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Does the Matter Matter?

On Purpose, Mantras and Substances in the Ba ri be'u bum

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ABSTRACT

This article examines Tibetan private practical rituals through the lens of materiality, understood as tangibility. While recent scholarship has investigated Tibetan collections of such rituals—often labelled as ‘magic’—most analyses remain primarily descriptive and qualitative. To address this gap, the study adopts a quantitative perspective, focusing on tangible and intangible components of rituals, conceived as vehicles for achieving their purpose. After introducing relevant terminology and historical context, the structure and purpose-based categorisation of the analysed rituals are outlined. The analysis draws on 54 rituals from the renowned “spellbook” *Ba ri be'u bum*, attributed to Rinchen Drak (Rin chen grags), also known as Bari Lotsāwa (1040–1112). Findings indicate that tangibility is predominant—though not exclusive—while intangible components are significant. Rituals aimed at swift, practical results favour tangible elements, whereas those involving preternatural beings, such as for wealth or weather control, show a more balanced tangible-to-intangible ratio.

Keywords: Tibet; materiality; magic; grimoire; *be'u bum*; Bari Lotsāwa

* I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Nyima Woser Choekhortsang for his valuable suggestions which undoubtedly improved my rather limited insight into the *Ba ri be'u bum*.



*In mind the hope like a jewel [shine],
accomplished will be all wishes of mine!*¹

Introductory Praise of Tangibility

This paper deals with various phenomena often singularly labelled as magic, i.e., using both material and spiritual means to achieve immediate goals generally understood as material rather than spiritual or soteriological in a manner which is considered preternatural or at least not widely approachable and subjected to secrecy, special training, transmission, knowledge or possession.

As Rambelli puts it, Buddhism might be perceived as “a complex way of interacting with ‘material’ objects to achieve some ‘spiritual’ goals.”² This claim seems to be so general that it might be valid for religious rituals and other elements of the *common denominators of cultures* like funeral rites, divination or faith healing.³ It is not easy to deny that material phenomena are important in achieving any human goals, not just spiritual ones but possibly mainly worldly ones. Apart from this, material objects can, as Miller suggests, be important per se, i.e. they matter⁴ and thus can be employed as “highly effective means to enquire into the fundamental questions of what it is to be human within the diversity of culture.”⁵

For further investigation, I consider it useful to make demarcations not between material and non-material but between tangible and intangible phenomena based mostly on understanding property⁶ and cultural heritage. Tangibility is a capacity to be sensually perceived especially by touch, intangibility being its exclusive opposite. The notion of tangibility corresponds with materiality being its aspect and stresses one of the differentiation possibilities between the material and non-material. It aligns with common human experience and refines the interpretative potential because the borderline between tangible and intangible is not only easily perceived but also permeable by human agency and thus offers a space for entanglement and the unexclusive appreciation of agency rather than opposition between materiality and non-materiality.

1 *yid la re ba nor bu ltar/bsam pa thaMd rdzogs par 'gyur/ (Ba ri be'u bum, p. 6).*

2 Fabio Rambelli, *Buddhist Materiality: A Cultural History of Objects in Japanese Buddhism* (Stanford University Press, 2007), 3.

3 George Peter Murdock, “The Common Denominator of Cultures,” in *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, ed. Ralph Linton (Columbia University Press, 1945), 124.

4 Daniel Miller, *Anthropology and the Individual: A Material Culture Perspective* (Berg, 1997), 3.

5 Miller, *Anthropology*, 20.

6 Kristen A. Carpenter, Sonia K. Katyal and Angela R. Riley, “In Defense of Property,” *The Yale Law Journal* 118, no. 6 (2009): 1997–98.

The text of Article 2 of the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*⁷ insists that “The ‘intangible cultural heritage’ means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith,” inherently suggesting how easily a non-tangible practice or skill is transformed into a tangible instrument and vice versa. Fairly good examples from the field of this analysis are mantras being recited and those being embodied in amulets, “supports of religion” like effigies (*ling ga*) or “edible inscriptions” (*za yig*). As Barad⁸ puts it: “Concepts are no more inherently meaningful (nor intra-linguistically semantically determinate) than are the boundaries and properties of entities inherently determinate.”

Perhaps, as Lévi-Strauss⁹ and others¹⁰ remarked, the thinking and expressing in binary oppositions is somehow natural. The dualism of the tangible and intangible, mind and body, *epistémê* and *technê*¹¹ might be as universal or perhaps as universalizing as the concepts of religion and magic. It is thus no wonder that there are both powerful *materia magica* and incantations present in Tibetan rituals. But the tangible elements used in both private rituals and public worship might have been underestimated in favour of intangible ones like language, gestures and visualisations, perhaps according to the perceived closeness of the intangible to preternaturality. Yet, tangible substances provoke creativity, inviting ritualists to conceive wild symbolic worlds and to manipulate the real world through tangible models of possibility, unrestrained by the limits of ordinary experience outside the realm of ritual. Furthermore, privacy, which, according to Mauss,¹² is one of the circumstances for magical rites, might support such an agency and interplay of the tangible with the intangible.

Thus, materiality is a sufficient instrument to appreciate the practicality of private rituals, as these rituals do not seem to be “the domain of pure production, *ex nihilo*”¹³ but are based upon tangible substances. In my opinion, this underestimation of tangible elements in ritual cannot be balanced by a pure focus on them or by the appreciation of their involvement in the agency, which I believe is predominantly human. In this article, I propose to have a look into the presence of both tangible

7 “Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage,” UNESCO, accessed February 22, 2025, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention>.

8 Karen Barad, *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning*, (Duke University Press, 2007), 329.

9 Claude Lévi-Strauss, “The Structural Study of Myth,” *The Journal of American Folklore* 68, no. 270 (1955): 440.

10 E.g. Alan Dundes, “Binary Opposition in Myth: The Propp/Lévi-Strauss Debate in Retrospect,” *Western Folklore* 56, no. 1 (1997): 47–8.

11 Michael Pakaluk, “On the Unity of the *Nicomachean Ethics*,” in *Aristotle’s Nicomachean Ethics: A Critical Guide*, ed. Jon Miller (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 32.

12 Marcel Mauss, *A General Theory of Magic* (Routledge, 2001), 30.

13 Mauss, *A General Theory*, 175.

and intangible elements in private rituals contained in a Tibetan grimoire. As the tangible and intangible elements might be transformable in a subtle interplay, it is necessary to observe them from a more or less stable point of reference which, in this case, is the purpose of an analysed ritual representing the agency.

The Tibetan grimoire known as *Ba ri be'u bum* is an appropriate material for such an enterprise for three reasons. Firstly, it is extensive and inhomogeneous,¹⁴ providing at least some odds towards representativeness. Secondly, it has been presented as somehow a classic or typical example of Tibetan magic and the *be'u bum* genre (see below). And thirdly it contains dozens of tangible and intangible elements which are mostly separated. Therefore, I will try to make some observations on the possible relations between the purpose of the ritual and the vehicles delivering the expected outcome, i.e. *materia magica* or ingredients (*rdzas*) and mantras (*sngags*).

Bari Lotsāwa and His Grimoire

Rinchen Drak (Rin chen grags) aka Bari Lotsāwa (1040–1112) was one of the translators¹⁵ in the so-called Later Diffusion of the Teachings¹⁶ (ca 10th cent.–1249) and closely connected to the establishment of the power of the Sakya

14 I consider it inhomogeneous, e.g. in comparison with the *Zla gsang be'u bum* described by Brown, which seems to be focused on one deity and on “rites with a variety of hostile aims”. See Amanda N. Brown, “The *Zla gsang be'u bum*: A Compendium of Ritual Magic and Sorcery,” in *Tibetan Magic: Past and Present*, ed. Cameron Bailey and Aleksandra Wenta (Bloomsbury Academic, 2024), 13.

15 Tibetan translators are traditionally considered to be important personalities in and for the revival of Buddhism from chaos or decentralisation following the fall of the Tibetan empire in the 9th century or, as a political historian may insist, in the power shift from clan aristocracy to the monastic system, and it can be claimed this shift significantly influenced Tibetan political system until 1959. Ronald M. Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance: Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture* (Columbia University Press, 2005), 118, says that: “The translators of this period frequently acted in the de facto, and sometimes de jure, positions of feudal lords and were given their rights of dominion not necessarily by birth or their position in traditional social hierarchy but by their consecration as the new lords of the Dharma.” Some translators, contemporaries of Bari Lotsāwa, are very famous, such as Marpa Lotsāwa (1012–1097) and Ra Lotsāwa Dorje Drak (1016–1128). Such Tibetan translators were not only considered learned and far travelled but also skilled in rituals which could be labelled as magic. E.g. in a biography of Ra Lotsāwa translated by Cuevas an extensive use of harmful rituals is described as a self-defense strategy in doctrinal and personal struggles. Compare Bryan J. Cuevas, *The All-Pervading Melodious Drumbeat: The Life of Ra Lotsawa* (Penguin Classics, 2015).

16 In Tibetan *bstan pa phyi dar*. This revival of Buddhism in Tibet resulting in formation of famous Tibetan Buddhist schools (i.e. mainly Nyingma, Kagju, Sakya and Geluk). For details, see John Powers, *Introduction to Tibetan Buddhism* (Snow Lion Publications, 2007). It is often compared to renaissance in Europe especially by American Tibetologists.

monastery and lineage, being in 1103 appointed as a teacher of Sachen Kunga Nyingpo¹⁷ (1092–1158). As young Sachen was a son of the deceased Khon Konchok Gyelpo¹⁸ (1034–1102), Bari Lotsāwa also became the 2nd throne holder of Sakya, which is still today a prestigious post. He is briefly mentioned in the 15th-century chronicle *Blue Annals*, mostly in connection with Sakya masters and dates. As stated in the *Blue Annals*, Bari Lotsāwa was 63 when Sachen Kunga Nyingpo was 11¹⁹ and Bari was born in the same year as Milarepa.²⁰

According to a short and maybe slightly formulaic biography,²¹ he was born into the Bari lineage in Yarmothang (*G.yar mo thang*). The names of his mother and father are uncertain. From childhood, he seemed not to act like a child but was faithful and compassionate, repeating the six-syllable mantra, and having visionary dreams urging him to leave for Ü-Tsang when he was nineteen. Being miraculously protected from highwaymen by Dolma, she became his tutelary deity. In Ü-Tsang he got the monastic name Rinchen Drak and studied intensively.²² Later he travelled to India and Nepal, studied under many teachers, and returned to Ü-Tsang when he was 43 years old. There, he continued studying under Khon Konchok Gyelpo (among others) and afterwards taught his own disciples. When he was 63, Khon Konchok Gyelpo died and Rinchen Drak stayed in Sakya for ten years teaching Vinaya and other aspects of Dharma while being devoted to meritorious acts like building stupas and bridges to benefit sentient beings. In his 71st year, he handed over the Sakya monastery and spent two years in solitary spiritual practice. In his 73rd year on the 14th day of the 9th month, he instructed his disciples and passed away.

Works of Rinchen Drak consist of many translations and he is also mentioned in Tengyur mostly in connection to sadhana (*sgrub thabs*). Apart from that, he is the author of the sadhana collection *Sgrub thabs brgya rtsa*, also known as *Ba ri brgya rtsa*.²³ He is also considered to be the author of a collection called *Ba ri be'u bum*. Despite this, the name Rinchen Drak is mentioned only in the title and his cognomen connected to the Bari clan occurs only eleven times and for the last time on page 23 from a total of 584 pages (i.e. it appears in less than 4 % of the text). Moreover, it appears in the first chapter, a cycle of

17 “Sachen Kunga Nyingpo,” Treasury of Lives, accessed February 22, 2025, https://treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Sachen-Kunga-Nyingpo/TBRC_P1615.

18 Alexander Gardner, “Khon Konchok Gyelpo,” *The Treasury of Lives*, accessed February 22, 2025, <https://treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Khon-Konchok-Gyelpo/6100>.

19 George N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals* (Motilal Banarsidass, 1976), 211.

20 Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 73.

21 As the biography is a anonymous and undated I consider reasonable to provide a permanent link to it in the BDRC database: “*sa skya'i mkhas grub chen po khag gsum gyi rnam thar*,” BUDA, accessed February 25, 2025, <http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/W8LS20730>.

22 He met “in those days whatever good scholar and most abbots in Ü-Tsang” (*dbus gtsang du de dus dge bshes gang bzhand ba dang mkhas pa phal che ba la gtugs*).

23 This work is also mentioned in the *Blue Annals*. See Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 468, 1048.

sadhana of the three Yugu sisters,²⁴ which is also documented in the Tengyur. For details see Table 1.

Tab. 1. Names and Cognomen of Bari Lotsāwa Rinchen Drak in the *Ba ri be'u bum*

| Name/cognomen | No. of occurrences | Page |
|-----------------|--------------------|------------------------------|
| Rin chen grags | 1 | title |
| Ba ri lo tsA ba | 7 | title, 6, 14, 15, 18, 19, 22 |
| Bla ma ba ri | 1 | 14 |
| Bla ma ba ri ba | 1 | 16 |
| Ba ri ba | 1 | 23 |

The full name of Bari Lotsāwa's grimoire is *Ba ri lo tsA ba rin chen grags kyi be'u bum*. It could be translated as the *Grimoire of the Translator from the Bari Clan*, and it was published in the 1970s in Delhi and declared to be "reproduced from a rare manuscript from Darjeeling by Lama Jurme Dragma."²⁵ This edition of this grimoire has the subtitle "A Collection of magico-medical spells, incantations and esoteric formulae transmitted in Tibet through the Lo-tsa-ba of Ba-ri, Rin-chen-grags." The description seems to be quite accurate, including an inherent suggestion of a vague borderline between religion, magic and medicine, which was also stressed in van Schaik's Aris lecture in 2018.²⁶

24 "Buddhist Deity: Yugu Chesum," Himalayan Art Resources, accessed February 22, 2025, <https://www.himalayanart.org/search/set.cfm?setID=1411>.

25 Lama Jurme Dragma, *BE'U BUM OF BA-RI LO-TSA-BA RIN-CHEN-GRAGS: A Collection of Magico-Medical Spells, Incantations and Esoteric Formulae Transmitted in Tibet Through the Lo-tsa-ba of Ba-ri, Rin-chen-grags*, (Delhi, 1974). In citations it will be referred as *Ba ri be'u bum* and followed by page number. The same editor published or provided for publishing several Tibetan works in Delhi during 1970s. See Dorji Wangchug, "Cross-Referential Evidence for Establishing a Relative Chronology of Klong chen pa's Works," in *Contributions to Tibetan Buddhist Literature. Proceedings of the Eleventh Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, ed. Orna Almogi (International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2008), 240, or Katarina Turpeinen, "Tales of Realization – Narratives in Rig 'dzin rGod ldem's Great Perfection Revelation," *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 43 (2018): 193, or Lama Jurme Dragma, *Mkhas pa'i tshul la 'jug pa'i sgo'i mchan 'grel legs bsad snan ba'i 'od zer a commentary expanding the text of mi-pham rin-po-che's mkhas 'jug* (Delhi, 1974). Apart from that he is mentioned in the memoir of Harold Talbot under the name Lama Gyurda-la (Harold Talbot, *Tendrel: A Memoir of New York and Buddhist Himalayas* [Buddhaya Foundation, Inc., 2019], 157-and further). Talbot also sponsored some of his editing work (Talbot, *Tendrel*, 180). Gyurme Dragma died in 1975 in Delhi.

26 For the text of the lecture see "Fourth Aris Lecture," Tibetan & Himalayan Studies Centre, accessed February 2, 2025, <https://thsc.web.ox.ac.uk/event/fourth-aris-lecture>. For recording, see Sam van Shaik, "Magic, Healing, and Ethics in Tibetan Buddhism," *University of Oxford Podcasts*, accessed February 2, 2025, <https://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/magic-healing-and-ethics-tibetan-buddhism>.

According to the table of contents, it consists of eleven texts, or better said, collections of rituals, and it is not always easy to ascertain where one text or a group of texts ends and the next begins. Sometimes the ritual is clearly finished but complemented by a note explaining that there is another such-like ritual or that the use of different ingredients is possible, or even providing a description of how the ritual can be undone. There is also no standard ending for the rituals or chapters. Some rituals end with the phrase ‘[the ritual] is finished’ (*rdzogs so*), and some are ended by the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit words *iti* (*i+thI*) or *maṅgalaṃ* (*mang+galaM*), or, as the case may be, by *gnyis shad* or *sbrul shad*. There are also titles of texts added later in cursive script and not included in the table of contents of the Lama Jurme Drappa’s 1974 reproduction (see Table 2). Some chapters have general names like *Thorough Advice for Remedies* (*Gso byed gdams pa zab mo bzhugs*) or *Instructions Explaining Mirror* (*Man ngag gsal ba’i me long bzhugs*). Others have clearly defined purposes like *Various Protections Against Hail [Storms]* (*Ser bsrung sogs snang he*), *Thorough Protection from Blades* (*Mtshon bsrung zab mo yod do*) or *Thorough Advice Protecting from Locusts* (*Spe chags pa bsrung ba’i gdams pa zab mo bzhugs so*).²⁷

The rituals in question are very varied. They might be longer texts with classical structures, beginning with paying homage to teachers or preternatural beings and continuing with instructions for visualisations, meditation, the making of sacrificial cakes, and the offering of food, etc. But many are simple practical “spells” with only a few lines of text. Even rituals consisting of one sentence are present. For example: “If you wear the *nāgadāli* plant on your body you will be able to [resist] serpentine harm”.²⁸ Overall, the grimoire resembles an informal compilation of personal notes, with the author freely including useful rituals, showing some grouping by purpose in places but lacking a consistent pattern of classification or organisation. At times, rituals with similar purposes are grouped, but these groupings are frequently interrupted by unrelated rituals, giving the grimoire a fragmented structure.

Metaphorically, the grimoire resembles a cookbook or a toolbox. Something ready to use by the author, compiler, translator, owner, or user but not very ordered from an outsider’s viewpoint. This can be supported by characteristics of

27 For the structure of the *Ba ri be’u bum*, see Table 2.

28 //na ga dA li lus la bcangs na/sbrul gyis gnod pa thub po// (*Ba ri be’u bum*, p. 62).

the *be'u bum* genre.²⁹ The Buddhist Digital Archives defines it as “collections of rituals focussed upon attaining one’s desired aims by provoking a single protector or group of such deities”.³⁰ Roesler³¹ understands *be'u bum* as a handbook i.e., a “how to do” manual.³² Sørensen, as Cuevas emphasizes,³³ sees the term as a misspelling of *pebum* (*dpe 'bum*),³⁴ which is a collection of [good] examples. In my view, the concept of a collection of examples (to follow, i.e. what should be done) is quite similar to the concept of a handbook (with advice on how to do something properly). Anyway, explanations given in dictionaries³⁵ are connected either to the concept of [collected] writings or to a calf (*be'u*). Therefore, Cuevas³⁶ translates *be'u bum* literally as a “calf’s nipple” and defines this genre as “compilations of useful material, perhaps we might even say recipes, selectively assembled from an array of sources to be quickly accessible and readily on hand for the purpose of educating and inspiring, or for performing operations that can either help or harm”³⁷ or more briefly and restrictedly as “a handbook of Tibetan practical magic, a Tibetan grimoire”.³⁸ Cuevas interprets the metaphor behind the calf’s nipple as “something that nourishes, something good for maintaining life and health”³⁹ which sounds credible.



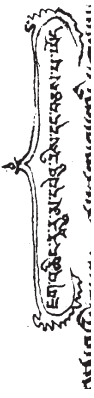
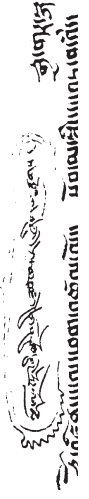
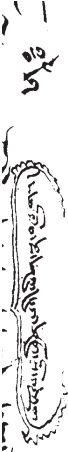

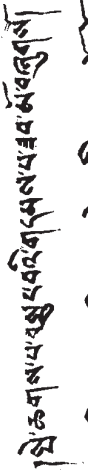
-
- 29 It is not easy to define a genre in (Tibetan) literature. Compare José I. Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson, *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre* (Snow Lion Publications, 1996), 20–1 to Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton University Press, 1971), 246 and further. Here I will label *be'u bum* as a genre because it seems to fit the common preunderstanding of genres and it is listed among genres by the Buddhist Digital Archives. For details see “ba ri be'u bum,” *BUDA*, accessed February 2, 2025, <http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/WA15562>.
- 30 See “be'u bum,” *BUDA*, accessed February 2, 2025, <https://library.bdrc.io/show/bdr:T1202>.
- 31 Ulrike Roesler, “Classifying Literature or Organizing Knowledge? Some Considerations in Tibetan Literature,” in *Tibetan Literary Genres, Texts and Text Types*, ed. Jim Rheingans (Brill, 2015), 45.
- 32 For a definition of handbook see “handbook,” Cambridge Dictionary, accessed February 2, 2025, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/handbook>.
- 33 Bryan J. Cuevas, “The Calf’s Nipple” (Be'u bum) of Ju Mipam (‘Ju Mi pham): A Handbook of Tibetan Ritual Magic,” in *Tibetan Ritual*, ed. José Ignacio Cabezón (Oxford University Press 2010), 165.
- 34 Per Sørensen, *The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies: An Annotated Translation of the XIVth Century Tibetan Chronicle: rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long* (Harrassovitz Verlag, 1994), 415.
- 35 See Zhang Yisun, *Bod-rgya-tshig-mdzod-chen-mo* (Mi-rigs-dpe-skrun-khang, 1993), 1841. And Sarat Chandra Das, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary with Sanskrit Synonyms*, (Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1902), 876. And Heinrich A. Jäschke, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary, with Special Reference to the Prevailing Dialects* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1881), 370–1.
- 36 Cuevas, “The Calf’s Nipple,” 165.
- 37 Cuevas, “The Calf’s Nipple,” 166.
- 38 Cuevas, “The Calf’s Nipple,” 167.
- 39 Cuevas, “The Calf’s Nipple,” 165.

Moreover, it seems that *Ba ri be'u bum* is used as a classical or typical example not only of a spellbook but also of Tibetan magic and has been used as a yardstick in analyses of various grimoires.⁴⁰ Thus, and therefore, I believe that with its practical nature of a tool and its reputation as a typical example, *Ba ri be'u bum* might be a good *point of entry*⁴¹ for investigating material and non-material aspects of private rituals.

40 Cuevas, "The Calf's Nipple," 166; Sam van Schaik, "Magic, Healing, and Ethics in Tibetan Buddhism," *The 4th Aris Lecture in Tibetan and Himalayan Studies*, November 15, 2018, by University of Oxford, Wolfson College; Sam van Schaik, *Buddhist Magic: Divination, Healing, and Enchantment through the Ages*, (Shambhala Publications, Inc., 2020), 84; Cameron Bailey, "The Magic of Secret Gnosis: A Theoretical Analysis of a Tibetan Buddhist 'Grimoire'," *Journal of the Korean Association of Buddhist Studies* 93 (2020): 553; Marc des Jardins, "Magical Recipes from the Grimoire of a Tibetan Bonpo Priest," in *Bon and Naxi Manuscripts*, ed. Agnieszka Helman-Ważny and Charles Ramble (De Gruyter, 2023), 38.

41 Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (Vintage Books, 1985), 7.

| No. | Page | Table of contents (Lama Jürme Dragpa 1974a) | Headings from the text | Transliteration | Meaning | Extent [pages] |
|-----|------|---|------------------------|--|---|----------------|
| 7 | 231 | Mishon bstrung za yig soqs. | | //mishon bstrung za yig soqs mang po yod// | Numerous protections against blades [and] edible inscriptions | 14 |
| 8 | 245 | | | //ser bstrung soqs snang he// | Various protections against hail (storms) | 41 |
| 9 | 286 | | | //pra 'bebs kyi man ngag bzhugs// | Instructions for mirror divination | 5 |
| 10 | 291 | Man ngag zab mo 'ga'. | | //man ngag zab mo 'ga' bzhugs so// | Several thorough instructions | 29 |
| 11 | 320 | | | //man ngag 'dra yod// | Similar instructions | 203 |

| No. | Page | Table of contents (Lama Jurne Dragpa 1974a) | Headings from the text | Transliteration | Meaning | Extent [pages] |
|-----|------|---|--|---|---|----------------|
| 12 | 523 | (Gdams pa zab mo) |  | gdam[s] pa zab mo sna tshogs bzhugs so/ | Various thorough advice | 13 |
| 13 | 536 | |  | char 'bebs shin tu zab pa yod do gzigs shig | This is a very thorough [ritual] for rain. Take a look! | 3 |
| 14 | 539 | |  | jag 'ching rwa ru ma dpe 'u ris dang beas pa yod | Binding ruffians using horn with diagram. | 4 |
| 15 | 543 | |  | lha 'dre stong gyi sgrib shing zab pa rang zhig bzhugs/ | Thorough charms of thousand gods and demons | 1 |
| 16 | 544 | |  | pha rol tu phyin pa 'i yig sna bzhugs/ | Various writings [based upon] Prajñāpāramitā | 31 |
| 17 | 575 | So rsi'i man ngag. |  | so rsi'i man ngag he/ | Instructions for teeth medicine | 4 |
| 18 | 579 | Spe chags pa bsrung pa 'i gdams pa zab mo. |  | spe chags pa bsrung ba 'i gdams pa zab mo bzhugs so/ | Thorough advice protecting from locusts | 6 |

Practical Private Ritual and Tangible Materiality

The discourse on magic in Tibetan studies initially echoed earlier debates within 19th-century anthropology. Some traditions in Tibetan Buddhism were often labelled as witchcraft, 'cham pa was a "devil dancer",⁴² mandalas were "magic circles,"⁴³ protectors like sa skya bag mo were and still are called witches.⁴⁴ The sngags pa was "hardly a priest, but rather a magician, one versed in charms that are contained in the religious books"⁴⁵ and Padmasambhava was considered a wizard.⁴⁶ As soon as Tibetan Buddhism became well-known and accepted, the Bon tradition inherited the reputation of magic and witchcraft. This approach corresponded with the 19th-century evolutionist understanding in which Tibet was "in the condition of Christian Europe in the Middle Ages"⁴⁷ and every Tibetan was "a curiosity who ought to be in a museum."⁴⁸

In addition to this, later scholars on Tibet and Buddhism were mostly religionists, philologists, or political historians, and, thus, they considered not-easily-accessible private or local ritual traditions to represent a low culture or folklore. Furthermore, Buddhism had a reputation as an intellectual religion with sophisticated philosophical and literal traditions and this view probably decelerated research on Tibetan or Buddhist magic.⁴⁹

On the other hand, experience with the lived religion and some textual sources have shown a clear incongruity with this preunderstanding.⁵⁰ Thus, recently, the

42 Laurence Austine Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet of Lamaism* (W. H. Allen & Co, 1895), 34.

43 Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, 145. And Helmut Hoffmann, *The Religions of Tibet* (G. Allen & Unwin, 1965), 35.

44 For example see "Three Witches of Sakya," Himalayan Art Resources, accessed February 22, 2025, <https://www.himalayanart.org/search/set.cfm?setID=1172>. Or Sara Marie Conrad, "Oral Accounts of the Sa skya 'bag mo, Past and Present Voices of the Terrifying Witches of Sa skya" (MA thesis, Indiana University, 2012), 4.

45 Charles Bell, *The People of Tibet* (Clarendon Press, 1928), 43.

46 Marion H. Duncan, *Customs and Superstitions of Tibetans* (The Mitre Press, 1964), 166.

47 Charles Bell, *The Religion of Tibet* (Clarendon Press, 1931), 26.

48 William F. T. O'Connor, "The Present Condition and Government of Tibet," in *The Opening of Tibet*, ed. Perceval Landon (Doubleday, Page & Co. 1905), 438.

49 Interestingly, in his descriptions of the "first survey of the Tibetan guardian deities", Nebesky-Wojkowitz (Réne de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet* [Mouton & Co. 1956], VII) rendered many objects and rituals as magic. Thus thun zor is a magic weapon (Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles*, 16), mda 'dar is an "important magic object" (Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles*, 17), phur pa is "magic dagger" (Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles*, 18), phrul gyi me long is a "magic mirror" (Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles*, 31), khram shing is "magic notched stick" (Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles*, 39), during sbyin sreg "magic incantations" are performed (Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles*, 135) and mnan gtad is a "destructive magic" (Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles*, 214).

50 Thomas Nathan Patton, *The Buddha's Wizzards: Magic, Protection and Healing in Burmese Buddhism* (Columbia University Press, 2018), xxii. And van Schaik, *Buddhist Magic*, 1.

interest in Buddhist and Tibetan magic and its image as an integral part of religion has seemed to flourish.⁵¹ Frazer's sympathetic magic⁵² is still considered relevant, although the evolutionist aspect of subsequent magic-religion-science has been rejected. In the current discussion in Tibetan studies, which probably started due to a focus on ritual when Cuevas, in a volume on Tibetan rituals, designated the rituals from *be'u bum* of Ju Mipam as "ritual magic."⁵³ The term magic is applied to some collections of rituals and there are attempts to (re)define it as well. Interesting examples of this trend are van Schaik's Wittgensteinian view and emphasis on the tendency of magic to be collected in spellbooks,⁵⁴ Scheuermann's application of patterns of magicity to avoid a clear distinction between magic and other phenomena and avoid "the heavily loaded label of magic,"⁵⁵ and Brown's criteria to distinguish magic from siddhi.⁵⁶ Apart from these, recent authors dealing with Tibetan examples tend to make case studies mostly devoted to exemplary rituals taken from one grimoire,⁵⁷ acknowledging that magic can be an integral part of Tibetan Buddhism. Finally attempts at cross-cultural comparisons have been made.⁵⁸ In my opinion, a need to extend or refine the term magic is present. Apart from Cuevas' term "ritual magic" mentioned above, Bailey⁵⁹ applies the term

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- 51 E.g. the 4th Annual Aris Lecture given at the University of Oxford by van Schaik was devoted to magic in Tibetan Buddhism. In 2020 van Schaik's book on Buddhist magic was published. At the 16th IATS seminar in 2022 three panels on Buddhist magic with fifteen attendants were organised. And in 2024 a volume called *Tibetan Magic: Past and Present* with ten contributors was issued.
- 52 James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Comparative Religion* (Macmillan and Co., 1894), 9.
- 53 Cuevas, "The Calf's Nipple," 167.
- 54 Sam van Schaik, *Buddhist Magic*, 38–40.
- 55 Rolf Schauer mann, "The Magic That Lies within Prayer: On Patterns of Magicity and Resolute Aspirations (*smon lam*)," in *Tibetan Magic: Past and Present*, ed. Cameron Bailey and Aleksandra Wenta (Bloomsbury Academic, 2024), 97.
- 56 Brown, "The *Zla gsang be'u bum*," 16.
- 57 Bailey, "The Magic of Secret Gnosis," or Marc des Jardins, "Magical Recipes," or Brown, "The *Zla gsang be'u bum*," or Susan Landesman, "Magical Results of the Rituals in the *Tārā-mūla-kalpa's Continuation Tantra*," in *Tibetan Magic: Past and Present*, ed. Cameron Bailey and Aleksandra Wenta (Bloomsbury Academic, 2024), 35–60. And Aleksandra Wenta, "The Vajrabhairavatantra: Materia Magica and Circulation of Tantric Magical Recipes," in *Tibetan Magic: Past and Present*, ed. Cameron Bailey and Aleksandra Wenta (Bloomsbury Academic, 2024).
- 58 Sam van Schaik, *Buddhist magic*, 23–41.
- 59 Cameron Bailey, "The *Yogin's* Familiars: Protector Deities as Magical Guides," in *Tibetan Magic: Past and Present*, ed. Cameron Bailey and Aleksandra Wenta (Bloomsbury Academic, 2024), 104.

“demonic magic,” and the term “practical magic” is widespread as well.⁶⁰ Last but not least, a shift towards other concepts in social studies have appeared. An example can be Wenta’s remarks on the materiality of “magical technologies.”⁶¹

The abovementioned discussion is, in my view, both interesting and eye-opening, as it highlights lesser-known phenomena and corrects common misunderstandings about Buddhism. An interesting aspect is the significantly different understanding of the anti-social use of magic compared to Christian, particularly Protestant culture, as well as the incorporation of magic into religion in the manner described by Durkheim. Some of the cross-cultural comparisons are particularly astonishing, with perhaps the best example being van Schaik’s observations on divination using reflexive surfaces.⁶²

In my view, the term magic is, on the one hand, potent both as an analytical concept and a keyword, but, on the other, heavily burdened by many preunderstandings, continually redefined, repeatedly discussed, and regionally dependent.⁶³ Therefore, I would prefer, also in the light of Sihle’s remark on the possibility of “bias that textualist scholarship is not always able to fully avoid,”⁶⁴ to render the content of the *Ba ri be’u bum* not as magic but as *practical private rituals*.

As defined by Turner, ritual is “a stereotyped sequence of activities involving gestures, words, and objects, performed in a sequestered place, and designed to influence preternatural entities or forces on behalf of the actors’ goals and interests.”⁶⁵ This definition is easily applicable to rituals collected in the *Ba ri be’u bum*. Each of them has a purpose defining the “goals and interests” of the practitioner. Furthermore, the purpose is frequently obvious from the first words of the ritual like, for example, “to cast a bad dream,”⁶⁶ or it follows directly after an invocation like “I pay homage to splendorous Vajrapani. To the method of causing rain.”⁶⁷ Obviously, the rituals must also define actions to achieve the

60 Cuevas, “The Calf’s Nipple,” 166. And Marc des Jardins, “Magical Recipes,” 38. Or Samuel Thévoz, “Trainings for Sorcery, Magic, Mystic, Philosophy—for That Which Is Called ‘the Great Accomplishment’: Alexandra David-Neel’s Written and Unwritten Tibetan Grimoires,” in *Tibetan Magic: Past and Present*, ed. Cameron Bailey and Aleksandra Wenta (Bloomsbury Academic, 2024), 193–219: 207.

61 Wenta, “The Vajrabhairavatantra,” 66.

62 van Schaik, *Buddhist magic*, 140 and following.

63 Since the terms priest, magician, cunning man, witch-doctor, shaman, and medicine man are applied according to the anthropological traditions that study specific regions, I am unsure whether it is reasonable to categorize all or most of their practices as magic.

64 Nicolas Sihlé, “Afterword: Conceptualizing the ‘Magical’ in Tibet and Beyond,” in *Tibetan Magic: Past and Present*, ed. Cameron Bailey and Aleksandra Wenta (Bloomsbury Academic, 2024), 224.

65 Victor Turner, “Symbols in African Ritual,” *Science* 179, no. 4078 (1973): 1110.

66 *rmi lam ngan pa g tong na* (*Ba ri be’u bum*, p. 70).

67 *dpal phyag na rdo rje la phyag ’tshal lo//char ’bebs pa’i man ngag ’di ni* (*Ba ri be’u bum*, p. 81).

goal, mostly based upon words and objects. Some of them might be performed in sequestered places or be a subject of concealment.⁶⁸ The influence of the “pre-natural entities or forces” is seldomly claimed explicitly in the case of *Ba ri be’u bum*⁶⁹ but it is obvious that most of the advice contended in the grimoire is expected to be outside the range of ordinary activities (for example wealth is obtained effortlessly; *tshogs med du ’ong*).⁷⁰

It might be useful to extend Turner’s definition of ritual. The rituals mentioned in Tables 3-5 are *practical* and *private*. They are practical because each of them has a clearly-defined purpose⁷¹ which is in most cases quite easily measurable. For example, rituals “to kill dogs and various predators”⁷² or to control the weather are mostly focused on starting or stopping rain or hailstorms, or there are rituals to resist poisoning in food or arrows, or more immediate self-defence rituals to paralyse enemies during encounter. In addition to their practicality, rituals are private in all meanings of the word. It is not only because they are ascribed to a single author (as their owner, provider or guarantor), expected to belong to an individual or a small group of his pupils, and are probably not performed publicly, but also because their purposes are mostly individualised. A fine example might be love magic⁷³ and magic of control or influence. Here, the focus is no greater abstract good or vaguely measurable concept of well-being or prosperity (like *g.yang*) but clearly-defined success in a personal private activity of the ritual-performing agent – and the privacy aspect is key because, for example, a beauty would probably not appreciate a man publicly obtaining substances

68 For example, phrases like “[it is] without doubts” (*the tshom med*) or “[it is] certainly profound” (*zab nges*).

69 In the rituals analyzed below, there is seldomly mentioned the mechanisms which cause the desired effect. Although teachers and supernatural beings like *yakṣinī* and *dākinī* are mentioned, it is mostly unclear how they will deliver the result.

70 *Ba ri be’u bum*, p. 14.

71 As van Schaik pointed out a possible origin of these rituals was based on “reliance on lay sponsorship placed [monks] directly in the sights of laypeople looking for solutions to their problems”. See van Schaik, *Buddhist magic*, 91.

72 *khyi dang gcan zan sna tshogs ’chi’o* (*Ba ri be’u bum*, p. 68).

73 By *love magic*, I mean the general anthropological understanding of rituals aimed at attracting the desired partner (see e.g. Robert W. Shirley and A. Kimball Romney, “Love Magic and Socialization Anxiety: A Cross-Cultural Study,” *American Anthropologist* 64, no. 5 [1962]: 1028–31). As I hesitate to apply the word *magic*, and as rituals intended for control over others (such as subduing women) or focused on the physical aspects of sexual intercourse (such as widening or closing the vagina) do not constitute love *sensu stricto*, I prefer designations such as *rituals for exerting influence, including the sexual sphere*. This also reflects the tendency to group these rituals together in the analysed sample. In my understanding, these rituals serve primarily to control a partner and to improve the sexual abilities of the couple.

and methods and performing rituals causing her to follow him “like a dog,”⁷⁴ and a ruler would be dissatisfied if some of his subjects or foreigners performed a ritual “to subdue even a king” (*ra dzA yin yang dbang du 'gyur ro*). The notion of privacy is also present in rituals with vaguer purposes, e.g. the cycle of the three Yugu sisters. Rituals shall bring “whatever one wants” (*ci 'dod 'byung*) especially “food, clothes and wealth” (*zas gos nor gsum*). But there is a strong aspect of privacy given by the requirement of practising the ritual “at a solitary place or in the forest and so on” (*gnas dben nags tshal la sogs par*). In addition, there might be instructions for transmitting the ritual, like “give it to your dearest son [for his sake], losing this treasure, the oath [you will] break,”⁷⁵ or “do not teach it to others [because] it is a profound sealed secret.”⁷⁶

In my understanding, private practical rituals in the *Ba ri be'u bum* have up to five elements, which are:

i) The invocation of deities or spiritual masters. Invocations are not present in the majority of rituals in the *Ba ri be'u bum*, and they seem to be connected to rituals which may be easily labelled as religious rather than magical if Durkheimian dualism is applied.⁷⁷ To provide some examples “I pay homage to victorious Vajrapani”⁷⁸ or “I pay homage to graceful Vajradākini”⁷⁹ or “I pay homage to excellent masters.”⁸⁰

ii) The name of the ritual, which may be either poetic or quite descriptive, often containing some information about the origin or originator of the ritual and also about the purpose or goal of the ritual. Only the names of the chapters have the standard Tibetan form of the sentence using the phrase “This is...” (... *bzhugs*).⁸¹ Others just have descriptions like the “method of casting a strong hailstorm by wild forceful ingredients”⁸² or “the method for paralysing ruffians.”⁸³

iii) A list of substances (*rdzas*) and a recipe for their processing. For instance, “mix these ingredients: the bile of a marmot, a fragrant plant [*abies spectabilis* or maybe rhododendron], and molasses”⁸⁴ or “to ingredients: snake flesh, black aco-

74 *mdzes ma la gtor na khyi bzhin rjes su 'grent ngo // (Ba ri be'u bum, p. 60).*

75 *snying dang 'dra ba 'i bu la byin/nor phyir shor na dam tshig nyams // (Ba ri be'u bum, p. 99).*

76 *gzhan la mi bstan shin tu sba/zab rgya gsang // (Ba ri be'u bum, p. 99).*

77 Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (G. Allen & Unwin/The Free Press, 1995), 39.

78 *bcom ldan 'das phyag na rdo rje la phyag 'tshal lo // (Ba ri be'u bum, p. 2).*

79 *dpal rdo rje mkha' 'gro ma la phyag 'tshal lo // (Ba ri be'u bum, p. 19).*

80 *bla ma dam pa rnams la phyag 'tshal lo // (Ba ri be'u bum, p. 88).*

81 For details see Tables 3 and 4.

82 *btsan thabs su rdzas rgod k'yis ser ba drag tu dbab pa 'i thabs // (Ba ri be'u bum, p. 70–71).*

83 *mi rgod cham la dbab pa 'i thabs // (Ba ri be'u bum, p. 95).*

84 *rdzas phyi ba 'i mkhris pa/ba lu 'i me tog/mtshal dkar bu ram dang sbyar // (Ba ri be'u bum, p. 69).*

nite...”⁸⁵ Of course, even here the delimitation of substances might be unclear. For example, there are rituals without a given list, though some substances (like dough balls or sacrificial beer) are mentioned in the text. It may also be the case that there is a list of substances and other materials are added in the next steps of the ritual (e.g. after the mixing, burning or grinding of substances given in the list).

iv) One or more mantras (*sngags*). Some of them are rather long and transcribed from Sanskrit, like *ha ri ni sa u Sh+Ni sha hUM phaT*. Others are quite short (if the *shad* is considered to be the end of the mantra) and look rather Tibetan, such as *shar shar* or *phob phob*.

v) The confirmation of effectiveness, which is frequently immediate (*de 'phral*), profound (*zab*) or very profound (*shin tu zab*), or even “there is no other so profound as this” (*zab pa 'di dra gzhan la med*).⁸⁶ This information may contain details about the purpose or goal of the ritual or its originator. It can also flow naturally into other instructions (like those on secrecy mentioned above, or the universal auspicious call *dge'o*⁸⁷).

These elements are, expectably, my abstraction and they may be present only partially and intermingle easily. Moreover, their order might differ and some might not be present in each ritual. What is remarkable is that the purpose (like the focus of agency behind the practical private ritual) may be connected to one of the above-mentioned elements of ritual and needs to be inferred by the reader.⁸⁸ The string “for ingredients [used] during the rainfall...” (*char 'bebs na rdzas la*) is an example of a connection of the purpose to substances; the phrase “if you recite this mantra hundred times over mustard seeds and cast [seeds] over property it becomes serviceable” (*sngags 'di yungs kar brgya la bzlas nas nor la ttab na las su rung ngo*) is an example of a connection of the purpose to mantras.

At this point, some statements connected to materiality should be mentioned as well. If the above-listed elements of rituals are taken into consideration, I firmly believe it is safe to state that *materia magica* or ingredients (*rdzas*) represent material ones, and mantras (*sngags*) and other “spells, incantations and esoteric formulae” represent non-material ones. I hereby define these two of the mentioned elements as vehicles, i.e. means of producing or achieving the expected outcomes. These are substances (tangible vehicles) and orations (intangible vehicles),⁸⁹ because, unlike the other elements, vehicles are those elements which are applied in the practical private ritual, and the remaining elements just help to show the way in which vehicles apply and increase the ritualists’ trust in the

85 *rdzas ni/sbrul sha/bong nga nag pol...* (*Ba ri be'u bum*, p. 71).

86 See *Ba ri be'u bum*, p. 85.

87 See *Ba ri be'u bum*, p. 6.

88 This may be because the *be'u bum* genre is primarily consumed by the author himself, his disciples, and others within his circle, rather than by outsiders unfamiliar with its content.

89 In tables, tangible vehicles will be marked TV and intangible IV.

potency of the ritual to be purposeful, i.e. to deliver the expected outcomes. Other possible elements like the name of the ritual or its source can be helpful in providing a finer classification with possible trends towards (in)tangibility.

The concept of tangible and intangible vehicles opens the possibility for enumeration, as shown in Tables 3 and 4. To investigate the tangible and intangible, one additional remark can be useful. Tangible and intangible vehicles seem to be well separated. In the words of Barad, tangible and intangible vehicles might “not simply... ..be intertwined with another, as in the joining of separate entities, but... ..lack an independent, self-contained existence;”⁹⁰ this holds good with respect to their relationship to the purpose of the private practical ritual but not to the description of the vehicles, which are often separated. It is really difficult to make judgments about whether the ritual serves its purpose because of one or the other vehicle. But vehicles themselves are not very entangled. They might be separated quite easily through the dividing line of tangibility. But of course, each dividing line is not impenetrable – for example, in some cases (rit. 46⁹¹ in Table 4), mantras are not only recited but also written on tangible media like cloths and added or connected to substances. However, mantras are more often recited (*bzla*) or cast (*btab*) over substances, sacrificial cakes, effigies and so on.

Focus, Method, Outcomes, Examples

In this section, I will explore the occurrence of both tangible and intangible vehicles of rituals to derive quantitative outcomes that aid in interpreting the possible (or at least empirically observed) significance of materiality in the *Ba ri be’u bum*. Tables 3 and 4 provide lists of rituals, including their associated mantras, substances (i.e., the tangible and intangible vehicles), and the purposes of each ritual, which are subsequently analysed in Table 5. Additionally, the names of the rituals and the list of originators contribute to refining the analysis. I focus on addressing three key questions:

1. Are tangible or intangible vehicles indispensable in any ritual or group of rituals?
2. Do tangible vehicles prevail over intangible ones (or vice versa) in any ritual or group of rituals?
3. Is there an obvious quantitative relationship between tangible and intangible elements in any ritual or group of rituals (e.g. does the presence of more tangible elements mean less intangible ones)?

⁹⁰ Barad, *Meeting the Universe*, ix.

⁹¹ *Ba ri be’u bum*, p. 97

In answering these questions, I will focus on the first two chapters of the *Ba ri be'u bum* according to Lama Jurme Drakpa's 1974 edition (i.e. *Sadhana of three Yugu sisters* and *Thorough advice for remedies*) for the following reasons. Firstly, the whole grimoire is so extensive⁹² that the article supplements would be either too brief and therefore unresponsive of my arguments or too vast and difficult to follow. Secondly, I believe the two chapters fairly represent the variousness of *Ba ri be'u bum*'s content. The first one contains rather longer rituals (present also in the Tengyur) that are close to religious ones with more general goals like delivering whatever one desires through the care of preternatural beings. The second one contains mostly rather shorter⁹³ and substantially worldly rituals like subduing women, improving sexual health, curing illnesses, and influencing the weather. And, thirdly, the extent of the two chapters covers approximately 1/5th of the grimoire, more exactly 17.5 % (102 from a total of 584 pages), which may at least provide some hope for representativeness.

To answer these questions, I will employ Tables 2 and 3 summarizing the number of rituals, their name, purpose, the tangible and intangible vehicles employed, and their originators if they are mentioned. If some of the said items are not present (which is often the case in shorter rituals) they are marked by an X. Items similar to the previous rituals are marked by an equals sign. The rituals will be divided into five groups according to the purpose of the rituals and grouping in the *Ba ri be'u bum*. The order of rituals in the purpose group is given by the first occurrence of the ritual in the analysed text. The purpose groups are:

- I. Obtaining wealth
- II. Protection and healing (poisoning, thieves etc.)
- III. Exerting influence (including the sexual sphere)
- IV. Harming adversaries (excl. weather control)
- V. Weather control and agricultural magic⁹⁴

The results of this approach are summarised in Table 5, which shows rituals according to affiliation to the purpose group, the order number of the ritual in its chapter, and the number of tangible and intangible vehicles in question. From

92 It contains 584 numbered pages excluding the title, table of contents and a short description of the grimoire.

93 The shortest ritual is probably to avoid snakebite mentioned above (*Ba ri be'u bum*, p. 62).

94 Cuevas mentioned the division of "mundane rites" into four actions (*las bzi*): rituals for pacification (*zhi*), augmentation (*rgyas*), subjugation (*dbang*) and ferocity (*drag*). Cuevas, "The Calf's Nipple," 168. These categories align with the purpose groups identified in the analysed sample as follows: I. Obtaining wealth corresponds to augmentation, II. Protection and healing correspond to pacification, III. Influence including sexual and V. Weather control and agricultural magic to subjugation, and IV. Harmful to ferocity. Further inquiry seems to suggest that there is not only a qualitative difference in purpose but also a quantitative difference in the level of materiality.

these items, arithmetic means and medians of tangible and intangible vehicles are established for the whole sample, each chapter, and each purpose group.

The three questions mentioned above seem to be answered in the following manner: As for the first question, tangible vehicles seem to be necessary for the ritual, as they are present in all rituals included in the sample. In contrast, intangible vehicles are dispensable and, in general, less common. Groups in which the number of tangible vehicles might be close to tangible ones are rituals for wealth and weather control (i.e. purpose groups I. and V.).

With regard to the second question, tangible vehicles predominate over intangible ones in the whole sample, both chapters. and all groups. The only groups where the number of tangible vehicles might be close to tangible ones are rites for wealth and weather control (i.e. groups Nos. I. and V.). Remarkably these groups are often connected with preternatural beings.

Finally, regarding the third question, more sophisticated rituals seem to include more tangible and intangible vehicles, but the sample is unbalanced.⁹⁵ The fact that the borderline between medicine and magic is vague and that, therefore, protective and healing rituals seem to be based more on tangible vehicles could be expected. Yet and perhaps surprisingly, rituals connected to control or influence (i.e. group III.) appear to be even more heavily dependent on tangible vehicles than medical ones (group II.).⁹⁶

To illustrate the importance of tangible substances in rituals—particularly as observed through the quantitative approach outlined above—and their interaction with intangible elements, I will present six brief examples from purpose group III (rituals focused on influence, including sexual influence). Notably, this group exhibits the lowest arithmetic mean and median of intangible vehicles, followed closely by purpose group II, which includes rituals for protection and healing.⁹⁷ It might be expected that, as van Schaik puts it, “‘magic’ overlaps with ‘medicine’ in that specific remedies are prescribed for specific problems”⁹⁸ but surprisingly recipes for attaining control seem to be more embedded in the material substances than the “‘ordinary accomplishments’ including healing”.⁹⁹ As an example, I will present three specific rituals (5, 6, and 7 from Table 4). These examples were chosen because they are concise and demonstrate that private, practical rituals can function as straightforward recipes without relying on complex material

95 For example, compare rituals 1, 33, 37 and 46.

96 The ratio of tangible to intangible vehicles for purpose group II. is $3,4/1,3=2,62$ and for purpose group III it is $2,7/0,5=5,4$ in the average mean.

97 At this point I will not focus on purpose group IV. as it consists of only three examples.

98 “Fourth Aris Lecture: Sam van Schaik (British Library)—Magic, Healing, and Ethics in Tibetan Buddhism,” Tibetan & Himalayan Studies Centre, accessed February 26, 2025, <https://thsc.web.ox.ac.uk/event/fourth-aris-lecture, 2>.

99 “Fourth Aris Lecture,” 6.

symbolism, in contrast to the rituals analysed by Wenta¹⁰⁰ and Brown.¹⁰¹ Additionally, ritual 6 is particularly intriguing because it serves as a counter-ritual, designed to undo the effects of the preceding ritual.

On a Sunday day. At the time when dogs gather, collect seven big burclover fruits and put them on the ground. Grind them into powder [rolling your body] facing up and down. Lying on your back, mix [it] with water, saliva or urine, whatever you have. If you scatter it with left thumb and forefinger towards a beauty, she will follow [you] like a dog.¹⁰²

If you want to free [her], mix [it] facing down, scattering [it] do not look back. These [this and the previous ritual] are the knowledge of Kabaru.¹⁰³

On a Sunday day, silently in the morning, facing east, roll the blue thornapple flower [and] put in the middle of sesame butter. Fill a new jug with water and closely seal its opening. Put the sesame butter fire amidst the hearth of three stones. In front of that put the water vessel upside down for soot to sieve. Make the smoke pass from inside of the stone [hearth through gaps]. If you want it to hold longer, mix the soot with sesame oil and apply. Otherwise, make a drop of that soot on [your] eyebrows. Look at whatever woman [you] want. As soon as she sees the drop return to your dwelling and the woman will be drawn into your power. If a man performs the ritual he will subdue a woman. If a woman will do [it] she will subdue a man. This is a knowledge of Dakiwandu from Oddiyana.¹⁰⁴

100 Wenta, “The Vajrabhairavatantra,” 73.

101 Brown, “The *Zla gsang be’u bum*,” 25–6.

102 //gza’ nyi ma la yod pa’i nyin/khyi ’jang ’brel ba’i dus su/ko di sbram po bdun sbyor ’tshams su btab la/kha phub dang gan kyal phye la tshags bya/gan kyal chu ’am mchil ma gcin gang rung la bdar nas/g.yon pa’i ’theb srin gyi mdzes ma la gtor na khyi bzhin rjes su ’g reng ngo // (*Ba ri be’u bum*, p. 60).

103 grol bar ’dod na/kha bub bdar nas gtor bas phyi mig kyang mi lta’o’//di rnams kha ba ru’i rig pa’o’// (*Ba ri be’u bum*, p. 60).

104 gza’ nyi ma’i nyin/nang par snga bar smra ba bcaid la/kha shar du bltas nas d+ha ru ra me tog sngon po can gyis dril/til gyi mar khu’i dkyil du bzugs/chu bum gzar pa chus bkang la kha kan zhib mos bsdam/rdo’i sgyed bu gsum gyi dbus su til gyi mar me bzhang/de’i thad drang du chu bum kha phub la bzhang pas dud pa chags yong /rdo nang phyogs dud pa tshags bya/de’i dud pa de nas yun ring chags par ’dod na/til mar la sbyar te dkud/min na dud pa de kha nas smin ’tsham su thig le byas te gang ’dad pa’i bud med la bltas pas/thig le de mthong ba dang /rang gnas su log ’ongs pas bud med rang gi dbang du khugs te/skyes pas las sbyor na bud med dbang du ’du zhing /bud med kyis byas na skyes pa dbang du ’du’o’//u rgyan gyi DA ki dbang du ’du ba’i rig pa’o’// (*Ba ri be’u bum*, p. 60-61).

Of course, intangible vehicles are also used in purpose group III to achieve goals similar to those mentioned in the examples above. I will present three examples: rituals 19, 20, and 21 from Table 4.

Furthermore, recite [this mantra] 108 times over seven white mustard seeds and female menstrual blood or sindūra, whatever you obtain. If you scatter it you will subdue [someone] even if [he is] a king. [The mantra is] //ha ri ni sa u Sh+Ni sha hUM phaT//.¹⁰⁵

Furthermore, recite [this mantra] 108 times over seven white mustard seeds and male semen. Whatever female it is given to, she will follow the giver. [The mantra is] oM sri na bu 'gal 'khul yems yems/lha mo nyog ti ma la swA hA//.¹⁰⁶

For freeing say the mantra seven times backwards, put [the mustard seeds] to the water and give [to the woman].¹⁰⁷

It thus seems some private practical rituals are not only “the practical advice with mantras” as van Schaik remarked giving his Aris lecture, but sometimes also “magical” rituals, which may lack mantras or any other speech acts. I am not suggesting that intangible vehicles are unimportant, but from a quantitative perspective, they may play a more significant role in rites directly associated with preternatural agency than in other groups that prioritize swiftness and simplicity.

Concluding Remarks

Private practical rituals in the analysed sample from the *Ba ri be'u bum* are manifold – from one line of instruction on how to use one ingredient without any obvious spiritual influence and resembling a recipe to dozens of pages with spiritual practice, ritual technology, or the invocation of deities.¹⁰⁸ They are also ascribed to different persons, either famous ones like Padmasambhava or rather doubtful ones like “powerful mantra holder” (*sngags 'chang*) or a “heretic”, i.e. non-Bud-

105 yang yungs kar pa bdun dang /bud med kyi mngal khrag gam sin dhu ra gang rnyed la brgya rtsa brgyad bzlas nas gtor na ra dzA yin yang dbang du 'gyur ro//ha ri ni sa u Sh+Ni sha hUM phaT// (*Ba ri be'u bum*, p. 66).

106 //yang yungs kar bdun dang /skyes pa'i byang sems la brgya rtsa brgyad btab te sbyin na bud med gang la sbyin pa rjes su 'g्रेng ngo//oM sri na bu 'gal 'khul yems yems/lha mo nyog ti ma la swA hA// (*Ba ri be'u bum*, p. 66).

107 'grol na sngags 'di ldog la lan bdun bzlas te chu la btab nas ster ro// (*Ba ri be'u bum*, p. 66).

108 As the 1st chapter of the *Ba ri be'u bum* (in the Table 3) seems to be a cycle, is focused on similar preternatural beings, and has the same originators, it is logically more homogenous than the other ones.

dhist (*mu stegs*). The purposes of these rituals are also varied, promising wealth, health and power.

As for materiality, the material substances I call tangible vehicles of the ritual seem to be necessary for delivering the desired purpose. On the other hand, intangible vehicles are present in dealing with supernatural beings like *dākinī* in the case of wealth rituals and especially in rituals involving *klu* or *gnyan* for weather control. Rituals for gaining influence over people, including rituals connected to sexuality, might be performed almost without any declared personal preternatural support and with less intangible vehicles than rituals from other purpose groups. This might be possible because of their short-term usage and their expected readiness. The sample of harmful rituals is too small to make quantitative judgements. With the exception of one ritual (see Table 4, ritual 1), more extensive rituals require more tangible and intangible vehicles.

Of course, there may be justified objections against my rather simplistic experiment. Firstly, the division between tangible and intangible vehicles might be challenged by the fact that the borderline marking tangibility is permeable.¹⁰⁹ Materials might be burned to ashes or fumigation (*bdug pa*) may be applied (like in ritual No. 24 shown in Table 4). On the other hand, mantras¹¹⁰ might be written down (like in rituals Nos. 34 and 46 shown in Table 4). Secondly, defining the number of vehicles might be problematic. For example, some of them are more spells or incantations than mantras and thus it might be unclear whether the text is one item or more unless the number of mantras is explicitly mentioned. Also in some cases, similar mantras are mentioned repeatedly in the same ritual (ritual No. 41 in Table 4) or extensive recitation is required (ritual No. 17 in Table 4). Furthermore, there might be an objection concerning a lack of representativeness (as there are 54 rituals in the sample).

However, despite the above-mentioned limitations, I assume that my quantitative approach demonstrates that in private practical rituals matter matters in the sense that it is a necessary although in many cases not a sufficient condition of the ritual, which could not be grounded solely in speech acts. Furthermore, material substances predominate over non-material phenomena in all analysed purpose groups regardless of the precise extent of this dominance. Moreover, when applied in such a way, materiality not only helps us to understand that material substances are important but also offers the potential for appreciating their relationship and entanglement with non-material substances. Thus, the borderline between the material and nonmaterial aspects of rituals might initially seem to be intuitively clear but it does not, in fact, enable a clear-cut distinction between them, which might be because of the inseparability of religion, magic, medicine

109 An interesting example of this permeability might be ritual no 3 from Table 4.

110 In some cases, there are rather spells or incantations than mantras – like in the case of ritual no 43 or some phrases in no 33 in the Table 4.

and technology – at least, in the case of private practical rituals. As Durkheim famously observed, “magic is full of religion and religion full of magic”¹¹¹ and, in the same manner, the tangible and intangible worlds seem to be entangled, supporting each other in serving the purpose of the ritual, although in the analysed sample the tangible one prevails.

If patterns are a sign of culture rather than randomisation, the quantitative approach to such extensive materials as are collections of private practical rituals seems to be meaningful. It enables comparison with published examples like those of van Schaik, Cuevas and des Jardins.¹¹² In his lectures at the Università degli Studi di Napoli L’Orientale in 2022, Ramble suggested that rituals might be categorised and described similarly to folklore, pointing also to van Driem’s view of languages. Hopefully, such approaches will enable us to see a bigger picture of society through its rituals – not only as far as materiality is concerned. As Sihle¹¹³ pointed out, there is probably some bias in this kind of interpretation, but I still believe the results of such a view may be enriching.

Note

For Tibetan, I am using the THL Extended Wylie Transliteration Scheme.

111 Durkheim, *The elementary forms*, 40.

112 For details see note 40.

113 Sihle, “Afterword,” 224.

Tab. 3. Name, Purpose, Mantras, Substances and Originators in the *Dbyug gu ma spun gsum gyi sgrub skor*

| No. | Page | Name | Purpose | Mantras | Substances | Originators |
|-----|-------|---|---|---|--|--|
| 1 | 2-6 | So-called <i>sādhana</i> appeared from the realised circle of all flash-eating <i>yaksini</i> and <i>dākinī</i> (<i>sha za 'i gnod sbyin mo mkha' gro ma kun nas 'a khyil ba 'i rtogs pa las byung ba 'i sgrub thabs zhes bya ba</i>) | To obtain whatever one wants (<i>ci 'dod 'byung</i>) | <i>oM i li ki li bi li ki ni swA hA</i> <i>oM a na le ku N+da li g+hri na pi N+Da pi sha tsi na ye swA hA</i> <i>oM na ma shu k+Sha na pa su mu khaM ma hA pi sha ci na ye swA hA</i> | <i>zas</i> <i>gos</i> <i>nor</i> <i>gtor ma</i> <i>chang</i> <i>zan</i> <i>rgyan</i> | Nāgārjuna Vajrāsana Bari Lotsāwa |
| 2 | 6-14 | Condensed commentary on [so-called <i>sādhana</i>] from the realised circle of all <i>yaksini</i> (<i>gnod sbyin mo kun nas 'khyil ba 'i don bsodus pa 'i grel pa</i>) | Commentary on the ritual No. 1 | = | = | Nāgārjuna Vajrāsana Bari Lotsāwa |
| 3 | 14-15 | When lama Baripa stayed in India, he was very poor; [therefore] lama Vajrasana gave him this advice. (<i>bla ma ba ri rgya gar na b-hings dus na shin tu bkren pa la/bla ma rdo rje gdan pas gdams pa 'di gtang ngo</i>) | To get food, clothes and wealth effortlessly (<i>zas gos nor gsum tshogs med du 'ong</i>) | 3 mantras (<i>stings gsum po</i>) possibly from ritual no. 1 | <i>zas</i> <i>gos</i> <i>nor</i> <i>chang bu</i> <i>bla rdo</i> | Bari Lotsāwa Vajrāsana |
| 4 | 15-19 | So-called attainment of <i>dākinī</i> grasped in your palm (<i>mkha' 'gro ma 'i dngos grub lag bcangs zhes bya ba</i>) | Not to be dependent on food and drink (<i>bza 'btung gyis nyon mi mongs pa</i>) | <i>oM a na le ku N+Da li ma+hA g+hrih+na sin+d+ha ye swA hA</i> <i>oM g+hrih+na pin dha ,hA pi sha tsi na ye swA hA</i> <i>oM shU kra mU khe mahA pi sha tsi na ye swA hA</i> <i>oM aM pa kaM pa shin+pa a</i> <i>oM ma me la</i> <i>duM pa she swA hA</i> <i>tad+ya thA</i> <i>oM tsha me</i> <i>u le ni du kha dan swA hA</i> | <i>gtor ma</i> <i>chang bu</i> <i>gsum</i> <i>'khor lo ri-</i> <i>sibs bzhi pa</i> | Vajrāsana Bari Lotsāwa |

| No. | Page | Name | Purpose | Mantras | Substances | Originators |
|-----|-------|---|---|--|--|---------------------------|
| 5 | 19-22 | X | To assemble food and wealth (<i>zas nor gyi tsho ba'i cha rkyen</i>) | oM i li gi pi li gi swA hA oM a na li kN+da li grlh+na sar+ba mahA pi sha tsi ni ye swA hA oM na ma shuk+Sha mu khe pi sha tsi ni ye swA hA oM i li gi li gi swA hA oM a na li kuN+da li grlh+na par na bi sha tsa ye swA hA oM na ma shu k+Sha mu k+Sha pa tsi ni swA hA | <i>chang bu gsum</i> <i>gtor ma</i> | Vajrasana Bari Lotsāwa |
| 6 | 22-23 | The forma of the three Yugu sisters (<i>dbyug ga spun gsum gyi gtor ma</i>) | To be used in danger of lack of provisions on the way (<i>lam du tsho bar chad yong nyen yod pas</i>) | unspecified own mantras (<i>rang gi sangags</i>) | <i>gtor ma</i> <i>chang bu gsum</i> a colour for writing (white/yellow/red/black) according to the expected result | Vajrasana Bari Lotsāwa |

Tab. 4. Name, Purpose, Mantras, Substances and Originators in the *Gso Byed Gdams Pa Zab Mo*

| No. | Page | Name | Purpose | Mantras | Substances | Originators |
|-----|-------|---|--|--|--|--|
| 1 | 26-55 | Advice on the remedy (<i>dpa' bo chig thub</i> <i>gdams pa</i>) | To be used in case of problems resulting from food poisoning [caused] by evil-minded people in dreadful times (<i>snvigs ma'i das su mi rnambs bsam pa ngan pas/zas ngan dug gi sbyor ba ngar ba'i phyir</i>) | X | <i>sman gyi rgal po dpa' bo chig thub</i> | Buddharatna (<i>bud d+ha rat+na</i>) A Nepalese known as Hara? (<i>bal po ha ra zhes bya</i>) |
| 2 | 55-57 | The excellent teaching of Sonam Sengge (<i>bsod nams seng ge'i khyad chos ni</i>) | Additional advice to this instruction (<i>gdams pa 'di'i zur 'debs bya bral ba</i>) | So called <i>gu yu</i> (<i>gu yu zhes kyang zer</i>) So called <i>ko tra</i> (<i>ko tra zhes br/od</i>) Sometimes cast <i>he</i> together with medicine (<i>skabs su sman dang btun la has 'debs so</i>) | <i>phag khrag</i> <i>gla rsi</i> <i>skyer shun</i> <i>se ba shun pa</i> <i>se bru</i> <i>shing dngar</i> <i>re ral</i> <i>ras gsgang ma</i> | Sonam Sengge (<i>bsod nams seng ge</i>) |
| 3 | 58 | X | Antidote against poison and poisoned arrows (<i>'di bisan dug dang dug mda'i gryen po ste</i>) | <i>oM gyi thun la tsa na yang ma hUl shwa sma rA bhi shwa bA si hl hO ma hi ru kha pi hO shi na staM bhi na swA ha</i> | A small piece of silk cloth with mantras written in either gold, silver or copper (<i>'di zab chung du gser dngal zangs gsum gang rung bas bris te</i>) | A powerful mantra holder (<i>snvags 'chang nus ldan bsnen song gyis rab gnas bya/</i>) |
| 4 | 58-59 | X | If a man performs [this ritual] he will subdue a woman. If a woman performs [this ritual] she will subdue a man. (<i>skyes pas byas na bud med dbang du 'du/bud med khyis byas na skyes pa dbang du 'du'o</i>) | Unspecified mantra or mantras (<i>snvags btub nas</i>) | <i>go la</i> <i>rdog po</i> <i>ga bur</i> <i>tsan dan dkar po</i> <i>gla rsi</i> | <i>go la na hi na</i> or <i>dza ti pa</i> |
| 5 | 60 | X | If you scatter it with a thumb and forefinger towards a beauty she will follow [you] like a dog (<i>gyon pa'i theb smin gyi mdzes ma la gtor na khyi bzhin rjes su greng ngo</i>) | X | <i>ko di sbram po btun chu 'am mehil ma</i> | The knowledge of Kabaru (<i>'di rnambs kha ba ru'i rig pa'o</i>) |
| 6 | 60 | X | If setting free [from the previous is] desired. (<i>gral bar 'dod na</i>) | X | <i>ko di sbram po btun chu 'am mehil ma</i> | The knowledge of Kabaru (<i>'di rnambs kha ba ru'i rig pa'o</i>) |

| No. | Page | Name | Purpose | Mantras | Substances | Originators |
|-----|-------|---|---|---------|---|--|
| 7 | 60-61 | X | If a man performs the ritual he will subdue a woman. If a woman will do [it] she will subdue a man. (<i>skyes pas las sbyon na bud med dbang du 'du zhing / bud med kyas byas na skyes pa dbang du 'du'o</i>) | X | <i>d+ ha ru ra me tog sngon po can ti gyi mar khu chu bum gar pa chus bhang rdo'i sgyed bu gsum ti gyi mar me</i> | Dakiwandu from Oddiyana (<i>u ryan gyi DA ki dbang du 'du ba'i rig pa'o</i>) |
| 8 | 62 | Elixir of love (<i>ma da na ka ma ra pa'o</i>) | Penis turns as hard as a piece of wood. (<i>rdo rje shing [tar du gro]</i>) | X | <i>shid cha'i lo ma li shi rdZA ti pha la yab phu ga bur bu ram lecam pa sbrang</i> | X |
| 9 | 62 | X | It will enable to [survive a] snake bite. (<i>sbrul gyis gnod pa thub po</i>) | X | <i>na ga dA li</i> | X |
| 10 | 62 | X | Given to the patient to resist poisoning (<i>bisan dug byung ba'i nadd pa la byin na</i>) [and] when a woman is snakebitten. (<i>bud med la dog dzing tar [dzin gar] nas</i>) | X | <i>ko byi la chu</i> | X |
| 11 | 62-63 | X | Neither man nor animal will get "four putrefactions" [skin diseases?]. (<i>de mi 'am dud bas ser bzhi mi 'byung ngo</i>) | X | <i>ko byi la chu se ba'i 'bras bu lpags pa mar nag</i> | X |
| 12 | 63 | X | To clear away insects on the skin and in meat (<i>sha dang phags pa la zhugs pa'i bu nadd sel lo</i>) | X | <i>khyi'i nag po'i ice sgam</i> | X |
| 13 | 63 | X | Beneficial in ease of swollen testicles (<i>rtig khud pa skrangs pa 'gram pa la phan no</i>) | X | <i>mgo spyi bo nas chu</i> | X |
| 14 | 63-64 | X | If applied on the top of the penis it will enable to remain in good health when making love. (<i>nor bu la bkus na 'dod pa spyad na kham: 'ching nus so</i>) | X | <i>chu go la ga bur se ba gcig tsam</i> | X |

| No. | Page | Name | Purpose | Mantras | Substances | Originators |
|-----|-------|---|--|---|---|-------------|
| 15 | 64 | X | To stop diarrhoea (<i>'khru ba 'chad</i>); if not repeated three times (<i>ma chad na lan gsum skyor ro</i>) | X | <i>a 'bras snyong po zho 'i chu ras</i> | X |
| 16 | 64 | X | To support growing eyelashes (<i>mig gi rdzi ma?</i>) (<i>mig gi bze ma ma ma skyes pa la bkus pas skye o</i>) | X | seeds (<i>sa bon</i>) of <i>a ru ra</i> and <i>skyor ru ra</i> | X |
| 17 | 64–65 | Method of ācārya (<i>a tsa ra 'i man ngag</i>) | To summon and subdue gods, demons and men as well as eight classes of spirits (<i>lha 'dre mi gsum rang dhang med par dhang du 'di shing sde bgyad hyang dhang du 'dus so</i>) | Recite the mantra 3x100 000 times (<i>sngags 'bum tsho gsum bzla 'o</i>) | <i>mi 'ngo 'i spu gang dad 'gro phrad chad kyi spu gang rin chen sna lnga 'bru sna lnga dar dmar po gla ba 'i khug ma</i> | X |
| 18 | 65 | X | If you recite this mantra over mustard seeds and cast it over property it turns to be serviceable (<i>sngags 'di yungs kar bgya la bzlas nas nor la baab na las su rung ngo</i>) | <i>oM su ru shi li mi li sv.A hA</i> | <i>yungs kar bgya</i> | X |
| 19 | 66 | X | To subdue [someone] even if [he is] a king (<i>ra dz-i yin yang dhang du 'gyur ro</i>) | <i>ha ri ni sa u Sh+Ni sha hUMphAT</i> | <i>yungs kar bud med kyi mngal khrag sin dhu ra</i> | X |
| 20 | 66 | X | Any and every woman will follow [you] (<i>bud med gang la shyin pa 'jes su 'geng ngo</i>) | <i>oM sri na bu 'gal 'khal yems yems lha mo nyog ti ma la sv.A hA</i> | <i>yungs kar bdun hyang sems</i> | X |
| 21 | 66 | X | To set free [[from the previous spell] (<i>'grol na</i>) | Recite this [i.e. the previous] mantra seven times backwards (<i>sngags 'di ldag la lan bdun bzlas</i>) | <i>chu</i> | X |
| 22 | 66–67 | X | Another [way] to achieve whatever you wish (<i>gzhan yang gang 'dod la ci la ci bsam</i>) | Previous mantras (<i>gong gi rdzas dang sngags</i>) | Previous substances (<i>gong gi rdzas dang sngags</i>) | X |

| No. | Page | Name | Purpose | Mantras | Substances | Originators |
|-----|-------|------|---|---------|---|-------------|
| 23 | 67 | X | To subdue whoever you look at. (<i>gang la bhas pa de dbang du 'gyur ro</i>) | X | <i>nyi i mgris pa khyi dmar po 'i rdo rfe sbrang</i> | X |
| 24 | 67 | X | The entrance to the vagina will be closed. (<i>bha ga kha rub par 'gyur ro</i>) It is a harlot's advice. (<i>smaad 'shong ma 'i gdams ngag go</i>) | X | <i>phag pa 'i brun</i> | X |
| 25 | 67 | X | If it is applied on the maiden's navel, the vagina will get bigger. (<i>na chungs kyi lte bar bhas na bha ga chen por 'gyur ro</i>) | X | <i>ko la ka ku lang zer e ka dan dri 'i rna ba rang gi chu</i> | X |
| 26 | 67-68 | X | If applied on breasts by the back of the hand, the breasts will get smaller. (<i>lag pa 'i rgyab nu ma la bstan na nu ma nang du 'gros so</i>) If applied by palms they will turn back to be of the same size. (<i>lag pa gnyis kyi 'thil bstan na sngar bzhin 'gyur ro</i>) | X | <i>ye rang gi shag ti ra rdza...me tog dkar dmar gnyis yod na/dkar po byung na rab/dmar pos kyang yong/</i> | X |
| 27 | 68 | X | To kill dogs and various predators. (<i>lhyi dang gcan zan sna tshogs 'chi'o</i>) | X | <i>sa dmar po tshwa byang pa mu ze chu khyi dang pa sug pa mu ze</i> | X |
| 28 | 68-69 | X | Sperm of all men will dry out (<i>pho chags kun sa bon skam so</i>) | X | <i>spang rgyan dkar po gser chu</i> | X |
| 29 | 69 | X | Purification by using spices (<i>spod kyi 'byang lhan</i>) for blocked throat (<i>gre ba 'gags</i>) and rotten skin (<i>lpags pa ruf</i>) | X | <i>mkhad ma zho sha khyi shing kun 'che pi pi ling</i> | X |
| 30 | 69 | X | When a penis descends (<i>rak+ta 'bebs na</i>) | X | <i>phyi ba 'i mkhris pa ba lu 'i me tog mshat dkar bu ram</i> | X |

| No. | Page | Name | Purpose | Mantras | Substances | Originators |
|-----|-------|--|--|---|--|--|
| 31 | 70 | X | To get what one wants (<i>gang 'dad pa bzhin 'byung</i>) | <i>ha ri ni sa</i> | <i>mi'i mshal sin dhu ra gi waM</i> | X |
| 32 | 70 | X | To cast a bad dream (<i>rmi lam ngan pa gong na</i>) | <i>oM a kro te ka ya man+- ta ka ya ma ra dza khaM yaM raM a mu kaM khaM shag shag</i> | <i>zan la mi [zan la] sbal pa dri ma</i> | X |
| 33 | 70-73 | The method how to cast a hailstorm violently by wild forceful means (<i>rgya gar skad du/ rak+ta sa ma/a pe sha ya a/bod skad du/ bisham thabs su rdzas rgod kyis ser ba drag tu dhab pa'i thabs</i>) | To cast a hailstorm (<i>ser ba drag tu dhab pa</i>) | <i>gnam shig shig ser ba raM raM sprin nag po phung phung phob cig gnam nas ser ba ltags phu nas glog phyung bar nas sprin 'dus da nas riang tshabs trag trag shar shar shur rbad rbad nan oM yag sha ga ru Da khyang 'ur 'ur sa du naM sprin du nan sprying du nan na ga byer na ga zlog</i> | <i>sbml sha bong nga nag po cha ga risangs pa'i sha gla risi lcong mo sha phag pa'i sha sdig pa nag po 'i sha gu gul nag po bcos khrag rkyang gi sbangs shag bu skud pa dkar nag</i> | Heretic scholar Nagpo Reichig (<i>mu stegs kyi mkham po nag po ral gcig</i>) |
| 34 | 73-76 | X | To reveal a hidden method (<i>gab pa bkrol ba'i man ngeq la</i>) There are two ways how to apply this ceremony (<i>rien 'brel gyi mus mthu sbyar ba'i thabs ni gnyis te</i>) These two are a method of how to put a steady spike and the way of charming elements (<i>mi 'gyur ba'i gzer chen glab pa'i thabs dang /'byung ba dhrag pa'i rnam pa gnyis so</i>) to cause a hailstorm. (<i>ser ba ... 'bab nus so</i>) | 1000 [times] recite arousing mantra (<i>bskal sangags stong tsho gcig bzlas pa</i>) | <i>sbml sha bong nga mu ze cha ga risa ngas pa 'i sha gla rist lcong mo 'i sha bu phag pa 'i sha sdig pa nag po 'i sha gu gul nag po bicos khrag rkyang gi sbangs</i> | X |

| No. | Page | Name | Purpose | Mantras | Substances | Originators |
|-----|-------|------|--|--|--|--|
| 35 | 76-77 | X | To start a hailstorm (<i>ser ba kha g.yel ba</i>) [a hailstorm] (<i>gnyis pa 'byung ba dkrugs pa'i rdzas kyi shyar ligs ni</i>). [causing] hailstorm suddenly (<i>ser ba bisan thabs su dhab pa</i>) | 500 [limes] mantra over white and black thread (<i>skud pa dkar nag la sngags lnga brgya brab</i>) Any mantra you have to block a path (<i>phyi lam gcod pa'i sngags ji tsam 'grub tshad cig</i>) | <i>skud pa dkar nag zhing mu ma'i snyi ma</i> | X |
| 36 | 77-80 | X | Secondly, to the method of connecting substances that cause the appearance of [a hailstorm] (<i>gnyis pa 'byung ba dkrugs pa'i rdzas kyi shyar ligs ni</i>). [causing] hailstorm suddenly (<i>ser ba bisan thabs su dhab pa</i>) | X | <i>rdzas sna bcu gnyis de min rdzas bcu</i> | The tradition of heretic Tonpa Relchik (<i>mu stegs kyi ston pa ral gcig gis mdzad pa'o</i>) |
| 37 | 81-85 | X | Instruction how to make a rainfall (<i>char 'bebs pa'i man ngag 'di ni</i>) although there are many [rituals for] rainfall in Tibet, this one is very swift (<i>hood na char 'bebs mang du yod kyang 'di las myur ba yod re kan</i>) | <i>oM ra dza phuH ta yar non dus 'dus nag po ma bhyoH oM char char bla bla thib thib sil sil hur thum grom grom shar shar phob phob ha zur thuM ril nan thuM swa hA</i> | <i>zangs sam rdza gsar pa'i snod chu mig dgu yan chad kyi chu bag zan nam phra tshil ta rus sbal gyi gnyis shing byang ngami/shog bu la na ga phuH ces pa bris seng ldeng ngami/skyer pa'i phur pa kha chod g.yam pa longs ma spyad pa cig ta rdo rje rgya khram bris tshon skud sna lnga'i gzungs thag klu dkar gsum dang ra gsum gyi gtor ma chab gtor</i> | X |
| 38 | 85-88 | X | Planting a ritual dagger; four inches [deep] to cause heavy rain, two inches to cause a hail[storm], three inches for lightning (<i>phur pa 'debs pa'i tshad ni/drag char 'bebs na sor bzhi/ser ba la sor gnyis/thog la sor gsum brdeg go</i>) | <i>oM swa sti</i> | <i>gri khrag gla rsi bisan dug yugs sa mo'i mngal khrag bisos khrag</i> | Teaching given by Kham-pa Sherab Zangpo (<i>kham pa shes rab bzang pos byin pa'i rig pa'o</i>) |

| No. | Page | Name | Purpose | Mantras | Substances | Originators |
|-----|-------|------|---|---|---|-------------|
| 39 | 88-90 | X | A way how to create a black rain (<i>da nag po 'i char 'bebs pa 'i lugs</i>) | <i>char char chur chur mer mer shar shar klong klong</i> | <i>chang phud cig phye phud cig lcags kyi phur pa 'am/skyer pa 'i, phur pa 'am seng ldeng gi phur pa 'i sha sbat pa 'i sha sdng pa 'i sha</i> | X |
| 40 | 90-91 | X | Various means [used] during a rainfall (<i>char 'bebs na rdzas la</i>) | <i>sa la sa la si li si li phob phob</i> | <i>la cha 'i rus sbal khyi nag po snying dkar gyi brun ril ma</i> | X |
| 41 | 91-92 | X | If you want to stop the rain (<i>yang char good par 'dad na</i>) in order to clean the sky safely (<i>mkha 'dag par the tshom med</i>) [which is a] profound practice for stopping the rain (<i>char good zab mo lag len byas pa</i>) | <i>pra sa ra na phaT pra sa ra na phaT</i> | <i>mi rus mi gcig pa gsum rkang lag gong byung gi sen mo tshwa par mo</i> | X |
| 42 | 92 | X | How to stop the rain (<i>char good na</i>) | <i>oM tsa kra rba dum bu dum bu chil chil hUM hUM phaT phaT swA hA</i> | <i>gla rsi sbril sha if you do not have (de med na) tshwa tsam pa</i> | X |
| 43 | 92-93 | X | Various means for suppressing the wind (<i>yang rlung gnon pa 'i rdzas</i>) if starting a journey, do it over the blade as above (<i>lam la 'gro na gri 'i kha la brgyab la gong dang 'hun par bya</i>) | <i>sgyed bu gsum po sku gsung thugs/ de la a ga zhang zab par bya/ grangs 'byung ba dang bstun/</i> | <i>ral gri 'am gri thung</i> | X |
| 44 | 93-94 | X | Another ceremony for protection on the way (<i>yang lam la bstrung ba 'i rdzas dang rten 'brel la</i>) | <i>sens sems phos phos che ge mo la phos</i> | <i>rkang rjes kyi sa zan</i> | X |
| 45 | 94 | X | With similar substances [for similar protection] (<i>yang rdzas gong bzhin la</i>) | <i>ngyogs 'rgyogs cho cho sha za 'ur mo/ ngyogs pa ma/ ki shug la brang brang / shag pa risa la rbad rbad/ shag ghri ghri chil chil</i> | <i>similar to previous</i> | X |

| No. | Page | Name | Purpose | Mantras | Substances | Originators |
|-----|---------|--|--|---|--|--|
| 46 | 94-99 | The method how to paralyse ruffians (<i>mi rgod cham la dbab pa'i thabs</i>) | The method how to paralyse ruffians (<i>mi rgod cham la dbab pa'i thabs</i>) | <i>oM ka ma ru pa mi ha ri ra tri tri phaT phaT</i> | <i>gangs ri dkar po'i risa ba 'joms byed nag po sran ma dgas khrog khrog 'bras bu nyer gcig spang gi sbré dri 'heb ishigs gnyis mun nag ral chen thugs mgo drug dlab chags mkha' lding tha ma skyangs pa drag po 'heb ishigs gnyis tsher ma'i risi tog 'bras bu dgu mishad gyi dar rag rdo me-hog nya yi mkhris pa khyi yi rus pa kha sha pho yi khug ma shing kun (sha) ba smaad ra dug khyi lee nya dag sug pa bong nga nag po thang khrom 'bru spang spos dad pa bya bad ma sbrang snyon g.yer ma</i> | Padmasambhava from Oddiyāna (u rgyan pad+-ma saM bha wa) |
| 47 | 99-100 | From a treasure vessel of instructions (<i>man ngag gter gyi bum pa las</i>) | Saving own semen (<i>lhig le bcon du bzang ba ni</i>) to subjugate beings (<i>gro ba dhang du bsduu</i>), to create vigor and brilliance (<i>lus stobs bkrag midangs bskyed</i>), to extend life (<i>ishe ring rgas</i>) and to increase wealth (<i>nor 'phel</i>) | X | <i>kha bur mchal zho pad rag me tog lug mig</i> | X |
| 48 | 100-101 | X | Again, for saving/not emitting the semen (<i>yang cig thig le bison bzang la</i>) | X | <i>lug ru dkar po g.yer chung rang gi dri chu</i> | X |

