage is provided as well as a promise that the goals of the ritual will come to fruition if it is properly performed. The *terma* ends with a description of the various sites at Samyé monastery and Mount Chimpu, where

¹³¹ MPG, p. 326.5: *mtshon phri sbyang gri dgra la thong / gtib gri chu gri dgra la thong / rbab gri spyang gri dgra la thong / lceb gri drag po dgra la thong.*

Padmasambhava instructed these texts to be concealed originally so that they may be discovered later.¹³²

Immediately, it is apparent that the text lacks a great deal of ritual detail. This information is second-nature to the ritual performer as well as to the composer, who found it so unnecessary as to warrant exclusion from the text. What is included is the content and ritual details that distinguish this from other ritual texts, identifying it as specific only toward protector deities—in particular, Tsiu Marpo and his entourage. The limitation of this study regarding this text is one of ethnography. Beyer and Bentor had the advantage of observing the performances of their respective rituals of study; I was not so fortunate. Therefore, a degree of speculation must be allowed, drawing primarily from previous studies such as these.

First, though the text barely mentions it, it is appropriate to surmise that music plays a key role in the ritual process and is performed at various junctures of the ritual to accentuate its intention of invocation. Such music is performed by means of various Tibetan instruments. This speculation is arrived at primarily by previous studies, such as those conducted by Beyer, Bentor, and Kohn, as well as personal observations of Tibetan rituals. These observations include specifically a *tsok* (*tshogs*) or "feast" ritual performed at Sera (*Se ra*) Monastery, Lhasa¹³³ (Figure 28) and a *maṇḍala* offering ceremony performed in Tallahassee, Florida (Figure 29).¹³⁴

The *tsok* ritual is commonly found within larger ritual programs and consists of multiple *torma* offerings. These *tormas* are painted with colored butter and represent the bodies of defeated demons, which are offered to the gods; here the *tormas* are acting as a collective effigy (Figure 30).¹³⁵ The *maṇḍala* offering is a longer ceremony wherein a *maṇḍala* is constructed with colored sand over a period of several days. During this construction, *mantras* are recited and other minor offerings are made. The ultimate goal of this *maṇḍala* is to be offered up to a deity for protection or to increase communal merit. In Tallahassee, the *maṇḍala* offering was an excessively abridged ritual performed by members of the Drepung Gomang ('Bras Spungs Sgo mang) Monastery in Karnataka, India.¹³⁶ This monastery is a satellite of the Drepung Monastery

¹³² See Appendix A for the full textual translation from which this examination draws.

¹³³ Observed July 15, 2005.

¹³⁴ Observed November 2005.

¹³⁵ See Beyer 1978, pp. 312-318.

¹³⁶ See Beyer 1978, pp. 167-170, 437-441 for an extended *maṇḍala* offering ritual. For more information on the monks of this monastery and their regular ritual circuit through the United States, go to <http://www.gomang.org/>.

near Lhasa. In both of these instances instrumental music and throat chanting were important elements at specific points in the ritual.

Second, *mudras* are also not explicitly mentioned and one can only speculate that they play a role at certain points of the ritual. Research suggests that they are central in Tibetan ritual but are usually learned from an instructor during initiation into particular ritual cycles. *Mudras* are rarely described in ritual texts themselves. Such extratextual instruction makes it difficult to provide a detailed outline of the ritual as it is actually performed.

Third, and most importantly, this inexactness prevents a complete understanding of the preliminary and concluding ritual processes. For instance, as astrology represents a strong component not only in Tibetan ritual but in daily life, there is no doubt a certain astrological procedure that must first be consulted and agreed upon before a ritual such as this can take place. Also, the actual procurement, construction, and consecration of many ritual implements take place prior even to the preparation outline, and the details of how these are done follow a much older and broader procedure. Finally, Bentor, Beyer, and Kohn show that many rituals open with the performer or performers practicing deity *yoga* and meditating on the nature of emptiness in order to be subsumed within the personified identity of a key tutelary deity.¹³⁷ This strongly appears to be a common practice, but it is not at all outlined in this text. The content and focus of *The Warlord's Tantra* is aimed strongly at Tamdrin as the deity who keeps Tsiu Marpo and other protector deities bound to their oaths. Since Tamdrin is a wrathful emanation of Avalokiteśvara and thus an active tutelary deity, it can be speculated that the ritual performer must first transform himself into Tamdrin in the exalted realm of his *maṇḍala* before the ritual can be activated toward significant ends.

This speculation can only be confirmed by actual observation of the ritual or by an adept familiar with this specific material and thus able to confirm the surrounding practices. There is no guarantee that this specific ritual text is even actively performed today. What is significant overall is that what is absent from the ritual text reveals more than what is provided. These moments of silence suggest those ritual activities that are taken for granted and thus are ubiquitous within Tibetan ritual performance. These ubiquitous elements can only be discovered through further observation and comparative analysis with other scholarship focused on ritual.

¹³⁷ See Bentor 1996, pp. 1-5, 97-100; Beyer 1978, pp. 68-82, 91-127; and Kohn 31-34. While this practice is common in *sādhanas*, it is not universal.

The Perfect Feast Petition Offering

The Perfect Feast Petition Offering is a late eighteenth-century Geluk ritual text. This text is a strong example of Tsiu Marpo's ecumenical appeal and involves a specific ritual process called a petition offering (*gsol mchod*), which is a much simpler form of the above ritual ceremony. In a petition offering, offerings are made to Tsiu Marpo in exchange for protection and for destroying enemies; yet the process is not as involved nor does it require as many levels of preparation as *The Warlord's Tantra*. The outline for *The Perfect Feast Petition Offering* is as follows:

Title Page

1. The Perfect Feast Petition Offering for Tsiu Marpo
 - 1.1 Preliminaries
 - 1.2 Tsiu Marpo and Retinue Iconography
 - 1.3 Ritual Offerings
 - 1.4 Tsiu Marpo's tasks
 - 1.5 Ritual Requests
 - 1.6 Praise and Enlightened Activities
 - 1.7 Departing Food and Drink Offerings
 - 1.8 Empowerments
 - 1.9. Colophon

This ritual text lacks the iconic representations and chapter distinctions prevalent in the root *terma*. Yet there is one method of distinction noticeable between the various offering junctures of the text. Lines of annotation that designate and end each ritual portion are noticeably smaller in font size. A common practice among performers is to mark with a highlighter or colored pencil the actual text to be read aloud in order to distinguish it from these smaller annotations so that they can quickly pass over them, being quite familiar with the ritual process already (Figure 31).¹³⁸ Other than this minor distinction, the text does not have any overt segmentation or subsections, as the outline clearly indicates.

¹³⁸ Beyer (1978, p. 177) is also familiar with this personal habit.

1.1 Preliminaries

The preliminaries are the exception to the sectioning noticed within the text as described above. The only way to distinguish it from what follows is solely by content. *The Warlord's Tantra* makes no claim to previous ritual preparatory texts despite its obvious reliance on such. By contrast, the preliminaries of *The Perfect Feast Petition Offering* state explicitly that the performer must assemble the ritual components and make the requisite preparations as outlined in previous texts and instructions; however, specific titles of such texts are not provided. The text gives a preparatory example of gathering the red food offerings of the might demons as well as various *tormas*. An important detail, however, is that the performer is then instructed to establish the pride of their tutelary deity.¹³⁹ This process of deity *yoga* appears to be an essential preliminary step to any major ritual, as discussed above, but its mention was lacking in *The Warlord's Tantra*, allowing only for speculation about its inclusion. It is explicitly provided in this text, omitting the details that are familiar to the performer.

Deity *yoga* is specific to *tantric* practice in Vajrayāna, where a practitioner embodies a tutelary deity in order to utilize his powers for the pragmatic goals of the ritual.¹⁴⁰ This process is done through meditation. The practitioner meditates on himself and the deity as truly empty. Since both the practitioner and deity are empty, they are not ultimately distinct entities. By meditating on the deity's *maṇḍala* (representing the deity's mind), emulating his *mudras* (representing the deity's body), and reciting his *mantras* (representing the deity's speech), the practitioner imitates the deity to such a degree that, in effect, he becomes the deity. In this process the performer comprehends the nature of emptiness for the purpose of generating the exalted realm where the symbolic activity of the ritual is brought to fruition. This generation of the exalted realm and communing with the deity out of emptiness is the foundational practice required in order to accomplish the ritual details outlined in these texts. The highest purpose of deity *yoga* is soteriological, imitating a bodhisattva in order to become a bodhisattva, thus achieving enlightenment. However, this practice is also used for the more pragmatic goals of these ritual texts. The ritual performer becomes Tamdrin—or possibly Padmasambhava—in order to command Tsiu Marpo to perform that which is requested of him: protection.

¹³⁹ See Bentor 1996, p. 1.

¹⁴⁰ See Williams 2000, pp. 192-276.

1.2 Tsiu Marpo and Retinue Iconography

Once the exalted realm is achieved, Tsiu Marpo's location is immediately established for the purposes of directing later offerings. The whole of this section is to provide a detailed iconographic depiction of Tsiu Marpo and his extensive retinue in order to aid the performer in his visualizations. This further solidifies Tsiu Marpo as a focus of offering and entreaty. Indeed, as previously examined, the purpose of Tsiu Marpo's detailed iconographic descriptions is to assist the intense visualization process that is an important requisite in imbuing these ritual activities and the implements involved with an internal substance and external aura of sacrality. This descriptive segment ends with a clear indication of the role of musical accompaniment in this ritual, requesting music, whistling, incense smoke, and the sounds of a thigh-bone trumpet (*rkang gling*).

1.3 Ritual Offerings

After these steps have been established, the process of offering can begin. The first set of offerings consists of a series of drinks, either of beer or blood. These offerings are meant to refresh Tsiu Marpo so that he may more effectively protect the Buddhist teachings and perform proper activities. The next offering is of food, specifically raw meat. Again, most of these offerings are symbolic and thus represented by colored water or *tormas*. However, actual Tibetan beer (*chang*) is used for the beer offerings, and many *gönkhangs*, which house the statues of fierce deities such as Tsiu Marpo, are filled with the overpowering scent of alcohol that fills the golden chalices placed in front of the statues.

Once these offerings are made and, presumably, accepted, the performer confesses all his faults and misdeeds. This confession is necessary before the performer's monastic vows as well as Tsiu Marpo's vow to protect the Buddhist teachings can be properly amended. To secure this, amendment offerings are then made to Tsiu Marpo. These offerings are *tormas* that symbolize his crown, garments, and weapons, as well as geographic objects like rainclouds, forests, and oceans.

After the final offerings have been given, the performer recites an invocation exclaiming that the Geluk sect will always flourish. Then the request is made to Tsiu Marpo that he may

protect the performer, destroy his enemies, protect the Buddhist teachings, and bestow auspicious fortune. Note that these various requests are no different from the requests of protection and wrathfulness toward the enemy as detailed in *The Warlord's Tantra*.

1.4 Tsiu Marpo's tasks

Since the destruction of enemies is Tsiu Marpo's primary task, a detailed iconographic description of this is provided at this point as a minor tangent. The details of this purpose are provided in chapter 3 of this study.

1.5 Ritual Requests

More requests are made specifically regarding the destruction of the enemy. Various empowering *mantras* are recited to secure these acts, followed by more *torma* offerings and requests to fulfill these petitions.

1.6 Praise and Enlightened Activities

The performer then offers praise to Tsiu Marpo, including in this his iconographic description. He requests that Tsiu Marpo not violate his vow and invokes the names of key spiritual masters, for whose benefits he acts. These figures include Padmasambhava as well as key Geluk figures such as Tsongkhapa (Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa; 1357-1419) and the fifth Dalai Lama (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho; 1617-1682).

1.7 Departing Food and Drink Offerings

The central ritual activities of offering and petition have been completed, and so a final series of departing offerings are made. These offerings mimic those provided above, but an explicit request for Tsiu Marpo to depart the ritual site is added. His services have been properly requested and the performer is secure in the knowledge that his petitions will be fulfilled; therefore, it is at this time that Tsiu Marpo must exit. The text annotation dictates that the ritual

should be performed once again at a later date; however, no detail is provided as to when or if it should indeed be performed again. Once more, such details are known to the performer of the ritual, and may even be yet another ground of innovation.

1.8 Empowerments

The final ritual act is the recitation of a series of empowerments that increase the worth of the offerings given to Tsiu Marpo and strengthen his vow as a protector of the Buddhist teachings and destroyer of its enemies.

1.9. Colophon

The text ends with a colophon stating that it was composed by the third Pañchen Lama, Lozang Penden Yeshé. This is followed by a final prayer that the Buddhist teachings be further propagated by means of this ritual. The text explicitly states that this service is requested by and performed for a sponsor. A concluding prayer is offered, entreating the sponsor to reflect on and confide in the life of those who transmit the Buddhist teachings, such as the spiritual masters, lamas, and protectors. The final line gives welcome information on the location of the text's block prints, which were traditionally housed in the Tārā Chapel (Sgrol ma lha khang) at Kündeling (Kun bde gling) monastery (Figure 32).¹⁴¹

This text shows a marked contrast to the root *terma* not only in its simplicity but in its detail. Much of the preliminary ritual complexity presumed in *The Warlord's Tantra* is provided in this petition offering, from the reference to deity *yoga* at the beginning to the detailed ritual acts stated in annotation. Admittedly, this is a shorter text and thus a short ritual program. The root *tantra* ritual takes several days as provided in the specifications in its *terma*, while this offering ritual is no doubt performed in one day, with preparations having been conducted prior to its process. This text also places itself firmly in religious history by referencing several Geluk figures as well as a specific monastic location. In contrast, only mythic history is provided in *The Warlord's Tantra*, with its composition being ascribed to the era of Padmasambhava and

¹⁴¹ See Appendix B for the full textual translation from which this examination draws.

concealed at Samyé; however, the colophons of the text are enough to place it in the religious history of the sixteenth century.

The Perfect Feast Petition Offering is not only quick to mention Geluk figures but also to extol the virtues and superiority of the Geluk sect and government. This self-praise is not surprising, since this text was written after Tibet came under the political control of the Geluk sect.¹⁴² However, it is important to note the excessive Geluk voice within this ritual text. This intense sectarian recognition seems like an intentional appropriation of Tsiu Marpo as a specifically Geluk protector. Though he was initially bound by Padmasambhava—indeed there is no mention of Tamdrin at all, who is so central to the Nyingma text—his vow is strengthened and amended through the spiritual might of past Geluk figures, and then strengthened further still by this specifically Geluk ritual text. Such appropriation may be responsible for Tsiu Marpo's later popularity as an oracle deity, as will be explored in the next chapter.

One other important observation is that Tsiu Marpo is devoid of his six riders in this ritual text and treated singularly as a protector deity with his own expansive entourage. The hounds of his riders are also understandably missing, and so a different perception of his entourage is given. The Nyingma conception makes the six riders Tsiu Marpo's immediate entourage, with their lesser devotees represented by the hound goddesses; yet this account omits these specific figures and surrounds him instead with a limitless retinue of monks, exorcists, manifestations, and animals, a panoply of beings commonly found in the retinues of other protector deities. This contrast is important for what it reveals about Tsiu Marpo's evolution as a protector deity, especially across sectarian boundaries.

The Lightning Garland Fragment

This final text is a two-folio fragment from a much larger text called *The Lightning Garland of Quick Amending and Restoring Liturgies for the Oath-bound Dharma Protectors of the Subjugating and Wrathful Lands that Agitate the Mind (Bsam lcog dbang drag gling gi dam can chos srung rnams kyi bskang gso myur mgyogs glog gi phreng ba)*. At this time, I have been unable to locate this text within history or discover its author. This inability to place it

¹⁴² Gushri Khan, ruler of the Khoshot Mongols, bestowed religious and secular dominion over Tibet on the 5th Dalai Lama in 1642, to be continued by his predecessors until 1959.

historically is crippling for the purposes of contrasting it with the historical indicators of the above texts. However, this short prayer is still useful in providing a broad ritual scope for concluding observations. Indeed, this text is a short and simple prayer, and, since it belongs to a much larger work, it lacks a title page and colophon. The title best offered for this prayer is simply *Might Demon Petition (Btsan gsol)*, though within the text it is actually a subheader; its outline is as follows:

1. Might Demon Petition

- 1.1. Setting
- 1.2. Praise and Offerings
- 1.3. Reconsecration Offerings
- 1.4. Vow Amendment
- 1.5. Request

I procured a copy of this text at Tengyéling monastery, the satellite of Samyé monastery in Lhasa. Although I did not observe this particular petition being performed, I was witness to the performance of a fragment elsewhere within this greater collection by the lama who gave me this text (Figure 33). This observation revealed that, as one of the most rudimentary forms of prayer ritual, this petition requires no grand arrangement of ritual implements nor days devoted to its performance. Indeed, this event took all of ten minutes and was accompanied by the involvement of only a few ritual implements (Figure 34). These implements were utilized during the course of the prayer and included the banging of a giant ritual drum (*rnga chen*), the sprinkling of water with a fan of peacock feathers (*kha rgyan*), and the ringing of a symbolic bell (*dril bu*). This short ceremony was sponsored by a layman who requested the specific text and paid a certain amount of money accordingly. I presume that this is a Nyingma text, both because of its strong mention of the seven riders and Tamdrin, as with the root *terma*, and for its placement in a Nyingma temple—though neither fact is a guarantee. The text itself has no discernible junctures between the moments of the ritual; the designations provided in the outline are my own, based on the content.

1.1. Setting

The text immediately begins, as the previous rituals have, with establishing the setting. Here, Tamdrin and the seven riders return, and indeed this text is specifically a prayer to the seven riders with no explicit mention of Tsiu Marpo. This again strengthens the argument that Tsiu Marpo's identity is closely tied to the riders according to the Nyingma sect, while his identity as an individual is more clearly defined in the Geluk context. Once the setting is established, the seven riders are immediately summoned by the performer, attracted by the offerings he promises.

1.2. Praise and Offerings

Praise is given and the offerings are bestowed. These offerings of flowers, scented water, food, and music are provided by means of the items quickly at hand that represent each substance in abundance. The drum signifies the music; there is scented water kept in a cistern with a peacock fan on its lid; the food consists of small amounts of rice or grain provided by the sponsor; and a bowl of flower petals is nearby. A chalice for beer is also nearby and is filled by the sponsor. Indeed, outside the grounds of the temple, there was a vendor selling various offering items that someone could purchase and add to the petition they wished to sponsor. These items include beer, juniper incense, flowers, and grain; beer was the most abundant item for sale and was sold in plastic bottles.

1.3. Reconsecration Offerings

This offering appears to be a reference to preexisting *tormas* and offerings. What is meant by this is that the *tormas* (Figure 22) and chalices of beer¹⁴³ that are constantly present within the chapel are reempowered to be offered up once again to these deities. Again, these offerings represent the power and grandeur of offerings as large as oceans and as wide as lakes.

¹⁴³ See Figure 11; the statue of Tsiu Marpo holds such a chalice of beer. When at Tengyéling, I witnessed this chalice being filled with beer by one of the monk caretakers of the chapel.

1.4. Vow Amendment

Here the central goal of the ritual prayer is revealed as a petition that these deities remember and amend their vows as protectors of the Buddhist teachings.

1.5. Request

The text ends unceremoniously with a request that these deities strike down those who hold wrong views, as well as protect children and those who seek his protection. This last statement is significant, as its plea for the protection of children and Tsiu Marpo's followers appears to refer to the laity. Certainly, the statements concerning sponsorship refer explicitly to laypersons who pay money for this service. My observations at Tengyéling monastery suggest that Tsiu Marpo has a strong lay following and that parents commonly bring their children in to give offerings and receive blessings from the central statue of Tsiu Marpo (Figures 35 and 36). In line with its pragmatic purposes, the lama who conducted this service and granted me an interview later was delighted by my interest in Tsiu Marpo and explained that, if I revered him, it would ensure my continued rebirth as a human.¹⁴⁴

The Ritual Goal

These three rituals differ from the rituals examined by Beyer and Bentor in one very important way. Both Beyer and Bentor examine rituals with a strong monastic focus, where the end result is for the betterment and eventual enlightenment of monastic patrons; yet these Tsiu Marpo rituals are intentionally more pragmatic, offering practical services of protection and defense for the monastic community and, more significantly, for the lay community. All three texts agree that Tsiu Marpo's key purpose is to protect and destroy enemies, two features apparent in both his mythic history and his iconographic representations. The ultimate goal of these qualities is to be utilized by those who have the power to invoke and control Tsiu Marpo and other protector deities for their own pragmatic concerns and those of lay sponsorship.

¹⁴⁴ See Appendix C for the full textual translation from which this examination draws.

The grand ritual process of *The Warlord's Tantra* begins with the preliminary practice of deity *yoga*, where the performer must meditate on the *maṇḍala* of Tamdrin. Here again, we see the *maṇḍala* playing a crucial role in ritual. Indeed, the structure of the ritual is similar to the structure of the *maṇḍala*. The ritual performer works inward toward a central moment of power surrounded by concentric layers of protection, akin to the moving inward toward the central figure of power of the *maṇḍala*. In keeping with the royal structure of *maṇḍalas* discussed in chapter 3, offerings and propitiations are made at the central moment with the central deity, Tamdrin, being treated like a kingly guest. Likewise, Tamdrin's cohorts, who include all protector deities like Tsiu Marpo, are included in this *maṇḍala* state. To further the parallel, within the structure of *sāmanta-feudalism*, Tsiu Marpo is one of the surrounding kingly figures; he is the king of his own domain, that of the might demons, but he is subordinate to the subjugator over all protector deities, Tamdrin. Thus, the *maṇḍalic* structure of the ritual is dynamic. Like passing through the various palace walls of the *maṇḍala*, the practitioner approaches Tsiu Marpo as a king, making offerings and propitiation. Simultaneously, the practitioner moves to the center, becomes Tamdrin through deity *yoga*, and approaches Tsiu Marpo as a servant who must fulfill the requests of the practitioner.

As practitioners of deity *yoga*, advanced lamas can use their knowledge of the fundamental nature of reality and emptiness in order to control reality for certain ends through the method of ritual. This capability is most efficacious on the level of enlightenment-oriented activity, such as those rituals observed by Beyer and Bentor, but they also serve the pragmatic interests of both the monastery—which needs protection from enemy monasteries or hostile outsiders—and members of the laity—who suffer from yearly quarrels, interpersonal difficulties, and various afflictions thought to be brought on by demonic influences.

There is one other purpose behind these rituals, and that is to amend the vows of these deities who protect the Buddhist teachings. The propitiation for Tsiu Marpo to remember and strengthen his vows and the vows of his riders through the coercion of Tamdrin is prevalent in the rituals of protector deities. Though they have been tamed by Buddhism, it is believed that there is always a danger of their backsliding into old habits of maliciousness. It is for this constant need of maintenance that these rituals are also regularly performed. Samuel provides examples of the stories for why this is so, and they are all based on the notion that the taming of indigenous Tibetan forces was actually incomplete:

Guru Rimpoche [Padmasambhava] performed the *lhasin tamdrag* (ritual to subdue the gods and spirits) twice. Although Guru Rimpoche is himself Buddha, he was unable to perform the ritual three times, as he intended to, since King Trisong Detsen did not request him, partly through the king's neglect, and partly also through malicious gossip originating from the anti-Buddhist ministers, which placed the king and Guru Rimpoche in a difficult position.

On another occasion, when Guru Rimpoche in the form of Garuda was subduing the *lu*-spirits [serpent demons], a disguised *lu* spirit assumed a helpless and distressed appearance, causing strong compassion in the mind of King Trisong Detsen, who was watching the ritual. The king asked Guru Rimpoche to leave the *lu* alone. Consequently, the ritual could not be performed. In this case, too, the king forgot to ask Guru Rimpoche to perform the ritual again. As a result, this *lu*, Lu Dugpachen, was able to cause great problems for Tibet in later years.

On another occasion, Guru Rimpoche wanted to avert the future destruction of Buddhism at the time of King Langdarma, so he summoned a feeble, worn out, helpless ox and was about to bind it with mantras. The king saw this and felt compassion for the animal. Through the power of karma, the ox was able to escape. Later it was born as Langdarma and caused great harm to Buddhism.¹⁴⁵

As Padmasambhava was unable to complete the taming of the various spirits plaguing Tibet and obstructing Buddhism, constant amending of the vows of these beings is necessary. Thus, an important aspect of Tsiu Marpo's ritual is this amending.

According to Beyer's scheme of definitions, these ritual programs fall mainly under his Ritual Type 3, *ritual function*. Such function deals mainly with evocations and offerings towards various deities. In contrast to this, his other ritual types include *general function*, regarding semiritualized activities of magic power, *soteriological function*, regarding the acquisition of power and understanding toward enlightenment, and *magical function*, regarding the construction through ritual of magical objects, such as amulets of protection.¹⁴⁶ These designations are not absolute nor are they mutually inclusive, and many rituals include elements of more than one type. Indeed, these rituals of offering and invocation to Tsiu Marpo also have

¹⁴⁵ Samuel 1993, p. 170.

¹⁴⁶ See Beyer 1978, pp. 256-257.

elements of the *magical function* type, though lacking palpable objects in which protection is imbued.

The pragmatic nature of these rituals incorporates some of the elements found within the larger scheme of the four mundane activities, the rubric under which many rituals are classified. These activities are pacification (*zhi ba*), enrichment (*rgyas pa*), magnetizing (*dbang*), and destruction (*drag po*). Pacification is intended to calm offended deities. Enrichment is for the furtherance of well being; in the most materialistic sense, it can refer to gaining prosperity, good fortune, long life, and victory over enemies. The purpose of magnetizing is to acquire powers to drive out hostile forces and negative influences, either from one's home or from a ritual process. Lastly, destruction is acquiring powers that inspire terror and destroy enemies.¹⁴⁷ These pragmatic concerns, primarily performed for the laity, contrast with the soteriological concerns of the monastic community. These activities also have an underlying ethical dimension; they are a ritualization of morality. Despite the seeming baseness of these rituals in their goals of protecting the self and destroying the enemy, the ultimate goal is the further protection of Buddhism in order to propagate compassion and wisdom, its basic philosophical elements.¹⁴⁸

Ritual access to the influence and invocation of a Buddhist deity may be limited to the ritual performers of the monastic community, but, especially with regards to protector deities like Tsiu Marpo, the laity has a degree of access, partially due to the pragmatic responsibilities of such deities. Indirectly, a layperson can sponsor a ritual invocation to a protector deity, with *The Perfect Feast Petition Offering*, *The Lightning Garland*, and possibly *The Warlord's Tantra* available for sponsored performance. Aside from this, observations show that laypersons regularly pray before the statues of such deities for protection and good fortune. Even deities that seem outside the purview of the laity and reside firmly in the ritual context of the monastic cult of liberation have a degree of accessibility. The *mantras* of popular deities, such as Tārā and Avalokiteśvara, are recited by lay members of the Tibetan community constantly as a means of drawing the attention of these deities for protection and good fortune.¹⁴⁹

This pragmatic concern is not limited to the laity, as protector deities especially are utilized by the monastic community for equally pragmatic concerns like protection. As the above examination indicates, wealth is also a major connection between the monastic community

¹⁴⁷ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, pp. 26-27, 165; and Tucci 1988, p. 172.

¹⁴⁸ See Beyer 1978, pp. 4, 27-33.

¹⁴⁹ See Beyer 1978, pp. 64-68.

and the laity, both for the material support that the laity provides and for the purchase of ritual services.¹⁵⁰ The relationship between these two arenas of the Tibetan Buddhist community is much more complex and covers pragmatic grounds as well. Protector deities such as Tsiu Marpo solidify this relationship and provide a focus for the concerns of the entire community. The power and utility of ritual protector deities are constant forces in Tibetan society. These deities also find popular expression on political grounds, providing yet another point of intersection between the monastic and lay spheres through the anthropomorphic office of the oracle. Tsiu Marpo is particularly significant within this tradition, as will be explored in the next and final chapter.

¹⁵⁰ See Cuevas 2003, pp. 75-76 and Mumford 1989, pp. 203-204 for more on how wealth influences both social position in a Buddhist community and ritual detail.



Figure 22. *Torma* offerings kept behind glass at Tengyéling monastery. (Photo: C. Bell 2005)



Figure 23. *Torma* offerings in the *gönkhang* at Kündeling Monastery. (Photo: C. Bell 2005)

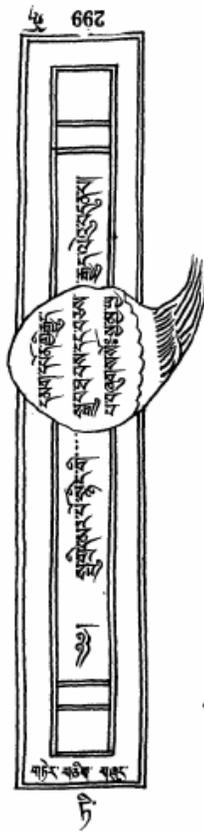


Figure 24. Title page of *The Warlord's Tantra*. Notice the heart-encased title over the *tantra* title. (MPG, p. 299)

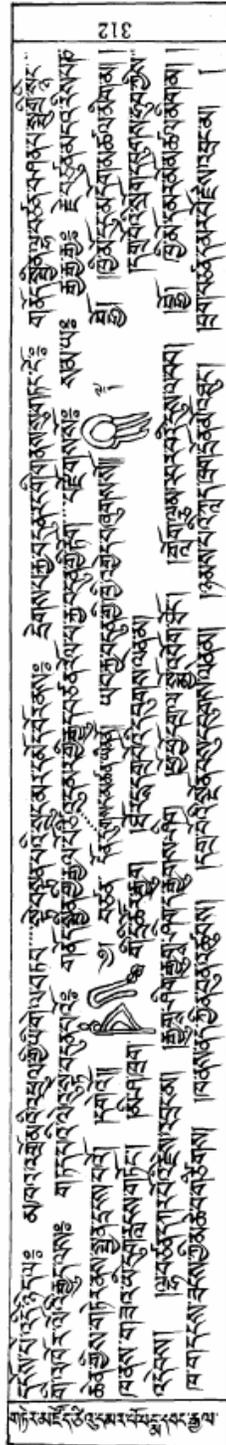


Figure 25. Tibetan page from *The Warlord's Tantra*. Notice the iconic images of hearts and bones within the text. (MPG, p. 312)



Figure 28. Monks at Sera Monastery, Lhasa during a ceremony involving the *tsok* (*tshogs*) ritual. (Photo: C. Bell 2005)



Figure 29. Drepung Gomang monks in Tallahassee, Florida performing a *maṇḍala* offering ritual with accompanying music. (Photo: C. Bell 2005)



Figure 30. Monks at Sera Monastery, Lhasa preparing *tormas* for the *tsok* ritual. (Photo: C. Bell 2005)

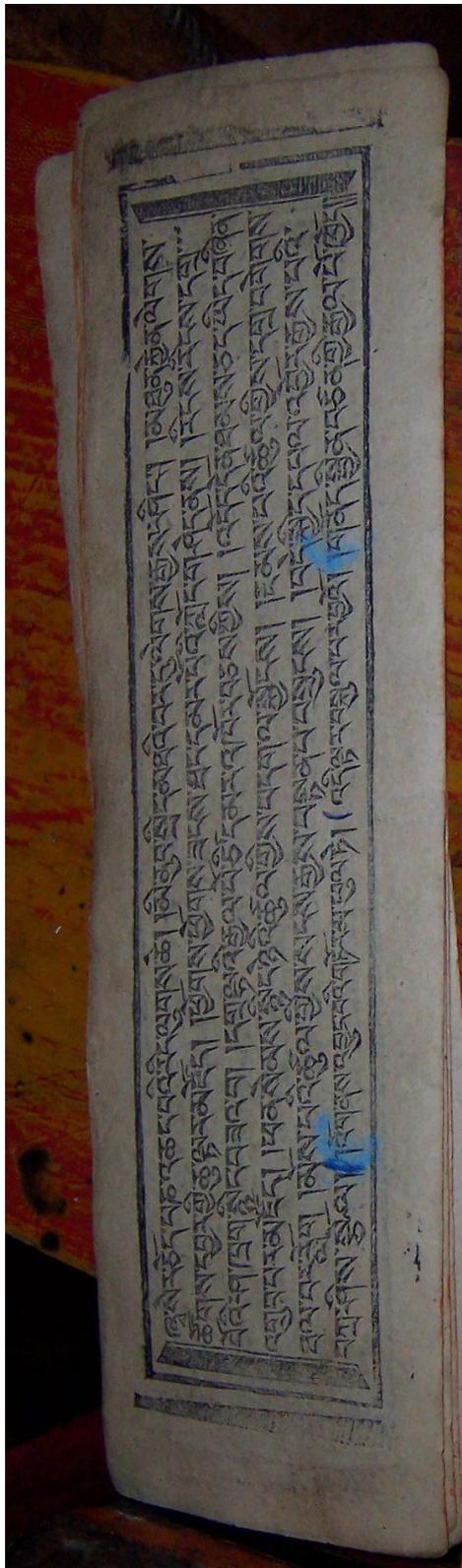


Figure 31. Tibetan page from *The Perfect Feast Petition Offering*. Notice the blue marks made by the text's previous owner, which distinguish the smaller annotation text from the larger recitation text. (NBGL, fol. 6b; Photo: C. Bell 2005)



Figure 32. The Tārā Chapel at Kündeling monastery. (Photo: C. Bell 2005)



Figure 33. The text of *The Lightning Garland* with surrounding ritual accoutrements, at Tengyéling monastery, Lhasa. (Photo: C. Bell 2005)



Figure 34. Ritual recitation area for *The Lightning Garland* at Tengyéling monastery. Notice the surrounding ritual items of drum, cistern and peacock feather fan, alcohol chalice, and offering plate for money. (Photo: C. Bell 2005)



Figure 35. Mother and daughter making prayers and offerings to the central Tsiu Marpo statue at Tengyéling monastery. (Photo: C. Bell 2005)



Figure 36. Same mother and daughter making prayers and offerings to the central Tsiu Marpo statue at Tengyéling monastery. (Photo: C. Bell 2005)

ORACLE

Tsiu Marpo's ritual significance cannot be overstated. The ritual life of a deity is what propels these figures through historical time due to their importance as foci for ritual practice. However, some deities attain a degree of cultural significance that necessitates a much more dynamic role within Tibetan history and society. This role is observable in the position of the oracle. As the English word connotes, a Tibetan oracle is a person who acts as a vessel for a god or gods as a means of providing authoritative prophecy and advice, which are usually expounded from within a trance state.¹⁵¹ The direct communion between the god speaking through the oracle and the audience that attends such sessions shows a palpable relationship between the divine and the members of the community who engage in this process. Even community members absent from a session recognize the power and authority of oracles, and a number of oracles have reached state-wide acceptance in Tibetan history. Tsiu Marpo is one such deity who was once involved in a state-recognized oracle tradition. Therefore, in order to have a complete picture of Tsiu Marpo's multifaceted career in Tibetan ritual history, it is necessary to understand some key elements of the oracle tradition in Tibet. This tradition also provides yet another venue for interaction between lay and monastic communities.

Oracle Features and Purpose

Unfortunately, very little is known about the Tsiu Marpo oracle. I have been unable to find primary sources that discuss this oracle tradition itself, and the secondary sources that mention it do little more than confirm its existence. These sources will be examined in fuller detail below. For now, it is important to understand the oracle tradition in Tibet broadly and its various features as a means to develop a theoretical understanding of Tsiu Marpo's place within

¹⁵¹ Diemberger (2005, p. 127) provides an argument for why the English word "oracle" is apt in describing this practice despite reservations about its usage by such figures as the fourteenth Dalai Lama. Her usage depends heavily on the practice as it involves the speech of a god expressed through the individual. Another common English word used synonymously with oracle is "medium."

it. The studies that exist on Tibetan oracles show the tradition to be quite diverse and heterogeneous; however, there are some basic universal elements indicative of an oracle cult.¹⁵²

There are a number of Tibetan words that refer to oracles: *kuten* (*sku rten*), "bodily receptacle;" *lhabap* (*lha 'bab*), "god descent;" and *lhaka* (*lha bka'*), "god speech." These terms are descriptive enough in their capacity as titles, yet a number of other terms exist with varying levels of popular use and carrying greater cultural significance. *Pawo* (*dpa' bo*)¹⁵³ and *pamo* (*dpa' mo*), "hero" and "heroine" respectively, focus more on the heroic qualities of these figures. Hildegard Diemberger argues that this title ties oracles to the epic bard traditions of Tibet and also draws attention to the dangerous experiences that are commonly found in the life narratives of oracles.¹⁵⁴ De Nebesky-Wojkowitz makes a distinction between terms used for oracles that channel low-ranking deities—*lhapa* (*lha pa*), "god person"—and those used for high-ranking, state-recognized oracles—*chöjé* (*chos rje*), "lord of the doctrine." One final term that was shared with me personally is *chökyong* (*chos skyong*), "guardian of the doctrine."¹⁵⁵ This term is particularly confusing because it is more commonly applied to the deities themselves. Thus, there appears to be a degree of conflation occurring here, where the individual identity of the oracle is so subsumed within that of the possessing deity as to be indistinguishable. As these numerous examples indicate, oracular titles can be indicative of the status of the oracular god within the divine pantheon, the social status of the oracle, and local variation.

The origins of the oracle tradition are unknown, though it is generally accepted to have been a pre-Buddhist practice that was later incorporated into the Buddhist cosmological structure.¹⁵⁶ Only worldly deities possess oracles, as transcendental deities are beyond the worldly concerns that oracles are requested to resolve. Rare instances where oracles claim to be

¹⁵² These studies are surprisingly diverse in their approaches despite the vast majority of them being anthropological in their methodology. See Berglie 1976 for Tibetan oracles in Nepal; Day 1989 and 1990, Schenk 1993, and Tewari 1987 for village oracles in Ladakh; Havnevik 2002 for an examination of the one state-recognized female oracle; Wangdui and Xiao Hao 1992, and Diemberger 2005 for further explorations of female oracles in Tibet as well as the contemporary state of Tibetan oracles; de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, pp. 409-454 for the earliest extensive examination of the Tibetan oracle tradition and its main features; Peter 1978a and 1978b, and Rock 1935 for some preliminary observations; Rinzin 1992 for a specific examination of the Nechung (*Gnas chung*) State oracle; Bellezza 2005 for an exploration of Bön oracles; and Stuart 1995 for local oracles and their involvement in the summer festival of a Tibetan village. See also Mills 2003, pp. 168-170.

¹⁵³ Berglie (1976) is especially fond of this title.

¹⁵⁴ See Diemberger 2005, p. 128. Also see Stein 1959.

¹⁵⁵ Personal correspondence with Lodrö Gyeltsen, lama of Tengyéling monastery, Lhasa. July 24th, 2005. Also see Tewari 1987, p. 140.

¹⁵⁶ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 428; Peter 1978b, p. 288; and Tewari 1987.

possessed by transcendental deities are usually met with suspicion.¹⁵⁷ An oracle is commonly renowned for being the vessel of a specific deity; yet most oracles can channel multiple deities in a single trance, with each deity providing further insight into a communal crisis or prophetic declaration.¹⁵⁸

When a deity descends into an oracle, it results in a trance state. This trance state of possession shows a marked contrast in the behavior of the oracle. As the deity begins to take over the body of the oracle, he will begin to shake and tremble, breathe faster and with heavy breaths, and even puff out air or wag the tongue. The oracle's complexion also changes, with his face turning red or yellow, depending on the disposition of the deity.¹⁵⁹ The disposition of the deity is important, as an oracle can channel a wrathful or peaceful deity. An oracle possessed by a wrathful deity will grow red-faced and become very violent in his movements; a passive deity will cause an oracle to act more subdued. It is generally held that oracles of wrathful deities do not live very long because of the intense strain and pain they endure during trances.¹⁶⁰ The oracle will also start to exhibit the specific attributes of the particular deity possessing them. De Nebesky-Wojkowitz provides a vivid account of this feature:

Many mediums, mostly at the beginning of the trance, show also a behaviour characteristic of the deity who took possession of their body. Thus a medium of *rDo rje shugs ldan* [Dorjé Shukden] produces the gurgling sound of a man in the agony of suffocation—said to be the voice of the abbot *bSod nams grags pa* [Sönam Drakpa] who killed himself by stuffing a ceremonial scarf into his throat—; the oracle-priest of *sKar ma shar* [Karmashar], who sometimes becomes possessed by *Bya khri mig gcig po* [Jatri Mikchikpo], "the one-eyed with the bird-throne", will keep only one eye open for the duration of his trance; the spirit of *Slob dpon* [Lopön], the crippled adversary of the former state magician *rGyal mtshan mthar phyin* [Gyeltsen Tarchin], makes his medium limp; the *Drung yig chen mo* [Drungyik Chenmo], as soon as he had entered the body of an oracle-priest, will remind all those present of the events which led eventually to his incorporation among the *dharmapālas* by saying the sentence "I killed the ninety-nine

¹⁵⁷ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 409; and Diemberger 2005, p. 130.

¹⁵⁸ See Havnevik 2002, pp. 276-277; and de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 421. See particularly de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, pp. 433-437 for a detailed account of a single trance that involved four deities.

¹⁵⁹ This process has been well documented. See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, pp. 418-419 and 429-431; Havnevik 2002, pp. 271-272; Day 1989, pp. 435-476; Day 1990, pp. 213-218; Berglie 1976, pp. 99-103; Schenk 1993; and Diemberger 2005, pp. 136-138.

¹⁶⁰ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, pp. 418, 435; and Havnevik 2002, p. 272.

horses of my master but left one for my lady-love"; the spirit of the *las dpon* [foreman], who once served the *bDe legs rabs ldan* [Delek Rapden] family of Shigatse, always complains about the heavy grain-tax which had been collected at his time, etc.¹⁶¹

Hanna Havnevik describes a scenario in which the female oracle Lobsang Tsedrön channeled a male hero spirit and accordingly dressed, walked, and drank beer like a man; she never drank beer in any other circumstance. Patrons claim that, once out of the trance, nobody could smell beer on her breath.¹⁶²

Supernatural qualities are a significant attribute of the trance state and help further the authenticity and sacred activity that surrounds the oracle tradition. Such supernatural abilities include shows of super strength, such as being able to bear the heavy crown associated with the position of the oracle—said to be so heavy that two or three men are needed to hoist it onto the oracle's head—and twisting swords into knots. This twisted sword, called the "knotted thunderbolt" (*rdo rje mdud pa*), is a prized possession among Tibetans, and those honored enough to obtain one hang it above doorways to ward off demonic influences. Other feats of supernatural ability gained under trance include an oracle thrusting a sword into his or her chest until its end comes out the back and removing it to show no sign of injury, as well as vomiting coins.¹⁶³ Such miraculous exhibitions accompany the central supernatural abilities of clairvoyance and prophecy that are the impetus for these trances.

The goal of oracle trances is to provide a service to the community on multiple levels. This service involves eliciting the supernatural knowledge of the deity as expressed through the oracle to provide prophetic advice concerning the future of the community. With village oracles the concern is more local, while state oracles offer advice on a greater political scale. Also, an oracle can be consulted by individual patrons regarding personal crises such as family problems, wealth and love issues, or for communal concerns such as unsolved crimes and legal matters.¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, oracles—specifically on the local level—act as healers, using their powers of divination to assess an individual's illness and to respond with appropriate advice as to its remedy. De Nebesky-Wojkowitz explains an action called "releasing the hindering demon"

¹⁶¹ De Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 418.

¹⁶² See Havnevik 2002, p. 271.

¹⁶³ See Rock 1935, p. 477; and de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, pp. 440-441.

¹⁶⁴ See Diemberger 2005, pp. 115-116, 139; and Havnevik 2002, p. 271.

(*bgegs dkrol*), where an oracle will beat an ill individual with his oracular sword in order to drive away the harmful forces causing the illness.¹⁶⁵

Diemberger states that the success of an oracle is in his ability to mediate at times of personal and public crisis; an oracle's reputation is dependent on his efficacy.¹⁶⁶ Indeed, oracles have been known to tarnish their reputation by offering bad or incorrect advice. On a political level, this can be especially hazardous. De Nebesky-Wojkowitz explains an incident where the Nechung oracle in 1904 predicted a Tibetan victory against the British Expeditionary Force. This did not, however, occur, and so the oracle fled with the Dalai Lama to Mongolia when the British reached Lhasa. Upon their return, the Nechung oracle was dismissed from his office.¹⁶⁷ The punishment incurred on oracles for their inadequacy or insubordination has been known to come from the possessing deity as well. Such wrath is usually retaliation for the oracle's disobedience to the deity. In one instance, recounted by Joseph Rock, an oracle was requested by his possessing deity not to marry, yet did so anyway. In response, the deity, during a fit of trance, caused the oracle to disembowel himself and hang his entrails on the statues in his private chapel.¹⁶⁸

A final feature of oracles worth examining is the moral state of the oracle. It is never quite clear why a particular individual is chosen; that a number of oracle lineages are hereditary provides one explanation.¹⁶⁹ In most cases, an individual is chosen by a deity for his own reasons, though Tibetans speculate that there is a moral element to this choice. Some claim that an oracle must live a blameless and virtuous life in order to be a vessel pure enough for a deity to inhabit temporarily.¹⁷⁰ Yet this is not universally held, as it is also claimed that oracles tend to be of low moral quality; however, this may be specific only to local oracles, where a distinction is drawn between the aristocratic and lower class laity, the latter being from whence oracles generally come.¹⁷¹ Diemberger argues that oracles have a comfortable relationship with defilement, having experienced it in their own lives and having dealt with it in healing practices. Such familiarity is what gives oracles a degree of insight afforded by their ambiguous social status. This ambiguity allows oracles to resolve personal and public crises that generally develop

¹⁶⁵ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 441.

¹⁶⁶ See Diemberger 2005, pp. 138-140.

¹⁶⁷ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 451.

¹⁶⁸ See Rock 1935, p. 478. De Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 421 also cites this example.

¹⁶⁹ Havnevik 2002 explicitly examines a hereditary oracle lineage.

¹⁷⁰ See Rock 1935, p. 478; and de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 418.

¹⁷¹ See Havnevik 2002, p. 277; and Day 1990, p. 208.

from liminal moments of life such as birth, marriage, sickness, and death, all of which are fraught with impurities.¹⁷² Nonetheless, oracles are expected to maintain a degree of bodily purity by abstaining from tobacco and alcohol, as well as by following any prohibitions requested by the possessing deity.¹⁷³

Regarding oracle recognition on a political level, there are some instances in which a potential oracle is chosen from a series of candidates, with various tests administered to aid the selection process. De Nebesky-Wojkowitz details this process and explains that a successful candidate is installed in his position during a ceremony called *tendrel* (*rten 'brel*) that involves gift giving and the conferring of titles on the newly-appointed oracle.¹⁷⁴

Oracle Trance and Ceremony

De Nebesky-Wojkowitz's account of oracle possession and trance states—though limited in focus and over fifty years old—continues to be the most descriptive and organized in its presentation. Having attended a number of trance sessions, he provides ceremonial outlines involving oracles of high political importance, such as the Nechung oracle and Dorjé Shukden (*Rdo rje shugs ldan*). The ceremony involves a degree of preparation. The special attire worn by an oracle during a trance is laid out on a throne or seat in the specific order in which the oracle dresses before the trance (Figure 37). The clothes in this ensemble are indicative of the possessing deity and also include various weapons associated with that deity. For instance, oracles channeling a might demon, such as Tsiu Marpo, wear the garments associated with might demons (*btsan chas*). This attire is predominantly red and includes a heavy crown with five small skulls attached to it.¹⁷⁵ Likewise, the accompanying weapons include a red spear (*btsan mdung dmar*) and a red lasso (*zhags dmar*), the weapons closely associated with Tsiu Marpo and might demons, as explored in chapter 2. Another important item that oracles—particularly state oracles—wear is a small shield with a seed syllable (*sa bon*) inscribed on it that hangs around the neck and rests upon the chest of the oracle. Seed syllables are single syllables of great power; as such, many deities are associated with a particular seed syllable. The oracular shield is called a

¹⁷² See Diemberger 2005, pp. 141-150.

¹⁷³ See Havnevik 2002, p. 280 n.115.

¹⁷⁴ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, pp. 419-421.

¹⁷⁵ These skulls represent the five Buddha families (*rigs lnga*). For more on the garments of oracles, see de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, pp. 410-414.

melong (*me long*), which actually translates as "mirror," and it is black and convex at the center with a golden or silver rim. This shield is particularly suggestive of protector deities such as Tsiu Marpo, whose common iconographic representations in paintings and statues bear this shield on their chest (See Figure 8).

Once the preparations are complete, the monks attending the trance session begin a series of invocatory chants inviting the deity to come and possess the oracle. This invocation can include musical accompaniment from thigh-bone trumpets and drums. Havnevik provides an example in which the oracle herself chants the invocations and thus prompts the deity to descend of her own accord without the aid of monks.¹⁷⁶ This stage of the ceremony also includes detailed iconographic descriptions of the deity as well as the deity's abode. As the chanting continues, the deity is said to descend gradually upon the oracle, forcing him or her to fall deeper into a trance state (Figure 38). This transition is punctuated by huffing breath and violent movements that grow steadily exaggerated. The face assumes a dark red color, and assistants to the oracle place the heavy helmet upon his head, tying it tightly to his chin with belts attached to the helmet. Assistants are available during the entirety of the ceremony to help dress the oracle, hold him up, and to catch him when he collapses at the end of the trance.¹⁷⁷ Havnevik explains that, for the female state oracle, Lobsang Tsedrön, her own husband was her assistant during trances.¹⁷⁸ When the assistants step back and the oracle bears the helmet alone, the deity is believed to have descended fully (Figures 39 and 40).

Diverse explanations exist for where exactly the deity comes from to possess the oracle. For de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, the answer most commonly provided is that the deity originates from the seed syllable at the center of the shield that the oracle wears, as described above.¹⁷⁹ Contrariwise, Havnevik explains that deities enter the oracle through the fingers or toes by way of their subtle channels, as discussed in the introduction.¹⁸⁰ At this point of the trance, praise is sung to the deity now present within the oracle's body and ready to attend to the needs of those present. Tea, and in some cases *tormas*, are offered to the deity-possessed oracle. If the ceremony is taking place within the actual throne room of the deity, such as in the case of the

¹⁷⁶ See Havnevik 2002, p. 274.

¹⁷⁷ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, pp. 409-410, 429.

¹⁷⁸ See Havnevik 2002, p. 274.

¹⁷⁹ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 411.

¹⁸⁰ See Havnevik 2002, p. 280. She also cites Berglie and Diemberger as stating that the top of the head is another entry point.

Nechung oracle, then the oracle takes his seat on his own throne. However, even if the ceremony takes place within the home of a client, the deity is treated like a lordly guest. Even retired oracles continue to be revered by monks and patrons.¹⁸¹

Once praise has been offered, the oracle is asked various questions by the surrounding monks or present members of the community. The answers to these questions are in most instances quite cryptic and require a translation by the assistants, thus showing a further act of mediation. The trance session is more of an engaged process, where the esoteric mumblings of the oracle are illuminated by the interpreting assistants and then implemented by the individual or members of the community.¹⁸² In effect, the oracle is only one element—though an important one—in a complex system of communal decision-making. Answers can also be provided in verse. This period of interrogation, in some instances, can be framed by moments of wild frenzied dance performed by the oracle, as well as the various shows of superhuman strength and ability previously discussed.

After this service has been fulfilled and all questions have been answered, the oracle may provide an extra service of offering blessings either by blowing on seeds or inscribing prayers on tied ribbons, both of which are then offered to members of the audience. The service ends abruptly when the oracle collapses (Figure 41). The deity departs at this point, and the human faculties of the oracle return; the oracle has no recollection of the proceedings of the trance session. Several trance sessions may occur during one ceremony, with each trance signifying the descent of another god into the oracle. Usually the first god to enter is the central god with whom the oracle is most associated. This god is called the "lord of the channels" (*rtsa bdag*), and as such is the one who allows other deities to enter the oracle.¹⁸³ At the conclusion of the ceremony, prayers of thanksgiving are usually recited. The oracle then strips off the oracular attire and replaces it in proper order on its throne with the help of his or her assistants. Usually the normal clothes of the oracle, which are worn beneath this attire, are drenched with sweat after a ceremony.¹⁸⁴

This summary of the oracle ceremony is by necessity both general and synchronic. Multiple variations of the ceremony exist at various points in Tibetan history and locale. One

¹⁸¹ See Havnevik 2002, p. 274.

¹⁸² See Diemberger 2005, p. 137.

¹⁸³ See Diemberger 2005, p. 130.

¹⁸⁴ For the full accounts of oracle trances from which this summary draws, see de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, pp. 429-439; Havnevik 2002, pp. 270-272; and Diemberger 2005, pp. 136-138.

important note should be made on the diachronic nature of the majority of the oracle studies cited here. De Nebesky-Wojkowitz, writing in the early 1950s, provides a detailed examination of the oracle tradition as it existed prior to Chinese occupation and before the Cultural Revolution. His focus is also strongly directed toward important male state oracles. This observation is the same for Rock and Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark, both of whom conducted preliminary research on the oracle tradition as it existed before or just after Chinese occupation. Havnevik and Diemberger, however, conducted their research well after the Cultural Revolution, a time when the practices of many oracle lineages were forcefully cut off. This also resulted in the destruction of many oracle costumes and ritual implements. In these studies, the majority of oracles do not change into ceremonial garments and their only ritual implement consists of a mirror that they use for divination purposes. Havnevik and Diemberger, as well as Sophie Day, provide useful studies on the state of the oracle tradition as it exists now, and all three show an increase in members of the tradition, mainly in villages or on local levels. Since the Nechung oracle's escape to India with the fourteenth Dalai Lama in 1959, state-recognized oracles no longer exist in Tibet; even the one female state oracle, Lobsang Tsedrön, is retired now. Thus, the current state of other politically significant oracles such as Tsiu Marpo is unknown.

Oracles and the Laity

There is an important connection to be made between the oracle traditions of Tibet and the lay community. A strong tie exists between oracles and the laity not simply for the pragmatic services with which the former provides the latter, but also for the fact that the majority of oracles, including state oracles, come from the lay community. The process by which an oracle originates is not wholly understood, but there is a common life narrative associated with individuals who eventually become oracles. Generally, a young child of the lay community, who has been known to have a relationship with surrounding deities and who is able to sense them, will fall ill around the time of puberty. This illness is a sign of a particular deity attempting to possess the adolescent and is called "god sickness" (*lha nad*); it results when the deity is unsuccessful due to impurities within the child's subtle channels. Once this has been properly diagnosed by a lama or perhaps another oracle, the illness is cured by a ritual process that

"opens" the channels of the child, cleansing the impurities within and allowing the deity to descend properly.¹⁸⁵

The next step for the child is training, wherein he or she learns to master the state of possession and utilize the process for the communal benefits associated with the occupation. This training involves being sent to a monastery, usually one closely associated with the particular possessing deity, and learning various recitations, invocations, meditations on the deity, and purification rites. These purifications include dietary restrictions, such as from eggs, pork, or fish, and even vows of celibacy. This process of constant purification is practiced up to a certain age as a means to prepare the body for a career of successful possessions.¹⁸⁶ Despite this intense training, many oracles are illiterate. Havnevik explains that a proper lay education was undesirable for some prospective oracles because, as she puts it, "education could give the medium ideas of her own, which could either scare away the deity or make complete possession difficult. An educated medium might also, if possession was only partial, write down the prophecies and reveal State secrets."¹⁸⁷ Training can also involve a degree of oracle contestation, where several potential oracles are found and a series of tests are conducted in order to find the most suitable oracle.¹⁸⁸ This is especially true of powerful lineages, such as state oracles, where the previous oracle of a particular deity retires and a new one must be found.¹⁸⁹ Also, among state oracles, the training is far more rigorous due to their significant position in the political establishment.¹⁹⁰

Lastly, Diemberger discusses the overlap between Buddhist normative behavior and local pragmatic concerns. The status of an oracle is very much based on his local reputation, which evolves in the course of the oracle's career by means of his efficiency. This status is very much shaped by the immediate locality of an oracle. Successful oracles will be viewed as positive agents for the preservation of social and religious order in their own village despite the suspicions that may be held by outside monastic individuals who claim that these same oracles

¹⁸⁵ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 416; and Diemberger 2005, pp. 121-123.

¹⁸⁶ See Havnevik 2002, p. 269.

¹⁸⁷ Havnevik 2002, p. 270.

¹⁸⁸ See Havnevik 2002, p. 269 n.66.

¹⁸⁹ For more on oracle training, see de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, pp. 419-421; Havnevik 2002, pp. 268-270; Day 1989, pp. 284-306; Day 1990, pp. 209-212; Diemberger 2005, pp. 132-133; Schenk 1993, pp. 331-332; and Berglie 1976, pp. 88-93.

¹⁹⁰ See Diemberger 2005, pp. 150-155.

transgress Buddhist moral values.¹⁹¹ This potential discontinuity is also reflected in the fact that some oracles may gain notoriety without officially being recognized by a Buddhist lama. However, since lama recognition is the most commonly accepted method for establishing the authority of an oracle, it illustrates another relationship between the oracle tradition, the lay community, and overarching monastic control.¹⁹² This expression of conflicting interests is a rich ground for lay and monastic interaction.

The Tsiu Marpo Oracle

As has been previously explained, there is virtually no information on the history of the Tsiu Marpo oracle or even if this particular lineage still exists, given the destruction of numerous oracle lineages during the Cultural Revolution. At this time, oracles were open to excessive scorn and stripped of their ritual implements and office; some were even killed.¹⁹³ Nonetheless, there exists some preliminary information on the Tsiu Marpo oracle, all of which confirms that it was a state-recognized position and was even involved in the selection of the Dalai Lamas.¹⁹⁴ Sir Charles Bell explains that the Tsiu Marpo oracle, along with the Nechung oracle, was instrumental in discovering the thirteenth Dalai Lama:

A former Prime Minister of Tibet told me the story of the finding. Ne-chung gave out the names of the young boy's father and mother, and the whereabouts of their house. Sam-ye [Tsiu Marpo] made known that the mountain near the house was shaped like an elephant. That made a starting point for the council of priests who are responsible for discovering the right boy. Such a council includes the Pan-chen Lama, if he is of age, and includes also fifteen or twenty other leading lamas.¹⁹⁵

Likewise, Melvyn Goldstein mentions that, after the death of the thirteenth Dalai Lama and during the search for the fourteenth incarnation, the Tsiu Marpo oracle at Samyé, along with the other state oracles of Nechung and Gadong (Dga' gdong), flung their ceremonial scarves toward

¹⁹¹ See Diemberger 2005, p. 146.

¹⁹² See Diemberger 2005, p. 132-133.

¹⁹³ See Havnevik 2002, p. 272; and Diemberger 2005, p. 156.

¹⁹⁴ See Havnevik 2002, p. 266.

¹⁹⁵ Bell 1946, p. 40. This information is further repeated in Gibson 1991, p. 206-207; Tucci 1987, p. 109; and Maraini 1952, p. 148.

the east to signify the proper direction in which to search.¹⁹⁶ The fourteenth Dalai Lama was afterwards discovered in Amdo in the east. These sources also state factually that the abode of the Tsiu Marpo oracle was, understandably, Samyé monastery.

De Nebesky-Wojkowitz's chapter on Tsiu Marpo continues to be the most informative on his oracle tradition. He even provides a vivid example of a characteristic of the Tsiu Marpo oracle relating to more of Tsiu Marpo's mythic history:

Tsi'u dmar po is said to have been once defeated by a deity called *Dza sa dmar po* [Dzasa Marpo], who forced Samye's renowned *dharmapāla* to abandon temporarily his residence. The following legend is being told about this incident: a few centuries ago a member of the *Hor khang* [Horkang] family in Lhasa, who held the rank of a *dza sa*, was suffering from a very painful illness which, as divination showed, had been caused by *Tsi'u dmar po*. One day the *dza sa* ordered to hang up on a wall of his room a painting representing *Tsi'u dmar po*, and whenever he suffered a new attack of pain, he lifted himself up in his bed and shot off an arrow against the picture of the deity. At last, when he felt his end approach, he ordered seven of his servants to saddle seven horses and to put on their full battle-dress. At the very moment of the *dza sa*'s death, the servants and horses fell dead to the ground. Their spirits then joined the spirit of their master and together they hastened to Samye, to take revenge upon *Tsi'u dmar po*. A fierce battle ensued in which the *dharmapāla* was defeated and had to flee. *Dza sa dmar po*, "the red *dza sa*" as he became later on known, then took possession of the *Tsi'u dmar lcog dbug khang* [Jokwukhang] and of all the objects stored there. He tried, however, in vain to place upon his own head *Tsi'u dmar po*'s heavy helmet, which is worn during the trances by the medium of Samye's best-known *dharmapāla*. After some time *Dza sa dmar po* left *Tsi'u dmar po*'s residence, and the monks then built for him a special shrine within the precincts of their monastery, the so-called *Dza sa dmar po'i rab brtan* [Dzasa Marpö Rapten]. *Tsi'u dmar po* returned later to his abode, and from then on peaceful relations were established between these two deities. A trace of their dispute is, however, found in the circumstance that the oracle-priest of *Tsi'u dmar po*, when entering into the trance, will at the beginning of the fit always thrust his sword in the direction in which the shrine of *Dza sa dmar po* lies.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁶ See Goldstein 1989, p. 315.

¹⁹⁷ De Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 170.

Not only does this account give direct information regarding the Tsiu Marpo oracle, it also provides some mythic history concerning Tsiu Marpo during his residency at Samyé; though no historical time period is provided for the incident surrounding the *dza sa*, except to say "a few centuries ago." Furthermore, the story illustrates the capricious and violent nature of protector deities that can sometimes manifest and thus align the deity against various individuals; such are the vestiges from the deity's malicious past. Also, we see here the common Tibetan belief that if one dies in a wrathful state of mind, one can be reborn as a terrible spirit, a fate from which even Tsiu Marpo originated.

The Tengyéling monastery in Lhasa seems to have housed a Tsiu Marpo oracle as well.¹⁹⁸ Since it is a satellite of Samyé, this is not surprising. Tengyéling monastery has a long tradition of housing the Demo (De mo) lineage, where many of the regents to the Dalai Lamas originated. André Alexander, in his catalog of Lhasa monasteries, reveals that Tsiu Marpo has a special relationship with this lineage. The reason for this was that the first Demo Könchok Jungné (Dkon mchog 'byung gnas; 15th century) had an alleged meditational experience involving Tsiu Marpo, though Alexander provides nothing more on this.¹⁹⁹ This monastery has a particularly violent history and was involved in campaigns against the Dalai Lama in several instances; it suffered destruction a number of times because of this. Alexander explains that even the Tsiu Marpo oracle was involved in one of these campaigns. During the 1910-1912 Tibetan war against Chinese incursion, Tengyéling monastery sheltered Chinese troops. Tradition claims that the Tsiu Marpo oracle supported this decision.²⁰⁰

One final observation should be made on the oracular tradition of Tsiu Marpo. Though deities do come to be associated with specific oracles, they can nonetheless possess several other people as well, as noted above with Tengyéling monastery. Havnevik explains that generally the sex of the deity corresponds with the sex of the oracle, but there are rare examples where a female oracle can channel male gods, as has previously been observed with Lobsang Tsedrön. Havnevik provides another example in which an oracle nun named Ani Lochen was at one time possessed by Tsiu Marpo as well as other local gods.²⁰¹ Conversely, it has been previously explained that oracles can also channel other deities. As such, de Nebesky-Wojkowitz records

¹⁹⁸ See Gibson 1991, p. 207 n.64.

¹⁹⁹ See Alexander 2005, p. 211.

²⁰⁰ See Alexander 2005, p. 215. See Barnett 2006, pp. 11-12; Goldstein 1989, pp. 42-43, 63-64; Bell 1994, pp. 162-164; Alexander 2005, pp. 209-221; Shakabpa 1984, p. 241 for more on Tengyéling monastery's troubled history.

²⁰¹ See Havnevik 2002, p. 276.

that the Tsiu Marpo oracle has also been known to channel another lesser protector deity named Lijin Hara (*Li byin ha ra*).²⁰²

Unfortunately, these fragments of information on the Tsiu Marpo oracle are scant and are currently all that is available on this lineage. The lacuna in the information here must be temporarily filled in with what we have generally learned about the oracle tradition, particularly those elements found most commonly among state oracles. However, a study of the deity Pehar may provide further information on Tsiu Marpo as well as the oracle tradition, and so we now turn to this important deity.

Pehar

At this point, a great deal has been learned about Tsiu Marpo regarding his origins, iconography, ritual importance, and the theoretical dimensions of his oracle tradition. However, because the picture of Tsiu Marpo's cultural importance in Tibet is still very much incomplete, it may be fruitful to provide a brief but parallel examination of another protector deity who has already been heavily explored in a number of scholarly works. This examination will provide a broader image of the protector deity cult in Tibet and further illustrate common elements. This wrathful deity, named Pehar (Pe har), has already been alluded to previously and is especially pertinent in this discussion because of his close history with Tsiu Marpo. One initial parallel is that, while Tsiu Marpo is the lord of the might demons, Pehar is the lord of the conqueror demons (*rgyal po*).²⁰³ However, Pehar is also considered the lord of all protector deities.²⁰⁴

Like Tsiu Marpo, Pehar has several variant names and appellations that are most discernible in their transliterations: *Dpe kar*, *Pe dkar*, *Spe dkar*, *Dpe dkar*, *Be dkar*, *Dpe ha ra*, and *Pe ha ra*. His titles include "king of the doctrine guardians" (*chos skyong ba'i rgyal po*), "great doctrine guardian" (*chos skyong chen mo*), "king treasury master" (*dkor bdag rgyal po*), and "white lord of life-energy" (*srog bdag dkar po*).²⁰⁵ As speculated in chapter 2, the individual deity of Tsiu Marpo is potentially no older than the sixteenth century; Pehar, however,

²⁰² See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 130.

²⁰³ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 96.

²⁰⁴ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, pp. 94, 134.

²⁰⁵ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 96 for a full list of Pehar's titles.

has been mentioned in Tibetan texts as long ago as the eleventh century.²⁰⁶ Because of this, Pehar's origins are much more ambiguous, with a number of popular variations in existence.

Even Pehar's name has been subject to dispute by scholars in the past, though it appears that a consensus has been reached on this particular matter. De Nebesky-Wojkowitz explains that Pehar is a derivation of the word *Bi har*, which is a transliteration of the Sanskrit word *vihāra*, "monastery."²⁰⁷ He explains that the deity received this appellation after becoming the protector of the treasury at Samyé monastery, an occupation to which an above-mentioned appellation of his refers.²⁰⁸ This origin is intimately tied to Pehar's assimilation into the pantheon of Tibetan protector deities. The most popular account of Pehar's origins and his arrival in Tibet is as follows. Pehar originally resided in the ancient North Indian kingdom of Zahor (Za hor), near the city of Mandi in modern-day Himachal Pradesh.²⁰⁹ He moved from Zahor to Mongolia (Hor) and took up residence in a meditation school (*sgom grwa*) at Bhatahor (Bha ta hor). At this meditation school, Pehar was known as Pholha Namtep Karpo (Pho lha gnam theb dkar po)²¹⁰ and was the head deity of the local Mongolian tribes. His transfer to Tibet was brought about by Padmasambhava, who came to Bhatahor with an army in order to sack the meditation school and capture its main deity for the purpose of assigning to him the position of protector over Samyé's treasures.²¹¹ Pehar attempted to flee by turning into a vulture and creating magical illusions to confuse and madden the army. However, he was shot down by the arrow of a violence demon in the retinue of the army and summarily taken to Samyé. More pacifying variations state that Pehar was invited to come to Samyé and accepted the position

²⁰⁶ Karmay (1998b, p. 360) explains that Pehar's name is found in an eleventh-century copy of the Ba Zhé.

²⁰⁷ See Wangdu and Diemberger 2000, p. 26 n.16.

²⁰⁸ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 107. Karmay (1998b, p. 360) also agrees with this explanation.

²⁰⁹ Karmay (1998b, p. 363) suggests an alternative origin: "The monk Byang-chub blo-gros of the rMa clan was supposedly killed in retribution by the partisans of the 'Bro clan around the end of the ninth century, during the civil war between the 'Bro and dBa'. It is believed that the spirit of the monk then changed into a 'king' who returned to torment the monarch dPal-'khor-btsan. So the monk rGyal-ba mchog-dbyangs performed the *rGyal po rtse mdos* ritual in order to appease the murdered monk's spirit. Could the latter be the ancestor of Pe-har?" This account incorporates a great degree of historical circumstance surrounding the origin of Pehar, but it is little more than speculation with no supporting connections. Also, Hummel (1962) focuses explicitly on the possible origins of Pehar within the various deity traditions of Central Asia.

²¹⁰ De Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1998, p. 97) provides several variants of this name, loosely translated as "white male sky god *theb*." The *theb* is a variation of the word *the'u*, for *the'u rang*, a class of ancient deities discussed in the introduction, with which Pehar was originally associated. See also Hummel 1962, pp. 313-314; and Haahr 1969, pp. 218-222.

²¹¹ De Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1998, p. 100) explains that Padmasambhava's initial pick for this position was a serpent deity (*klu*) named Zurpüngapa (*Zur phud lnga pa*), "the one with five tresses of hair". The later declined the position and recommended Pehar.

graciously.²¹² In either case, upon Pehar's arrival, at Samyé he was ritually subjugated by Padmasambhava, who concluded the act by placing a thunderbolt on Pehar's forehead and appointing him to the office of the head protector of the monastery and its treasures.²¹³

These treasures include the spoils gained from the Bhatahor meditation school, such as a turquoise image, a crystal lion, and a wooden bird.²¹⁴ Also among these objects is an ancient leather mask (*bse 'bag*) that allegedly contains a great deal of power. At the time of de Nebesky-Wojkowitz's writing, the mask was kept in the *gönkhang* of the Jokwukhang at Samyé.²¹⁵ The sacred mask is described as being the face of a fierce demon with three eyes and a wide open mouth. It consists of leather or, in some accounts, strips of cloth, though popular legend claims that it was made of coagulated blood. Its magic powers are said to make the mask appear alive; its eyes roll and drops of blood appear on its surface. De Nebesky-Wojkowitz mentions a belief by some Tibetans that the mask is actually only a fifteenth-century replica of the original.²¹⁶ Currently, it is not known if the mask still exists, given the destruction sustained by the Jokwukhang during the Cultural Revolution.²¹⁷

De Nebesky-Wojkowitz expresses an alternative subjugation account that is very similar to Tsiu Marpo's own conversion narrative. According to his informants, other legends claim that Pehar was first subdued by Tamdrin, and the oath was only renewed and strengthened later by Padmasambhava.²¹⁸ The ubiquity of this version may reveal something of the historical transition of Tibet as a Buddha field, discussed in chapter 2. The growing popularity of the Avalokiteśvara cult in Tibet since the eleventh century, as Kapstein theorizes, resulted in a greater importance assigned to this deity as the central maintainer of Tibet.²¹⁹ As such, it would further enforce both Avalokiteśvara's power over Tibet and the strict oath that binds the protector deities if they were first subjugated by Tamdrin, the wrathful aspect of Avalokiteśvara, with that subjugation subsequently renewed by Padmasambhava.

Pehar is far more engaged with Tibetan history than Tsiu Marpo. After spending seven centuries at Samyé, he moved to the Nyingma monastery of Tselgungtang (Tshal gung thang) on

²¹² See Tucci 1999, pp. 734-736; and de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, pp. 100-103 for this account as well as further variations.

²¹³ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 102.

²¹⁴ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 102.

²¹⁵ Tucci (1999, p. 274 n.64) calls the mask the "leather mask of *gNod sbyin brTse dmar*".

²¹⁶ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 103-104. Also see Tucci 1999, p. 735.

²¹⁷ See chapter 2 of this thesis.

²¹⁸ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 102.

²¹⁹ See Kapstein 2000, pp. 144-155.

the bank of the Kyichu (Skyid chu) River not far from Lhasa sometime in the sixteenth century.²²⁰ Having spent almost a century at this location, Pehar began to fight with a high lama of the monastery named Zhangtselwa (Zhang tshal ba). When a new monastery was being built, Zhangtselwa demanded that the artisans and painters create no images of Pehar. This angered Pehar and he retaliated by turning into a young boy who offered his assistance to the monastery painters. Once the monastery was completed and all the frescoes were painted, the painters were grateful to the young boy. They asked the boy how they could repay him, and he replied that he wanted them to paint a picture of a monkey holding a burning incense stick somewhere in the monastery. The painters were perplexed by this odd request but complied. Late one night afterward, Pehar shed his form of the little boy and possessed the image of the monkey. So doing, he burned the monastery down with the incense stick.²²¹

In response, the infuriated Zhangtselwa subdued Pehar through ritual means and imprisoned him in a thread-cross (*mdos*). A thread-cross is a ritual implement made of crossed sticks surrounded by a web of multicolored thread (Figure 42). Thread-cross rituals draw demons or deities toward the cross and trap them within the web.²²² Once Pehar was trapped within the thread-cross, Zhangtselwa locked it in a box and threw the box into the Kyichu River. As the box was floating down the river, it was spotted by the fifth Dalai Lama, who happened to be at Drepung ('Bras spung) monastery that day. He ordered an abbot of one of the monastic colleges to retrieve the box but not to open it. The abbot went and fetched the box, but as he was walking back to Drepung the box grew heavier until he could not hold it any longer. The abbot became curious and opened the box, at which time a white bird flew from it and landed on a nearby tree.²²³ The Dalai Lama ordered that a shrine be built around this tree for Pehar and eventually the monastery of Nechung—literally "small place"—grew up around it. To this day, the tree on which Pehar landed as a bird is viewable within the central shrine (Figure 43). Pehar

²²⁰ See Peter 1978a, p. 329.

²²¹ A more positive mention of Pehar as a helpful youth is found in the famous history of the Blue Annals; see Roerich 1996, p. 80.

²²² For more on thread-crosses, their construction, and ritual use, see Beyer 1978, pp. 310-359; de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1950-51; and de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, pp. 343-397.

²²³ Pehar has a penchant for transforming into birds, and indeed I noted several paintings of white birds along the walls of the Utse temple at Samyé. During my time there, an old Tibetan woman circumambulating the inner temple explained to me that the painting of the white bird that so perplexed me was a form of Pehar, thus reinforcing this mythic history.

then began to possess the body of a monk at Nechung, and this oracle lineage was formally established as a state-recognized office by the fifth Dalai Lama.²²⁴

The historical connection between protector deities overall and the fifth Dalai Lama is worthy of further research. Considering the Nyingma sympathies and the ecumenical approach of the fifth Dalai Lama, it is no doubt through his efforts that many deity cults grew in popularity. Not only did oracle lineages—such as Nechung and, quite possibly, the Samyé oracle of Tsiu Marpo—become state sanctioned institutions during his reign, but he was also responsible for the composition of many ritual texts dedicated to protector deities, texts that he either composed personally or commissioned.²²⁵ Samten Karmay has conducted research specifically on the visionary experiences and ritual career of the fifth Dalai Lama.²²⁶ He mentions an incident during which the fifth Dalai Lama had a vision of Tsiu Marpo after meditating and attempting a violence ritual (*mngon spyod*).²²⁷ This vision occurred on the road to Tibet during his return from visiting the Manchu Emperor of China.²²⁸ Fruitful research along this venue would certainly benefit a greater understanding of protector deity cults in Tibet, as well as their popular growth through history and their use in politics.

Dan Martin's research also shows that Pehar has some degree of involvement in eleventh- and twelfth-century lay religious movements, discussing specifically a group of popular lay practitioners called "the four children of Pehar." These figures were known to practice magic and subvert the Buddhist teachings; some were speculated to be incarnations of various demonic deities. As Martin explains, the identities of these figures are, in most instances, obscured by the excessively negative nature of the accounts that discuss them, which were primarily written by Buddhist apologists. Despite the excessive discussion of Pehar, with whom these individuals are associated, Martin speculates in his conclusions that Pehar may not have had any connection at all with these figures initially. Rather, he may have come to be associated with them anachronistically in the works of thirteenth-century writers who disparaged such movements and made a connection with Pehar out of their distaste for this trickster-like deity.²²⁹

²²⁴ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 104; Peter 1978b, p. 288; and Gibson 1991, p. 60.

²²⁵ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, pp. 578-579 for a cycle of texts either composed or commissioned by the fifth Dalai Lama.

²²⁶ See Karmay 1988 and Heller 2003. Also see Kohn 2001, pp. 49-51 for a discussion of the fifth Dalai Lama's acceptance of ritual dance.

²²⁷ The fourth of the four mundane activities (*las bzhi*); discussed in chapter 4.

²²⁸ See Karmay 1988, p. 36.

²²⁹ See Martin 1996a and 1996b.

Pehar's iconography carries many common elements found among protector deities. He resides in a *maṇḍala* abode with his retinue and is considered the head of a group of five deities called "the five body kings" (*rgyal po sku lnga*). This structure is similar to Tsiu Marpo and his connection to the seven attendant riders.²³⁰ De Nebesky-Wojkowitz describes Pehar as such:

In the northern quarter [of the *maṇḍala*], in a blue (or green) heavenly palace made of turquoise, comes forth from the syllable *tri*²³¹ the "king of the *karma*" (*'phrin las rgyal po*), *Zhal gsum stod kyi mi bo che* [Zhelsum Tökyi Miwoche], "the three-faced, high-ranking, great man", with three heads and six arms. He has a white, a sky-blue, and a red face, in his three right hands he holds an iron hook, an arrow, and a sword. His three left hands lift a knife, a bow, and a stick (*ber ka*). He wears an upper garment of white silk, a drawn (human) skin, and a tiger-skin serves him as a loin-cloth. On his head he wears a hat of cane, similar to a parasol. He rides on a white lion, and the *Mon bu pu tra* [Monbu Putra] acts as the leader of his mount.²³²

As with Tsiu Marpo, variations certainly exist, but Pehar's iconographic appearance as described here is represented quite well in numerous drawings and statues of Pehar (Figures 44, 45, and 46). Pehar's entourage is also quite extensive. While Tsiu Marpo has six accompanying riders, Pehar has four chief attendants as well as an expansive retinue:

On the outside, in the main quarters and in the spaces lying in between appear ministers, hangmen, slaves..., and lions, *ācāryas* [spiritual guides] of Mon, and monkeys. There are one hundred *dge slong* [fully ordained monks] lifting their rattling-staffs, and one hundred black-hat magicians wielding their demon-daggers; one hundred women shake out their hair, and one hundred men brandish their swords and shields.²³³

De Nebesky-Wojkowitz also states that all of Pehar's retinue and entourage are mere manifestations of himself, their forms originating from the rays of light that radiate from his body; this is an ability shared by Tsiu Marpo. Likewise, Pehar can reabsorb these manifestations

²³⁰ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 107.

²³¹ This imagery agrees with de Nebesky-Wojkowitz's claim that deities possessing an oracle originate from the seed syllable on the shield that hangs from the oracle's chest, as described above.

²³² De Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, pp. 110-111. De Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1998, p. 112) also explains that Pehar is oddly subordinate to his attendants in some variations of his *maṇḍala*.

²³³ De Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 111.

back into himself.²³⁴ Regarding Pehar's tasks, they are similar to Tsiu Marpo's in that they primarily involve protection and destroying enemies:

You, the *dharmapāla*, king *sPe dkar*, lord of *Jambudvīpa*, guardian of the temple-property, you, who destroy completely those who break the religious vows, you, who act as the *dgra lha* [war god] of all men, you, the religious guardian of all the Buddhists and Bonpos (sics!),²³⁵ executioner of the sacrilegious enemies, friend of all *yogīs*,... please come when called, you the great *dPe dkar*, whom the religious teacher *Padmasambhava* forced by means of secret *mantras* to take an oath (of protecting the Buddhist religion).²³⁶

It is important to emphasize Pehar's place at Samyé because he was the monastery's chief protector, surrounded by the subordinate protectors of Tsiu Marpo and other deities. We can presume that it is when Pehar left Samyé in the sixteenth century that Tsiu Marpo took over as its head protector deity. Regardless, Pehar is still revered at Samyé monastery as the numerous paintings and statues of him found there attest. Thus, Pehar's history provides further insight into Tsiu Marpo's role at Samyé and his evolution as a protector deity.²³⁷

Regarding the focus of this chapter, a few final notes should be made on the Nechung oracle in order to give a fuller account of Pehar's history and to understand the development of this tradition overall. Many of the details concerning this oracle lineage have already been provided above in the general accounts on oracles; however, it should be noted that the name commonly associated with the Nechung oracle is Dorjé Drakden (Rdo rje grags ldan), Pehar's chief minister. Amy Heller explains that this is merely an emanation of Pehar,²³⁸ a concept that agrees with the notion of Pehar's retinue having emanated from him as expressed by de Nebesky-Wojkowitz above. Also, it is important to mention the reason for the establishment of the Nechung oracle as a state oracle. De Nebesky-Wojkowitz states that the Nechung oracle's appointment was due to his clairvoyant abilities, which saved Lhasa. The Nechung oracle at the time of the fifth Dalai Lama discovered by means of these powers that a Nepalese community intended to kill the citizens of Lhasa by poisoning the public wells. Revealing this to the Dalai

²³⁴ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 112-113.

²³⁵ This is de Nebesky-Wojkowitz's own notation.

²³⁶ De Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 117.

²³⁷ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, pp. 94-133 for what is still the most detailed examination of Pehar.

²³⁸ See Heller 2003, p. 96. Heller also relates here one variation claiming that it was the deity *Begtse* (*Beg tse*) who possessed the Nechung oracle, though this tradition is not widely accepted today.

Lama allowed the government to foil these plans before they were executed.²³⁹ For a further political motivation, Georges Dreyfus explains that the fifth Dalai Lama and his newly established government "used Ne-chung's connection with Pe-har to emphasize their connection with the early empire and thus strengthen their legitimacy."²⁴⁰ The Nechung oracle lineage still exists today in Dharamsala, North India where the fourteenth Dalai Lama resides. The Dalai Lama continues to consult the Nechung oracle concerning the political endeavors of his government-in-exile. Heller notes that this is the only state oracle tradition still in existence today, thus implying that the Tsiu Marpo oracle line does not exist anymore.²⁴¹

Oracles and Society

The oracle tradition is ancient and important in its own right for the purposes of understanding Tibetan culture and religious practice. Nonetheless, oracles can be viewed as a complete anthropomorphization of the ritual goals and pragmatic concerns discussed in the previous chapter. Oracular practices further solidify the connection between the lay and monastic community; they reinforce Buddhist cosmology and engage the deities propitiated by monks and lamas through ritual in order to apply their services to lay concerns both locally and nationally. Oracles allow deities, as ahistorical mythic figures, to interact with the history of a community and influence social direction. On a smaller scale, oracles provide protection, cures, and advice to individuals; this is an extension of the services that ritual texts request of deities for the benefit of lay and monastic patrons alike. When individuals request the services of an oracle, there is also an expected fee or donation to the monastery with which the oracle is affiliated.²⁴²

These same oracles, particularly those associated with monastic institutions, are also used by monasteries to resolve interinstitutional strife. Havnevik explains that the female state oracle came into existence due to disputes between the monks at the two Geluk monasteries of Sera and Drepung. To quell this infighting, assistance from the local protector deities was needed. This oracle tradition pacified the disputes through the advice of the deity given through the oracle.²⁴³

²³⁹ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 449.

²⁴⁰ Dreyfus 1998, p. 261.

²⁴¹ See Heller 2003, p. 94.

²⁴² See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 432; and Havnevik 2002, p. 261.

²⁴³ See Havnevik 2002, p. 267.

Oracle lineages have also been found to be intimately tied to important political families. Havnevik explains that Lobsang Tsebrön, the last female state oracle, was married at nineteen to the nephew of the thirteenth Dalai Lama, named Senangse (Sras rnam sras). Not only was Senangse the nephew of the Dalai Lama through his mother, he was also related through his father to a number of powerful and ancient Tibetan families. Thus, an oracle can have numerous political connections through a network of relations.²⁴⁴ Such ties only strengthen an oracle's connections to the concerns of the state. In contrast, Day explains that oracles in Ladakh are not usually tied to the aristocracy. This illustrates that oracles can be connected to levels of social power within a society or can just as easily represent a force outside of general social order.²⁴⁵

Oracles are thus consulted at all levels of society for a diverse number of reasons. The universal goal of the deity's presence within the oracle is to provide pragmatic, at times apotropaic, assistance to individuals, the community, and to the state at large. It should be stressed that this assistance is provided exclusively by the deity, with the oracle acting simply as a vessel. As such, for the duration of a trance session, the divine dimension is incarnate in the immediate environment of the oracle. Similar to the ritual process discussed in chapter 4, the location of oracle sessions is transformed into a realm of sacrality, where those in attendance play host to the deity who manifests himself within the oracle. This process is enhanced by reciting the iconography of the deity, who possesses the oracle, and describing the abode or *maṅḍala* of the deity, which equally possesses the immediate vicinity of the ceremony. This "*maṅḍalafication*"—to use a term coined by Kapstein—of the landscape is a much more prominent ritual event in sacred Tibetan dances (*'cham*) that are performed for the laity by monastic institutions in order to subjugate demonic influences and increase merit for the community.²⁴⁶ A subtle reference to the power within these performances is noticeable in the dance sometimes performed by oracles—especially state oracles like Nechung—during the course of a trance. Given these various elements, it is clear that the oracle tradition has provided another vehicle by which lay and monastic communities utilize the power of protector deities toward pragmatic ends. This further illustrates the power that deities like Tsiu Marpo and Pehar possess in creating grounds for interaction and shared motivation between these communities.

²⁴⁴ See Havnevik 2002, p. 274.

²⁴⁵ See Day 1990, p. 208.

²⁴⁶ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1976 and Kohn 2001 for a detailed study of Tibetan ritual dances. Also see Samuel 1993, pp. 265-268.

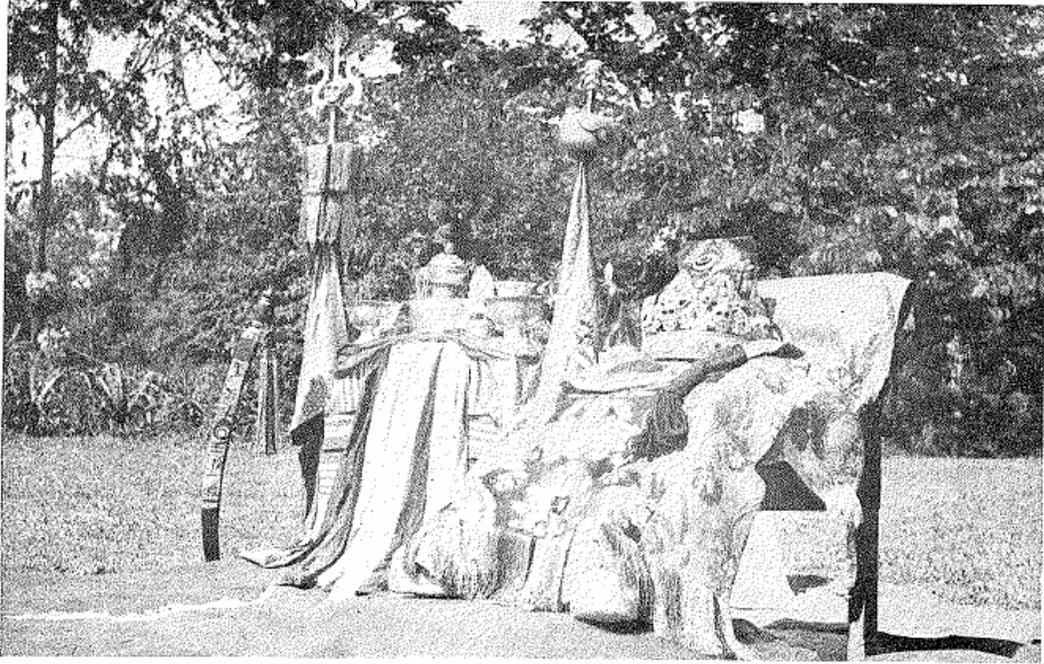


Figure 37. The special arrangement of the oracular attire and weapons. Notice the crown on the right and the weapons stuck in the ground on the left. This particular arrangement is for a trance session involving the Dorjé Shukden oracle of the 1950s, Lhakpa Döndrup (Lhag pa don grub). (Photo: R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz; de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, Plate 12)

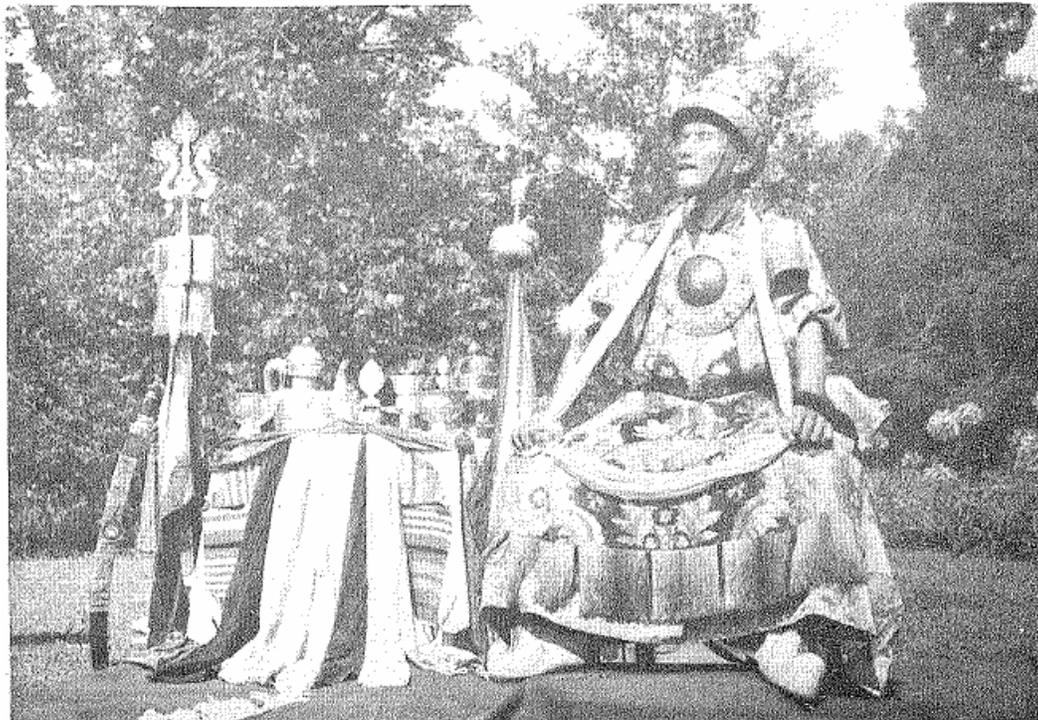


Figure 38. Lhakpa Döndrup fully dressed and beginning the trance. Notice the convex shield (*me long*) over his chest. (Photo: R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz; de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, Plate 14)

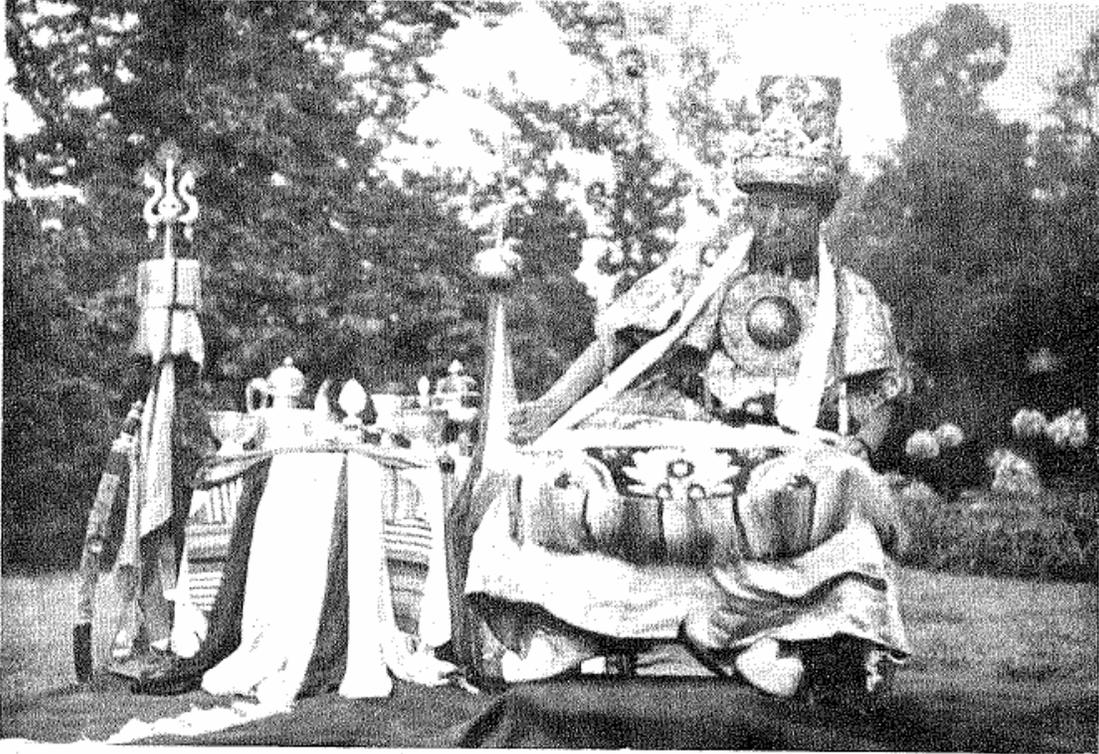


Figure 39. Lhakpa Döndrup at the height of the trance, possessed by Dorjé Shukden.
(Photo: R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz; de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, Plate 16)



Figure 40. A female oracle at the height of trance. (Photo: C. Meazza 1998; Diemberger 2005, p. 137)



Figure 41. Lhakpa Döndrup collapsing after the trance and being held up by his assistants.
(Photo: R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz; de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, Plate 17)



Figure 42. A thread-cross (*mdos*). This particular cross is one of several elements involved in a contemporary *lū* (*glud*) ritual. (Photo: C. Bell 2005)



Figure 43. The tree on which Pehar landed during the reign of the fifth Dalai Lama. The monastery of Nechung was built up around this tree, which is currently found in the central chapel surrounded by statues of Pehar in his wrathful and peaceful forms (the latter is seen here). The tree itself is on the left and covered with ceremonial scarves (*kha btags*) and prayer flags (*dar lcog*). (Photo: C. Bell 2005)



ཚེས་ལྷོང་འཕེལ་ལྷ་པོ་ལྷ་པོ་

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Figure 44. A common iconographic representation of Pehar. In this variation, his mount is an elephant, a version noted in de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 117. (DCTS, p. 320)



Figure 45. Painting of Peihar on the wall within the main chapel at Tengyéling monastery, Lhasa. Notice the shield hanging over his chest with a seed syllable inscribed on it. The painting of Tsiu Marpo in Figure 12 is right next to this image. (Photo: C. Bell 2005)



Figure 46. A statue of Pehar with a wall painting of him behind it. This figure of Pehar guards the door of a Śākyamuni chapel on the ground floor of Tsiu Marpo's temple at Samyé, the Jokwukhang. Notice again the shield on his chest. This statue rests on the other side of the threshold from the Tsiu Marpo statue in Figure 15. (Photo: C. Bell 2005)

CONCLUSION

Tibetan protector deities are encountered by members of the lay and monastic communities on multiple levels. This study has shown that the protector deity Tsiu Marpo is not only significant in his connection to one of the most sacred sites in Tibet, Samyé monastery, but also illustrates these multiple levels of interaction. Tsiu Marpo's mythic and iconographic power is recognized by both communities and is inured within the larger Tibetan cosmography, which is comprised of both indigenous and Buddhist elements. These elements enhance his ritual programs, which are utilized by both communities for pragmatic ends, specifically to provide protection from human and supernatural enemies. Tsiu Marpo's involvement with the oracular tradition in Tibet suggests his connection to a broader historical lineage of practice where he was consulted personally in matters of individual, communal, and national well-being. Since he was involved with an oracle lineage, Tsiu Marpo could have been expected to resolve conflicts between monastic communities as well as between individual patrons of the lay community. As a state oracle, he was known to have influenced the political development of Tibet, especially regarding the selection of a new Dalai Lama.

Propitiating such deities as Tsiu Marpo recreates one's environment as a realm of sacrality in which these deities can act. This reenvisioned world can then be altered by the power of protector deities for the benefit of those individuals or institutions that propitiate their assistance. While the lay and monastic communities have different goals, with the latter being more soteriologically oriented, both live within *samsāra*. As such, protector deities are the common element shared by these communities and utilized by both for similar endeavors.

Deity Mobility

I mentioned in the introduction the possibility of deity mobility. Given the fluid nature of the divine categories, it is possible for a deity who—in accordance with the Buddhist scheme of things—has accrued enough merit over time to warrant a promotion to a higher and more powerful class. Since deities have gone from malicious demon to protector deity, so too can they eventually become transcendental and perhaps even tutelary deities. This mobility does not

necessarily exist through time alone. A number of scholarly works have noted how deities are viewed as belonging to different categories in different lineages. This distinction seems to exist primarily along sectarian lines. De Nebesky-Wojkowitz explains that a group of deities called "the five long life sisters" (*tshe ring mched lnga*) are considered worldly deities according to the Geluk sect, but are transcendental deities according to the Nyingma and Kagyü.²⁴⁷ Likewise, the deity Dorjé Shukden is considered by some, namely the followers of his ritual cult, to be a protector deity who will one day take Peihar's place as the leader of the worldly deities. Peihar, in turn, will become a transcendental deity.²⁴⁸ Nonetheless, Peihar's current importance still differs among the sects, being most primary to the Geluk sect for reasons explored in the last chapter.²⁴⁹ Therefore, the size of a deity's bank of merit is interpreted differently between the various sects.

Sophie Day conceives of this mobility as a historical evolution in the community's attitude towards a deity. Being that a protector deity is initially malicious, even after subjugation they are still not wholly trusted. This is observable in the constant necessity to renew the vows of a deity during ritual performances as well as in oracle trances, where audience members express trepidation when in the presence of such an embodied deity. As with any process of gradual assimilation, this suspicion wanes over time. As a deity continues to prove his worth in the success of ritual services and oracular advice, he accrues merit and is eventually trusted as a supreme and reliable guardian of the Buddhist teachings and the community.²⁵⁰ Once he has achieved a certain wealth of merit, he progresses to the transcendental realms.

This mobility is also recognized in other Buddhist traditions—notably the practice of Theravāda Buddhism in Sri Lanka. Richard Gombrich and Gananath Obeyesekere, in their study on religious transformation in Sri Lanka, provide a particularly cogent example of a deity's climb up the divine hierarchy. The deity Hūniyam was traditionally a demon (Sin. *yakā*) and began his advance slowly by starting out as a protector of exorcists. Eventually, he grew in urban importance and developed a following that promoted him to the status of godling (Sin. *dēvatā*). Once temple shrines were constructed for him as centers where devotees made offerings, he shed his demon heritage and became a full god (Sin. *deviyō*). In Sri Lanka, a deity can grow too popular, to a point where he is unable to fulfill the pragmatic requests—success, job promotions, family equanimity—of all their devotees. Instead of being viewed negatively, it

²⁴⁷ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 177. Havnevik (2002, p. 273) also cites this contrast.

²⁴⁸ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 134.

²⁴⁹ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 94.

²⁵⁰ See Day 1990, pp. 216-218; Havnevik 2002, p. 282; and de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 5.

is at this point that such deities are considered to have traveled beyond worldly concerns and become transcendental deities.²⁵¹ Perhaps this promotion occurs in a fashion similar to that of Tibetan worldly deities.

Theravādin scholars, such as Stanley Tambiah for Thailand and Melford Spiro for Myanmar, have devised a three-tiered system of orientation that illustrates the multiple levels of motivation found within these Buddhist societies. Geoffrey Samuel is particularly effective at applying this system to Tibetan Buddhism, and it becomes a key organizing method in his book *Civilized Shaman: Buddhism in Tibetan Societies*. These three orientations are as follows:

1. Pragmatic Orientation, referring to immediate this-worldly concerns. This orientation involves interaction with local deities through ritual performances.
2. Karma Orientation, referring to *saṃsāra* and the consequences of birth, death, and rebirth. This orientation involves concern for one's karma and the influence of karma upon one's rebirths.
3. Bodhi Orientation, referring to the ultimate pursuit of enlightenment and liberation from the karmic strictures of *saṃsāra*. This is primarily the purview of the monastic community as well as non-monastic *yogic* practitioners.²⁵²

As Samuel further explains, this system relates to the complex relationship between the Buddhist community and the multiple levels of deities. For those involved with the pragmatic orientation, being primarily lay men and women, they propitiate protector deities to protect them from malevolent demons and enemies, and to ensure auspicious tidings. These acts make life more bearable from day to day and provide individuals with a degree of control over their immediate environment. For those involved in the karma orientation, perhaps more spiritually-minded lay individuals and low-level monks, offerings are made to transcendental deities in order to accrue merit. Monastic individuals will also perform ritual services for merit. Such acts of good works and building merit are necessary while on the path toward enlightenment. For those involved in the bodhi orientation, referring to monastic practitioners and high lamas, tutelary deities are primarily engaged for religious practice and deity *yoga*. Once a monk or lama has reached an advanced degree of learning and contemplation, he is aware of reality more on the level of ultimate truth rather than relative truth. As such, all deities are merely illusions, mental

²⁵¹ See Gombrich and Obeyesekere 1988, pp. 112-132.

²⁵² See Samuel 1993, pp. 24-27.

constructs, and the protector deities are simply wrathful aspects of higher *tantric* forces that pervade the world.

Tangentially, I disagree with Samuel's assessment of the attitudes that exist toward deities from the karma orientation. He claims that individuals along this orientation consider involvement with deities a waste of time, to be avoided at all costs along with the otherworldly concerns of the pragmatic orientation.²⁵³ However, he seems to be confusing practice with belief. Considering the ubiquity of ritual in Tibetan Buddhism, especially towards merit-building, it seems more that, while persons operating from the karma orientation consider worldly affairs transient—wishing to devote their energy toward the benefits of future rebirth and eventual enlightenment—they realize that merit is still to be accrued through communion with deities and otherworldly elements. Samuel appears to be drawing a stronger line between *samsāric* and *nirvaṇic* motivations than actually exists within the *tantric* understanding of cosmology. I think this also suggests the limitations of this three-tier system when applied to the Tibetan religious milieu. The layers of this system are much more fluid within society, where individuals, like gods, can migrate between orientations and alter self-representation in a lifetime.

This system can be applied more strongly to the classes of deities discussed in the introduction. The attitudes of Tibetan Buddhists—both lay and monastic—toward deities exist on multiple levels simultaneously, depending on the orientation of the individual. Deities pervade all levels of practice in Tibetan Buddhism; their versatility in practice allows them to fulfill numerous goals depending on one's intentions. This multiplicity of perception relates back to deity mobility, which can be considered an institutionalized system that recognizes these simultaneously existing perceptions. Regarding Tsiu Marpo, he is primarily considered a worldly deity and there is no documentation to suggest otherwise. However, there is a possibility that he is also perceived as a tutelary deity in some lineages. There is a point in *The Warlord's Tantra* where Tsiu Marpo's previous incarnation as a monk is considered a manifestation of Avalokiteśvara.²⁵⁴ Also, the Drikung ('Bri gung) Kagyü subsect may perceive Tsiu Marpo as a transcendental deity.²⁵⁵ However, the former speculation is too ambiguous and the latter is not yet substantiated by research. There is also no textual mention of him being a transcendental deity, although, considering his intense utility within the world, this seems highly

²⁵³ See Samuel 1993, p. 174.

²⁵⁴ See Appendix A, p. 159 n.339.

²⁵⁵ Personal correspondence with Douglas Duckworth, February 2006.

unlikely anyway. As the information provided in this study strongly suggests, it is suitable to place Tsiu Marpo firmly in the class of worldly deities for now.

Further Research

This study is in many ways a preliminary step toward a much grander project. In the introduction, I explained that my primary methodological approach was synchronic rather than diachronic. Admittedly, this has been due in part to the limited historical resources available to me during the course of my research. A complete picture of Tsiu Marpo would require a fuller understanding of his evolution in Tibetan history, as suggested in chapter 2. From the meager sources that I do have and that have been mentioned in the course of this study, Tsiu Marpo was probably a minor local deity who grew in prominence around the early sixteenth century. He was perhaps initially a member in Pehar's retinue. For further research along this line, I offer a number of suggestions.

There is another more ambiguous deity whose name surfaces a number of times in the study of Tsiu Marpo and Pehar; this deity's name is Yangleber (Yang le ber). De Nebesky-Wojkowitz describes this deity as being iconographically situated in front of Mönbu Putra (Mon bu pu tra), the leader of Pehar's mount:

In front of this deity resides the *mahā-yakṣa* [great violence demon], the *srog bdag Yang le ber* [life lord Yangleber]; he is red in colour, radiating the light of a thousand suns, and his appearance is wrathful. He lifts the flesh, blood, and the "life-spirit" of enemies to his mouth. Sometimes, his upper teeth are pressed against his lower lip, and his forehead and eyebrows are angrily contorted. He wears a cuirass and a helmet of leather. With his right hand he thrusts a red lance at the enemies, and with his left hand he brandishes the snare of the *btsan*. He rides a horse possessing the speed of wind, which has a saddle and bridle of jewels and is adorned with a head-ornament of silk.²⁵⁶

Aside from the general conventions used here to describe a might demon, this iconographic depiction is remarkably parallel to Tsiu Marpo's descriptions discussed in chapter 2.

²⁵⁶ De Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 108.

Similarly, Gibson discusses a deity who is named Yangneber [Yang ne ber]. This deity primarily belongs to the pantheon of the Bön religion in Tibet, which has not been a focus of this discussion. Deriving from a twelfth-century text, Gibson describes Yangneber as a Bön might demon who later became associated with Samyé. Yangneber and Tsiu Marpo have similar origin stories as well, both having been princes of Khotan.²⁵⁷ Regardless of the minute variation between the names "Yangleber" and "Yangneber," I believe they are the same deity, with the former being the Buddhist variant and the latter maintained in the Bön tradition. A closer examination of might demons as they are perceived and shared between Buddhist and Bön textual lineages would further aid in this investigation.

Bellezza, in his work on oracles and Bön texts, further explores the seven riders (*rol pa skya bdun*) discussed in chapter 2. He provides a full translation and transliteration of a text entitled *The Method of Propitiation of the Petition of the Great Violence Demon Dharma Protector (Chos skyong gnod sbyin chen po 'i gsol kha 'i sgrub thabs)*.²⁵⁸ The content of this text is very similar to the iconographic representations found in *The Warlord's Tantra* and the ritual structure of *The Perfect Feast Petition Offering*. However, it provides something new in that it acknowledges and lists Tsiu Marpo's multiple names:

You are one man with many names. In the center of bSam-yas, Slob-dpon padma 'byung-gnas [Padmasambhava] gave you a name. You were called gNod-sbyin chen-po rtsi-dmar [Nöjin Chenpo Tsimar]. At Ra-ba 'jigs [Rawajik], the Bon-po sTag-la me 'bar [Bön practitioner Takla Mebar] gave you a name. You were called Lha-btsan dgra-lha rgyal-po [Lhatsen Dralha Gyelpo]. At sTod mnga' ris [Tö Ngari], the *bodhisattva* Zla-ba rgyal-mtshan [Dawa Gyeltsen] gave you a name. You were called gNod-sbyin rgyal-po yang-le-ber [Nöjin Gyelpo Yangleber].²⁵⁹

This text directly associates Yangleber with Tsiu Marpo, recognizing the multiple names that can be attributed to a single deity. However, I believe Bellezza is mistaken in stating that this figure is Pehar.²⁶⁰ Along with everything so far encountered in this study, another text distinctly considers these deities as separate. This text is a nineteenth-century Tibetan catalog (*dkar chag*)

²⁵⁷ See Gibson 1991, pp. 193-207.

²⁵⁸ See Bellezza 2005, pp. 287-302.

²⁵⁹ Bellezza 2005, p. 291.

²⁶⁰ See Bellezza 2005, p. 291 n. 372.

of Samyé monastery.²⁶¹ Illustrations of three major deities are provided at the beginning of this text. These deities are Tendang Chökor Kyongdzé Trinlégyel (Bstan dang chos 'khor skyong mdzad 'phrin las rgyal), whose depiction is iconographically identical to Pehar's; Sisum Sokwuk Kamsöl Shinjétsö (Srid gsum srog dbugs kham gsol gshin rje'i gtso), also simply called Shinjé Gyelpo (Gshin rje'i rgyal po);²⁶² and Dranying Marjin Sokdak Yangleber (Dgra snying dmar 'byin srog bdag yang le ber), who looks exactly like Tsiu Marpo. One final source is the picture used as a frontispiece to this study (Figure 1). The translation provided beneath the Tibetan text at the bottom also uses Yangleber as an appellation of Tsiu Marpo.²⁶³

Given these few but substantial sources of agreement, the evidence strongly suggests that Tsiu Marpo and Yangleber are one and the same. To redeem Bellezza, it is possible that his sources of information conflate Tsiu Marpo and Pehar according to the traditions from which he primarily drew. I think it is more likely that Tsiu Marpo was once a malicious demon in Pehar's entourage rather than an aspect of him; however, these two concepts may not be wholly contradictory. Given the information provided in chapter 5, a denizen in Pehar's retinue is also an emanation of him, since his entire entourage manifests from him anyway. Such simple beginnings are certainly common with Tibetan deities, and Tsiu Marpo has been known to be depicted iconographically within the train of other protector deities.²⁶⁴

This speculation may lead to further information concerning Tsiu Marpo's mythic growth through history, but yields nothing on the historical figures responsible for that growth. In this regard, two figures stand out as central to Tsiu Marpo's early history: Ngari Pañchen, the writer of *The Warlord's Tantra*, and his younger brother Lekden Dorjé. Given that *The Warlord's Tantra* is the earliest text dedicated to Tsiu Marpo, I speculate that Ngari Pañchen was instrumental in establishing his cult. His brother Lekden Dorjé also appears to have been involved in this development. Dudjom Rinpoche provides one of the few English biographies of Ngari Pañchen and explains that Lekden Dorjé is the latter's brother; Lekden Dorjé himself is only cursorily mentioned. Nonetheless, Lekden Dorjé is known to have "pacified" (*rgyud 'jam du btang ba*) Tsiu Marpo.²⁶⁵ Considering this paucity of information available in the scholarship,

²⁶¹ For a reproduction of this text see Chandra 1961. Gung Shédrawa Wangchuk Gyelpo 2000 is a Chinese publication of this text.

²⁶² See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, pp. 82-87 for more on this deity.

²⁶³ Note that the English actually says Yanglebar, a misspelling considering that the Tibetan clearly says *yang le ber*.

²⁶⁴ See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, plate 5 facing p. 145 for an image of Tsiu Marpo and Dorjé Drakden accompanying the protector deity Tsangpa Karpo (Tshangs pa dkar po; Skt. Brahmā).

²⁶⁵ See Karmay 1998b, p. 362; and Guru Trashi Ngawang Lodrö 1990, p. 540.

further exploration along this line would require translating primary materials. A strong Tibetan source to begin this exploration is Guru Trashi's history.²⁶⁶ Also, a full and competent translation of the corpus of materials relating to Tsiu Marpo's propitiation would advance this exploration.²⁶⁷

As previously explained, there is a Tibetan tradition where local malicious deities are constantly being subjugated by *tantric* practitioners and bound to a vow to protect the Buddhist teachings. Given this, it is conceivable that Tsiu Marpo was one such being, a malicious demon in Pehar's retinue, who was then pacified by Lekden Dorjé. Ngari Pañchen then discovered and composed a *terma* that retroactively situated Tsiu Marpo within the ancient mythic history of Samyé in order to legitimate his ritual practice and cult. The power of the *terma* tradition is in this ability to authenticate texts by situating them within the glory of Tibet's past and associating them with central Tibetan figures such as Padmasambhava. Also, we must recall that Tsiu Marpo, according to *The Warlord's Tantra*, is considered the protector deity of King Trisong Deutsen and his lineage. Certainly this is all speculation that presumes a given timeline and motivations. Such a hypothesis can only be confirmed by further research, starting with an examination of the Tibetan biographies of both Ngari Pañchen and Lekden Dorjé. A more intimate knowledge of Samye's history around this time would also be necessary, including any institutional hegemonic shifts affecting these individuals and this monastery. Places to begin such research would be Chandra 1961, Gung Shédrawa Wangchuk Gyelpo 2000, Ngawang Gyelpo, et al. 2005, as well as catalogs older than the sixteenth century, such as those cited by Gibson.²⁶⁸ In general, a greater understanding of Tibetan history at the time of the sixteenth century would benefit this line of study.

Regarding the further study of Tibetan deities, I think it is important that, in order to develop an approach to a field of research that is still nascent, one should observe how such research was conducted and expanded in other areas of study that have already been well-developed. We saw above how parallels have been drawn between Tibetan and Sri Lankan societies. I believe this direction is fruitful and that further connections could be made between

²⁶⁶ See Guru Trashi Ngawang Lodrö 1990, pp. 531-537; Dudjom 2002, pp. 805-808; and Bradburn, et al. 1995, pp. 207-208 for biographies of Ngari Pañchen. Also see Ngari Pañchen Pema Wangyi Gyalpo 1996. See Guru Trashi Ngawang Lodrö 1990, pp. 537-541; and Bradburn, et al. 1995, pp. 218-219 for a biography of Lekden Dorjé.

²⁶⁷ See Ngari Pañchen Padma Wangyel 1985. This text is an *umé (dbu med)* edition of *The Warlord's Tantra* along with the other *termas* by Ngari Pañchen related to Tsiu Marpo and included in *The Great Treasury of Termas*. This collection also includes supplementary ritual materials composed by Lelung Jédzung Zhepé Dorjé.

²⁶⁸ See Gibson 1991, p. 201 n.45.

Chinese and Japanese deity cults. As Japanese Buddhist scholarship suggests, early indigenous spirit (Jap. *kami*) cults show a great deal of similarity to Tibet in their eventual assimilation of deities into Buddhist temple liturgical practices. Indeed, there appear to be at least superficial similarities in the evolution of seventh- and eighth-century *kami* temple-shrine complexes in Japan and the mythographic subjugation and conversion of Tibetan indigenous deities. Japanese scholars have developed a methodological exploration of this combinatory paradigm (Jap. *honji suijaku*), which may provide inspiration for developing an equally informative methodological approach to Tibetan indigenous deities. For a preliminary investigation into such approaches, I recommend *Buddhas and Kami in Japan: Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm*, a collection of articles on various approaches to deity cult studies in Japan edited by Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli.²⁶⁹

Although Tibetan protector deities like Tsiu Marpo are ahistorical, they are essential in the history of individuals and institutions. Perhaps it is more appropriate to say that they are transhistorical, meaning that Tibetan deities exist across history, available to perform services at all moments and places. Their own histories are forever changing, altering according to their popularity and utility. Because of this, a deity like Tsiu Marpo can never be pinned down to a single narrative; he is involved in a process of narratives that connect with Tibetan mythic history and sacred landscape, strengthening the intersections that exist between them. Furthermore, because his services are pragmatic, Tsiu Marpo accommodates the needs of the lay and monastic communities on multiple levels simultaneously, securing the ties between them. The careers of protector deities like Tsiu Marpo are important to study because, as a cohesive element in Tibetan religion, ritual, and society, they are in many ways one of the most central elements of Tibetan Buddhism.

²⁶⁹ See Teeuwen and Rambelli 2003.

APPENDICES

The appendices consist of the four major Tibetan sources translated and utilized in this study, followed by the texts in the original Tibetan. Appendix A is a full translation of *The Warlord's Tantra with Accompanying Sādhana*s (*Dmag dpon gyi rgyud sgrub thabs dang bcas pa*) written by Ngari Pañchen with annotations by Chokyur Lingpa. The pages of this text follow the numerical system. In the accompanying Tibetan text, Chokyur Lingpa's annotations are signified by Tibetan parentheses. The footnotes will include my notations as well as Chokyur Lingpa's annotations, the latter distinguished by italics. Occasionally, Chokyur Lingpa inserted his annotations within the continuum of the text itself; these intertextual annotations will be within the text, italicized and surrounded by brackets. As a final note, though Chokyur Lingpa's annotations were meant to illuminate the text, they just as often occlude it.

Appendix B is a full translation of *The Perfect Feast Petition Offering for Tsiu Marpo, King of the Violence Demons and War Gods* (*Gnod sbyin dgra lha'i rgyal po tsi'u dmar po la gsol mchod rdzogs ldan dga' ston*) written by the third Pañchen Lama Lozang Penden Yeshé. The pages of this text follow the folio system.

Appendix C is a full translation of the short prayer to Tsiu Marpo found within *The Lightning Garland of Quick Amending and Restoring Liturgies for the Oath-bound Dharma Protectors of the Subjugating and Wrathful Lands that Agitate the Mind* (*Bsam lcog dbang drag gling gi dam can chos srung rnam kyī bskang gso myur mgyogs glog gi phreng ba*); the author is unknown. The pages of this text follow the numerical system.

Appendix D consists of fragments in the section concerning Tsiu Marpo within *The Unprecedented Elegant Explanations Describing Mere Portions of the Hagiographies of the Ocean of Oath-bound Guardians of the Teachings* (*Dam can bstan srung rgya mtsho'i rnam par thar pa cha shas tsam brjod pa sngon med legs bshad*) written by Lelung Jédrung Zhepé Dorjé. I include only fragments pertinent to this study so as not to repeat the redundancy of information found within the whole text. The pages of this text follow the numerical system.

Given the esoteric nature and obscure ritual terminology found in these texts, especially *The Warlord's Tantra*, these translations are imperfect. Some segments are ambiguous and would even require the aid of adept Tibetan practitioners to illuminate their meaning. Thus, these translations are as accurate as they can be for the moment and anticipate future clarification.

APPENDIX A

The Warlord's *Tantra* with Accompanying *Sādhanas*

Title Page (299)

Part I: The Warlord's *Tantra* (300-312.3)

The Seven Chapters of Pudri Marpo's Heart *Tantra* (300-312.3)

Chapter 1: Introduction (300-301.6)

Chapter 2: Lineage (301.6-305.4)

Chapter 3: Ritual Materials and Preparation (305.4-307.1)

Chapter 4: *Mantra* (307.1-308.2)

Chapter 5: Characteristics and Stages of Approach and Accomplishment (308.2-309.4)

Chapter 6: Essential View and Conduct (309.4-310.5)

Chapter 7: Transmission (310.5-312.2)

Colophon (312.2-312.3)

Part II: Accompanying *Sādhanas* (312.3-332)

A. Preliminaries

1. Sending Forth the Dogs of the Seven Might Demon Attendants (312.3-314.3)

2. Drawing the Circle of Protection (314.3-315.2)

B. The Great Violence Demon Accomplishment Cycle based on the Outer Propitiations (315.2-320.1)

1. a. Introduction: The Four Scrolls (315.2-315.4)

b. First Stage: [Summon] by means of the outer offerings (315.4-315.6)

2. Second Stage: [Summon] by means of the inner cane whip (315.6-316.4)

3. Third Stage: [Summon] by means of secret life stone and life wheel (316.4-317.3)

4. a. Fourth Stage: [Summon] by means of the ultimate red spear lasso (317.3-318.3)

b. Secret Text (318.3-319.6)

Colophon (319.6-320.1)

C. *Sādhana* of Violence Demon Offerings (320.1-322.6)

D. Violence Demon Invocation and History (322.6-328.5)

E. *Terma* Entrusting the Warlord's Life-energy to Tamdrin (328.5-332)

Title Page (299)

[299] Thus called, "The Warlord's *Tantra* with accompanying liturgy." SAMAYA.
The seven-chaptered heart *tantra* of the Red-razored One.

Part I: The Warlord's *Tantra* (300-312.3)

The Seven Chapters of Pudri Marpo's Heart *Tantra* (300-312.3)

Chapter 1: Introduction (300.1-301.6)

[300] In Sanskrit:²⁷⁰ "Yakṣarājasirighrivacittatantra."²⁷¹ In the Tibetan language: "Heart *tantra* of the Red-razored One, king of the violence demons." Homage to the king of glorious power!²⁷² Thus have I heard:²⁷³ at one time in the pure realm of the Unsurpassed that reveals magical emanations;²⁷⁴ in an expanse of a blazing flame heap that represents malicious anger, amid an expanse of turbulent waves that represent lust; within a *maṇḍala* which is a blazing²⁷⁵ dark-red triangle, the blessed one,²⁷⁶ glorious king Tamdrin himself, [recites] his *mantra* in order to cultivate meditative stabilization,²⁷⁷ which subjugates the three realms.²⁷⁸ Then, at that time, he resided, surrounded by the retinue that emanates in the state of the innate nature of the afflictive emotions and five poisons,²⁷⁹ the assembly of haughty ones—the obstacle demons,²⁸⁰ the savage demons,²⁸¹ the might demons,²⁸² the conqueror demons, the skeleton [dancers], the violence demons,²⁸³ and inconceivable malicious ones. From that, various illnesses arise by means of their ferocity, weapons, breath, and such; they are on the verge of destroying²⁸⁴ all the

²⁷⁰ *for the sake of authenticity.*

²⁷¹ *along with the secret signs.*

²⁷² *the teacher.*

²⁷³ *the requester.*

²⁷⁴ *to the disciples.*

²⁷⁵ *a powerful.*

²⁷⁶ Skt. Bhagavan.

²⁷⁷ Skt. *samādhi*.

²⁷⁸ *the garuda bird is on top of the horse's head.*

²⁷⁹ Pride (Tib. *nga rgyal*; Skt. *māna*), desire (Tib. *'dod chags*; Skt. *rāga*), anger (Tib. *zhe sdang*; Skt. *dveṣa*), jealousy (Tib. *phrag dog*; Skt. *īṣyā*), and ignorance (Tib. *gti mug*; Skt. *moha*).

²⁸⁰ *Hā nu bag shu.* Unknown.

²⁸¹ *Legs pa.*

²⁸² *the seven rider retinue.*

²⁸³ *like a heap of sesame seeds.*

²⁸⁴ *by means of arrows and weapons.*

worldly realms. [301] Then from among the retinue, the *ḍākinī* named Dorjé Dejmā²⁸⁵ rose from her seat and said this to the blessed one: "Emaho!²⁸⁶ Blessed one, powerful king, if the magical emanations of the vicious-minded haughty ones also bring about the destruction of the three existences, command [them], lord of compassion!"²⁸⁷ Thus she exhorted. The blessed one spoke: "Gods and flesh-eating demons which are the worldly haughty ones are propelled by ignorance, which is self-cognizant wisdom²⁸⁸ not arising. This ignorance is the cause of erroneous afflictive emotions²⁸⁹ [and] is the condition of the rough seed.²⁹⁰ I subjugate the *mantra* of the worldly haughty ones. HRĪḤ PADMACANDHAMAHĀKROTAHAYAGHRĪVA HULU HULU HŪṂ PHAṬ."²⁹¹ By this, the haughty ones²⁹² were wildly frightened; they [*the haughty ones, malicious beings,*²⁹³] each gave the essence of their life-forces and pledged to be guardians of the teachings. The blessed one blesses the life-force essence—the malicious, poisonous razored-one—as the glory of the slash.²⁹⁴ This is the first chapter, which is the introduction²⁹⁵ from the heart *tantra* of the king of the violence demons, the Red-razored One.²⁹⁶

Chapter 2: Lineage (301.6-305.4)

After that, the *ḍākinī* Dorjé Dejmā exhorted the blessed one with this question: [302] "Alas!²⁹⁷ Great glorious one [Tamdrin], body of power! [Concerning] these seven riders,²⁹⁸ malevolent violence demons who possess primordial wrath, power, and strength; first, what are the causes and conditions of their powerful activities? [Second,] by what antidote were they tamed?" The god of great glory replied, "[Concerning] these seven riders,²⁹⁹ malevolent violence demons:

²⁸⁵ "Bliss-producing Vajra Woman."

²⁸⁶ An exclamation of wonder and amazement.

²⁸⁷ *the time of taming having come.*

²⁸⁸ *ultimate.*

²⁸⁹ *incorrect self-perception.*

²⁹⁰ This refers to karmic tendencies.

²⁹¹ *the fierce root mantra.* The combination of the syllable PHA, "gathering means," and the letter Ṭ, "cutting knowledge," creates the syllable of knowledge and means.

²⁹² *completely.*

²⁹³ *who are the seven emanating riders.*

²⁹⁴ Tib. *reg chod.*

²⁹⁵ Read as *gleng gzhi.*

²⁹⁶ *in fact, he is the continuum of the secret one.*

²⁹⁷ *she entreated.*

²⁹⁸ *manifested might demons.*

²⁹⁹ *manifested might demons.*

previously, in the age of perfection,³⁰⁰ at the time when Kaśyapa's teachings were about to decline, in the northern region of the southern continent Jambudvīpa, in a place³⁰¹ of jeweled joy and happiness, [there was] the father, Khotan lord Sangwa,³⁰² the mother, known as Utpalgyen, and the son, Khotan prince Chorwa. Faith having arisen in his mind,³⁰³ that son received *pratimokṣa* vows as the monk Chandrabhadra.³⁰⁴ Having dwelled in a forest, in a city of that region, there was a daughter of King Dharmasrī.³⁰⁵ That princess was called Majin.³⁰⁶ She was abiding within a pleasant bathing pool³⁰⁷ and was attacked by a malevolent poisonous snake.³⁰⁸ [In order that] her condition did not become severe, Chorwa applied the medicine to her body.³⁰⁹ There, two malicious ministers who delighted in sexual acts saw this. [303] They proclaimed this evil action to the lord.³¹⁰ The king became angry and summoned his servants and attendants. They³¹¹ departed in order to kill the monk. Then the princess related the story of what had happened.³¹² The ministers and retinue did not listen to her words. Because of this, with a malicious mind, she made an evil prayer.³¹³ Leaping³¹⁴ into an abyss,³¹⁵ she committed suicide. Then the monk heard that. Upon being incited,³¹⁶ he fled, riding the golden powerful one.³¹⁷ Due to malicious, evil intentions, he³¹⁸ regressed in his practice. He went toward the Himālayas³¹⁹ and in the kingdom of that king,³²⁰ the monk killed³²¹ the men and raped the

³⁰⁰ *which has past.* (Tib. *rdzogs ldan*; Skt. *kṛtayuga*). This is the first of four eras in the Indo-Tibetan cosmological timeline. The three that follow are the *gnyis ldan*, *sum ldan*, *rtsod ldan* (ages possessing half virtue, a third virtue, and strife, respectively).

³⁰¹ *in Li yul Lcang ra smug po*; "Khotan, the dark willow grove."

³⁰² *king of Khotan.*

³⁰³ *he thought he would practice the Dharma.*

³⁰⁴ "Good Moon."

³⁰⁵ *called Glory of the Dharma.*

³⁰⁶ *she was endowed with a beautiful form.*

³⁰⁷ *in order to bathe.*

³⁰⁸ *having come forth from the thick of the forest.*

³⁰⁹ *for fear of it spreading.*

³¹⁰ *saying, "a rough degenerate who is a jealous monk is engaging in sexual intercourse with the princess!"*

³¹¹ *soldiers.*

³¹² [this she told] *to her father, which was that a poisonous snake emerged [and the monk] applied medicinal deer musk.*

³¹³ *"I will be reborn into existence as the mother of Chorwa and I will become your executioner."* The actual Tibetan is as follows: *ra li sras 'phyor pa'i yum srid du skyes la khyed kyi gshed por gyur*. The *ra* which begins this redaction is difficult to decipher and thus left untranslated here; it may refer to Chorwa's clan.

³¹⁴ *praying and*

³¹⁵ *she jumped from a rocky crag.*

³¹⁶ *by a friend.*

³¹⁷ *a horse.*

³¹⁸ *the noble one.*

³¹⁹ *the source of lake Manasarovar.*

³²⁰ *the dominion of Dharmasrī.*

women. Then, one day³²² the king's army exhorted a curse.³²³ Chorwa³²⁴ was murdered by a knife. He prayed with his misguided mind,³²⁵ "In the latter part of this eon,³²⁶ I will become a ferocious, vicious violence demon. May I become the executioner³²⁷ of all beings! [304] Exclaiming that, he, in an instant, at Chongri Zangtso³²⁸ in the western direction, was born in a red egg of blood from the collection of a fierce, malicious mind,³²⁹ from the red-faced violence demon, daughter of the might demon lord Dawa Tökar,³³⁰ and from the fiercely afflicted savage demon lord Lekpa. Within the internal power of the burst egg,³³¹ the malicious violence demon³³² Tsiu Mar³³³ was born. By means of his great malicious mind of attachment and hatred,³³⁴ six malicious violence demons formed in his body: (1) the black obstacle might demon³³⁵ formed in his head; (2) the divine might demon³³⁶ formed in his white bones; (3) the rock might demon³³⁷ formed in his heat and radiance; (4) the lightning power, knife might demon³³⁸ formed in his blood; (5) the serpentine might demon³³⁹ formed in his pus; and (6) the defiling might demon³⁴⁰ formed purely red in his messy³⁴¹ rotten garments of flesh. Having become associated with locations on the red mountains and plains,³⁴² Tsiu Marpo slaughtered everyone on the vast mountains and plains. He consumed as nourishment the life-force³⁴³ of the three worlds. He brought ruin to the three realms. By the power of his previous connection with

³²¹ *poisoned.*

³²² *the khotan prince thought, "I am ashamed!" and fled.*

³²³ *the mountains were stripped by many.*

³²⁴ *by many weapons.*

³²⁵ *a fierce rage arose at the moment of death.*

³²⁶ *which is only that of the teachings of Śākyamuni.*

³²⁷ *of the lords and ministers of the king.*

³²⁸ "Holding Mountain, Copper Lake."

³²⁹ *tormented by attachment.*

³³⁰ "White Skull Moon."

³³¹ *in the internal power of the teeming ocean of flesh-eating demons.*

³³² *grandfather of all mighty demons.*

³³³ *the powerful lord.*

³³⁴ *due to his sincere angered prayer.* Note: Perhaps *drang po*, "sincere" is a misspelling of *drag po*, "intense, fierce."

³³⁵ *of the black-headed heron.*

³³⁶ *of the face and body.*

³³⁷ *of the red highlands.*

³³⁸ *unhindered.* Here *ma thog* is being read as *thogs med*.

³³⁹ *who was previously a high king.*

³⁴⁰ *who is nevertheless permanent.*

³⁴¹ Here I am treating *nyal nyol* tentatively as a misspelling of *nyal nyil*, which means "matted, messy."

³⁴² *all sentient beings are subdued by these [demons], they reside individually as pervading all realms.*

³⁴³ *of all sentient beings.*

compassion, Avalokiteśvara,³⁴⁴ the body of powerful emanation, roared magnificent, angry words of rage. [305] The haughty one along with his retinue³⁴⁵ came into his presence and said: "Alas! Great glorious one, god of gods, we along with our retinue listen to the command of the unconcealed heroic one. Because we offer this essence of our life-force,³⁴⁶ present to us due karma and food." They³⁴⁷ offered their life-force essence. Their karma that was due was the entrustment to protect the Buddha's teachings. Their food that was due was the reliefment of their life-force [by] flesh and blood.³⁴⁸ Due to previous karma³⁴⁹ and habitual tendencies, [Tsiu Marpo] is a great obstacle demon of everyone in the royal class, there are seven attendant riders, and his sister is the goddess³⁵⁰ sister Ekajāti;³⁵¹ so it is said. This is the second chapter, which reveals the birth lineage from the heart *tantra* of the red violence demon.

Chapter 3: Ritual Materials and Preparation (305.4-307.1)

Following that, the *dākinī* invoked with these words: "Alas! Great glorious one, body of power, what is the process of accomplishing³⁵² the seven attendant riders who are malicious, these war gods of all *yoga*?" The blessed one replied: "Regarding the *sādhana* of the malicious violence demons, the *mantra* practitioner endowed with the view and conduct should perform the propitiation of powerful Tamdrin. At a place suitable for the malevolent might demons³⁵³ of the red rock³⁵⁴ to abide, at the end of the fierce planet³⁵⁵ and star, make the *maṇḍala* at the place of the might demon abode. [306] Smear the ledge of a pit with blood. Mix³⁵⁶ the defilements in the heart's blood of a man and horse that died by a knife and make the effigy. Posit the black family name³⁵⁷ [and] calendar.³⁵⁸ Bind the might demon with a red cord.³⁵⁹ [Compose

³⁴⁴ because that master monk is Avalokiteśvara.

³⁴⁵ the seven riders.

³⁴⁶ individual.

³⁴⁷ for protection. Skt. *rakṣa rakṣa*.

³⁴⁸ which are the destroyed teachings.

³⁴⁹ of being initially killed by the king.

³⁵⁰ because of the initial prayers of the princess.

³⁵¹ "One-eyed Woman."

³⁵² This is understood as summoning the deities for purposes of propitiation.

³⁵³ the elders.

³⁵⁴ The location of the temple complex of Samyé.

³⁵⁵ *Red Eye on the rise*. This is in reference to Tuesday and the planet Mars; this segment seems to be referring to an astrologically appropriate time.

³⁵⁶ and words.

³⁵⁷ by means of a blood knife.

effigies³⁶⁰ from] red earth³⁶¹ of the three highest³⁶² and barley flour, which endows [the might demon] with the manner of grasping³⁶³ and killing.³⁶⁴ On top of a high red mansion, on the red arrow of a might demon the shape of a red arrow, hang red silk, slashed skin, and tiger skin. Pour various jewels, grains, medicine, and incense into a silk brocade and tie it. Within a vessel of brass or copper make barley out of the blood of a *bhedhe*³⁶⁵ [and] put in three hearts which are apprehended³⁶⁶ and pour in the six excellent [substances].³⁶⁷ Pour various grains and foods in a genuine red Chinese pot scrubbed with precious jewels.³⁶⁸ One should prepare the seven red food offerings of the might demons and decorate them with the intended flesh and blood. Make the effigy which is crushed³⁶⁹ and proffered³⁷⁰ in the heart and scapula of red leather. On the highest story of the mansion of accomplishment, smear copper[-colored] salted beef³⁷¹ with vermilion. The [effigy] is the outer support of the malicious violence demons."³⁷² [307] Thus he spoke. This is the third chapter, which expounds the materials and ritual preparations from the heart *tantra* of the king of the violence demons, the Red-razored One.

Chapter 4 (307.1-308.2)

Then recite this series of secret *mantras*: "OM PADMACANDHAMAHĀKRODHA-HAYAGRĪVA HULU HULU HŪṀ PHAṬ. OM RAKṢA RAKṢA *snying la* HŪṀ HŪṀ. ŚUYAGRIVA TRAM ŚULA *hring hring* JAḤ JAḤ. OM *mug sha mug sha*. JA CITTA CITTA *sod. lcebs thib sod. snying khrag dun dun. btsan* JA LAYA. *sha* HRŪṀ *srog* LAYA.

³⁵⁸ *inside the effigy*. Referring to the sixty-year Tibetan calendrical cycle.

³⁵⁹ *a band of colored wool*.

³⁶⁰ As the next three annotations suggest, I suspect this refers to the dough horse mount and weapons that complete the might demon effigy.

³⁶¹ *smearred with colored powder*.

³⁶² Obscure.

³⁶³ *done by the red horse of the might demons*.

³⁶⁴ *by the weapon*.

³⁶⁵ *Made orange* [from] *red wheat, orange meat, and red stone* [mixed with] *a knife*; obscure. This possibly refers to a vow-breaker; from the sanskrit *bheda*, "to break, cleave."

³⁶⁶ *of sheep*.

³⁶⁷ Bamboo pitch (*cu gang*), saffron (*gur gum*), clove (*li shi*), nutmeg (*dza ti*), cardamon (*sug smel*), and Chinese cardamom (*ka ko la*).

³⁶⁸ *the five precious jewels*. Gold, silver, turquoise, coral, and pearl.

³⁶⁹ *the crushed effigy*.

³⁷⁰ *the proffered effigy*.

³⁷¹ *designated as the red banner*.

³⁷² *having propitiated and slayed, by the means of the sign, the propitiation is proffered*.

sha HRŪM *dbugs* LAYA. *myur* TRILA *bhyo bhyo*. YATRI YATRI THUM THUM *rbad*. CATRI CATRI *rbad*. CALAYAM CALAYAM *rbad*. JALAYA JALAYA *rbad*. YAM LAM RAM RAM KHAM KHAM LAM LAM. TRIYA TRIYA ŚAYA JALA. *snying la bhyo thun bhyo*. OM *srog la* RULU RULU *sha*. *bla sha bla sha* PHAṬ. *blabs habs mugs ya rbad*. OM KĀYAVAJRACARATHANG BĀGAVAJRACARATHANG CITTAVAJRACARATHA RA LAM LAM *srog rtsal khrag thibs*. KHAM KHAM *snying la thum ril*. 'di phur pa spu gri'i *gnad gcod*. RAM RAM *shag rbad*. YAM YAM NRĪ *srog bring bring MĀRA ya rbad*." [308] When one inhales inward, one's own life force is interrupted. [When] one expels outward, they harm all beings. Therefore, offer this as the basis of the effigy. This is the fourth chapter, which is the *mantra* from the *tantra* of the great king of the violence demons, the Red-razored One.

Translation: "OM lotus moon,³⁷³ great wrathful Tamdrin alas alas HŪM PHAṬ. OM on the hearts³⁷⁴ of the man-eating demons HŪM HŪM. The hard single spear of Śuyagrīva³⁷⁵ JAḤ JAḤ. OM impure meat.³⁷⁶ JA slay the heart. Slay those gathered to kill themselves. The heart's blood *dun dun*.³⁷⁷ Might demons JA LAYA. Cut the flesh and life-energy LAYA. Cut the flesh and life-breath LAYA. [Say] three times quickly *bhyo! bhyo!* Where³⁷⁸ you release the parcel, there will you release. Release into the moving river [or] release into equal water. Wind, earth, fire, water, earth. TRIYA TRIYA resting water. *Bhyo* on the heart. *Bhyo* in meditation. OM³⁷⁹ in the life-energy RULU RULU flesh. Life-force and flesh PHAṬ. Release for advice, greed, and hunger. OM field of body VAJRA action, field of BĀGA³⁸⁰ VAJRA action, field of heart VAJRA action. The earth is the blood that fills the life-essence.³⁸¹ The water³⁸² is the entire sheath on the heart. This essence is cut by the razor dagger. The fire³⁸³ releases the house. The wind³⁸⁴ is the unsteady life-energy of a man released into death." [308] When one inhales inward, one's own life force is interrupted. [When] one expels outward, they harm all beings.

³⁷³ *the propitiatory deity.*

³⁷⁴ *not the principle.*

³⁷⁵ *requesting the violence demons of the retinue and such to rise.*

³⁷⁶ *Obtain.*

³⁷⁷ This is possibly an onomatopoeic representation of a heart beat.

³⁷⁸ *kill!*

³⁷⁹ *because this is the mantra which invokes the life energy, recite hundreds and hundreds [of times] this activation mantra in the morning and evening.*

³⁸⁰ Unknown. Possibly Sanskrit for "vagina" or "fortune."

³⁸¹ *because this occurs, the essence is cut by the razor.*

³⁸² *of water.*

³⁸³ *of fire.*

³⁸⁴ *of wind.*

Therefore, offer this as the basis of the effigy.³⁸⁵ This is the fourth chapter, which is the *mantra* from the *tantra* of the great king of the violence demons, the Red-razored One.

Chapter 5 (308.2-309.4)

Then the blessed one taught the stages of the approach³⁸⁶ and accomplishment and the stages of the signs: "A vow-endowed *yogic* practitioner, having first obtained the divine warmth, for twenty-one days [or] three weeks decisively performs the following. First, during the times of approach; during the day approach the god of great power,³⁸⁷ during the night invoke the life-force of the might demons. Periodically do offerings and proffer the effigy. Then, during the times of accomplishment, during the day enumerate the approach and accomplishment together, and during the night only perform the accomplishment; one should designate and summon the life-force *mantra*. [During the day] finish the blood, [which is] concentrated for nine or seven³⁸⁸ days after slaughter. [During the night] finish the arrow, [which] cuts³⁸⁹ the essence³⁹⁰ of the elements. Having finished those, throw the charmed substances, blood, and magic weapons; carry the effigy of the might demon form to the three highest.³⁹¹ Then, as for the stages of the signs; a guardian king and a horseman [endowed with] pierced leather and clanging symbols arrive at the top of a red rock as the sun³⁹² and moon³⁹³ rise; [309] blue wolves wander; these should be known as the signs³⁹⁴ of gods and men. Wild beasts that are led into battle roam the distant mountains. They destroy³⁹⁵ the castles of the enemy, seize prisoners, steal clothes and ornaments, and kill animals. These should be known as the signs of the enemy. Light and³⁹⁶ sound and shaking, and beating the door and burning the house, and shake the effigy and [fall as]

³⁸⁵ *having been instructed from the two propitiations.*

³⁸⁶ In this context, read as a synonym for *bsnyen pa*.

³⁸⁷ Possibly Tamdrin.

³⁸⁸ *the three extinguished stages of approach and accomplishment.*

³⁸⁹ *the substances in the slaughter.*

³⁹⁰ *OM KĀLAVAJRA and so forth.*

³⁹¹ Obscure.

³⁹² *on the land of people and those who do not wander.*

³⁹³ *many.*

³⁹⁴ Tib. *rtogs*; read here as a misspelling of *rtags*, in keeping with the subject of the chapter and with the pattern of signs expressed further below.

³⁹⁵ *He.*

³⁹⁶ *quaking.*

they flee, and they will expel the sound of a bridle,³⁹⁷ sound of hooves.³⁹⁸ These should be known as being the internal characteristics. The sword strikes at me, the fox barks, recite the propitiation by means of the reverse characteristics." Thus he said. This is the fifth chapter, which demonstrates the characteristics and stages of the approach and accomplishment [rites] from the heart *tantra* of the king of the violence demons, the Red-razored One.

Chapter 6 (309.4-310.5)

Then [Tamdrin] explained with proper certainty: "If the violence demon turns away from me, on woven cotton or birch paper draw three [concentric] circles and eight spokes with vermillion, resin, poison, and blood. At the center draw the five grains³⁹⁹ endowed with weapons; on the spokes write the eight fierce syllables;⁴⁰⁰ on the edge draw the weapons of the three bodies⁴⁰¹ and the quintessential vow. [Recite] the *mantra* of the wooden⁴⁰² dagger Tamdrin. Bind the body [*OM TRI HŪM PHAṬ PHAṬ*] in a rolled up red banner. If it is not suitable even by means of that, reverse the order of the essential syllables. [310] Even the violent obstacle demons, the emanating seven riders appear⁴⁰³ as manifestations which arise from me. One should know as one's own mind that ultimate non-duality is wholly perfect.

The stages of the practice and vow: abandon the flesh of the strong magical emanation;⁴⁰⁴ do not rely on the chief wooden poker;⁴⁰⁵ and do not spread out bears and tigers as mats.⁴⁰⁶ Do not conceal the sharpness⁴⁰⁷ of the sharp-pointed *mantra*. Do not obstruct the path⁴⁰⁸ with one's own anger. Do not break the arrow⁴⁰⁹ at the time of turquoise. Do not change the vital breath⁴¹⁰ which is the clearing away of symbols. Do not give up the blue vapors⁴¹¹ of *na grun*.⁴¹² Refrain

³⁹⁷ *of a horse.*

³⁹⁸ *of a horse.*

³⁹⁹ 1. Barley (*nas*), 2. rice (*'bras*), 3. wheat (*gro*), 4. peas (*sran*), and 5. millet (*so ba*).

⁴⁰⁰ *CANDAMAHAĀKRODHA.*

⁴⁰¹ *VAJRARĀJATHANG.*

⁴⁰² Teakwood; sp. *Acacia catechu*.

⁴⁰³ *being incorrect, one should know they do not exist.*

⁴⁰⁴ *hooves (Tib. bshul chags) of a red horse, meat of a donkey.*

⁴⁰⁵ *which killed the previous monk.*

⁴⁰⁶ *abandon attachment to being a son of a widow (read as yug sa ma).*

⁴⁰⁷ *do not compose a sword.*

⁴⁰⁸ *do not abandon the might demon in the land that harms the might demon.*

⁴⁰⁹ *do not kill the jackal.*

⁴¹⁰ *do not desire the crow.*

⁴¹¹ *do not give up the hearth.*

from being tardy with promises. If one does not have security, one will be unable to utilize⁴¹³ it. An unguarded vow destroys consecration. Refraining from propitiating the deity is contrary to me." Thus he said. This is the sixth chapter, which is the essential view and conduct from the heart center *tantra* of the lineage king of the violence demons, the king butcher, the Red-razored One.

Chapter 7 (310.5-312.2)

Then [Tamdrin] recited this transmitted *tantra*: "*Vajradākinīyoginīs*, the gods and spirits of the haughty worldly ones, and those assembled on the circumference, while apparent⁴¹⁴ but empty, like an illusion, they are composed by conceptual thoughts of ignorance and arrogance. [311] The objects of attachment and hatred⁴¹⁵ naturally slip away, but if the malicious violence demons, the seven riders, desire achievement because they guard the teachings, the powerful ones, confident of view, achieve the utter abandonment of compassion. If abandoning and appropriating are performed, one's own life will cease; if the [time to make] religious offerings passes,⁴¹⁶ misfortune will result. Shooting an arrow without a target⁴¹⁷ harms the retinue. Be equal to the guardian who reveals the secret *tantra*! This is the offering to the givers of harm.⁴¹⁸ The god who bestows excellence on oneself⁴¹⁹ and a thousand might demons endowed with high speed are the butchers who take the life and life-force. Thus called 'the *tantra* connected to the entirely complete.' Thus called 'the razor which cuts arising emanations; the heart which thoroughly abides in the red teaching rather than slaughter.' The guardians of the doctrine, this retinue of the word, assembled on the circumference,⁴²⁰ are entrusted to you. Having spoken, all the retinue circumambulate [him?] many times and offer praises. HŪṂ. Gyelwa Kungyi Sungchok (Rgyal ba kun gyi gsung mchog),⁴²¹ Padmé Sung (Padma'i gsung),⁴²² Dharma lord

⁴¹² Untranslatable.

⁴¹³ [this] *must be known as one's own mind*.

⁴¹⁴ *visible*.

⁴¹⁵ *the five*. 1. Desire and aggression, 2. joy and anger, 3. love and hate, 4. like and dislike, and 5. attraction and repulsion.

⁴¹⁶ *at the time of accomplishment, dedicate an empty fish as a food offering*.

⁴¹⁷ *not having an effigy*.

⁴¹⁸ *etymology* [of violence demon].

⁴¹⁹ *assistance*.

⁴²⁰ *as that which is manifest*.

⁴²¹ "Speech of all the victorious ones;" epithet of buddhas.

Amithāba, and Dorjé Chö (Rdo rje chos)⁴²³ are emanations of Avalokiteśvara. HRĪ. The body of magnificent deeds pays homage and praises the laughing horse speech of Tamdrin." Having expounded thus, all thought abides in reality itself. [312] Regarding the subject of this *tantra* itself, offer the magic syllables of the *ḍākinī* and curse the guardians of the doctrine. Having done so, treat the seven haughty riders as your support. This is the seventh chapter, which is transmitted from the heart center *tantra* of the god of the violence demons, the might demon butcher, the Razored One.

Colophon (312.2-312.3)

Thus ends the conceptualization of the might demon lineage of the king of the violence demons, Tsiu Mar,⁴²⁴ and the seven emanating riders. SAMAYA. *rgya rgya rgya*. This was revealed from a treasure [text] by the Venerable Ngari Paṅchen. May it be virtuous!

Part II: Accompanying *Sādhanas* (312.3-332)

A. Preliminaries

Sending Forth the Dogs of the Seven Might Demon Attendants (312.3-314.3)

Thus called, "sending forth the dogs of the seven might demon attendant riders."

Bhyo! The bitch Dunggok Tselmikma⁴²⁵ sends forth from the mouth the poison vapor of the planets. She quickly notices the scent of human flesh and blood. She who catches the life-breath of the enemy at dawn drinks by gulping the life-breath⁴²⁶ of the enemy. She who is the follower of the white divine might demon. Run! Run! Now run! Be incited [and] send forth insanity on the enemy! Descend at the time of the radiant lightning consort!

Bhyo! The bitch Marmo Tselmikma⁴²⁷ opens her mouth and bares fangs of copper. A fog of disease swirls from her mouth. She who receives the previous [life] and catches the breath of the enemy drinks the warm blood of a transgressor's brain. She who is the follower of the red

⁴²² "Speech of the lotus."

⁴²³ *as four aspects*. Skt. Dharmavajra.

⁴²⁴ *in fact, this is his secret name*.

⁴²⁵ "Conch Shell-colored Vermillion-eyed Woman."

⁴²⁶ Tib. *srog dbugs*.

⁴²⁷ "Red Vermillion-eyed Woman."

rock might demon. **[313]** Run! Run! Now run! Be incited [and] drink the brains of the enemy!
Descend at the time of the red bronze wolf!

Bhyo! The bitch Marnak Trakmikma⁴²⁸ gathers cloud-like poisonous vapors. Her iron teeth and claws stand out like weapons. She steals the life-force and life of the enemy at midnight. She drinks by gulping the life-force and life of the vow-violator. She who is the follower of the red serpentine might demon. Run! Run! Now run! Now run she-wolf of blood! Be incited [and] cut the lifeline of the enemy! Descend at the time of the red blood wolf!

Bhyo! The bitch Marmo Tingmikma⁴²⁹ opens her mouth, bares her fangs, and vomits warm blood. She notices the smell of blood as far as six miles away.⁴³⁰ She who cuts the next [life] and catches the breath of the enemy drinks by gulping the warm blood of the heart. She who is the follower of the red knife might demon. Run! Run! [Now run!]⁴³¹ Now run red woman who bleeds blood!⁴³² Be incited [and] drink the warm blood of the enemy! Descend at the time of the bleeding red woman!

Bhyo! The bitch Marmo Zimikma⁴³³ opens her mouth and cries out, "'O dod!"⁴³⁴ in the ten directions. A satchel of diseases is bound to her neck. She who catches the breath of the enemy in the evening gives infectious diseases to the vow-violator, the enemy. She who is the follower of the black obstacle might demon. Run! [Run! Now run!] Now run great iron she-wolf! **[314]** Be incited [and] give infectious diseases to the enemy! Descend at the time of radiant iron wolf!

⁴²⁸ "Dark Red Blood-eyed Woman."

⁴²⁹ "Red Azure-eyed Woman."

⁴³⁰ The Tibetan is actually more ambiguous concerning the distance. The word translated as six miles is *dpag tshad*, which is variously translated as an unspecified distance, a league, a mile, or about six miles. This suggests that a specific distance is not important, that the author is simply trying to convey the extreme acuteness of this deity's sense of smell.

⁴³¹ Three small lines following *rgyugs shig rgyugs shig* ("Run! Run!") act as indicators that the reader is to complete this command with how it has previously been completed, with *da rgyugs shig* (Now run!); this saves space and appears to be a common feature in ritual texts where commands and actions are often duplicated and redundant, as this section illustrates.

⁴³² Tib. *khrag 'dzag dmar mod rgyugs shig*. The Tibetan is somewhat obscure at this point. While the text reads it as *dmar mod*, based on the commands that end the previous section on Marnak Trakmikma (*khrag gi spyang mo da rgyugs shig*) and in the following sections, there's good reason to believe that the text is missing a *tsheg* and should in fact say "... *dmar mo da rgyugs shig*." I have translated the line according to this assumption. However, if the line were translated as is, it would still make a degree of sense: "Run while the red blood bleeds!" However, this does not fit previous patterns as well.

⁴³³ "Red Bright Onyx-eyed Woman."

⁴³⁴ An exclamation of grief, akin to "Alas!"

Bhyo! The bitch Marmo Zimikma⁴³⁵ opens her mouth, bares her fangs and smells blood. She gathers a cloud-like bloody mane. She who cuts the neck and catches the breath of the enemy drinks by gulping the blood of a transgressor's heart. She who is the follower of the red knife might demon. Run! [Run! Now run!] Now run great radiant woman! Be incited [and] digest the heart of the enemy! Descend at the time of the radiant red woman!

Say "Incite! Incite! Incite!" twenty one times. ŚUBHAM!⁴³⁶

Drawing the Circle of Protection (314.3-315.2)

The way of drawing the circle of protection should be done according to this drawing model of rules. Underneath the "CARATHANG"⁴³⁷ of the center, write "SAMAYA RAKṢA RAKṢA HŪṀ HŪṀ PHAṬ." You, great violence demon Tsiu Marpo, reside firmly in this support without transgressing the command of master Padma[sambhava]. Then, you accomplish the gathering of the goodness in this and all future lives of I, the yogin. And may all interdependent connections of outer, inner, and secret be spontaneously accomplished without separation from everything. Dispel adverse conditions! Establish amicable conditions! May your magic towards wrathful enemies not be small! May your expression towards harmful demons not be weak! May you accomplish without obstruction the [enlightened] actions of the four activities."⁴³⁸ And for the [wheel] spoke annotation, write "Great violence demon, do not transgress the command of master Padma[sambhava]!" [315] And on the circumference, under the "JA JAḤ AM" write the *mantra* of "KĀYAVAJRACARATHANG" and such,⁴³⁹ at the center together with the additional words. Whatever letters are not filled in, one is allowed to posit as empty. ŚUBHAM!

⁴³⁵ "Red Bright Onyx-eyed Woman."

⁴³⁶ Sanskrit for Happiness and goodness.

⁴³⁷ Sanskrit transliteration of "field of action."

⁴³⁸ 1. Pacification (*zhi ba*), 2. enrichment (*rgyas pa*), 3. magnetizing (*dbang*), and 4. wrath (*drag po*).

⁴³⁹ The complete *mantra* was provided in chapter 4 of the tantra: KĀYAVAJRACARATHANG BĀGAVAJRACARATHANG CITTAVAJRACARATHA RA LAM LAM *srog rtsal khrag thibs*.

The Great Violence Demon Accomplishment Cycle based on the Outer Propitiations (315.2-320.1)

1a. Introduction: The Four Scrolls (315.2-315.4)

Thus called, "the accomplishment cycle based on the outer propitiations to the great violence demons." SAMAYA.

[*dākinī-script*]. Homage to glorious Tamdrin! The violence demons, the seven emanating riders, give as offerings the forms of their own essential life-energies. By means of the outer propitiations, the vow-holders assemble like clouds; by means of the inner cane whip, the vow-holders follow like dogs; by means of the secret life stone and life wheel, the vow-holders are lured like children; and by means of the ultimate red spear lasso, enemies and hindering demons are completely struck down; and those are the four scrolls. These are the profound sections of the heart.

1b. First Stage: [Summon] by means of the outer offerings (315.4-315.6)

By means of the first propitiation offerings, pure golden beverages and turquoise beverages, and pure foods are blessed by the six *mantras* and six *mudras* for the image. When the haughty ones are invited and offered to, what all is necessary to complete? When the gods and those who are angry and mourning⁴⁴⁰ arise, they are complete, and they will become dearest to us.⁴⁴¹ It is profound to practice collectively. SAMAYA. *rgya rgya rgya*.

2. Second Stage: [Summon] by means of the inner cane whip (315.6-316.4)

"Regarding the second, [316] apply the cane whip in the middle of third or seventh verses with red silk or with the sap of red birch bark and red sandalwood. With the blood of a full-grown man who was killed with a sword, properly draw a life wheel. Insert into a hole a *pha wang long bu*⁴⁴² stone that has [the syllable] TRI written on it with vermillion, and tightly bind

⁴⁴⁰ Tib. *'khon yugs*.

⁴⁴¹ Tib. *snying nye ba*; "close to heart."

⁴⁴² Said to be pyrite or magnetite; a black cubic stone used in medicine; also considered a soul-stone for might demons. See Gyatso 1998, p. 70.

the opening with sealing wax. Fasten a whip cord of five-colored silk to the copper handle and set just that on the cushion. The invited violence demons are dissolved again and again; and having scattered the choicest portion and the offerings, when bound to become whatever, the vow-holders follow like dogs, and whatever deed with which they are entrusted, it will be completed without interruption." Speaking thus, one completes the second procedure of advising one's own life-energy and heart. SAMAYA. *rgya rgya rgya*.

3. Third Stage: [Summon] by means of secret life stone and life wheel (316.4-317.3)

"Homage to glorious Tamdrin! Regarding the key points of the vow-holders lured like children by means of the secret life stone; toward the west of one's practice building, there is the red land which is cultivated from the land where the might demons reside. Display the southern-facing fountain, and stir clay with red-colored water; offer the dust of the five precious things⁴⁴³ and the pleasant smell of incense. On the life-tree⁴⁴⁴ of a fortress which depends on a life-tree of cypress or yellow tree together with an arrow-length red banner on the peak, write the life stone *mantra* wheel in accordance with the secret *tantra* on red silk or red birch bark [using] a paste with the liquids of knife blood,⁴⁴⁵ vermilion, and red sandalwood. [317] In a roll of paper concealed with silk ribbon, draw drops which were obtained from a *pha wang long bu* [stone] and gold ore, and draw [the syllable] TI seven times with vermilion on the ones who lack turquoise eyes. In this regard, the vow-holders, having accepted the invitation and made offerings, recite the life and heart [*mantra*] many times and perform the consecration with the essence of dependent-arising. When this is accomplished, like a dog stuck in the womb, they are made to constantly guard the palace temple and the region." Speaking thus, one [completes] the third procedure of the essence of the oral instruction, offering the heart of the vow[-holder's] life-energy. SAMAYA. *rgya rgya rgya*.

⁴⁴³ 1. Gold (*gser*), 2. silver (*dnngul*), 3. turquoise (*gyu*), 4. coral (*byu ru*), and 5. pearl (*mu tig*).

⁴⁴⁴ The main beam of a building.

⁴⁴⁵ The blood of a person killed by a knife.

4a. Fourth Stage: [Summon] by means of the ultimate red spear lasso (317.3-318.3)

"Homage to glorious Tamdrin! Regarding the methods of the vow-violators, the enemies and hindering demons, being completely struck down by means of the red spear lasso; fasten with a copper spike a whip of bamboo, pine, or cane produced from red rock and without the tip and bottom of an arm-length iron knife; make red with knife-blood and vermillion; and offer good ornaments and calculations. Within that, write [words] derived from the life wheel and *mantra tantra* with knife blood and vermillion. I supplicate to be associated [with the deity] like the body and the shadow. Completely strike down my wrathful enemies! SAMAYA. *rgya rgya rgya*." Speak thus, and on the top of the spear write the glorious Tamdrin *mantra*. On the bottom of the spear write the three words 'bod,⁴⁴⁶ *rbad*,⁴⁴⁷ *bsad*;⁴⁴⁸ and on the surface of a *pha wang* [*long bu*] stone within the iron of the spear write [the syllable] TRI. [318] With human skin, wrap into a roll a *maṇḍala* of the life stone, and on a banner of red silk write the life wheel; in addition to that, with the eight classes [of demons] surround the body of Tamdrin and the body of the vow-holders below. Obtain empowered accomplishments or perform a single fulfillment of ten million propitiations to glorious Tamdrin; with that, simultaneously anoint with blood and vermillion and consecrate a lasso made from the hair of a hero who died in battle. Strive for fulfilled supplications and when you carry them to the place where the dance is, you will be victorious within all battles and the opposing sects will be defeated.

4b. Secret Text (318.3-319.6)

"This is extremely secret; properly guard the teachings of Urgyan Padma[sambhava] and refrain from entrusting this even into the hands of someone who is not in the noble line of Trisong Deutsen or it will turn back on you later. In this case, even if it were followed by others, though they temporarily have children and prosper, in the end they will arrive at disaster in quarrels, untimely deaths,⁴⁴⁹ and such. Therefore, this should be kept secret. Regarding this scroll of paper; because the king's lineage is protected by the Urgyan lord [Padmasambhava],

⁴⁴⁶ "Shout".

⁴⁴⁷ "Let loose"; also refers to siccing a dog on someone.

⁴⁴⁸ "Slay".

⁴⁴⁹ Tib. *gri*.

insert them in an activity manual of prized leather. In order to preserve the words of glorious Tamdrin, conceal this within the eye of the Nampar Nangdzé (Rnam par snang mdzad)⁴⁵⁰ [statue] of the Mount Chimpu temple at Samyé. [319] At the end of time, the moment when the Dharma king is cast down as vulgar will come. Therefore, at that time, the haughty ones of the violence demons and the eight classes [of demons] will manifest; the red-colored knowledge-bearer⁴⁵¹ of the lotus family and the horse will speak [and] shout forth with wrathful voices; it will create a beautiful appearance. From the wisdom of the lotus lord's compassion, a single accomplishment will be obtained. Thus, when properly practiced, the Dharma king with his disciples will protect [you] and will restore damaged temples." This was similarly instructed during the time of both King Trisong Deutsen and Ngamlam Gyelwa Chokyang (Ngam lam Rgyal ba mchog dbyangs; 8th century).⁴⁵² SAMAYA. *rgya rgya rgya*.

Offer the seal of the spirits⁴⁵³ of the haughty eight classes [of demons]. This is directly given at the time of accomplishment by the violence demons to Tamdrin at Mount Chimpu and to Tamdrin within the caves. Conceal the secret seal as you encounter the elephant. From the great dusk of the twenty-ninth day of the fifth month of the ox year until that midnight, having directly revealed the image on the east over-door projection of the Samyé central temple,⁴⁵⁴ it speaks like a human. While tracing it, on the first day of the sixth month, analyze it. On the second day, while understanding its oral instruction, [also] understand it as the basis of belief in the drawing. This should be kept secret.

Colophon (319.6-320.1)

[320] This was revealed from a treasure [text] by Ngari Pañchen, the lotus king, powerful emanation of wisdom.

⁴⁵⁰ "Fully-manifested One;" .Skt. Vairocana.

⁴⁵¹ Skt. *vidyādhara*.

⁴⁵² A close disciple of Guru Rinpoche who attained accomplishment through the Tamdrin practice and was later incarnated within the Karmapa (Kar ma pa) lineage. Born into the Nganlam clan in the Phen Valley, he took ordination from Śantaraksita in the first group of seven Tibetan monks. Having received the transmission of Tamdrin from Padmasambhava, he practiced in solitude and reached the level of a *vidyādhara*. His name means "sublime voice of victory."

⁴⁵³ Tib. *gnyan*.

⁴⁵⁴ The Tibetan has *dbu tshal*, which appears to be a clear misspelling of the proper word, *dbu rtse*, due to their homophonic nature.

C. *Sādhana* of Violence Demon Offerings (320.1-322.6)

Thus called, "the *sādhana* of the violence demons offerings."

[*dākinī-script*]. "HRĪH PADMACANDHAMAHĀKROTAHAYAGHRĪVA HULU HULU HŪM PHAṬ. Properly arrange and bless the offering *torma*. Regarding the activity ritual of the seven emanating riders; the haughty ones are autonomous, they do not need to be generated. Red rays of light spread out like iron hooks from the syllable of the luminous heart center to the great powerful lord Tamdrin. Regarding the invitation from each domain; burn incense and powder, and fan it with red silk. Regarding crying out with a tormented roar; *kyai!*

Regarding those many places over there; in the direction where the sun sets, in the red copper fields of the might demon domain, obey the words of the powerful lotus. Regarding the high-ranking seven emanating riders; they are usually red in body color and they carry a flag and lasso in hand. They [come] with an assembly of the haughty eight classes [of demons]. They depart hither, come hither, and approach this place. ŚULATRITRIVAJRASAMAYA JAḤ JAḤ.

Bhyo! In the power within the red fortress, the benefit from flesh and blood is inconceivable. Shining gifts of the mind are extremely beautiful. [321] Sit on the seat of pure vow. Together with ŚULATRISAMAYA TIṢṬA.⁴⁵⁵ *kyai!*

Regarding the individual seven emanating riders; it is conceivable to perform enlightened activities. Obey the words of the powerful lotus. The vow-holders praise you, treasure lord. Offer this pure ablution. Thoroughly perform these by means of compassion for me and for the lord of benefits. ARGHAM⁴⁵⁶ VIŚUDDHE⁴⁵⁷ SVĀHĀ.⁴⁵⁸ Pure incense gathers like clouds. Offer bright flowers, perfumed water, food offerings, and pleasant music. Thoroughly perform these by means of compassion. DHŪPE⁴⁵⁹ PUṢPE⁴⁶⁰ ĀLOKE⁴⁶¹ GHANDHE⁴⁶² NIVIDYE⁴⁶³ ŚAPDAPŪJAHOḤ.⁴⁶⁴ *kyai!*

⁴⁵⁵ Sanskrit transliteration, "reside."

⁴⁵⁶ Sanskrit transliteration, "valuable offerings."

⁴⁵⁷ Sanskrit transliteration, "pure."

⁴⁵⁸ Sanskrit transliteration, "hail!"

⁴⁵⁹ Sanskrit transliteration, "incense."

⁴⁶⁰ Sanskrit transliteration, "flowers."

⁴⁶¹ Sanskrit transliteration, "light."

⁴⁶² Sanskrit transliteration, "perfume."

⁴⁶³ Sanskrit transliteration, "food."

⁴⁶⁴ Sanskrit transliteration, "music offering."

Regarding the individual lords of the life-energy; the seven classes of emanating, terrifying ones gather. Regarding your sacred substances of delight. Collect into a little pill⁴⁶⁵ offerings of red flesh and blood. Dam up like a lake the uncontaminated nectar. Fill into a pool the oblation liquid of RAKTA.⁴⁶⁶ Scatter like stars the enjoyment gifts. Roar like thunder the drums, flutes,⁴⁶⁷ and cymbals, accompanied by a collection of pleasant⁴⁶⁸ songs. May the spiritual pledges of the seven oath-bound brothers be fulfilled. May the spiritual pledges of the wild and radiant might demons be fulfilled. [May the spiritual pledges] of the eight thousand companions⁴⁶⁹ [be fulfilled].⁴⁷⁰ [May the spiritual pledges] of the wealth protecting vow-holders [be fulfilled]. May the spiritual pledges of the messengers of the four activities [be fulfilled].

[322] *Bhyo!* The red castle leather sways from side to side.⁴⁷¹ The red silk flag flutters.⁴⁷² The red banner spreads out wide.⁴⁷³ The shot arrow of the haughty ones rises.⁴⁷⁴ The work of the butcher is enjoyed.⁴⁷⁵ The exclamations of bartering⁴⁷⁶ are humming.⁴⁷⁷

Bhyo! May the spiritual pledges of the high-ranking lord be fulfilled. In the presence of the master Padma[sambhava], while one considers the promised spiritual pledge, the line of Trisong Deutsen with the transmission of the vow-holding yogins maintains the single vow and cuts the lineage which harms the body. Completely strike down the host of demons who hold false views. Do not contradict the vows of the *mantra* holding *vajra*. Entrust! Seek! Endowed with power, do not diminish and develop idly! Do not pursue the outer food which holds the

⁴⁶⁵ The Tibetan here is *ri lur*, "little lump, pill," a variation of *ril bu* with a locative particle attached. However, due to degeneration within the text, half the word is rubbed out and so this is an educated guess based on orthographic knowledge and context.

⁴⁶⁶ Sanskrit transliteration, "blood."

⁴⁶⁷ Tib. *gling*; read as *gling bu*.

⁴⁶⁸ Again the Tibetan here is partially rubbed out. Through by what is left of the word and by means of the context, I am led strongly to believe that the word here is *snyan pa*, as I have translated. Other possibilities are based on the indistinctiveness of the nature of the vowel. It could be *snyin pa*, *snyon pa*, or *snyen pa*, though none of these alternatives fit the context as well.

⁴⁶⁹ Tib. *sde brgyad stong zla*.

⁴⁷⁰ Three small lines following *sde brgyad stong zla* ("eight thousand companions") act as indicators that the reader is to complete this command with how it has previously been completed, with *thugs dam bskang* ("May the spiritual pledges be fulfilled"); see note 426.

⁴⁷¹ These following lines illustrate something of an onomatopoeic device which ends each line with a duplicated word that dynamically illustrates the sound while simultaneously conveying its meaning. In this case it is *ldems se ldem*.

⁴⁷² Tib. *pu ru ru*.

⁴⁷³ Tib. *yangs se yang*.

⁴⁷⁴ Tib. *sgrengs se sgreng*.

⁴⁷⁵ Tib. *rol lo lo*.

⁴⁷⁶ Tib. *bshugs pa*.

⁴⁷⁷ Tib. *di ri ri*.

essence. Become fully displeased and protect them like a dear child, a nephew." Speaking thus, one should disperse and exhort in the best and pure direction. Padmasambhava⁴⁷⁸ performs the activity ritual of the offerings for the seven fierce might demon brothers. SAMAYĀ. Protect the words of the great powerful lotus. *kha tham*.⁴⁷⁹ This was revealed from the region of Chimbu Betsa ('Chim bu bhe tsha)⁴⁸⁰ by the powerful emanation Lotus King.⁴⁸¹

D. Violence Demon Invocation and History (322.6-328.5)

Thus called, "the invocations and history of the violence demons."

[323] "Over there in the direction where the sun sets, in the red copper fields of the might demon land; above the copper rocks there is copper and more copper. On the peaks the dark wild ones hunt. On the sides the violence demon riders race along. From the middle they penetrate the land as eaters of wolves. Fundamental poison, *ruzululu*.⁴⁸² In the power inside the red copper rock a boiling lake of blood churns.⁴⁸³ Dark castle leather is tied up.⁴⁸⁴ Bronze locks are arranged in proper order.⁴⁸⁵ In the power inside the castle of terrifying might demons the serpentine might demons are emanations of the assembly. Their body color is a brilliant greenish red and their red matted hair is gathered fire light. Fiery meteors gather from their eyes. Bloody hailstones fall from their mouths. On their bodies they wear robes of red silk.⁴⁸⁶ They possess sleeves of blue-checked satin. They possess majestic turbans of red silk on their heads. They possess belts of precious gold. They ride blue horses with black covers as mounts. Their red silk mats flutter.⁴⁸⁷ Their multicolored saddles spontaneously manifest.⁴⁸⁸ The martingale⁴⁸⁹ of silver dazzles and flashes.⁴⁹⁰ The bronze stirrups chime and clack.⁴⁹¹ The gold armor and

⁴⁷⁸ Tib. Padma thod phreng rtsal; "Lotus Skull-garland Power."

⁴⁷⁹ Unknown; possibly a Sanskrit transliteration for a seal.

⁴⁸⁰ Unknown; possibly an area near Mount Chimpu at Samyé.

⁴⁸¹ Tib. Padma rgyal po; one of Padmasambhava's eight manifestations.

⁴⁸² Unknown.

⁴⁸³ Tib. *me re re*.

⁴⁸⁴ Tib. *ldems se ldem*.

⁴⁸⁵ Tib. *khrigs se khrigs*.

⁴⁸⁶ Tib. *sku la dan dmar ber chen gsol*. Due to the context and vague appearance of the word within the text, I strongly believe that *dan* is a misspelling of *dar*, "silk."

⁴⁸⁷ Tib. *lhubs se lhub*.

⁴⁸⁸ Tib. *wang se wang*; obscure.

⁴⁸⁹ Tib. *gong thag*. The front ropes that keep the saddle from moving backward.

⁴⁹⁰ Tib. *khyugs se khyug*.

⁴⁹¹ Tib. *khro lo lo*.

turquoise horse bridle shimmer.⁴⁹² The red silk reins flutter and wave.⁴⁹³ The crupper⁴⁹⁴ of black serpents⁴⁹⁵ dazzles and flashes.⁴⁹⁶ The tiger-skin quiver on the right is vivid.⁴⁹⁷ The leopard-skin bow case on the left flashes.⁴⁹⁸ They cast the painful sickness of the might demons toward the enemy. [324] They brandish red leather shields.⁴⁹⁹ The right hand throws the lasso of the might demon toward the enemy. It seizes like a sheep the vow-violator who is apprehended. On the red leather spear of the left hand a banner of red silk flutters and waves.⁵⁰⁰ The lasso of the might demon is thrown at the enemy. They lead behind a storm of copper. In great whistling songs they assume a name in Sanskrit. The great violence demon is Tsiu Mar. He is called the Dharma king in Tibet. He is the king of rulers and warrior gods. Complete the actions which entrust the life that guards the sacred Dharma wheel, the power of the all-pervading strong *vajra*, the thousand carried knives of the vicious savage ones, the many names of [this] one person, the figure on the orange-reddish horse, the prepared food to cast at grey sheep and red birds, the presented offerings of flesh and blood *torma*, and the vomited blood and knife fights which are quickly sent to the hateful vow-violator, the enemy.

Bhyo! Also, regarding the brigands of the might demons; the divine might demon of the face on the image⁵⁰¹ is endowed with a radiant light yellow body color. He wears red-striped satin on his body. He has a tiger-skin quiver on the right and a leopard-skin bow case on the left. He rides a horse with dark facial skin as his mount. He carries a golden arrow and a golden bow in hand. He pulls the bow string and strikes the heart of the enemy. [325] He sends to the enemy magical displays by means of knives.

Bhyo! Also, regarding the brigands of the might demons; there is the red lord over Droshö (Gro shod),⁵⁰² overlord of the red copper rock.⁵⁰³ He blazes with the fire light of a red body color. He wears violet robes on his bodies. He rides a horse with white hooves as his

⁴⁹² Tib. *sha ra ra*.

⁴⁹³ Tib. *pu ru ru*.

⁴⁹⁴ Tib. *gong smed*, variation of *gong rmed*. The back ropes that keep the saddle from moving forward.

⁴⁹⁵ The Tibetan text is partially rubbed out here, so this is a speculation that the full word is *sbrul nag* as the context seems to suggest.

⁴⁹⁶ Tib. *khyugs se khyug*.

⁴⁹⁷ Tib. *wal le wal*.

⁴⁹⁸ Tib. *khyugs se khyug*.

⁴⁹⁹ Tib. *kyi li li*.

⁵⁰⁰ Tib. *pu ru ru*.

⁵⁰¹ Tib. *sku la zhal gyi lha btsan*; obscure.

⁵⁰² A district in Tsang.

⁵⁰³ This is probably the red rock might demon.

mount. He carries a sword which slays in his right hand. He throws at enemies the copper lasso in his left hand. He sends to the enemy magical displays by means of knives.

Bhyo! Also, regarding the brigands of the might demons; the serpentine might demon of the covered yard [has] a terrifying dark red body color and [wears] clear boots and clothes on his body. He wears a belt of malicious snakes. He has a tiger-skin quiver on the right and a leopard-skin bow case on the left. He rides a yellow tiger as a mount. He brandishes a red iron spear with his right hand. He carries a lasso of poisonous snakes with his left hand. He sends to the enemy magical displays by means of knives.

Bhyo! Also, regarding the brigands of the might demons; the knife might demon of the red rock valley [has] a terrifying red body and wears a fur-lined red robe on his body. He has a tiger-skin quiver on the right and a leopard-skin bow case on the left. He brandishes a red leather spear in his right hand. He brandishes a lasso of might demon intestines in his left hand. He rides a red donkey with a white upper belly as a mount. He sends to the enemy magical displays by means of knives.

Bhyo! Also, regarding the brigands of the might demons; [326] the obstacle might demon, the black-headed heron, [has] a completely terrifying blue-green body color. He wears a big robe of black silk on his body. He has bound on his head the black silk of obstacle demons. He rides a tan horse with a black midsection as a mount. He brandishes a black silk banner in his right hand. He later throws the lasso of rosaries from his left hand. He sends to the enemy magical displays by means of knives.

Bhyo! Also, regarding the brigands of the might demons; the knife might demon of quick lightning power [has] the red color of blood on his body, and wears on his body red copper armor. He has bound to his head a majestic turban of red silk. He has a tiger-skin quiver on the right and a leopard-skin bow case on the left. He [has] a red leather shield endowed with fire light. His bronze dagger gleams as it repels. His red silk banner swirls about like the wind. His red might demon horse moves quickly like an electric *wam*.⁵⁰⁴ He leads a pack of wolves and jackals. He soars over mountain birds and crows. He desires the splendid knife from above the life-force and life. He sends to the enemy magical displays by means of knives. He sends to the enemy the nine magical displays and nine wolves. These are the seven rider brigands of the might demons.

⁵⁰⁴ Unknown.

This group of arrogant, wrathful might demons leads the might demon army toward the hateful enemies. Send warfare⁵⁰⁵ and jackals toward the enemy. Send darkened [clouds] and sharp knives toward the enemy. Send avalanches and wolves to the enemy. Send violent suicide to the enemy. Complete these entrusted activities!" Finish speaking thus and invoke the time of killing. This is "the invocation of the horse race of the might demon brigand, [327] the *sādhana* of the seven emanating riders, the full assault⁵⁰⁶ of the spiritual master Padma[sambhava]."

Regarding the history of these [demons]; previously, in the region of the blazing mountain charnel grounds in India, in front of the dark red copper mountain, there are eleven red fierce might demons of the demoness's flame-patterned window that are similar to the rising demoness. Because Padmasambhava settled there, at midnight—a time when seven wolves with bloody manes arose and created obstacles for the guru—the spiritual master resided in the meditative stabilization of glorious Tamdrin. From this he raised the *vajra*. Because of this, the seven horsemen having departed, they arose in homage. Due to saying "who are you?" the lord said "I am the chief of the violence demons, Tsiu Mar. The previous lord, glorious Tamdrin conferred empowerments [on me] and, having bestowed the vow, I accepted to be a guardian of the teachings." After this the guru said, "Where is your abode? Who are your parents? Where is your heart?" Due to this, Tsiu Mar said, "My abode is here itself, India; in Tsang, it is called the split cavern. My father is the savage demon lord called Lekpa. My mother is the violence demon called Zangdrinma.⁵⁰⁷ The heart of my life-energy abides in the *tantra* that was recited by the glorious Tamdrin. The enrichment that exists within a small box full of toenails, within cliff-side dung, [328] will protect the teachings of the Buddha through me." The guru, having also bestowed empowerments, said, "Your secret name is Künkyap Dorjé Drakpotsel."⁵⁰⁸ The *tantra* extracted from the rock is to be protected by the spiritual master. Then Padma[sambhava] went to Tibet [and] studied. The seven horsemen welcomed him and asked, "Is [this] indeed the realm of the violence demon Tsiu Mar?" Also, do not bestow this *sādhana*, and conceal it in the

⁵⁰⁵ Tib. *mtshon phri*. I speculate that this is a misspelling or possibly an acceptable variant spelling for *mtshon gri*. This is not because it is a specific Tibetan word in itself, but because a pattern begins at this point where various maladies are directed at the enemy in the form of weapons, each misfortune being suffixed by the word *gri*, for weapon in this context. Thus, it appears to make clearer sense to read *mtshon phri* in this fashion.

⁵⁰⁶ Tib. *cog brdung*; obscure.

⁵⁰⁷ "The Bronze-necked Woman."

⁵⁰⁸ "All-pervading Fierce Vajra Power."

throat of [the statue of] the king of the seven peaks, Chenmizang (Spyan mi bzang).⁵⁰⁹ Conceal it in the Namnang (Rnam snang)⁵¹⁰ [statue] of the Betsa (Be tsa) region of mount Chimpu at Samyé. This was revealed from a treasure [text] by the knowledge-bearer Ngari Pañchen. Regarding the circle of the four lotuses, concentrate as much as possible on the words that are composed on the soles of the feet. Press on top of the knees [with] fists. Having made the fists in front of the lotuses with the two-handed single-pointed *vajra* [*mudra*], make the seal of Dorjé Chang (Rdo rje 'chang).⁵¹¹ When [the sign] descends, pull, throw, loosen, utilize, and release it in front of [the statue]. HAṬ PHAṬ ŚUBHAM.

E. *Terma* Entrusting the Warlord's Life-energy to Tamdrin (328.5-332)

Thus called, "the lotus-empowered *terma* which entrusts the warlord's life-energy."

Homage to the lord of the glorious haughty ones! At the time when the propitiation of Tamdrin has passed, the seven violence demon brothers are certain to arise in reality. With respect to that, one should strive to offer and praise without fear. [329] When one entrusts the Dharma teachings, create a great red offering mansion. On the peak, arrange the seven pure food offerings for the might demons adorned with red banners. Disperse the choicest of the pure [offerings] and the drink offerings, and entrust these actions. The disciple said, "Because [these offerings] are red and increase by means of the desire to accomplish powerful actions for the lama, offer gifts of turquoise and conch shell as lineage, grain as riches, and weapons as power. *kyai!*

Because the victory of the wrathful venerable lama is similar to the actions of the haughty ones, having performed the binding of the oral vow, request to look after the vow of the haughty ones." Produce the offering for Tamdrin. In addition to that, the wrathful lord of Orgyan, possessing the iron hook and the lasso, meditates ardently on the horse speech, and is illuminated by the ten branches⁵¹² and by the assembly. Go for refuge and produce *bodhicitta*.⁵¹³ The

⁵⁰⁹ "Ugly eyes;" king of the west and of the *nāgas*. Skt. Virūpakṣa.

⁵¹⁰ Skt. Vairocana.

⁵¹¹ "*Vajra* holder;" Skt. Vajradhara.

⁵¹² The ten limbs of *kriya* tantra approaching and accomplishing liturgies (*bsnyen sbyor yan lag bcu*). (1) The abode which is established wherever (*gang du sgrub pa'i gnas*), (2-4) the three essential natures (*de nyid gsum*), (5-7) the three meditative concentrations (*bsam gtan gsum*), (8) the ritual which engages in *mantra* practice (*sngags sgrub pa la 'jug pa'i cho ga*), (9) the ritual of burnt offerings (*sbyin sreg gi cho ga*), and (10) the ritual of empowerment (*dbang bskur gyi cho ga*).

disciple generates the great glorious one and the wisdom being dissolves into that. Burn incense and perform a lot of music. Place the offering on top of the head.

"HRĪḤ. The emanation body from within the inherent Dharma body is the lord of the haughty ones of splendid, wrathful faces. He declared ardently in horse language to tame the obstacle demons and violator demons. May one obtain the supreme empowerment of Tamdrin! Regarding the root *mantra*: KĀYA ABHIṢIÑCA⁵¹⁴ OM! Then consecrate and scatter red flowers.

HRĪḤ. [330] The secret *mantra* king, endowed with the sound of HULU, earnestly engages [the practice] and quickly bestows accomplishments. May the glorious heart that gathers the supreme speech of the Buddha obtain the supreme empowerment of the correct *mantra*. Recite the root *mantra*: ABHIṢIÑCA Ā. Take in hand the staff of Pur bu (Phur bu).⁵¹⁵ Touch the heart center [with it].

HRĪḤ. The power of one's *bodhicitta* of wisdom and knowledge, and the strength of the supreme horse being who destroys afflictions hold the treasures with a hundred thousand inherent good qualities. May one obtain the powerful knowledge of the unabiding mind! CITTAJÑĀNA ABHIṢIÑCA HŪṢ." Having spoken thus, this is the power of the divine silk antidote. SAMAYA. *rgya rgya rgya*.

Next, regarding the support glue of the haughty ones; "*kyai*. The red castle body is closed.⁵¹⁶ The owl on the peak [screeches] clearly.⁵¹⁷ Establish the son as the support of the abode. May the haughty ones abide permanently! RAKṢAMAHĀYA HŪṢ SVĀHĀ! The life-force stone and the life-energy retinue, the secret supports, are fast like the strength and peak of power. Establish the son as the support of the abrupt shout. May the life-energy and the *tantra* be connected permanently!" Establish the life-force stone *mantra* and *maṇḍala*. Next absorb the red spear lasso and place it in hand. Regarding the vow of the inseparable life-energy; "the part of the might demon lasso of the red spear, endowed with the vow of the great bliss lotus, establishes the son as the permanent activity. RAKṢAKARMA JAḤ *bhyo rbad*. [331] Next send forth drums, flutes, and cymbals. Hang red silk from the lasso spear and cast, arouse, and incite the choice libations. Soak it in the permanent offering, request, and action. Give the

⁵¹³ A mind focused toward enlightenment.

⁵¹⁴ Sanskrit transliteration; obscure.

⁵¹⁵ The planet Jupiter; also Thursday.

⁵¹⁶ Tib. *ldems se ldem*.

⁵¹⁷ Tib. *lhangs se lhang*.

highest *tantra* and the highest attained substance. This is the guardian of the Buddha's teachings. This is the renowned cattle of the powerful might demons, and it liberates the great power [from previous actions], the enemy, and hindering demons. Because this is the power of the haughty one's life-energy, this is the protective deity of Trisong Deutsen. Entrust this to the son of the noble lineage transmission. Other vows will deteriorate. Conceal the complete original and a copy of the two *tantras*, the life-force stone, and the magical displays, together with the full assault offering on the peak of a nomad tent⁵¹⁸ within the heart center of the Mikmizang (Mig mi bzang)⁵¹⁹ [statue].

Regarding one, conceal the guardians of the Dharma master's words which suppress the haughty ones of Tamdrin within a small iron box inside the secret heart of the Tamdrin [statue] at Samyé. Regarding the three procedures in the scroll of the life-energy arrow within the copy of that text; conceal it in the Namnang [statue] at mount Chimpu. When the impure age⁵²⁰ rises, at the time when the royal lineage falls into vulgarity, a man who will obtain this very text will arise in the manner of a fierce lightning bolt. By establishing the knowledge *mantra* of the lotus, the haughty ones will be gathered uncontrollably, arising from the direction of the copper field realm of the might demons. Then they will protect the accomplished royal lineage. **[332]** This fulfillment bestows fruition. Without the vow [the protectors] might slip from one's hand." Speaking thus, when the master Padma[sambhava] went to tame the flesh-eating demons of the southwest for both King Trisong Deutsen and the monk Gyelwa Chokyang, he instructed them and concealed these three treasure texts. SAMAYA. *rgya rgya rgya*. Virtue!

⁵¹⁸ Tib. *sbra dun*.

⁵¹⁹ "Ugly eyes;" A variant name for the king of the west and of the *nāgas*. Skt. Virūpakṣa.

⁵²⁰ Skt. *kalpakaṣāya*.

ལྷན་འདས་ཀྱི་སྲོག་གི་སྒྲིང་པོ་དུག་གི་སྐྱ་གི་གདུག་ རྒྱ་ལ་འཁྱོལ་བའི་པ་ཅན་རྩེ་གཞོན་གྱི་དཔལ་དུ་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརྒྱབས་སོ། གཞོན་སྤྱིན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་
པོ་སྐྱ་གི་དམར་པོ་ རྒྱ་ལ་འཁྱོལ་བའི་པ་ཅན་གྱི་རྒྱུད་ཡིན། སྒྲིང་གི་རྒྱུད་ལས་སྒྲིང་གཞིའི་ཡེ་ཤུ་དང་པོའོ།

Chapter 2: Lineage (301.6-305.4)

དེ་ནས་མཁའ་འགོ་མ་རྗེ་རྗེ་བདེ་བྱེད་མས། བཅོམ་ལྷན་འདས་ལ་འདི་སྐད་ཅེས་བསྐྱལ་ལོ། ལཱ་མ་ རྒྱལ་དོན་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་དབང་
གི་སྐྱ། གཞོན་དུག་མཐུ་ཅུལ་ལྷན་པ་ཡི། གཞོན་སྤྱིན་གདུག་པ་རྒྱ་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་པོ་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ དང་པོ་ལས་དབང་
རྒྱུ་རྒྱུན་གདང། གཞིན་པོ་གང་གིས་འདུལ་བ་ལག་ཞེས་ཞུས་པས། དཔལ་ཆེན་ལྷ་ཡིས་བཀའ་སྐྱེལ་པ། གདུག་པ་གཞོན་
སྤྱིན་རྒྱ་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་པོ་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ སྤོམ་ཆོ་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་
ལྷོ་ཡི་འཛམ་སྐྱིང་བྱེད་སྲོག་སྐྱ། བདེ་སྐྱིད་ཞོར་བུའི་ཞིང་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ལྷ་དང་རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་
ཡུལ་གྱི་རྗེ་འོ་ གསང་བ་ཡིན། མ་ནི་ལྷ་རྒྱལ་རྒྱུན་ཞེས་བྱ། སྐྱེས་ནི་ལི་སྐྱེས་འཕྲོར་བར་བྱ། སྐྱེས་དེ་དང་པོའི་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་
བསམ་ སེམས་གཤོས་ནས། དགོ་སྤོང་ཅོ་རྒྱུ་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་
ན་གནས་པ་ལས། ཡུལ་སྲོག་པོ་ཡི་གོང་གི་རྒྱུ་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་
དེ་མ་བྱིན་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་
གདུག་པས་བདས་པ་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་
ཞིང་རྒྱུབས། མི་གཉན་ལུས་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་
གདུག་ཅན་གཉིས་གྱིས་མཐོང། ཁ་ན་མ་ཐོ་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་
ཅེས་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་
ལྷ་ལྷུ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་
སེམས་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་
གཡང་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་
རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་
དེ་ནས་ནམ་ཞིག་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་
བྱས་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་
ནས་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་
སྐྱེ་འགོ་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་གཞི་མར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་
གདུང་དུག་སྐྱེ་ཡིགས་པ་ལས། བཅོམ་རྒྱལ་འཁོར་དཀར་གྱི། སྐྱེས་མོ་གཞོན་སྤྱིན་གཞོན་དམར་མ། གདུག་སེམས་
རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་ རྒྱལ་འཁོར་

ཉན་སྒྲོང་ས་བཤེས་སུ་བསྐྱོད། ཉན་གོང་ཁ་གཏོང། འབེན་མེད་ཀྱི་ལིང་ག་མ་བཅས་པར་ཉམས་འཕམ་འཁོར་ལ་གཞོང། གསང་
 རྒྱུད་བསྟན་པའི་སྤྱང་མར་ལོངས། གཞོང་པ་ཀྱི་ངེས་ཚིག་ཉམས་པར་མཚོང་པ་ཡིན། རང་ལ་ཀྱི་སྒྲོང་གོགས་ཉམས་པར་
 ཉམས་པའི་ལྷ། ཉམས་པར་སྤྱང་སྤྱང་མཚོགས་ལྷན་པའི་བཅན། ཚོ་སྤོག་ལེན་པའི་བཞན་པ་ཡིན། གུན་ཚང་འབྲེལ་བས་རྒྱུད་ཅེས་
 བྲ། གར་བབས་གཅོད་པས་སྤྱི་སྤྱི། བསད་ལས་བསྟན་པ་དམར་པོ་ལ། རབ་ཏུ་གནས་པའི་སྤྱིང་ཞེས་བྲ། བསྟན་
 རྒྱུད་བཀའ་ཡི་འཁོར་འདི་ལ། འཁོར་ཀྱི་གང་ལ་སྤྱུལ་ན་ཉམས་པར་ལྷུང་ལ་གཏང། གསུངས་པ་ལས་འཁོར་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་
 བསྐྱོར་བ་ལན་དུ་མར་བྱས་ཏེ་བསྐྱོད་པ། ལྷོ། རྒྱལ་བ་གུན་གྱི་གསུང་མཚོགས་པ་ལྷུང་གསུང། ཚོས་རྗེ་འོད་དཔག་མེད་པ་རྗེ་
 ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པ་བཞིར་ཉམས་པར་གཞིགས་སྤྱུལ་རྗེའི་ལས་རྣམས་པའི་སྤྱི། ཉམས་པར་ཉམས་པར་བཞད་ལ་སྤྱུག་འཚལ་བསྐྱོད།
 ཅེས་བཞེད་ནས་གུན་གྱི་དགོངས་པ་ཚོས་ཉིད་ལ་གནས་སོ། རྒྱུད་གྱི་དངོས་པོ་འདི་ཉིད་ལ། མཁའ་འགྲོ་མའི་འཕྲུལ་གྱི་ཡི་གེ་ལ་
 བཏབ་སྟེ་བསྟན་པའི་སྤྱང་མར་དམོད་བོར་ནས། དེགས་པ་རྒྱ་བདུན་རང་གི་གནས་སུ་གཏང་ངོ། གཞོང་སྤྱིན་ལྷ་བཅན་བཞན་པ་
 རྒྱ་གྱི་སྤྱིང་གི་འཁོར་ལོའི་རྒྱུད་ལས། གཏང་པའི་ལེའུ་སྟེ་བདུན་པའོ།

Colophon (312.2-312.3)

གཞོང་སྤྱིན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚེའུ་ཀྱི་དོན་དུ་གསང་མཚན་ཡིན་ནོ། ། དམར་གྱི་རྒྱུད་བཅན་པོ་ལ་རྒྱ་བདུན་གྱི་རྟོག་པ་རྗེའི་གསེང་
 ས་མ་ལ། རྒྱ་རྒྱ་རྒྱ། རྗེ་བཅུན་མངའ་རིས་པ་ཆ་ཚེན་གྱིས་གཏོར་ནས་སྤྱན་དྲངས་པའོ། དགའོ།།

Part II: Accompanying Sādhana (315.2-332)

A. Preliminaries

1. Sending Forth the Dogs of the Seven Might Demon Attendants (312.3-314.3)

བཅན་ལ་བ་རྒྱ་བདུན་གྱི་ཁྱི་འགྲོད་བཞུགས་སོ།།
 ལྷོ། ཁྱི་མོ་དུང་མདོག་མཚལ་མིག་མ། ཁ་ནས་གཟའ་ཡི་དུག་རྒྱངས་གཏོང། མི་ཤུགས་གི་དྲི་ཚོར་རྒྱག་ ཐོརངས་
 དག་པོའི་དབུགས་ལེན་མ། དག་པོའི་སྤོག་དབུགས་རྒྱུ་གྱིས་འདེབས། ལྷ་བཅན་དཀར་པོའི་རྗེས་འབྲང་མ། རྒྱགས་
 ཤིག་རྒྱགས་ཤིག་ད་རྒྱགས་ཤིག་ སྤོ་སྤོ་དག་ལ་སྤོ་འབོག་ཐོང། སྤོག་ལྷུ་མ་འབར་བའི་དུས་ལ་བབ། ལྷོ། ཁྱི་མོ་
 དམར་མོ་མཚལ་མིག་མ། ཁ་གདངས་ཟངས་ཀྱི་མཚེ་བ་གཅོགས། ཁ་ནས་ནད་ཀྱི་ན་བུན་འཚུབས། དག་པོའི་སྤོན་བསུ་
 དབུགས་ལེན་མ། ཉམས་པའི་སྤྱང་ལྷག་འོན་མོ་འབྲང། དག་བཅན་དམར་པོའི་རྗེས་འབྲང་མ། རྒྱགས་ཤིག་རྒྱགས་ཤིག་ད་
 རྒྱགས་ཤིག་ སྤོ་སྤོ་དག་པོའི་སྤྱང་པ་འབྲང། ཟངས་སྤྱང་དམར་པོའི་དུས་ལ་བབ། ལྷོ། ཁྱི་མོ་དམར་ནག་ལྷག་མིག་མ།
 དུག་གི་ཁ་རྒྱངས་སྤྱིན་ལྷུང་གཏོབས། ལྷགས་ཀྱི་མཚེ་སྤེར་མཚོན་ལྷུང་གཟུངས། ཉམས་སྤྱང་དག་པོའི་སྤོན་ཚོ་རྒྱ། དམ་
 ཉམས་སྤོན་ལྷུང་གྱིས་འདེབས། ལྷ་བཅན་དམར་པོའི་རྗེས་འབྲང་མ། རྒྱགས་ཤིག་རྒྱགས་ཤིག་ད་རྒྱགས་ཤིག་ ལྷག་གི་སྤྱང་མོ་ད་
 རྒྱགས་ཤིག་ སྤོ་སྤོ་དག་པོའི་སྤོག་ཚོང། ལྷག་སྤྱང་དམར་པོའི་དུས་ལ་བབ། ལྷོ། ཁྱི་མོ་དམར་མོ་མཚེན་མིག་མ།

ཁ་གདངས་མཆེ་གཅིག་ཁ་གདངས་ཁྲོན་སྐྱབས། ཁ་གདངས་ཁྲོན་ཚོར་དཔག་ཚད་དུ། དག་པོའི་རྗེས་གཙོད་དབུགས་ལེན་མ། སྤོང་ཁྲག་
 ཁྲོན་མོ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་འདེབས། གྱི་བཅོན་དམར་པོའི་རྗེས་འབྲང་མ། རྒྱལ་ལོག་རྒྱལ་ལོག་ཟེ། ཁྲག་འཛུགས་དམར་མོད་རྒྱལ་ལོག་
 ལོག་ སྤོ་སྤོ་དག་ཁྲག་ཁྲོན་མོ་འབྲང་། དམར་མོ་ཁྲག་འཛུགས་ལ་བབ། རྒྱ། ཁྲོ་དམར་མོ་གཟི་མིག་མ།
 ཁ་གདངས་འོད་སྤོད་སྤོགས་བཅུར་འབྲང། ཅད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པ་མགྲུ་ལ་དུ་ཐོགས། སྤོད་ལ་དག་པོའི་དབུགས་ལེན་མ། དམར་
 ཉམས་དག་ལ་རིམས་ནད་གཏོང་། བདུད་བཅོན་ནག་པོའི་རྗེས་འབྲང་མ། རྒྱལ་ལོག་ཟེ། རྒྱལ་ལོག་སྤྱང་ཆེན་མོད་རྒྱལ་ལོག་
 ལོག་ སྤོ་སྤོ་དག་ལ་རིམས་ནད་གཏོང་། རྒྱལ་ལོག་སྤྱང་འབར་བའི་དུས་ལ་བབ། རྒྱ། ཁྲོ་དམར་མོ་གཟི་མིག་མ།
 ཁ་གདངས་མཆེ་གཅིག་ཁ་གདངས་ཁྲོན་སྤོམ། ཁ་གདངས་ལ་པ་སྤྱིན་ལྟར་གཏིབས། དག་པོའི་གཉའ་གཙོད་དབུགས་ལེན་མ།
 ཉམས་པའི་སྤོང་ཁྲག་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་འདེབས། གྱི་བཅོན་དམར་པོའི་རྗེས་འབྲང་མ། རྒྱལ་ལོག་ཟེ། འབར་མ་ཆེན་མོད་རྒྱལ་ལོག་
 སྤོ་སྤོ་དག་པོའི་སྤོང་ལ་འབྲུག། དམར་མོ་འབར་བའི་དུས་ལ་བབ། སྤོ་སྤོ་སྤོ་སྤོ། ཞེས་ཉི་ཤུ་ཅུ་གཅིག་བཟོད། ལྷོ།

2. Drawing the Circle of Protection (314.3-315.2)

འཁོར་ལོ་གྱི་བསྐྱར་ལུགས་དཔེ་གྱིས་འདི་ག་ལྟར་ལ། ལྷེ་བའི་ཚར་ཐང་གི་ཤམ་དུ་ས་མ་ཡ་རྟཱ་རྟཱ་རྟཱ་རྟཱ་པའ། གཙོད་
 སྤྱིན་ཆེན་པོ་ཅི་ལུ་དམར་པོ་ཁྲོད་གྱིས་སྤོབ་དཔོན་པ་སྤྱིའི་བཀའ་ལས་མ་འདའ་བར་རྟེན་འདིར་བརྟེན་པར་བཞུགས་ནས་བདག་རྣལ་འབྱོར་པའི་
 འདི་སྤྱི་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ལེགས་ཚོགས་ཁྲོད་གྱིས་སྤྱབས་ལོག་སྤྱི་ནང་གསང་བའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ཐམས་ཅད་འབྲེལ་མེད་སྤྱིན་གྱུ་བ་དུ་སྤྱིགས་ལོག་
 འགལ་རྒྱུན་སོལ་ཅིག མཐུན་རྒྱུན་སྤྱབས་ལོག་ སྤྱང་བའི་དག་ལ་མཐུ་མ་རྒྱུད། གཙོད་པའི་བཞིགས་ལ་རྩལ་
 མ་ཞུ། ལས་བཞིའི་སྤྱིན་ལས་ཐོགས་མེད་དུ་སྤྱབས་ལོག་ ཅས་པ་དང་། ཕྱི་བས་མཆེན་ལ། གཙོད་སྤྱིན་ཆེན་པོ་སྤོབ་དཔོན་
 པ་སྤྱིའི་བཀའ་ལ་མ་འདའ་ཞིག ཅས་པ་དང་། སྤྱ་རྒྱུད་ལ། རྩོམ་ཅེ། འོ་ཤམ་དུ་ཀུ་ཡ་བཟོ་ཚར་ཐང་སོགས་ལྷེ་བར་གྱིས་
 པའི་སྤྱབས་སྤོལ་ཆོག་དང་བཅས་པ་གྱི། ཡི་གེ་རྩོད་གང་ངམ་དང་མ་ཁེངས་པ་རྣམས་སྤོང་པར་འཛུགས་གནང་ཆོག ལྷོ།

B. The Great Violence Demon Accomplishment Cycle based on the Outer Propitiations (315.2-320.1)

1a. Introduction: The Four Scrolls (315.2-315.4)

༼༼ གཙོད་སྤྱིན་ཆེན་པོ་སྤྱི་གསོལ་ཀ་ལ་བརྟེན་ཏུ་སྤྱབ་པས་སྤོར་བ་བཞུགས་སེལ། སྤྱ་སྤྱ་ཡེ། །༽༽
 [dākinī-script]. དཔལ་རྟེ་མགྱིན་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ། གཙོད་སྤྱིན་པོལ་པ་རྒྱ་བདུན་གྱིས་རང་གི་སྤོག་སྤོང་མདོངས་གསོལ་དུ་
 ཕུལ་ཏེ། སྤྱི་གསོལ་ཀ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་དམ་ཅན་སྤྱིན་ལྟར་འདུ་བ་དང་། ཅད་སྤྱ་སྤྱག་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་དམ་ཅན་གྱི་རྩལ་འབྲང་བ་དང་།
 གསང་བ་སྤོང་སྤོག་འཁོར་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་དམ་ཅན་སྤྱ་རྩལ་ཆགས་པ་དང་། དེ་ཁོར་ཉིད་མདུང་ཞགས་དམར་པོལ་བརྟེན་ནས་
 དག་བཞིགས་ཆམ་ལ་འབབ་པ་དང་། ཤོག་དྲིལ་བཞེ་ཡོད་པ་ནི། ཟབ་མོ་སྤོང་གི་དུམ་གྱུའོ།

1b. First Stage: [Summon] by means of the outer offerings (315.4-315.6)

དང་པོ་གསོལ་ཀ་ལ་བརྟེན་པ་ནི། གསེར་སྐྱེམས་གཡུ་སྐྱེམས་གཙང་མ་དང་། བཤོས་གཙང་ལྷིམ་པ་ལ་སྐྱགས་དྲུག་སྐྱག་
དྲུག་གིས་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརྒྱབས་ཏེ། དྲིགས་པ་སྐྱུན་དངས་ཤིང་མཚོན་ན་ལས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཅི་དགོས་པ་འགྲུབ་ཅིང་། ལྷ་དང་
འཕོན་ཡུགས་བྱུང་ན་ཡང་དག་ཅིང་། ལྷིང་ཉེ་བར་འགྲུར་རོ། བྱམ་མོང་དུ་སྐྱུབ་པ་ལ་ཟབ་པོ། ས་མ་ཡ། རྒྱ་རྒྱ་རྒྱ།

2. Second Stage: [Summon] by means of the inner cane whip (315.6-316.4)

གཉིས་པ་ནི་སྤྲ་ལྷུག་ཚོགས་གསུམ་པའམ། བདུན་པའི་སྐྱེད་པར་དར་དམར་པོའམ། ལྷོ་ག་དམར་པོ་ལ་ཚན་དན་དམར་པོའི་
རྒྱས་བྱུགས་ཏེ། སྐྱེས་པ་དར་མ་གྱིར་ཤི་བའི་ཁྲག་གིས་སྲོག་འཁོར་ལེགས་པར་བྱིས་ཏེ། རྩོམ་ལྷོ་ལོང་བུ་ལ་མཚལ་གྱིས་ཀྱི་བྱིས་པ་
དང་བཅས་པ་གཤོང་ནང་དུ་བཅུག་ཅིང་། ལ་ཆས་སློང་པ་དུ་བསྐྱམས་ལ། དར་སྐྱ་ལྷའི་ལྷུག་འབྲས་ཟངས་ཀྱི་ཉལ་ལུང་ལ་
གདགས་ཤིང་། དེ་ཉིད་སྐྱས་སྐྱ་བཅུགས་ཏེ་གཞོན་སྐྱིན་སྐྱུན་དངས་ལ་ཡང་ཡང་དུ་བསྐྱེམས་ལ། ལྷུང་དང་མཚོན་གཏོར་བྱས་ཏེ།
གང་འགྲོར་བཅིངས་ན་དམ་ཅན་གྱི་ལྷར་འབྲང་ཞིང་ལས་གང་བཅོལ་བ་ཐོགས་པ་མེད་པར་འགྲུབ་པར་འགྲུར་རོ། ཞེས་རང་གི་སྲོག་
སྐྱིད་དུ་གདམས་པའི་ལས་རིམ་གཉིས་པ་རྫོགས་སོ། ས་མ་ཡ། རྒྱ་རྒྱ་རྒྱ།

3. Third Stage: [Summon] by means of secret life stone and life wheel (316.4-317.3)

དཔལ་ཉ་མ་གྱིན་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ། གསང་བ་སྤོང་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་དམ་ཅན་སྐྱ་ལྷར་ཆགས་པའི་གནད་ནི། རང་གི་སྐྱབ་ཁང་གི་
རྒྱབ་ཕྱོགས་སུ། བཙན་གནས་པའི་ས་ནས་སྐངས་པའི་ས་དམར་པོ་དང་། རྒྱ་མིག་ཁ་ལྷོར་བརྟན་པ་མདོག་དམར་པོའི་རྒྱས་
འཇིམ་པ་སྐྱས་ཏེ། རིན་ཚེན་སྐྱ་ལྷའི་ཕྱེམ་དང་སྲོས་དྲི་ཞིམ་པོ་བཏབ་ཅིང་། ལྷུག་པའམ་སྐྱུར་པའི་སྲོག་ཤིང་ལ་བརྟེན་པའི་བཙན་
མཁའ་མདའ་གང་བརྟེ་ལ་རུ་མཚོན་དམར་པོ་དང་བཅས་པའི་སྲོག་ཤིང་ལ་གསང་རྒྱུད་ལྷར་གྱི་སྤོང་སྐྱགས་འཁོར་དར་དམར་རམ་གྲོག་
དམར་པོ་ལ་གྱི་ཁྲག་དང་མཚལ་དང་ཚན་དན་དམར་པོའི་རྒྱས་སྐྱར་ལ་གྱི། ཕ་ལྷོ་ལོང་བུ་དང་གསེར་ས་བྱུང་མའི་ཐེགས་པོ་དང་། གཡུ་
མིག་མེད་པ་རྣམས་ལ་མཚལ་གྱིས་ཀྱི་བདུན་བྱིས་པ་དར་སྐྱས་དེའལ་སྤྲ། དེ་ལ་དམ་ཅན་དགུགས་གཞུག་མཚོན་བྱས་ཏེ་སྲོག་སྐྱིད་མང་
དུ་བརྒྱ་ཞིང་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་སྐྱིད་པོས་རབ་གནས་བྱས་ཏེ། བསྐྱབ་ན་གྱི་སྐྱ་མ་ལ་ཆགས་པ་སྐྱར་རྟེན་ལུ་སོ་བྱང་གཅུག་ལག་ཁང་དང་། ལུ་ལ་
ཕྱོགས་སྐྱོང་བར་བྱེད་དོ། ཞེས་རང་དམ་སྲོག་གི་སྐྱིད་པོ་ཕུལ་བ་མན་རབ་གི་གནད་ཀྱི་ལས་རིམ་གསུམ་པའོ། ས་མ་ཡ། རྒྱ་རྒྱ་རྒྱ།

4a. Fourth Stage: [Summon] by means of the ultimate red spear lasso (317.3-318.3)

དཔལ་རྩ་མགིན་ལ་སྤྱལ་འཛེལ་ལོ། མདུང་ཞབས་དམར་པོ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་དམ་ཉམས་དགྲ་བགོགས་ཆམ་ལ་འབེབས་པའི་ཐབས་ནི།
 དག་དམར་པོ་ལ་སྐྱེས་པའི་སྤྱལ་མའམ་ཐང་ཤིང་ངམ། སྤྱལ་འདོམ་གང་བ་གཅིག་ལ་གྱི་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་མདེུ་དང་མཇུག་མེད་
 བཅས་ལ། ཟངས་མའི་གཟེར་གྱིས་བསྐྱམས་ཏེ་གྱི་ཞབས་དང་མཚེལ་གྱིས་དམར་པོར་བྱས་ལ། སྤྱུ་རྩི་བཟང་པོ་གདབ།
 དེའི་ནང་དུ་སློབ་འཁོར་དང་སྤྱགས་རྒྱུད་ལས་བྱུང་བ་གྱི་ཞབས་དང་མཚེལ་གྱིས་བྱིས་ལ། བདག་ལ་ལུས་དང་གྱིབ་མ་བཞིན་དུ་
 འགྲོགས་པར་མཛད་དུ་གསོལ། བདག་ལ་སྤང་བའི་དགྲ་པོ་ཆམ་ལ་ཐོབ་ཅིག། ས་མ་ལ། རྒྱ་རྒྱ་ཞེས་པ་དང།
 མདུང་གི་སྟོང་དུ་དཔལ་རྩ་མགིན་སྤྱགས་དང་། མདུང་སྤང་དུ་འཕོད་ཐད་བསད་གསུམ་དང་། མདུང་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་ནང་དུ་རྩོ་མ་
 མྱི་གི་ལོགས་ལ་ཁྱི་བྱིས་པ་དང་རྒྱ་རྩི་འཁོར་ལོ་རྩིལ་ལ་མི་སྤྱགས་ཀྱིས་གཏུམས་པ་ལ། དར་དམར་པོའི་བདེན་ལ་སློབ་འཁོར་
 བྱིས་ཏེ། དེའི་སྟེང་དུ་རྩ་མགིན་གྱི་སྤྱུ་དང་འོག་ཏུ་དམ་ཅན་གྱི་སྤྱུ་སྡེ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱིས་བསྐོར་བ་ལ། མངའ་གསོལ་གྱུབ་པ་ཐོབ་པའམ།
 དཔལ་རྩ་མགིན་གྱི་བསྐྱེན་པ་བྱེ་བ་ཐེམས་པ་གཅིག་གིས་བྱས་ཏེ། དེ་དང་དཔལ་པོ་གཡུལ་དུ་ཤི་བའི་སྤྱུ་ལས་བྱས་པའི་ཞབས་པ་
 ཞབས་དང་མཚེལ་གྱིས་བྱུག་པ་ལ། རབ་གནས་ལྷན་ཅིག་ཏུ་བྱས་ཏེ་སྟོང་གསོལ་འབད་ཅིང་གར་འདུག་གི་སར་བྱིར་ན། གཡུལ་
 ཐམས་ཅད་ལས་རྒྱལ་བར་འགྱུར་ཞིང་། སས་རྩོལ་གྱི་སྡེ་པམ་པར་བྱེད་དོ།

b. Secret Text (318.3-319.6)

འདི་ནི་ཤིན་ཏུ་གསང་སྟེ། ལུ་རྒྱན་པ་རྒྱའི་བསྐྱེན་པ་ཚུལ་བཞིན་དུ་སྟོང་བ་དང་། ཁྱི་སྟོང་སྟེུ་བཅོན་གྱི་རྩི་རིགས་མ་ཡིན་པ་གང་གི་
 ལག་ཏུ་ཡང་གཏད་པར་མི་བྱ་སྟེ། སྤར་རང་ལ་བསྐོག་པར་འགྱུར་པའི་སྤྱིར་མོ། གལ་ཏེ་གཞན་གྱིས་བསྐྱེན་ན་ཡང་།
 གནས་སྐབས་སུ་བུ་མོར་འཕེལ་བར་བྱེད་ཀྱང་། མཐར་འཐབས་གྱི་སོགས་སུ་ཕུང་ཐལ་དུ་འགྲོ་བར་འགྱུར་བས་གསང་བར་བྱའོ།
 འོག་རྩིལ་འདི་ནི་ཨོ་རྒྱན་བདག་གིས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་གཏུང་རྒྱུད་སྟོབ་པར་བྱ་བའི་སྤྱིར། བསའི་ལས་རིམ་དུ་བཅུག་སྟེ། དཔལ་རྩ་མགིན་གྱི་
 བཀའ་སྤྱང་དུ། བསམ་ལས་མཆིམས་སུ་འེ་ལྷ་ཁང་གི་རྣམ་པར་སྤྱང་མཛད་གྱི་སྤྱུན་ལ་སྤྱས་པའོ། དུས་ཀྱི་ཐ་མ་ལ་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་
 དམངས་སུ་འབེབས་པའི་དུས་གཅིག་འགྱུར་གིས། དེའི་དུས་སུ་གཞོད་སྤྱིན་གྱི་རྩི་གས་པ་སྡེ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱིས་མདོན་སུམ་དུ་གྱུར་སྟེ། པ་རྒྱ་
 རིགས་ཀྱི་རིག་འཛིན་མདོག་དམར་ཞིང་རྩ་རྒྱན་སྤྱོད་པ། གཏུམ་རྒྱན་སྟོགས་པ། མཛོས་པའི་རྣམ་འགྱུར་བྱེད་པ། པ་རྒྱ་བདག་གི་
 ཐུགས་རྩེའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་ལས་གྱུབ་པ་གཅིག་གིས་ལོན་པར་འགྱུར་མོ། དེ་ལྟར་ཚུལ་བཞིན་བསྐྱུབ་ན་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་འཁོར་བཅས་སྤྱང་ཞིང་།
 གཏུག་ལག་ཉམས་པ་སོས་པར་འགྱུར་མོ། ཞེས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཁྱི་སྟོང་སྟེུ་བཅོན་དང་། ངན་ལམ་རྒྱལ་བ་མཚོག་དབྱུངས་གཉིས་
 ལ་དུས་མཚུངས་པར་གདམས་པའོ། ས་མ་ལ། རྒྱ་རྒྱ། སྤེ་བརྒྱུད་རྩིགས་པའི་གཉན་རྒྱར་གདབ་པོ། འདི་ནི་
 གཞོད་སྤྱིན་གྱིས་མཆིམས་སུ་རྩ་མགིན་སྤྱལ་པའི་ནང་དུ་རྩ་མགིན་བསྐྱུབས་དུས་དངོས་སུ་བྱིན་པ། ལྷང་པོ་ཐུག་པར་གསང་རྒྱར་
 སྤྱས་པ། ལྷང་ལོ་རྒྱ་བ་ལྷ་པའི་ཉི་ཤུ་དགའི་སྟོང་ཆེན་ནས་ནམ་མཁུལ་བྱེད་བར་དུ། བསམ་ལས་དབྱེ་ཚུལ་གྱི་སྟོན་སྟེ། འཇར་དུ་སྤྱུ་དངོས་སུ་
 བསྐྱེན་ནས་མི་བཞིན་སྤྱས་ཏེ། བྱི་བར་གནང་བ་བཞིན་རྒྱ་བདུག་པའི་ཚོས་གཅིག་ལ་བརྟེན་པར་བྱས་ཏེ། གཉིས་པ་
 ལ་ཁོར་གི་ལུང་བཞིན་བྱིས་པ་ལ་ཡིད་ཆེས་ཀྱི་གནས་སུ་རིག་གོ། གསང་བར་བྱའོ།

རོ་བཟུང་ཟེམ་སྒྲིལ་མ་འབྲང་མཛོད། ཐུགས་དང་འགལ་བ་བསྐྱངས་ལྟུང་ལ། འུ་སྐྱུག་ཚོ་བོ་བཞིན་དུ་སྦྱོངས། ཞེས་སྤྱད་
 གཙང་སྤོགས་སུ་འཐོར་ཞིང་བསྐྱུལ་བར་བྱའོ། དྲག་བཙན་མཚེད་བདུན་གྱི་གསེལ་ཁའི་ལས་བྱང་བརྒྱ་ཐོད་མིང་ཙུལ་གྱིས་མཛོད་པ།
 ས་མ་ལུ། པདྨ་དབང་ཚེན་གྱི་བཀའ་སྤྱད་དོ། ཁ་ཐོ། པདྨ་རྒྱལ་པོ་རོལ་པ་ཙུལ་གྱིས་འཚིམ་བུ་གྲེ་ཚེད་གྲིང་ནས་
 གདན་དངས་པའོ།།

D. Violence Demon Invocation and History (322.6-328.5)

གཙོད་སྦྱིན་བསྐྱུལ་དང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བཞུགས་སོ།
 ཉི་མ་རྒྱུ་སྤོགས་པ་གི་ན། བཙན་ཡུལ་ཟངས་ཐང་དམར་པོ་ན། ཟངས་བྲག་གནམ་དུ་ཟངས་སེ་ཟངས། ཅི་ལ་གོད་སྐྱུག་
 ཡིངས་སེ་ཡིངས། ལོགས་ལ་བཙན་རྒྱ་ཤར་ར། སྐད་ནས་སྤྱད་ཟན་དུ་ཞིང་བྱུག། ཙུ་བ་དུག་རུ་བྱུ་ལུ། ཟངས་
 དྲག་དམར་པོ་འེ་ནང་ཤེད་ན། ཁྲག་མཚོ་ཁོལ་མ་མེ་རེ། བསེ་མཁར་སྐྱུག་པོ་སྤེམས་སེ་སྤེམ། ཟངས་ཀྱི་སྒོ་སྐྱུགས་ཁྲིགས་སེ་
 ཁྲིགས། འཇིགས་པའི་བཙན་མཁར་ནང་ཤེད་ན། སྤྱ་བཙན་ཚོགས་པའི་རོལ་པོ་ཡིན། སྤྱ་མདོག་དམར་ལྗང་བཛིད་པ་ལ།
 རལ་པ་དམར་པོ་མེ་འོད་འཁྲིགས། སྤྱུན་ནས་མི་ཡི་སྐར་མདའ་འཁྲིགས། ཞལ་ནས་ཁྲག་གི་སེར་ཚེན་འབེབས། སྤྱུལ་དན་
 དམར་བེར་ཚེན་གསོལ། ཟའོག་སྒོ་ཁྲའི་གོང་ལག་ཅན། དབུ་ལ་དར་དམར་འཁྲིང་ཐོད་ཅན། རིན་ཚེན་གསེར་གྱི་
 སྐར་པགས་ཅན། ཚིབས་སུ་སྤོན་པོ་གྲབ་ནག་ཚིབས། དར་སྤྱན་དམར་པོ་སྤྱུབས་སེ་སྤྱུབ། ཉུ་སྐྱ་ཁ་པོ་མི་མི། དུལ་གྱི་
 གོང་ཐག་ཁྲུགས་སེ་ཁྲུག། ཟངས་ཀྱི་ཡོབས་ཚེན་སྒོ་ལོ་ལོ། གསེར་ཁྲབ་གཡུ་མཐུར་ཤར་ར། དར་དམར་སྤབ་
 སྒྲོགས་སུ་རུ་རུ། སྤལ་ནག་གོང་སྤོད་ཁྲུགས་སེ་ཁྲུག། སྤྱག་དོང་གཡམས་ན་ཐལ་ལེ་ཐལ། གཟིག་ཤུབས་གཡོན་ན་ཁྲུགས་
 སེ་ཁྲུག། བཙན་གྱི་གཟེར་ནད་དགའ་ལ་འཕེན། བསེ་སྤུབ་དམར་པོ་གྱི་ལི་ལི། གཡམས་པས་བཙན་ཞགས་དགའ་ལ་འཕེན། དམིགས་
 པའི་དམ་ཉམས་ལུག་སྤྱར་འཇིན། གཡོན་པའི་བསེ་མདུང་དམར་པོ་ལ། དར་དམར་རུ་མཚོན་སུ་རུ་རུ། བཙན་གྱི་ཞགས་པ་
 དགའ་ལ་འཕེན། ཟངས་ཀྱི་འཚུབ་མ་རྗེས་སུ་ཁྲིད། བཤུག་པའི་སྤྱུ་ལེན་ཚེན་པོ་རུ། རྒྱ་གར་སྤྱད་དུ་མཚན་གསོལ་
 བ། གཙོད་སྦྱིན་ཚེན་པོ་ཅོལ་དམར་ཡིན། ཚོས་རྒྱལ་པོད་དུ་མཚན་བཏགས་པ། ལྷ་བཙན་དགའ་ལྷའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན།
 ཚོས་འཁོར་གཉན་པོ་སྦྱོང་བའི་ཚོ། ཀུན་ཁྲབ་དོ་རྗེ་དག་པོ་ཙུལ། མི་སྤྱན་གཏུམ་པོ་གྱི་ཐོགས་སྤོང། མི་གཅིག་པོ་ལ་མིང་
 མང་པོ། དམར་སེར་གོད་དམར་རྟ་རུ་གཟུགས། ལུག་སྐྱུག་བྱ་དམར་འཕེན་དུ་བཙའ། ཤལ་ཁྲག་གཏོར་མའི་མཚོད་པ་འབུལ།
 སྤང་བའི་དམ་ཉམས་དགའ་པོ་ལ། ཁྲག་སྐྱུག་གྱི་འཐབ་སྤྱར་དུ་ ཐོང་། བཙོལ་བའི་ལས་རྣམས་བྱུབ་པར་མཛོད། རྒྱ།
 ཡང་གཅིག་བཙན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པ་ནི། སྤྱུལ་ཞལ་གྱི་སྤྱ་བཙན་ནི། སྤྱ་མདོག་དཀར་སེར་མདངས་དང་ལྷན། སྤྱུལ་ཟ་
 འོག་དམར་ཁྲ་གསོལ། སྤྱག་དོང་གཡམས་ལ་གཟིག་ཤུབས་གཡོན། ཚིབས་སུ་སྤྱུག་པོ་ཤལ་གོད་ཚིབས། སྤྱུག་ན་
 གསེར་མདའ་གསེར་གཞུ་བསྐྱམས། འགོངས་ཤིང་དགའ་པོའི་སྤོང་ལ་བདོག། གྱི་ཐབས་ཚོ་འཕུལ་དགའ་ལ་ཐོང་། རྒྱ།
 ཡང་ཅིག་བཙན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པ་ནི། གོ་ཤོད་བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱང་དམར་རྗེ། ཟངས་བྲག་དམར་པོའི་མངའ་བདག་པོ། སྤྱ་མདོག་དམར་པོ་
 མེ་འོད་འབར། སྤྱུལ་ལེ་བརྟན་འཇོལ་བེར་གསོལ། ཚིབས་སུ་མཚོའ་ལུ་རྟིང་དཀར་ཚིབས། གཡམས་ན་གསོད་པའི་ཤང་ལང་

ཐོགས། གཡོན་ན་ཟངས་ཞགས་དག་ལ་འདེབས། གྱི་ཐབས་ཚོ་འཕྲུལ་དག་ལ་ཐོང་། རྒྱུ་ ཡང་ཅིག་བཅོན་གྱི་
 རྟལ་པ་ནི། ར་བ་གང་གི་སྤྱོད་བཅོན་ནི། རྒྱ་མདོ་ག་དམར་ནག་འཛིགས་པ་ལ། རྒྱ་ལ་ལྷགས་དང་རས་ཁགས་ལ། གདུག་པ་
 ལྷུལ་གྱི་རྒྱ་རགས་བཅིངས། ལྷག་དོང་གཡམས་ལ་གཟིག་ལྷབས་གཡོན། ཚིབས་སུ་མེར་པོ་སྒྲག་ལ་ཚིབས། གཡམས་
 པས་ལྷགས་མདུང་དམར་པོ་བསྐྱམས། གཡོན་པས་དུག་སྤུལ་ཞགས་པ་ཐོགས། གྱི་ཐབས་ཚོ་འཕྲུལ་དག་ལ་ཐོང་། རྒྱུ་
 ཡང་ཅིག་བཅོན་གྱི་རྟལ་པ་ནི། རོ་རོང་དམར་པོའི་གྱི་ལོ་བཅོན་ནི། རྒྱ་ནི་དམར་པོ་འཛིགས་པ་ལ། རྒྱ་ལ་བེར་དམར་
 རློག་པ་གསོལ། ལྷག་དོང་གཡམས་ལ་གཟིག་ལྷབས་གཡོན། གཡམས་ལ་བསེ་མདུང་དམར་པོ་བསྐྱམས། གཡོན་ན་
 བཅོན་གྱི་རྒྱ་ཞགས་བསྐྱམས། ཚིབས་སུ་རྒྱ་དམར་སློང་ཀར་ཚིབས། གྱི་ཐབས་ཚོ་འཕྲུལ་དག་ལ་ཐོང་། རྒྱུ་ ཡང་ཅིག་
 བཅོན་གྱི་རྟལ་པ་ནི། ཀར་ཀ་ཐོང་ནག་བདུད་བཅོན་ནི། རྒྱ་མདོ་ག་ལྷར་སློན་ལོན་ཏུ་འཛིགས། རྒྱ་ལ་དར་ནག་བེར་ཚེན་
 གསོལ། གདུག་ལ་བདུད་དར་ནག་པོ་བཅིངས། ཚིབས་སུ་རྟལ་པ་གཞུང་ནག་ཚིབས། གཡམས་ན་དར་ནག་ཏུ་མཚོན་བསྐྱམས།
 གཡོན་ན་སྤང་ཞགས་སྐར་ལ་འདེབས། གྱི་ཐབས་ཚོ་འཕྲུལ་དག་ལ་ཐོང་། རྒྱུ་ ཡང་ཅིག་བཅོན་གྱི་རྟལ་པ་ནི།
 རྩལ་ཐོག་རྒྱ་ག་གི་གྱི་བཅོན་ནི། རྒྱ་རྒྱ་ཞག་མདོ་ག་དམར་པོ་ལ། ཟངས་ཞབ་དམར་པོ་སྤྲུལ་གསོལ། གདུག་ལ་
 དར་དམར་འགྲིང་ཐོང་བཅིངས། ལྷག་དོང་གཡམས་ལ་གཟིག་ལྷབས་གཡོན། བསེ་སྤབ་དམར་པོ་མེ་འོད་ལྷན། ཟངས་གྱི་
 རས་གྱི་རློག་སྤར་འབྲུག། དར་དམར་ཏུ་མཚོན་རྒྱ་དམར་འཕྲུལ། བཅོན་རྟེན་དམར་མོ་སྤོག་སྤར་འབྲུག། རི་གྲི་སྤྲུང་གྲི་རོལ་དུ་
 ཁྲིད། རི་བྱ་མོ་རོག་སྤོང་ན་སྤོང་། གྱི་རྩལ་རྒྱ་ཚོ་སྤོང་ནས་འདོད། གྱི་ཐབས་ཚོ་འཕྲུལ་དག་ལ་ཐོང་། ཚོ་དགུ་སྤྲུང་དགུ་
 དག་ལ་ཐོང་། བཅོན་གྱི་རྟལ་པ་རྒྱ་བདུན་པོ། ར་རྒྱལ་ཁོ་གཏུམ་བཅོན་གྱི་སྤེ། སྤང་བའི་དག་ལ་བཅོན་དམག་
 རོངས། མཚོན་སྤེ་སྤྲུང་གི་དག་ལ་ཐོང་། གཏི་བ་གྱི་རྒྱ་གྱི་དག་ལ་ཐོང་། རབ་གྱི་སྤྲུང་གི་དག་ལ་ཐོང་། ལྷུབ་གྱི་དག་པོ་དག་ལ་ཐོང་།
 བཅོལ་བའི་སྤོན་ལས་གྲུབ་པར་མཛོད། ཅས་སྤྲུབ་པ་དར་བསད་པའི་དུས་སུ་བསྐྱུལ་ལོ། བཅོན་གྱི་རྟལ་པ་རྒྱ་ག་གི་བསྐྱུལ།
 རོལ་པ་རྒྱ་བདུན་གྱི་སྤྲུབ་ཐབས། རློབ་དཔོན་པརླའི་ཚོག་བརྒྱུང་ལོ་གི།
 འདི་ལོ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལ། རློན་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ཡུལ་དུར་ཁོད་མེ་རི་འབར་བའི་གནས། ཟངས་རི་དམར་ནག་གི་མདུག།
 རློན་མེའི་ཁོལ་མ་མེ་ལྷེ་རིས་གྱི་དག་བཅོན་དམར་པོ་སྤོན་མོ་ཡངས་པ་འདྲ་བ་བཅུ་གཅིག་ཡོད། དེ་ཏུ་པརླ་འབྲུང་གནས་བཞུགས་པས།
 རས་གྱི་གྲང་ལ་སྤྲུང་གི་ཞབ་གི་རས་པ་ཚན་བདུན་དུ་ཞིང་གྲུ་ལ་བར་ཆད་བྱེད་དུ་བྲུང་བའི་ཚོ། རློབ་དཔོན་གྱིས་དཔལ་རྟེན་མགྱིན་གྱི་ཉིང་
 རེ་འཛིན་དུ་བཞུགས་ནས་རྩོམ་སྤྲུང་བས། རྟེན་བདུན་དུ་སོང་ནས་སྤྲུག་འཚལ་དུ་བྲུང་ངོ། རློད་སུ་ཡིན་གྲུས་པས་བདག་ནི་གཞོད་
 རློན་གྱི་གཅོམ་ཚེ་ཚེ་དམར་བྱ་བ་ལགས། བདག་སློན་དཔལ་རྟེན་མགྱིན་གྱིས་དབང་བསྐྱར་ཞིང་། དམ་ཚིག་ཐོག་པ་ལས་བསྐྱེན་
 པའི་སྤྲུང་མར་ཁས་སྤངས་པ་ལགས་སོ། ཟེར་བ་ལས། གྲུ་ལུས་ཁྲིད་གྱི་གནས་གང་ཡིན། པ་མ་གང་ཡིན། རླིང་གང་
 ཡིན། རློས་ཤིག་ཅེས་གསུངས་པས། བདག་གི་གནས་རྒྱ་གར་འདི་ཉིད་ལགས། གཅོད་ན་གང་གྱི་སྤུག་པ་བྱ་བ་
 ལགས། པ་ནི་སྤུ་རྩེ་ཡིགས་པ་ལགས། མ་ནི་གཞོད་སྤྱིན་ཟངས་མགྱིན་མ་བྱ་བ་ཡིན། རློག་གི་སྤྱིང་ནི་དཔལ་རྟེན་མགྱིན་གྱིས་
 གསུངས་པས་རྒྱུད་གཅིག་ན་གནས་པ། བྲག་གི་སེར་ཁམ་གི་ན་བསེ་ལི་གཏུ་སེན་གང་མ་གཅིག་གི་ནང་ན་ཡོད་གྱི་ལོངས་སྤོད་ཅིག།
 བདག་གིས་སངས་རྒྱུས་གྱི་བསྐྱེད་པ་བསྐྱུང་བར་བཞིན། ཞེས་ཞལ་གྱིས་བཞེས་སོ། གྲུ་ལུས་ཀྱང་དབང་བསྐྱར་ནས། གསང་
 བའི་མཚན་བདགས་པ་ནི། གུ་རྒྱུ་བརྩོམ་དག་པོ་ཙམ། ཞེས་བུའོ། རློབ་དཔོན་གྱིས་རྒྱུད་བྲག་ལས་བཏོན་པས་སྤྲུང་མར་

མྱའོ་སྲོག་འཁོར་གསང་བའི་རྟེན། མངའ་ཡི་ལྷགས་དང་ཐོག་ལྷར་སྐྱུར། འཕོད་ཐད་རྟེན་དུ་བྱ་ལ་གཏད། ཏྲག་ཏུ་
 སྲོག་རྒྱུད་འབྲེལ་བར་ཤོག། ཅས་སྒྲོ་རྩོམ་གས་དང་འཁོར་ལོ་གཏད་དོ། དེ་ནས་མཐུང་ཞགས་དམར་པོ་ལ་བསྟེན་ཞིང་ལག་
 ཏུ་གཏད་དོ། མི་འབྲེལ་སྲོག་གི་དམ་ཚིག་ནི། མཐུང་དམར་ཞགས་པ་བཅོན་གྱི་ཚས། པདྨ་བདེ་ཚེན་དམ་ཚིག་ལྷན།
 སྟོན་ལས་ཏྲག་ཏུ་བྱ་ལ་གཏད། རྒྱ་ཀླུ་རྩོམ་རྩོམ་ཐད། དེ་ནས་རྩོམ་ལོ་མོ་སྒྲོགས། དར་དམར་མཐུང་ཞགས་གཡལ་བྱ་ཞིང་།
 གསེར་སྐྱེམས་སྤུད་གཏོང་བསྐྱལ་ཐད་བྱ། ཏྲག་ཏུ་མཚོན་གསོལ་ལས་ལ་འབང། རྒྱུད་དང་བསྐྱེད་རྩིས་བྱ་ལ་སྐྱིན།
 འདི་ནི་ལྷ་ལྷའི་བརྟན་སྤུང་སྟེ། མཐུ་ཅལ་བཅོན་ལྷགས་སྟན་བྲགས་དང་། དབང་ཐང་མེ་ཞིང་དག་བཤེགས་སྒྲོལ། དྲེགས་པའི་སྲོག་གི་
 དབང་ཡིན་ཡིད། གྱི་སྲོང་སྟེང་བཅོན་སྐྱེ་ལྷ་ཡིན། རྩོམ་གས་བརྒྱུད་པ་ཏུ་བྱ་ལ་གཏད། གཞན་དུ་དམ་ཚིག་ཉམས་པར་
 འཇུག། རྒྱུད་གཉིས་སྒྲོ་རྩོམ་ལ་དང་། ཅོག་བརྒྱད་གསོལ་ཀ་ལས་དེར་བཅས། མ་བུ་ཚང་བ་སྐྱེ་དུན་ཅེར།
 མིག་མི་བཟང་གི་བྲགས་ཀར་སྐྱས། གཅིག་ནི་བསམ་ཡས་ཏུ་མགྱིན་གྱི། བྲགས་གསང་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་གཏུ་བུ། ཏུ་མ་གྱིན་
 དྲེགས་པ་ཟེལ་གཞོན་གྱི། ཚོས་བདག་བཀའ་ཡི་སྤྱང་མར་སྐྱས། དེ་ཡི་བྱ་ཡིག་སྲོག་མདའ་ཡི། ཤོག་དྲིལ་ལས་རིམ་གསུམ་པ་
 ནི། མཚིམས་སུ་རྣམ་སྤང་ཅན་ལ་སྐྱས། དུས་ཀྱི་སྟོགས་མ་ཤར་དུས་སྟུ། རྒྱལ་རྒྱུད་དམངས་སུ་འབེབས་པའི་དུས། འདི་ཉིད་
 ལེན་པའི་སྐྱེས་བུ་གཅིག། དྲག་པོ་ཐོག་གི་རྩེ་ལ་དུ་འབྱུང། པདྨ་འི་རིག་སྐྱེགས་བྱུབ་པ་ཡིས། དྲེགས་པ་རང་དབང་
 མེད་པར་འདུ། བཅོན་ལུལ་ཟངས་ཐང་སྲོགས་ནས་འབྱུང། དེ་དུས་འདི་བསྐྱེད་རྒྱལ་རྒྱུད་སྐྱོབས། འདོད་དོན་འབྲས་བུ་
 ལྷོར་བར་བྱེད། དམ་མེད་ལག་ཏུ་ཤོར་རེ། ཞེས་རྒྱལ་པོ་གྱི་སྲོང་སྟེང་བཅོན་དང་། དག་སྲོང་རྒྱལ་བ་མཚོག་
 དབྱངས་གཉིས་ལ་སྒྲོལ་དཔོན་པདྨ་རྩོ་རུབ་སྟིན་པོ་འདུལ་དུ་ཕེབས་པའི་དུས་སུ་གདམས་ཤིང་གཏོར་ཁ་གསུམ་སྐྱས་སོ། ས་མ་ཡ།
 རྒྱ་རྒྱ་དགའོ།

APPENDIX B

The Perfect Feast Petition Offering for Tsiu Marpo

Title Page (1a)

1. The Perfect Feast Petition Offering for Tsiu Marpo (1b-10b.4)

- 1.1 Preliminaries (1b-2a.1)
- 1.2 Tsiu Marpo and Retinue Iconography (2a.1-3b.6)
- 1.3 Ritual Offerings (4a.1-6b.6)
- 1.4 Tsiu Marpo's tasks (6b.6-7b.1)
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- 1.6 Praise and Enlightened Activities (8a.1-8b.3)
- 1.7 Departing Food and Drink Offerings (8b.3-9b.3)
- 1.8 Empowerments (9b.3-10b.2)
- 1.9. Colophon (10b.2-10b.4)

Title Page (1a)

(1a) Thus called, "The Perfect Feast Petition Offering for Tsiu Marpo, King of the Violence Demons and War Gods."

1.1 Preliminaries (1b-2a.1)

(1b) Furthermore, Because one desires to [make] offerings to the king of the violence and might demons, Tsi Marwa, accordingly, assemble the ritual preparations which are derived from the texts and instructions at a suitable place endowed with purity, or gather the red food offerings of the might demons and the blood and beer drinks of the might demons together with the *tormas* of various meats. And by establishing the pride of one's own tutelary deity, bless the offering

tormas with the six *mantras* and six hundred *mudras*. **(2a)** Then, the *swabhava*⁵²¹ grasps emptiness.

1.2 Tsiu Marpo and Retinue Iconography (2a.1-3b.6)

"From the nature of emptiness, in the agitated waves of an ocean of the intermediate space, in the midst of body parts of enemies, hindering demons, and disparaged corpses, the violence demon, king of the war gods, fierce and horrible, Tsi Marwa sends out violent whistles. His face is gathered in a wrathful grimace and his upper teeth gnaw his lower lip; he is endowed with the marks of a hero. **(2b)** His right hand brandishes a red spear with silk. His left hand [brandishes] the lasso of the might demons, which is like the rays of the sun, and by [throwing it] as fast as lightning he gathers the life-energy of the enemy. And also, with the fourth finger of his right hand he spins the red lasso of might demons. On his right he carries a tiger-skin quiver and on his left he carries a leopard-skin bow case. He rides a black horse with white heels. On his head he wears an excellent helmet of leather adorned with vulture feathers and on his body he wears an armored coat covered with scorpion shells. [Assembled around him] are one hundred thousand inexhaustible might demon soldiers, twenty thousand groups of serpent demon soldiers, countless sky demons as well as a limitless gathering of falcons, eagles, tigers, **(3a)** leopards, monkeys, and such. In particular, there are five hundred monks wearing lacquered hats and holding mendicant staffs and begging bowls; they [walk] in front of Tsiu Marpo and speak true words. There are five hundred exorcists wearing black hats and exorcist robes, and holding daggers and *bandhas*;⁵²² they [walk] on the right side of Tsiu Marpo and utter fierce *mantras*. There are five hundred armed men holding swords and shields; they [walk] on the left side of Tsiu Marpo and recite courageous words. There are five hundred black women shaking their black garments and speaking curses; they quickly follow after Tsiu Marpo. The division leaders of these four groups are surrounded by emanations together with emanations of those emanations. **(3b)** All the deities and their retinue which fill the whole extent of the earth are decorated with the syllable OM on their foreheads, the syllable ĀḤ on their throats, and the syllable HŪM on their white hearts. He who has forms of iron-hooked light rays [shooting] from his heart center

⁵²¹ Sanskrit transliteration, "self."

⁵²² Sanskrit transliteration, "skull cup."

resides at the red copper fields in the might demon land of the west, the changeless, spontaneous Samyé temple, the temple at Badhahor, the dark willow grove in Khotan, the thirty-three heavenly realms, the land of the *ayon*⁵²³ *dākas*, and the uninterrupted skies of India. From the abode of the *vajra*, invite the king of the might demons, Tsiu Marpo, together with the retinue of the eight classes of demons who produce arrogance." *There is, accordingly the sound of music, the sound of whistling, the smoke of white incense, together with the thigh-bone trumpet.*

1.3 Ritual Offerings (4a.1-6b.6)

(4a) "Over there, in the various places like this, over there where the sun sets, in the red fields of copper in the might demon land, the violence demon arrives through the swift manner of the flashing radiance of blood, the crying whistle of lamentation, the mischievous screech owl, and the calling⁵²⁴ of the crow's whistle. *hilu hilu hing hing*. Cleanse. *ĀKARṢ JAḤ JAḤ*⁵²⁵ *HŪM VAM HOḤ*. I become the pledge-being and non-duality. The stream of drinks which are concoctions of blood and beer stir up red waves, and I offer these good drinks to you. In order to accomplish enlightened activities gulp these [drinks] down." *Saying this, offer the stream of blood.*

"[While] the trembling and steam of a brand new goat's heart has not faded, I offer the food of this raw meat to you. In order to liberate the enemies and hindering demons, [act] without mistake." (4b) *Saying this, offer the raw meat.*

"The stream of nectar falls from the circle of one's *mantra* at the heart which illuminates one's tutelary deity. Because of this, fill the bodies of the violence demons with their retinue. Aspire to purify all the corruption of the vow." *Recite the hundred syllable mantra. Having done this, one should confess [faults] accordingly.*

"Fierce king Tsi Mar together with his retinue reflect in this way in the region of the mind which listens to melodious [sounds]. Because of the truth of the pure sphere of phenomena which is unchangeable, do not consider in the mind the one's faults. You are the ferocious king of the might demons. I have come under the influence of the affliction of laziness. By your compassion, may you accept the offering *tormas* and forgive my neglected vows. Even all

⁵²³ Unknown.

⁵²⁴ Tib. *kang se kang*; obscure.

⁵²⁵ A withdrawal formula.

actions which inspire anger in you, the hero, such as lethargy, beer, and desire, **(5a)** may you be pleased by the confession of my faults. Remedy the support which is quickly achieved." *Saying this, one should confess [faults]. Empower the amendment materials⁵²⁶ with the six mantras and the six mudras.*

"You, the war god who throws red spears and might demon lassos into the middle of garlands of radiant flames which they stir, in order to receive the amendment materials which generate happiness, please approach once again since you are far away. The armor, helmet, arrows, bow, short spear, and red might demon lasso of this might demon—the great hero—flash like lightning. You conquer the rocky mountain with the conquering sharp sword. I offer the silk crown, upper garments, and lower garments to the Dharma[-protecting] might demon. I offer a mirror of the heart with cultivated vulture feathers, a bowl of head blood soup, a sharp hatchet, an iron rake, an iron poker, **(5b)** and radiant fire arrows which fall [like] thunderbolts. I offer a collection of rain clouds of unbearable radiant color, a series of hail which destroys the crops of the enemies and hindering demons, an assembly of dragons that call out roars which destroy the sky and the earth, and a great ocean on the ground. I offer the good pathways of the exceedingly good green meadows, the fountains with the eight [auspicious signs] on top, and the thick forests filled with savage beasts together with the deer that roam carefree. I collect the ocean of *tormas* which bless the nectar and the ocean of the drinks of immortality nectar. I pile up the food and drink of flesh, blood, and bone like a mountain. I offer all the piles of jewels. **(6a)** I will offer the hundred thousand various [items] of the assembly of red horses, yaks of the might demons, sheep, birds, red dogs, hawks, eagles, water fowl, otters, the hard and cubic chopping block, and garments of silk ribbon." *Saying this, offer the amendment materials.*

"In the middle of the commotion of frightening clotted blood and fiery wind, the king of the violence and might demons, Tsiu Mar, together with the assembly of the wrathful eight classes of haughty demons, settles by means of the swift joyful nature. With faith, I will offer the *amrita*,⁵²⁷ the nectar which is the unperformed medicine, and the assembly of the collection which is the purified, comprehended, and ignited *torma* gathering, to the great god and his retinue with the ocean of clouds of the outer, inner, and secret offerings." *Repeat this three times.*

⁵²⁶ Materials for the ritual of amending and restoring.

⁵²⁷ Sanskrit transliteration, "nectar of immortality."

Within the general and specific teachings of the Buddha, **(6b)** the great Geluk sect,⁵²⁸ never waning, will flourish well until the end of existence and perform, like summer water, favorable conditions, prosperity, and well-being. From the expanse of the red copper fields in many places, the king of the war deities, Tsi Mar together with his retinue, who eat the flesh, blood, and heart of the swift enemy, accomplishes the fulfillment of all desires. By means of altruism and amicability, protect me. By means of rage, crush the enemy and hindering demons. By means of devotion, guard the teachings of the Buddha. Bestow the auspiciousness which increases happiness, delight, glory, and wealth." *After that, having offered the arisen tormas, one should request accordingly.*

1.4 Tsi Marpo's tasks (6b.6-7b.1)

"You, king of violence demons and might demons, **(7a)** [reside] in the middle of radiant, quick chain-lightning. Your frightening mouth and red eyes are open wide. You have glorious troops. You leap quickly onto the enemy. You send the painful illness of might demons to the upper part of their body. You send fierce colic to the lower part of their body. Having gathered great black clouds in the sky, you cast down thunder, lightning, and thunderbolts. You drive the enemy crazy with sky demons. You make the enemy faint with female demons. You tightly bind the enemy with the red lasso, and strike them hard with the great stick. Cut the enemy into pieces with the radiant sword. Tear out the enemy's heart-veins with the iron hook. After chewing on the enemy with your radiant fangs, swallow them down into your stomach, which is a pit of flesh-eating demons. Send various kinds of illusions to the enemies. Send suddenly the throat-swelling illness and the painful illness to the enemy. **(7b)** Destroy seven generations of the assembly of malicious enemies and hindering demons." *Strongly exhort this.*

1.5 Ritual Requests (7b.1-7b.6)

String, like coral, the life-energy *mantra* or a garland of *mantras* on the heart of the violence demon and bestow the light rays of the heart which illuminate the great being, the

⁵²⁸ Tib. *zhwa ser cod pan 'chang ba'i ring lugs*; "the tradition which bears the crown of the yellow hat."

tutelary deity. Because of this, request the lineage of enlightened minds; desiring as such, contemplate accomplishment.

From the *tantra* of Tsi Mar, the arisen *mantra*: "OM PURUKHALOHITASARVA breaks the life-energy of the enemy. Destroy the root life-energy of the enemy. Stake the heart of the enemy. Race! Race! Hihi!"⁵²⁹ *Recite this many times. At the end, recite the hundred syllable mantra and [offer] the torma.*

"OM ĀḤ HŪM." *Bless three times.*

At the end of the previous *mantra*: "The flesh and blood of the enemy and hindering demons *litakhakhakhāhikhāhi*."⁵³⁰ *Due to designating that, offer the torma and request the fulfillment [of desires]; praise in this manner.*

1.6 Praise and Enlightened Activities (8a.1-8b.3)

(8a) The assembly of the lama, the tutelary deity, and the protectors of the Dharma, who properly repair the result of *yogic* expectation and who guard the precious teachings of the supreme accomplished ones, bestow the great blessings of delight on the red violence demon. Your body color is the color of blood, similar to thick fog. Your bared teeth are like the color of snow. Praise to you, the violence demon, king of the war gods, who throws the weapons of the might demon spear and lasso. You are like the color of coral and possess the roar of the might demons. You gulp down the drink which is a mixture of beer and blood. You are the great god who casts down painful illnesses on the enemy. I request and offer, and perform these strictly with companions. According to the great master Padmasambhava, the religious king of the three worlds, Tsongkhapa (Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa; 1357-1419), and particularly Lozang Chökyi Gyeltsen (Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan, the first Pañchen Lama; 1570-1662), do not violate the protection vow. **(8b)** They experience with the tongue the supreme taste of the *vajra* oath water. They have the pictures which are bound to the *vajra* crown. The Omniscient Fifth [Dalai Lama] conferred the teachings of the Geluk sect. From their benefit, act without hesitation." *Entrust this praise and the enlightened activities; carry the tormas to the pure site.*

⁵²⁹ This represents angry laughter.

⁵³⁰ Unknown.

1.7 Departing Food and Drink Offerings (8b.3-9b.3)

"Depart, depart, great war deity! Having taken the thanksgiving *torma*, depart! Having taken the drinks of blood, depart! Having taken the drinks of the might demons, depart! Having taken the golden food and drink, depart! Having taken the red food offerings, depart! Having taken the delicious foods, depart! Since you destroyed the enemy, swiftly depart!" *Saying this, make the departing torma and departing request, and when you've made the petition offering for many days, perform it at a later time.*

"*kye!* (9a) Receive these—the fierce intense radiance endowed with the power of the end-time splendor, the glory of ten million great wild might demons of radiant emanation, and the drink offerings of nectar endowed with the essence of a hundred tastes—and be satisfied like the moon of fifteen smiling faces. The essence of the red heart of the enemy who kills again is the form of radiant and wild desirable objects which are to be bound now. I offer this drink of the exceedingly radiant earth and moon to the lord of life-energy, Tsiu Marpo. You, who are all-illuminating, enjoy this drink which splits many bolts, and [which consists] of the ocean endowed with garlands of waves, which has the quality of being entirely full, and the heart of the obstacle demons with roars of craving. Fierce violence demons, great skeletons, and the seven sharp ones, receive this ocean of nectar drinks." (9b) *Accordingly, perform without exception the activity of entrusting and without effort perform the spontaneous accomplishment now.*

The teachings of the Buddha and particularly the teachings of Lozang [Chökyi Gyeltsen] are the perfect cool shade of this apprehension and pursuit. Because of this, with a gulp of the great red heart and blood of those who, without exception, harm the protectors of happiness, lead and liberate! *kyai!*

1.8 Empowerments (9b.3-10b.2)

In the great subjugation and annihilation *maṇḍala* of the worldly haughty ones, the intense cutting radiance of the *vajra* command by Padmasambhava, the magical emanation of the last appearance, empowers the king of all war gods. The five great fierce kings, conquerors of the three worlds, empower the great lord of life-energy, the captain of the four troops of the exceedingly fierce eight classes of demons, serpent demons of the mirror, and pure black wild

obstacle demons. The conqueror demons, might demons, savage demons, serpent demons, earth lord demons, and sky demons **(10a)** empower the great warlord who conquers the groups of enemies and hindering demons on the battle fields of the malicious armies, just as the light rays on small trees [are conquered] by clouds. The assembly of the yogins, our retinue, and the young ones empower the chief with all the lords of riches by intensely increasing the outer and inner possessions and wealth, and such, and by increasing the six guards and protections during the day and night. In the whole perfect world of ecstatic glory, since the powerful government⁵³¹ which invites guests abides in prestige, it is exceedingly superior. Because of this, it has the superior performers of the four immeasurable actions. Because of this, the great ocean of the tradition of learned Jampel ('Jam dpal)⁵³² is churned by the embracers of the earth with exposition, debate, and composition. **(10b)** The essence of the nectar which is the illumination of the *sūtra* and *mantra* essence accomplishes the actions of increase for as long as there is a sky. Receive the lifetime of the venerable lama, and such.

1.9. Colophon (10b.2-10b.4)

This was composed by the lord, [the third] Paṅchen Lozang Penden Yeshé (Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes; 1738-1780). Speak this again. This petition offering of the violence demon Tsiu Marpo, having been extensively projected for the faithful sponsors, disseminates and propagates the published Buddhist teachings. Reflect on and confide in the life of the doctrine holders! These block prints dwell within the Tārā chapel of Kundeling monastery.

⁵³¹ Tib. *lugs zung srid*, variant of *lugs gnyis zung 'brel*; "combination of both the temporal and spiritual traditions; generally refers to the Tibetan government."

⁵³² Skt. Mañjuśrī.

The Perfect Feast Petition Offering for Tsiu Marpo Tibetan Text

Title Page (1a)

གཞོན་སྒྲིན་དག་ལྷའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཙོ་དམར་པོ་ལ་གསོལ་མཚོན་རྫོགས་། ། ལྷན་ཚོགས་ལོ་རྒྱུ་། ། ལྷན་དགའ་སྒྲོན་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།

1.1 Preliminaries (1b-2a.1)

དེ་ཡང་གཞོན་སྒྲིན་བཅོན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཙོ་དམར་པོ་མཚོན་པར་འདོད་པས། ཇི་ལྟར་འོས་པའི་གནས་སུ་གཅོད་སྒྲུ་དང་ལྷན་པས་གཞུང་དང་
མན་རག་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་བཅའ་གཞི་རྣམས་འདུ་བྱ་བའམ། ཡང་ན་བཅོན་པའོས་དམར་པོ་བཅོན་སྒྲིམས་ཁྲག་ཆང་། གསུ་
རྣམས་གྱི་གཏོར་མ་དང་བཅས་པ་ཚོགས་པར་བྱས་ལ་རང་ཉིད་ཡི་དམ་གྱི་ལྷའི་རྒྱལ་བཏོན་པས་སྤྲུགས་བྱུག་དང་ཕྱག་བརྒྱ་བྱུག་གིས་
མཚོན་གཏོར་རྣམས་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརྒྱབས། དེ་ནས། སྤྲུ་ལྷས་སྟོང་པར་སྤྱངས།

1.2 Tsiu Marpo and Retinue Iconography (2a.1-3b.6)

སྟོང་པའི་རང་ལས། རང་གི་མདུན་དུ་ཕྱག་གི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་བློ་འཇུག་ཅིང་དག་བགའས་གྱི་ལྷ་དུམ་དང་མི་རོ་འཕྲ་བའི་དབུས་སུ།
གཞོན་སྒྲིན་དག་ལྷའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཙོ་དམར་པོ་དག་ཅིང་རྣམས་ལ་གཏུམ་པའི་ལྷ་སྤྱོད་འབོད་པ། ཁོ་གཉེར་བསྐྱུས་ཤིང་ཡ་སོས་མ་མཚུ་
མནན་པའི་དཔལ་རྟགས་ཅན། ཕྱག་གཡམས་དར་མདུང་དམར་པོ་བསྐྱེད་བ། གཡོན་པ་བཅོན་གྱི་ཞགས་པ་ཉི་ཟེར་ལྷ་བྱ་སྒྲོག་ལྷར་
འཇུག་པས་དག་པོའི་ཚོ་སྒོག་འགྲུགས་ཤིང་། གཡམས་གྱི་སྤྱི་མཚུབ་ལའང་བཅོན་ཞགས་དམར་པོ་བཀལ་བ། ལྷག་རལ་གཡམས་
དང་གཟུགས་ལུབ་གཡོན་དུ་འཆང་ཞིང་རྟ་བྲ་ནག་རྟིང་དཀར་ལ་ཆིབས་པ། དབུ་ལ་བསེའི་ཚོ་ག་བཟང་མོད་གྱི་ལྷེ་ལྷ་ཅན་དང་སྤྱུ་ལ་བསེ་
ཁབ་སྤྲིག་བ་རུ་ཅན་གྱི་གཟུགས་གྱི་གང་བ་གསོལ་བ། མི་བཟང་པའི་བཅོན་དམག་འབུམ་སྤེ་བྱུ་དམག་ཉི་ཟེར་ཐེུ་རངས་གངས་
མེད། བྱ་ཁྲ་དང་བྱ་སྤྲུགས། ལྷག་གཟུགས་སྤེུ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ཚོགས་དཔལ་ཏུ་མེད་པ་དང་། ལྷད་པར་དུ་དག་སྟོང་བསེ་ཐེབ་
གྲོན་ཅིང་འཁར་གསེལ་དང་ལྷུང་བཟེད་ཐོགས་པ་ལྷ་བརྒྱ་བདུན་ན་བདེན་ཚིག་བརྗོད་པ། ལྷགས་པ་ལྷ་ནག་དང་མོད་ཁ་གྲོན་ཅིང་
ཕྱར་བྱ་དང་པར་ཐོགས་པ་ལྷ་བརྒྱ་གཡམས་ན་དྲག་སྤྲུགས་བརྗོད་པ། ལྷུས་པ་གོ་མཚོན་ཅན་ལྷ་བརྒྱ་གྱི་ཕྱུང་ཐོགས་ཤིང་སྟོང་བདེ་བརྗོད་
པ་གཡོན་ན་འགྲོ་བ། བྱུང་མེད་ནག་མོ་གོས་ནག་བརྗོད་ཅིང་དམོད་མོ་འདེབས་པ། ལྷ་བརྒྱ་རྗེས་ལ་རྒྱུག་པ་སྤེུ་འབྲེན་སྤེ་
བཞི་སྤུལ་པ་ཡང་སྤུལ་དང་བཅས་པས་བསྟོར་བ། འཛོན་མའི་ཁྲོན་ཀུན་གང་བའི་གཙོ་འཁོར་ཐམས་ཅད་གྱི་སྤྱི་ལོར་ཨོ། མགྱིན་
པར་ལྷུང་ཕྱགས་དཀར་རྩྭ་གིས་མཚན་པར་བྱུང། བདག་ཉིད་གྱི་ཕྱགས་ཀའི་འོད་ཟེར་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་ལྷེ་པ་ཅན་གྱིས་རུབ་ཕྱོགས་བཅོན་
ལུལ་ཟངས་ཐང་དམར་པོ། བསམ་ལས་མི་འགྲུར་ལྷན་གྱིས་བྱུབ་པའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་། བརྒྱ་དོར་གྱིས་གོམ་གྱ། ལི་ཡུལ་

ལྷུང་ར་སྐྱབ་པོ། ལྷ་གནས་སུམ་ཅུ་ཅུ་གསུམ། རྫོན་མཁའ་འགྲོའི་གླིང་། རྒྱ་ཡུལ་ནམ་མཁའ་ཚད་ཚོད་སོགས་གར་བཞུགས་
 རྗེས་འགན་ནས་བཅོན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཅི་དམར་བ་དྲེགས་བྱེད་སྲི་བརྒྱད་གྱི་འཁོར་དང་བཅས་པ་སྤྱན་དྲངས། རོལ་མེའི་སྐྱུ་ལུ་བུའི་སྐྱ།
 སྒོམ་དཀར་གྱིས་དྲད་པ། མི་རྒྱུད་གྱི་སྤྱོད་པ་དང་བཅས་ཏེ་འདི་ལྟར།

1.3 Ritual Offerings (4a.1-6b.6)

སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་དེ་ནི་པ་གི་ན། ཉི་མ་རུབ་སྤྱོད་པ་པ་གི་ན། བཅོན་ཡུལ་ཟངས་ཐང་དམར་པོ་ན། གཞོན་སྤྱིན་ཁྲག་མདངས་ལ་
 ལ་ལ། འོ་དོད་ལུ་སྐྱ་ཀུ་སེ་ཀུ། སྤོན་བྱ་ལྷག་པ་ཀག་སེ་ཀག། བྱ་ལོག་ལུ་སྐྱ་ཀར་སེ་ཀར། རིངས་པའི་རྩལ་གྱིས་འདིར་
 སྤོན་ཅིག། ཉི་ལུ་ཉི་ལུ། ཉིང་ཉིང། དབྱི་ལུ། ལྷ་ཀར་པ་ལ་ཇེལ། ཇེལ། རྩུ་བོ་རྩེལ། དམ་ཚིག་བ་དང་གཉིས་སུ་མེད་པར་གྱུར།
 ཁྲག་ཚང་སྐྱར་བའི་གཏུང་བའི་རྒྱན། རྒྱུ་དྲོད་དམར་པོ་འབྲུག་པ་ཡི། བཏུང་བ་བཟང་པོ་ཁྱོད་ལ་འབུལ། འཕྲིན་ལས་སྐྱབ་
 སྤོར་རུབ་སེ་རུབ། ཞེས་ཁྲག་རྒྱན་འབུལ། གསར་དུ་གསར་པའི་ར་ཡི་སྤྱིང། འདར་ཞིང་རྒྱངས་པ་མ་ལ་ལ་བ།
 འཇེན་བཟའ་བ་ཁྱོད་ལ་འབུལ། དག་བགའས་སྒོལ་སྤོར་ཉག་སེ་ཉག། ཅས་འཇེན་འབུལ། རང་ཡི་དམ་དུ་གསལ་བའི་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་ཀར་
 རང་གི་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་པ་ལས་བདུད་ཅི་འི་རྒྱན་བབས་པས། གཞོན་སྤྱིན་འཁོར་བཅས་ཀྱི་ལུས་གང་སྟེ་དམ་ཚིག་ཉམས་ཆགས་ཐམས་
 ཅད་བྱང་བར་བསམ་ལ། ཡིག་བརྒྱ་བརྒྱས་ཏེ་འདི་ལྟར་བཞགས་པ་བྱའོ། དྲག་བྱེད་ཅི་དམར་རྒྱལ་པོ་འཁོར་དང་བཅས།
 སྤྱན་གསོན་སྤྱགས་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་དུ་འདི་ལྟར་དགོངས། མི་འབྲུང་ཚོས་དབྱིངས་རྣམ་དག་བདེན་པའི་སྤོར། བདག་གི་ཉེས་པ་སྤྱགས་ལ་མ་
 དགོངས་ཤིག། ཁྱོད་ནི་བཅོན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དྲག་ལུལ་ཅན། ར་ནི་ལེ་ལོ་ཉོན་མོངས་དབང་དུ་སོང། མཚོན་གཏོར་དམན་དང་དམ་
 ཚིག་གཡེལ་བ་ལ། ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་ལྷུ་བཟོད་པར་མཛོད་དུ་གསོལ། གཉིད་དང་ཆང་དང་འདོད་ཆགས་ལ་སོགས་པ། དཔའ་
 ཁྱོད་ཁྱོད་རྒྱུར་པའི་ལས་ཀུན་ཀྱང། རོངས་པས་བཞགས་ཀྱི་དབྱིས་པར་མཛོད་དུ་གསོལ། རྒྱར་དུ་འབྱུང་པའི་སྤོར་སྤོར་གསལ་
 གཉིན་པོ་མཛོད། ཅས་བཞགས་པ་བྱ། བསྐྱར་རྗེས་རྣམས་སྤྱགས་དུག་དང་སྤྱག་རྒྱ་དུག་གིས་བྱིན་བྱིས་བརྒྱབས་ནས། འབའ་
 བའི་མེ་སྟེ་འཕྲེང་བ་འབྲུགས་བའི་སྤོར། མདུང་དམར་བཅོན་ཞགས་ས་འཕེན་བའི་དག་ལྷ་ཁྱེད། སེམས་དགའ་བསྐྱེད་པའི་
 བསྐྱར་རྗེས་ལེན་པའི་སྤོར། རིང་རིང་རྩལ་གྱིས་སྤྱར་ཡང་གཤེགས་སུ་གསོལ། དཔའ་ཚེན་གཅོན་གྱི་ཁྲབ་སྤོར་གསལ་མདའ་གཞུང་དང་།
 མདུང་སྤང་གཅོན་ཞགས་དམར་པོ་སྤོར་ལྟར་འབྲུག། རལ་གྱི་རྩོད་རལ་འཛོམས་བས་བྲག་རི་འཛོམས། བཅོན་ཚོས་དར་ཐོད་
 སྤོད་གཡོག་སྤྱད་གཡོག་འབུལ། སྤོང་ཁའི་མེ་ལོང་ཚོད་ཀྱི་སྤོར་ལུལ་དང་། ལྷན་ཁྲག་ལྷག་པའི་མོར་པ་སྤྱ་གྱི་རོ། ལྷགས་ཀྱི་
 ལྷར་མོ་སྤྱགས་ཀྱི་གཅོག་ཁྲག་དང་། གནམ་ལྷགས་འབབ་པའི་མེ་འདའ་འབར་བ་འབུལ། མི་བཟང་ཁ་དོག་འབར་བའི་
 ཆར་སྤྱིན་དང་། དག་བཞགས་ལོ་ཉོག་འཛོམས་པའི་སེར་བའི་རྒྱན། གནམ་ས་འཇིག་པའི་སྤྱ་སྤྱོག་འབུག་གི་ཚོགས། ས་ཡིས་
 སྤོང་དུ་མཚོ་ཚེན་འབྲིལ་བ་འབུལ། རེ་ལུ་གསིང་ཤིན་ཏུ་གཤིན་པའི་ཅུ་བཟང་དང་། རྒྱ་མིག་ཡན་ལ་བརྒྱད་ལུན་ཡིད་དུ་འོང་།
 རྣམས་ཚལ་འབྲུག་པོ་གཅོན་གཅོན་མང་པོས་གང་། བག་ཐེབས་རྒྱ་བའི་རི་དྲགས་བཅས་པ་པ་འབུལ། བདུད་ཅིར་བྱིན་བརྒྱབས་གཏོར་
 མ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་དང་། འཚི་མེད་བདུད་ཅི་འི་བཏུང་བ་མཚོ་རུ་འབྲིལ། འགྲུག་རུས་པའི་བཟའ་བཅའ་རི་ལྟར་སྤྱངས། རོར་བུའི་
 ཡུང་པོ་ཐམས་ཅད་འབུལ་བྱ། ཉེད་མར་བཅོན་གཡེག་ལུག་དང་བྱ་ཁྱེད་མར། ཁྲ་དང་བྱ་སྤྱགས་རྒྱ་སྐྱར་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་ཚོགས། གཅོབ་

གདན་མཁེག་ཅིང་གྲུ་བཞི་ལྷམ་པ་དང་། དར་སྐྱ་གོས་སྐྱ་འབྲུམ་སྡེ་འབྲུལ་བར་གྲུ། ཞེས་བསྐྱང་རྗེས་སུལ་ནས། འཇིགས་ཅུང་ཁྲག་
 ཞག་མི་རྒྱུང་འབྲུག་པའི་དབུས། གཞོན་སྡིག་བཅོན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཙོ་ལུ་དམར། དྲེགས་ཕྱིད་སྡེ་བརྒྱད་ཁོ་གཏུ་མ་ཚོགས་དང་བཅས། རིངས་
 པའི་རང་བཞིན་དགེས་པའི་རྩལ་གྱིས་བཞུགས། མཛོད་མེད་སྤྲོད་གྱི་བདུད་ཅི་ཨ་མི་ཏེ། གཏོར་ཚོགས་སྤྱངས་རྟོགས་སྤར་བའི་ཕྱང་
 པོའི་ཚོགས། སྤྱི་ནང་གསང་བའི་མཚོན་སྡིག་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཡིས། ལྷ་ཚེན་འཁོར་བཅས་དང་བས་མཚོན་པར་གྲུ། ལན་
 གསུམ། སངས་རྒྱལ་བསྟན་པ་སྤྱི་དང་བྱུང་པར་དུ། ལྷ་སེར་ཙོད་པར་འཆང་བའི་རིང་ལུགས་ཆེ། མི་རྣམས་ལྷིང་མཐའི་
 བར་དུ་ལེགས་རྒྱས་ཤིང་། མཐུན་རྒྱུན་ལེགས་ཚོགས་དབྱར་གྱི་རྒྱ་ལྷར་མཛོད། སྤོགས་སྤོགས་ཟངས་ཐང་དམར་པོའི་གྲོང་
 གཤེད་ནས། རིངས་རིངས་དག་པོའི་གཞུག་སྤིང་བཟའ་བ། དག་ལྷའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཙོ་དམར་འཁོར་བཅས་གྱིས། འདོད་
 རོན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཡིད་བཞིན་འགྲུབ་པར་མཛོད། ཕན་སེམས་སྤིང་ཉེའི་རྩལ་གྱིས་བདག་ལ་སྤོངས། རམས་པའི་རྩལ་གྱིས་དག་
 བགོགས་ཐལ་བར་རྒྱོག། མོས་པའི་རྩལ་གྱིས་སངས་རྒྱལ་བསྟན་པ་བསྤུངས། བདེ་སྤྱིད་དཔལ་འབྱོར་རྒྱས་པའི་བྲག་
 ལིས་སྤོལ། འོག་ནས་འབྱུང་བའི་གཏོར་མ་སུལ་ཏེ། འདི་ལྷར་བསྐྱལ་བར་བྱའོ།

1.4 Tsiu Marpo's tasks (6b.6-7b.1)

གཞོན་སྡིག་བཅོན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཙོ་ལུ། འབར་བའི་སྤོག་འཕྲིང་འབྲུག་པའི་དབུས། འཇིགས་པའི་ཁ་དང་མིག་དམར་བསྟན།
 དཔུང་ཚོགས་བཅས་པ་གཟེངས་སེ་གཟེངས། དག་པོའི་སྤིང་དུ་རྒྱུར་དུ་འཕྲོས། བཅོན་གྱི་གཟེར་ནད་སྤོང་ལ་ཐོང་།
 རྒྱ་ཟེར་དག་པོ་སྤྲོད་དུ་ཐོབ། ཉམ་མཁེའ་སྡིག་ནག་ཚེར་འཁྲིགས་ཏེ། འབྲུག་སྤོག་ཐོག་དང་གནམ་ལྷགས་ཐོབ། ཐེུ་རང་གིས་སྤོ་རུ་
 རྒྱལ། མ་མོ་རྣམས་གྱིས་བརྒྱལ་དུ་རྒྱག། ཞགས་པ་དམར་པོས་དམ་ཚིངས་ལ། དབྲུག་པ་ཚེན་པོས་རབ་ཏུ་བརྟེག།
 རལ་གྱི་འབར་བས་དུམ་བུར་གཏུབས། ལྷགས་ཀྱི་འབར་བས་སྤིང་ཅ་སྤུགས། མཚེ་བ་འབར་བས་བསྟན་ནས་ཀྱང་། མིང་པ་
 སྡིག་པོའི་དོང་དུ་བསྐྱར། ཚོ་འཕྲལ་རྣམ་པ་སྤྲོ་ཚོགས་ཐོང་། སྤོ་བུར་གག་ནད་གཟེར་ནད་ཐོབ། དག་
 བགོགས་གདུག་པོའི་ཚོགས་རྣམས་གྱི། མདུན་རྒྱུད་ཆད་བརྟེན་པར་གྱིས། ཞེས་དག་ཏུ་བསྐྱལ།

1.5 Ritual Requests (7b.1-7b.6)

གཞོན་སྡིག་གྱི་སྤིང་ཁར་སྤོག་སྤྲུགས་སམ། ཡང་ན་སྤྲུགས་གྱི་འཕྲིང་བུ་རུ་ལྷ་བུ་ལྷ་རུ་བརྒྱས་པ་ལ་བདག་ཉིད་ཡི་དམ་གྱི་ལྷར་
 གསལ་བའི་ཐུགས་ཀའི་འོད་ཟེར་ཐོག་པས་ཐུགས་བརྒྱད་བསྐྱལ་ཏེ་རི་ལྷར་འདོད་པའི་ལས་བསྐྱལ་བར་བསམས་ལ། ཙོ་དམར་གྱི་རྒྱུད་
 ལས་འབྱུང་བའི་སྤྲུགས་སམ། ཨོ་ཕུ་རུ་ཁ་ལེ་ཉི་ཏ་སྤོད་དག་པོའི་སྤོག་ལ་རྩེ་རྩེ། དག་པོའི་སྤོག་ཅ་བད་བད། དག་པོའི་སྤིང་ལ་
 གཟེར་གཟེར། བརྒྱག་བརྒྱག། ཉི་ཉི། ཞེས་ཅི་མང་བསྐྱ། མཐུག་ཏུ་ཡིག་བརྒྱ་བརྒྱས་ལ་གཏོར་མ། ཨོ་ལྷ་ལྷོ།
 གསུམ་གྱི་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརྟེན་ནས། གོང་གི་སྤྲུགས་གྱི་མཐར། དག་པོའི་གསལ་གྱི་གཞུག་བ་ལི་ཏེ་ཁ་ཁ་ལྷ་ཉི་ལྷ་ཉི།
 ཞེས་བཏགས་པས་གཏོར་མ་སུལ་ནས་འདོད་དོན་ལ་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་སྟེ་འདི་ལྷར་བསྤོང་པར་བྱའོ།

1.6 Praise and Enlightened Activities (8a.1-8b.3)

ནལ་འབྱོར་རེ་བའི་འབྲས་བུ་ལེགས་སྐྱང་ཞིང། བྱུ་མཚོག་བསྟན་པ་རིན་ཆེན་སྐྱོང་བྱེད་པའི། བླ་མ་ཡི་དམ་ཚེས་བསྟུང་
ཚོགས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས། གཞོད་སྦྱིན་དམར་པོ་དགུམ་པའི་བྱིན་ཆེན་པོ་ལ། བྱོད་ཀྱི་སྦྱེ་མདོག་ཁག་མདངས་ན་བུན་འདྲ། མཚེ་བ་
གཙོགས་པ་གངས་ཀྱི་ཁ་དོག་བཞིན། མདུང་དང་ཞབས་པ་བཅོན་གྱི་གྱི་འཕེན་པའི། གཞོད་སྦྱིན་དག་ལྷའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་བྱོད་ལ་
བསྟོད། བུ་རུའི་མདོག་འདྲ་ཚན་གྱིང་རོ་ཅན། ཚང་ཁྲག་སྦྱར་བའི་བདུང་བ་རུབ་བྱེད་པ། དག་ལ་གཟེར་ནད་འབབས་པའི་ལྷ་ཆེན་
བྱིད། གསོལ་ལོ་མཚོན་དོ་སྤོང་གོགས་གཉན་པོ་མཚོན། སློབ་དཔོན་ཆེན་པོ་བརྗོད་འབྱུང་གནས་དང། ཁམས་གསུམ་ཚེས་
ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚོང་ཁ་པ། བྱེད་པར་སློབ་མཚན་ཆེས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས། ཇི་ལྟར་བཀའ་བསྐྱོས་དམ་ལས་མ་འདའ་ཞིག།
རྗེ་མཚན་འཆུང་རོ་མཚོག་ལྷུ་ཡིས་མྱོང། རྗེ་ཐོད་དུ་བཅིངས་པའི་རི་མོ་ཡོད། ཀུན་མཁྱེན་ལྷ་པས་ལྷ་སེར་བསྟན་པ་གཏད།
དེ་དག་དོན་ལས་གཡེལ་བ་མེད་པར་མཚོན། ཅེས་བསྟོད་ཅིང་འཕྲིན་ལས་བཅོལ་ཏེ། གཏོར་མ་གཅང་སར་བསྐྱུལ་ནས།

1.7 Departing Food and Drink Offerings (8b.3-9b.3)

གཤེགས་ཤིག་གཤེགས་ཤིག་དག་ལྷ་ཆེ། གཏང་རྒྱ་གཏོར་མ་འབྱེར་ཏེ་གཤེགས། ཁྲག་གི་བདུང་བ་འབྱེར་ཏེ་གཤེགས། བཅོན་གྱི་
བདུང་བ་འབྱེར་ཏེ་གཤེགས། གསེར་གྱི་བཟའ་བཅའ་འབྱེར་ཏེ་གཤེགས། བཤོས་བུ་དམར་པོ་འབྱེར་ཏེ་གཤེགས། ཞེས་ཞེས་
བཟའ་བ་འབྱེར་ཏེ་གཤེགས། དག་པོ་འཛོམས་སྤྱིར་རིངས་བར་གཤེགས། ཞེས་གཤེགས་གཏོར་དང་གཤེགས་གསོལ་བྱ་ཞིང།
ཉིན་མང་པོར་གསོལ་ཁ་བྱེད་ན་ཉིན་རྗེས་མའི་དུས་སུ་བྱའོ། ། ཀྱི། རབ་འབར་གཏུམ་བྲག་དུས་མཐའི་བྱིན་པའི་ཤུགས། བྱེ་བའི་
དཔལ་རོལ་འབར་བའི་བཅོན་ཚོད་ཆེ། བདུད་རྩིའི་གསེར་སྦྱེམས་རོ་བརྒྱའི་བཅུད་ལྡན་པ། འདི་བཞེས་འཇུག་ཞལ་བཅོ་ལྷའི་རྒྱ་ལྟར་
ངོམས། གསེར་དུ་གསལ་བའི་དག་སྦྱིང་དམར་པོའི་བཅུད། གྱིན་དུ་ཁོལ་བའི་མདངས་ཚོད་འདོད་ཡོན་གཟུགས། རབ་
བཀའི་རོར་འཛིན་རྒྱ་བའི་ཞལ་སྦྱེམས་འདི། སློག་གི་བདག་པོ་ཚོ་ལྷུ་དམར་པོ་མཚོན། ཀུན་གསལ་བྱོད་ཀུན་འགོང་བྱེད་སུ་ལྟེ།
རིན་ཆེན་འབྱུང་གནས་རྒྱབས་ཀྱི་སྤོང་བ་ཅན། བརྒྱམས་པའི་སྦྱེ་ཡིས་མི་ཟད་བདུད་སྤེའི་སྦྱིང་། དུ་མ་བུར་འགས་བྱེད་བདུང་བ་
འདི་ལ་རོལ། གཞོད་སྦྱིན་དག་པོ་གིང་ཆེན་རང་རྟོན་བདུན། བདུད་རྩིའི་གསེར་སྦྱེམས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་འདི་བཞེས་ལ། ཇི་ལྟར་
བཅོལ་བའི་འཕྲིན་ལས་མ་ལུས་པ། འབད་མེད་ད་ལྷ་ལྷན་གྱིས་འགྲུབ་པར་མཚོན། སངས་རྒྱལ་བསྟན་དང་བྱེད་པར་སློབ་མཚན་
བསྟན། འཛིན་ཅིང་འགྲོ་འདི་རྗེས་ལྡན་གྱི་བ་བསིལ་གྱིས། བདེ་བར་སྐྱོད་ལ་གཞོད་བྱེད་མ་ལུས་པའི། སྦྱིང་ཁྲག་དམར་ཆེན་རུབ་གྱིས་
དྲོངས་ལ་སྦྱོལ། ཀྱི།

1.8 Empowerments (9b.3-10b.2)

འཇིག་རྟེན་དེགས་པའི་དབང་དྲག་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ཆེར། ལྷ་མཐའི་སྦྱུ་འཕུལ་པརྒྱ་ཀར་ཡིས། རྗེ་ཇི་བཀའ་བཏགས་ཅོད་པར་
རབ་འབར་བ། དག་ལྷ་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོར་མངའ་གསོལ་ལོ། སྤྱིད་གསུམ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་རྗེ་གཏུམ་མཚན་ལ། ཤེལ་དང་

བདུད་ནག་གཙང་མོད་གི་རྒྱ་རེ། ལྷོ་བརྒྱད་རབ་དག་ལྷུ་བདུད་དཔུང་ཚོགས་བཞི་ལེ། དེད་དཔོན་སྲོག་བདག་ཚེན་པོར་མངའ་
 གསོལ་ལོ། རྒྱལ་བཙན་དམུ་ལྷུ་ས་བདག་ཐེའུ་རང་། གདུག་པའི་དམག་དཔུང་གཡུལ་རོར་དག་བགོགས་སྡེ། འདབ་
 ལྷན་པུ་མོར་སྤྲིན་གྲིས་འོད་ཟེར་བཞེན། འཛོམས་བྱེད་དམག་དཔོན་ཚེན་པོར་མངའ་གསོལ་ལོ། རྣལ་འབྱོར་བདག་ཅག་འཁོར་
 དང་གཞོན་པའི་ཚོགས། ལྷོ་ནང་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་དཔལ་འབྱོར་ལ་སོགས་པ། ཉིན་མཚན་དུས་དུག་བསྐྱེད་རབ་སྤེལ་བས།
 རོར་བདག་ལོངས་གྲིས་གཙོ་བོར་མངའ་གསོལ་ལོ། རབ་དགའི་དཔལ་གྲིས་འཛིག་རྟེན་ལུན་ཚོགས་ཀུན། མགོན་དུ་འགྲུགས་
 པའི་མཐུ་ལྷན་ལུགས་ལུང་སྤིད། དབུ་འཕངས་གནས་ཙང་ལས་བརྒྱལ་ཚེར་མཐོ་བས། རབ་འབྲུམས་ལས་བཞིའི་བྱེད་
 པོར་མ། ལྷོ་བཟང་འཇམ་དཔལ་རིང་ལུགས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཆེ། འཆད་ཚོད་ཚོམ་པས་ས་འཛིན་གྲིས་བསྐྱབས་ཏེ། མདོ་སྤྲུགས་སྤིང་
 པོའི་སྤྱང་བྱེད་བདུད་རྩིའི་བཅུད། རམ་མཁའ་འཛི་སྤིད་སྤེལ་བའི་འཕྲིན་ལས་སྤྲུབས། རྗེ་བཙུན་སྤྲུ་མ་སྤྲུ་ཚོ་བཞེས་སོགས།

1.9. Colophon (10b.2-10b.4)

ཅས་པ་འདི་ནི་པཎ་ཚེན་སྤོ་བཟང་དཔལ་ལྷན་ཡེ་ཤེས་དབང་པོས་མཛད་པའོ། སྤྲུང་སྤྲུས་པ། གཞོད་སྤྲིན་ཙོའུ་དམར་པོའི་
 གསོལ་མཚོད་འདི། རྒྱ་སྤྱོར་དད་ལྷན་རབ་ཡངས་སྤིན་པ་ནས། པར་དུ་བསྐྱུན་པའི་རྒྱལ་བསྐྱེད་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས། བསྐྱེད་
 འཛིན་སྤྲུས་བུའི་སྤྲུ་ཚོ་བརྟག་བརྟན་ཤོག། པར་འདི་ཀུན་གྱིང་སྤོམ་ལྷ་ཁང་དུ་བཞུགས།

APPENDIX C

Fragment from *The Lightning Garland*

1. Might Demon Petition (27.2-30.1)

- 1.1. Setting (27.2-27.6)
- 1.2. Praise and Offerings (27.6-28.4)
- 1.3. Reconsecration Offerings (28.4-28.6)
- 1.4. Vow Amendment (28.6-29.5)
- 1.5. Request (29.5-30.1)

1.1. Setting (27.2-27.6)

Then, regarding the might demon petition:

kyai! Regarding those various places, over there in the direction where the sun sets, in the red fields of copper in the might demon realm; regarding the great might demons, the seven emanating riders who obey the Powerful Lotus [Tamdrin]: Usually, they have a red body color, brandish flags and lassos in their hands, and exist together with the assembly of the haughty eight classes of deities. Come here! Come here! Come to this place! ŚŪLATRIVAJRASAMĀJA.⁵³³

Bhyo! In the power within the red castle of the might demons, the inconceivable possessions of flesh and blood and the extremely beautiful deity offerings which are attractive reside on the ground of the pure vow, together with the SAMAYATIṢṬHA.⁵³⁴

⁵³³ Sanskrit transliteration, "assembly of the *vajra* trident."

⁵³⁴ Sanskrit transliteration, "established vow."

1.2. Praise and Offerings (27.6-28.4)

Regarding the seven emanating brothers: They obey the Powerful Lotus [who performs] inconceivable enlightened activities. **(28)** Praise to you, masters of the treasure vow. I offer this pure ablation. Act completely by the power of compassion for me and the patron. ARGHAMVIŚUDDHESVĀHĀ.⁵³⁵ The poisonous perfume, which is purified, gathers like clouds. Offer bright flowers, scented water, food offerings, and pleasant music. Act completely by the power of compassion. RŪPA,⁵³⁶ PUṢPA,⁵³⁷ DHŪPE,⁵³⁸ ĀLOKE,⁵³⁹ GANDHE,⁵⁴⁰ NAIVIDYA,⁵⁴¹ ŚAPTAPŪJĀ⁵⁴² HOḤ. *kyai!*

1.3. Reconsecration Offerings (28.4-28.6)

Regarding the lords of life-energy; regarding the possessions of delight for you, the assembly of the seven terrifying emanating ones: The *tormas* of red flesh and blood are piled up like a mountain. The uncontaminated nectar is contained like a lake. The oblation liquid of blood fills a pool. The possessions of the deity offering are spread out like the stars. The music of the thigh-bone trumpet roars like a dragon together with the assembly of pleasant song.

1.4. Vow Amendment (28.6-29.5)

(29) Amend the vows of the seven oath-bound brothers! Amend the vows of the radiant wild might demons! Amend the vows of the eight thousand classes of demons! Amend the vows of the oath-bound shrine protectors! Amend the vows of the messengers of the four activities!

⁵³⁵ Sanskrit transliteration, "bless the purified valuable."

⁵³⁶ Sanskrit transliteration, "forms."

⁵³⁷ Sanskrit transliteration, "flowers."

⁵³⁸ Sanskrit transliteration, "perfume."

⁵³⁹ Sanskrit transliteration, "praise."

⁵⁴⁰ Sanskrit transliteration, "incense."

⁵⁴¹ Sanskrit transliteration, "food offering."

⁵⁴² Sanskrit transliteration, "vow worship."

Bhyo! The red castle of the might demons sways. The red silk banner flutters. The red flag shakes. The shot arrow of the haughty ones rises. The butchers of actions cut.⁵⁴³ The exclamations of the strong ones howl. HŪṂ. Amend the vows of the king of the great might demons. Before the master Padmé Chen (Padma'i spyan),⁵⁴⁴ consider your promise of the vow. The royal lineage of Trisong Deutsen and the vow-endowed yogin together with the transmission guard the single vow. And cut off the descendants who harm the body.

1.5. Request (29.5-30.1)

Utterly strike down the armies of wrong view. Do not separate from the vow of the *vajra* that holds the *mantra*. Entrust and manage this, [then] generate the power. Reduce carelessness and do not inflame. **(30)** Because of the food of flattery, make the garland. Mend the contradicting heart and protect the dear child like a nephew.

⁵⁴³ Tib. *ro lo lo*; obscure.

⁵⁴⁴ "Lotus-eyed."

The Lightning Garland Tibetan Text

1.1. Setting (27.2-27.6)

དེ་ནས་བཙན་གསོལ་ནི། གྱི། སྲོགས་སྲོགས་དེ་ནི་པ་གི་ན། ཉི་མ་རྒྱལ་སྲོགས་པ་གི་ན། བཙན་ཡུལ་ཟངས་ཟངས་དམར་
 པོ་ན། པརླ་དབང་གི་བཀའ་ཉན་པ། ཆེ་བཙན་པོལ་པ་སྐྱབ་དུམ་ནི། པལ་ཆེར་སྐྱེ་མཛོག་དམར་པོལ། སྐྱལ་ན་བ་དན་
 ཞགས་པ་བསྐྱམས། སྡེ་བརྒྱུད་དྲིགས་པའི་ཚོགས་དང་བཙས། རྩུང་བྱོན་རྩུང་བྱོན་གནས་འདིར་བྱོན། ལྷུ་ལྷུ་བུ་མ་མཇོ།
 རྩོ། བཙན་མཁར་དམར་པོལ་ནང་ཤེད་ན། ཤེད་ཤེད་ལོངས་སྲོད་བསམ་མི་བྱེད། ཡིད་འོང་སྐྱེན་གཟིགས་ཀུན་ནས་མཛོལ།
 དམ་ཚོག་གཙང་མའི་གདན་ལ་བཞུགས། ས་མ་ཡ་ཉེ་ལྷོ་ལྷན།

1.2. Praise and Offerings (27.6-28.4)

སྐྱེས་བུ་ལོ་པ་མཆོད་བདུན་ནི། སྤོམ་ལས་མཛོད་པ་བསམ་མི་བྱེད། པརླ་དབང་གི་བཀའ་ཉན་པ། དམ་ཚོག་གཉེར་
 བདག་ཁྱེད་ལ་བ་སྟོད། གཙང་མའི་སྐྱེ་བུ་འདི་འབུལ་ལོ། བདག་དང་ཡོན་གྱི་བདག་པོལ། སྐྱལ་སྡེ་དབང་
 གིས་ཉེ་བར་མཛོད་ཨ་རྩོ་བུ་ལྷོ་སྐྱེ་དུ། གཙང་མའི་གདུག་སྤོམ་སྤོམ་ལྷན་གཉེན་ལ། མེ་ཏོག་སྐྱེད་གསལ་འདི་ཆབ་དང།
 ཞལ་ཟས་སྐྱེན་པའི་པོལ་པོལ་འབུལ། སྐྱལ་སྡེ་དབང་གིས་ཉེ་བར་མཛོད། རྩུ་པ། པུལ། རྩུ་པ། ལྷུ་ལོ་ག།
 གཞུ། རྩེ་མི་དུ། ཤེད་པུ་ལོ་ལོ། གྱི།

1.3. Reconsecration Offerings (28.4-28.6)

སྐྱེས་བུ་སྲོག་གི་བདག་པོལ་ནི། འཛིགས་བྱེད་པོལ་པ་སྡེ་བདུན་ཚོགས། ཁྱེད་ལ་དབྱེས་པའི་ལོངས་སྲོད་ནི། ཤེད་ཤེད་དམར་
 གཉེར་རི་ལྷན་སྐྱེད། ཟག་མེད་བདུན་ཅི་མཚོ་ལྷན་སྐྱེད། རྩུ་ལོ་ལོ་ཆབ་ཆེད་བུར་གཉེན་ལ། སྐྱེན་གཟིགས་
 ལོངས་སྲོད་སྐྱེད་ལྷན་བཀའ། ཀྱང་གྲིང་པོལ་པོལ་འབུལ་ལྷན་སྐྱོགས། སྐྱེད་བུངས་སྐྱེན་པའི་ཚོགས་དང་བཙས།

1.4. Vow Amendment (28.6-29.5)

དམ་ཚན་མཆོད་བདུན་སྐྱེད་དམ་བསྐྱེད། བཙན་ཚོད་འབར་བའི་སྐྱེད་དམ་བསྐྱེད། སྡེ་བརྒྱུད་སྟོད་སྡེ་བརྒྱུད་ལ། དགོར་
 སྐྱེད་དམ་ཚན་སྐྱེད་ལ། ལས་བཞེད་པོལ་ཉེ་སྐྱེད་ལ། རྩོ། བཙན་མཁར་དམར་པོལ་ལྷེ་མས་སེ་ལྷེ་མ། དར་དམར་ལུ་མཚོན་
 ལུ་ལུ། བ་དན་དམར་པོལ་ལོངས་སེ་ལོངས། དྲིགས་པའི་མདའ་འཕེན་སྐྱེད་སེ་སྐྱེད། ལས་བྱེད་གཤམ་པ་པོལ་ལོ། ལྷུགས་

པའི་འཕོད་སྐྱེ་དེ་རི་རི། ཚེ་བཙོན་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཐུགས་དམ་བསྐྱེད་། སློབ་དཔོན་བསྐྱེད་སྐྱོན་སྤྱུང་། ཐུགས་དམ་ཞལ་
 བཞེས་དེ་དགོངས་ལ། ཁྱིམ་སྤོང་སྤེལ་བཙོན་རྗེ་རིགས་དང་། རྣལ་འབྱོར་དམ་ལྷན་བརྒྱུད་པར་བཅས། དམ་ཚིག་གཅིག་ཏུ་
 སྐྱོང་བ་ལ། སྐྱལ་བསྐྱོ་བའི་རིགས་རྒྱུད་ཚོད།

1.5. Request (29.5-30.1)

ལོག་ལྷའི་སྤེ་དབྱེད་ཆམ་ལ་ཕོག། ཐུགས་འཆར་དོན་རྗེའི་དམ་མ་བྲལ། བཙོན་ལོ་གཉེར་རོམ་བྱ་རྩལ་བསྐྱེད། ཡལ་
 ཡོལ་དབྱི་སྐོལ་མ་མཛད་པར། རོ་བསྐྱེད་ཟམ་ཕྱིར་མ་སྤེད་མཛོད། ཐུགས་དང་འགལ་བསྐོངས་གྱུར་ལ། བུ་སྐྱུག་ཚ་པོ་བཞེན་
 དུ་སྐོངས།།

APPENDIX D

Fragments from *The Unprecedented Elegant Explanations*

(114.12-114.20)

Previously, when the teachings of the Buddha Kaśyapa had nearly disappeared, in Khotan, a land of precious joy and happiness in the north of the Jambudvīpa, in a place called "Dark Willow Grove," there was a man named Chorpo, prince of Khotan, born as the son of the father, the King of Khotan, named Sangwa, and the mother, named Utpalégyen. After reaching adulthood, he was inspired by thoughts of renunciation; having taken monastic vows, he became fully ordained as the monk called Candrabhaha. He dwelled single-pointedly in meditation in a forest of King Dharmasīri's country.

(115.16-117.5)

The lord's teachings prophesied, "A Tibetan lake having diminished, a forest of *sala* trees will arise." When the Buddha lived, Candrabhaha wondered if he said, "this Tibet is an arrogant land of lakes," or "Tibet is on a mountain that has Khotan's own snow." At that time, in that land, while he killed all the men and raped all the women, he resided there. One day, the king exhorted his champion soldiers and they captured the Khotan prince from a mountain path. He was pierced by many swords. Near death, as he passed from this life, he said, "I will be born as a malicious, terrifying violence demon and I will become the executioner of the life-energy of all beings; I will come to destroy the king and his ministers together with his retinue." Then he died.

Immediately, in the renowned red fields, the might demon land of Chongri Zangtso in the west, he hastened upward to the copper cliffs. On the peaks, a hundred might demons race alongside soaring dark vultures. Along the middle, carnivorous beasts roam about grassy fields of copper grass. Along the copper hills in the surrounding area, there are overpowering,

terrifying storms of copper, and within the frightening red copper boulders there are boiling lakes full of blood. At the center of the blood lake of the complete design of a charnel ground, there is a dark, brass castle endowed with a golden dome, gates of conch shell, copper locks, and stairs of lapis lazuli. Within this, there was a father, the savage demon lord Lekpa or that might demon lord named Dawa Tökar, who became the forefather of all might demons; and a mother, a flesh-eating violence demon named Dongmarma. From his [mental] aggregates, Chorpo entered an egg of blood within the womb of the flesh-eating demoness. Nowadays, in most *tantras*, it is said that, "by means of a collection of maliciousness and arrogance, he was born in a red egg of blood to the fierce-faced savage demon lord Lekpa and the violence demoness Dongmarma, daughter of the might demon lord Dawa Tökar."

The gods are entreated by those renowned as conquerors, and even from within the invocations composed by the *mantra*-holder Ratön (Rwa ston Gter ston Stobs ldan rdo rje; 17th century) it is said that, "[He was born] from the inseparable union of savage and might demon; the fierce-faced savage demon lord Lekpa and the violence demoness Dongmarma, daughter of the might demon lord Dawa Tökar." Even so, that early document is impure and the latter is an error which is considered like that: the fierce-faced savage demon lord named Lekpa, the might demon lord Dawa Tökar and the flesh-eating violence demoness named Dongmarma." From the *tantra* of the red effigy of the rock might demon's life-energy: "the might demon lord is also called Dawa Tökar. The might demon king is also called Anglingter [Ang ling gter]. [The demon] is called the victorious Akse [Ag se] of the sky and the mother is a serpent demoness named Zangdrinma. The queen of the might demons is named Shelmikma. [The demoness] is named Sasin Mamo. These are from the food within the rock stairs of the two hard teachings."

(117.17-118.2)

Furthermore, from the root *tantra*: "From within the force inside the burst egg, the malicious violence demon Tsi Mar arose. From his body of a great malicious mind of attachment and hatred six malicious might demons arose. From his head, the black obstacle might demon arose. From his white bones, the divine might demon arose. From his body heat and radiance, the rock might demon arose. From his blood, the lightning hot defiling might demon arose. From his pus, the serpentine might demon arose. From his messy, rotten garments

of flesh, the red knife might demon arose clean. Called such, it is said six malicious might demons arose from his body. In this, some learned ones [say] that actually the six might demons arose from the six body parts of the murdered Khotan prince Chorpa.

(118.20-119.3)

In that way, the great violence demon Tsi Mar has an extremely resplendent greenish-red body color, his red locks are radiant flames. From his eyes fiery meteors spring forth. From his mouth bloody hailstones fall. From his nose blizzards of disease swirl forth. From his ears poisonous black snakes issue. On his body he wears a cloak of red silk endowed with sleeves of variegated blue satin, and on his head he wears a majestic turban of red silk. Endowed with a belt of golden jewels, he is frightening and courageous. He was born endowed with the brilliance of a hundred thousand suns.

(122.8-123.8)

In the *tantras* there, the *dākinī* Dorjé Dejmā recited magical words. From that, in India, near a dark red mountain of copper, a site of a blazing mountain charnel ground, on the bank of a boiling lake of flesh-eating demons, there were eleven might demons of the flaming tongue clan who were similar to the rising flesh-eating demoness of the red rock, and [the *tantras*] were concealed within a small leather box filled with toenails inside the fissure of a cliff; this was entrusted to the seven attendant riders themselves.

At a later time, when the master Padmasambhava arrived in that place, at the midnight hour, seven wolves with blood-clotted hair cried out and the master, as an arisen magical manifestation, changed into the form of the glorious Tamdrin; with a brandished *vajra*, having gone to the seven horsemen of the wolves, they prostrated before him. Padmasambhava asked, "Who are you?" The master [horseman] said, "I am the lord of the violence demons, named Tsiu Marpo. Previously, the great Glorious One Tamdrin conferred empowerments on us and from the bestowal of the vow we promised to guard the teachings." Padmasambhava asked, "Tell me, where is your abode? Who are your parents? Where is your essence?" [Tsiu Marpo replied,] "My abode is this very charnel ground of India. In Tsang, it is called the split cavern. My father is the savage demon lord named Lekpa. My mother is the violence demoness named

Zangdrinma. The essence of my life-energy is a *tantra* which is recited by glorious Tamdrin, and it is received by means of it being within a small leather box full of toenails, within a rock fissure of that place. I protect the teachings of my Buddha." This was received by mouth. The great master bestowed empowerments [and] gave him his secret name of Künkyap Dorjé Drakpotsel. The master received the *tantras* of this violence demon from the treasury. At a later time when he arrived in Tibet, when he was welcomed by the seven attendant riders in the appearance of horsemen, it is said that here is the country of the violence demon Tsi Marwa.

བཅོན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཨང་ལིང་གཏེར་ཞེས་ཀྱང་གྲ། གནམ་གྱི་ཨག་སེ་རྒྱལ་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དང་ཡུམ་གྱི་མོ་ཟངས་མགྲིན་མ་ཞེས་ཀྱང་གྲ།
 བཅོན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཤེལ་མིག་མ་ཞེས་ཀྱང་གྲ། ས་སྲིན་མ་མོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་གཉིས་སྟེ་བསྟན་གྲག་གི་ཐེམ་པ་ལ་བཤེས་པ་ལས།
 ཞེས་གསུངས་པས།

(117.17-118.2)

དེ་ཡང་ཅ་རྒྱུད་ལས། སྒོ་དངོས་བའི་ནང་ཤེད་ན། གདུག་པའི་གནོད་སྲིན་ཅི་དམར་བྱུང་། ཆགས་སྤང་གདུག་སེམས་ཆེ་
 བ་ཡི། ལུས་ལས་གདུག་པའི་བཅོན་དུག་བྱུང་། མགོ་ལས་བདུད་བཅོན་ནག་པོ་བྱུང་། རུས་པ་དཀར་ལས་སྣ་བཅོན་བྱུང་།
 །འོད་དང་མདངས་ལས་བྲག་བཅོན་བྱུང་། །ཞག་ལས་གྲིབ་བཅོན་དབལ་ཐོག་བྱུང་། རྒྱ་སེར་དག་ལས་སྟུ་བཅོན་བྱུང་།
 ཤེལ་རས་རུས་ཉལ་ཉེལ་ལས། གྲི་བཅོན་དམར་པོ་དག་ཏུ་བྱུང་། ཞེས་ལུས་ལས་གདུག་པའི་བཅོན་དུག་བྱུང་བར་
 གསུངས། འདི་ལ་མཁས་པ་ཁ་ཅིག་ལི་སྟེན་མཚོར་པ་བསད་པའི་ལུས་ཀྱི་ཆ་ཤས་དུག་ལས་བཅོན་དུག་བྱུང་བའི་དོན་ཡིན་ཏེ།

(118.20-119.3)

དེ་ལྟར་གནོད་སྲིན་ཆེན་པོ་ཅི་དམར་ནི་སྐྱེ་མདོག་དམར་ལུང་ཤིན་ཏུ་བརྗོད་པ། རལ་པ་དམར་པོ་མེ་འོད་འཕྲོ་བ། སྲིན་ནས་
 མའི་སྐར་མདའ་འབྲུག་པ། ཞེས་ནས་ཞུག་གི་སེར་བ་འབབས་པ། ཤངས་ནས་ནད་ཀྱི་བྱ་ཡུག་འཚུབ་པ། སྲིན་ནས་དུག་སྐྱེལ་
 ནག་པོ་འབྱེད་པ། སྐྱ་ལ་དར་དམར་གྱི་བེར་ཆེན་ཟེལ་སྟོ་ཞེས་ཤོང་ལག་ཅན་གསོལ་ཞིང་། དབུ་ལ་དར་དམར་གྱི་འབྲིང་
 ཐོད་བཅིངས་པ། རིན་ཆེན་གསེར་གྱི་སྐྱ་རགས་ཅན་འཇིགས་ཤིང་དཔའ་བ། ཉི་མ་འབྲུམ་གྱི་གཟི་བརྗོད་དང་ལྷན་པར་འབྲུངས།

(122.8-123.8)

དེར་རྒྱུད་རྣམས་མཁའ་འགོ་མ་དོན་འདེ་བྱེད་མས་འཕྲུལ་གྱི་ཡི་གེ་ལ་བཏབ་ནས་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ཡུལ་དུ་དུར་ཁོད་མི་རི་འབར་བའི་གནས་
 ཟངས་རི་དམར་ནག་གི་མདུན་སྲིན་མཚོ་ཁོལ་མའི་འགྲམ། མེ་ལྷུ་རིས་ཀྱི་བཅོན་བྲག་དམར་པོ་སྲིན་མོ་ལངས་པ་འདྲ་བ་བཅུ་གཅིག་
 མཆིས་པའི་བྲག་གི་སེར་ཁར་བསེའི་གཏུ་སེན་གང་མ་ཞེས་གི་ནད་དུ་སྐྱས་ཏེ་ཡ་བ་སྐྱེ་བདུན་རང་ལ་གཉེར་དུ་གཏད་དོ། དུས་སྲིས་
 སྟོབ་དཔོན་ཆེན་པོ་པརྟ་འབྲུང་གནས་ཀྱིས་གནས་དེར་གཤེགས་པའི་ཆོ་ནམ་གྱི་གྲུང་ལ་སྤྱང་གི་ཞུག་གི་རལ་པ་ཅན་བདུན་ཏུ་ཞིང་ཚོ་འཕྲུལ་
 སྟོན་དུ་བྱུང་བར་སྟོབ་དཔོན་གྱིས་དཔལ་ཏྟ་མགྲིན་གྱི་སྐྱར་བཞེངས་ཏེ་དོན་འཕྲུལ་བས་སྤྱང་གི་རྣམས་ཏྟ་པ་བདུན་དུ་སོང་ནས་ཕྱག་འཚལ།
 །ཞིང་སྤྱ་ཡིན་གསུངས་པས་བདག་ཉི་གནོད་སྲིན་གྱི་བདག་པོ་ཅི་ལྟར་དམར་པོ་བྱ་བ་ལགས། སྟོན་དཔལ་ཆེན་པོ་ཏྟ་མགྲིན་གྱིས་དབང་
 བསྐྱར་ཞིང་དམ་ཚོག་གི་པོག་པ་ལས་བསྟན་པའི་སྤྱང་མར་ཁས་སྤངས་པ་ལགས་སོ་ཟེར། །ཞིང་གྱི་གནས་གང་ཡིན། ཕ་མ་གང་
 ཡིན་སྟེང་པོ་གང་ཡིན་སྟོས་ཤིག་གསུངས་པས། བདག་གི་གནས་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་དུར་ཁོད་འདི་ཉིད་ལགས། གཙང་ན་གང་གྱི་

ཐུག་པ་བྱ་བ་ལགས། ཕ་ནི་དམུ་རྗེ་ལེགས་པ་ལགས། མ་ནི་གཞོན་སྤྱིན་ཟངས་མ་གྲིན་མ་བྱ་བ་ཡིན། སློབ་གི་སྦྱིང་པོ་འདི་
 དཔལ་ཏྟ་མ་གྲིན་གྲིས་གསུངས་པའི་རྒྱུད་ཅིག་ན་གནས་པ་བྲག་གི་སེར་ཁ་མ་གྲིན་བསའི་གཏུ་སེན་གང་མ་གཅིག་གི་ནང་ན་ཡོད་པས་
 བཞེས་ཤིག། བདག་གི་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་བསྐྱེད་བར་བགྱིའོ། ཞེས་ཞལ་གྲིས་བཞེས། སློབ་དཔོན་ཆེན་པོས་
 དབང་བསྐྱེད་གསང་མཚན་ཀུན་བྱུང་དོན་དུ་བཏགས། སློབ་དཔོན་གྲིས་གཞོན་སྤྱིན་འདིའི་རྒྱུད་རྣམས་གཏེར་ནས་
 བཞེས། དུས་སྤྱིས་བོད་དུ་བྱོན་དུས་ཡ་བརྒྱ་བདུན་ཏྟ་པའི་རྣམ་པས་བསུས་པ་ན་གཞོན་སྤྱིན་ཅོ་དམར་བའི་ཡུལ་དེ་འདིར་ཡོད་
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