

HISTORY OF TIBETAN RELIGION

Li An-cho

A
STUDY
IN THE
FIELD



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CONTENTS

<i>PREFACE</i>	5
<i>PART ONE</i>	
INTRODUCTION	
Chapter I Ethnographical Setting	7
Chapter II Historical Background	19
<i>PART TWO</i>	
PRE-BUDDHISTIC FAITH AND EARLIER SCHOOLS OF TIBETAN BUDDHISM	
Chapter III Bon: The Native Faith	31
Chapter IV Rnin-ma-pa: The Early Form of Tibetan Buddhism	45
Chapter V Sa-skya-pa: A Semi-reformed School	66
Chapter VI Bkah-brgyud-pa: Another Semi-reformed School	84
<i>PART THREE</i>	
DGE-LUGS-PA: THE REFORMED OR ESTABLISHED SCHOOL OF TIBETAN BUDDHISM	
Chapter VII Dge-lugs-pa Masters and Monasteries in Tibet	103
Chapter VIII Dge-lugs-pa Masters and Monasteries in Hsi-kang and Amdo	122
<i>PART FOUR</i>	
BLA-BRAN: A DGE-LUGS-PA MONASTERY	
Chapter IX Bla-bran and Its Benefactors	134
Chapter X Monastic Organization	147
Chapter XI Principal Deities	162
Chapter XII Training and Curriculum	188
Chapter XIII Public Festivities	212
Chapter XIV Population Under Bla-bran	234
Chapter XV Conclusion	247
<i>NOTES</i>	260

PREFACE

Ordinarily we speak of the Tibetan people as if living only in Tibet. But the Tibetans, apart from those outside the country on the southern and southwestern borders, live in China not only in (1) Tibet alone, but also in (2) Hsi-kang (Khams), and parts (3) of Sze-chwan, Kan-su and Ching-hai (Kokonor). Number (3) is called A-mdo in Tibetan.

The most famous master of Dge-lugs-pa, or the Reformed School of Tibetan Buddhism, Tson-kha-pa (1357-1419) was born in Kokonor. The Sku-hbum Monastery was the place where he was born. The present Dalai Lama XIV and Pan-chan Lama X were also born in Kokonor.

The fieldwork for the study of this manuscript was done (1938-1941) in A-mdo in general, but more intensively at Labrang Monastery in Kan-su. It was done in Khams in 1943. During 1950-1953 period, I joined the PLA for social service in Tibet. Although I was not engaged in the same kind of anthropological fieldwork, a few visits to the monasteries confirmed the findings in the manuscript.

The original manuscript was sent to Yale University Press through Prof. Ralph Linton at the Department of Anthropology, Yale University, USA. A few samples of some printed chapters were sent to me at West-China Union University, Chengtu, Sze-chwan Province to get my opinion. That was after my trip to Tibet, therefore, I never received it nor heard of it at that time, not to mention giving a reply.

When news from Yale came in 1980, I learned that the manuscript was returned to Prof. Linton by the University Press. He himself died a few years later without leaving any heir. Thus, the manuscript was lost together with 74 illustrations and so did a Foreword by Prof. F. W. Thomas,

Oxford University, England, who also died some years later. Prof. Linton wrote an Introduction, which I have never had a chance to read. The present manuscript is a second copy of the original without the above-mentioned contents. My former colleague Yu Shih-yu accompanied me in my fieldwork and Tibetan service with a great deal of help. To them I shall remain forever grateful.



Bde-mchog rdo-rje.



Gsan-hdus rdo-rje.



Dus-hkhor rdo-rje.



Gnas-chun hphrin-las rgyal-po.



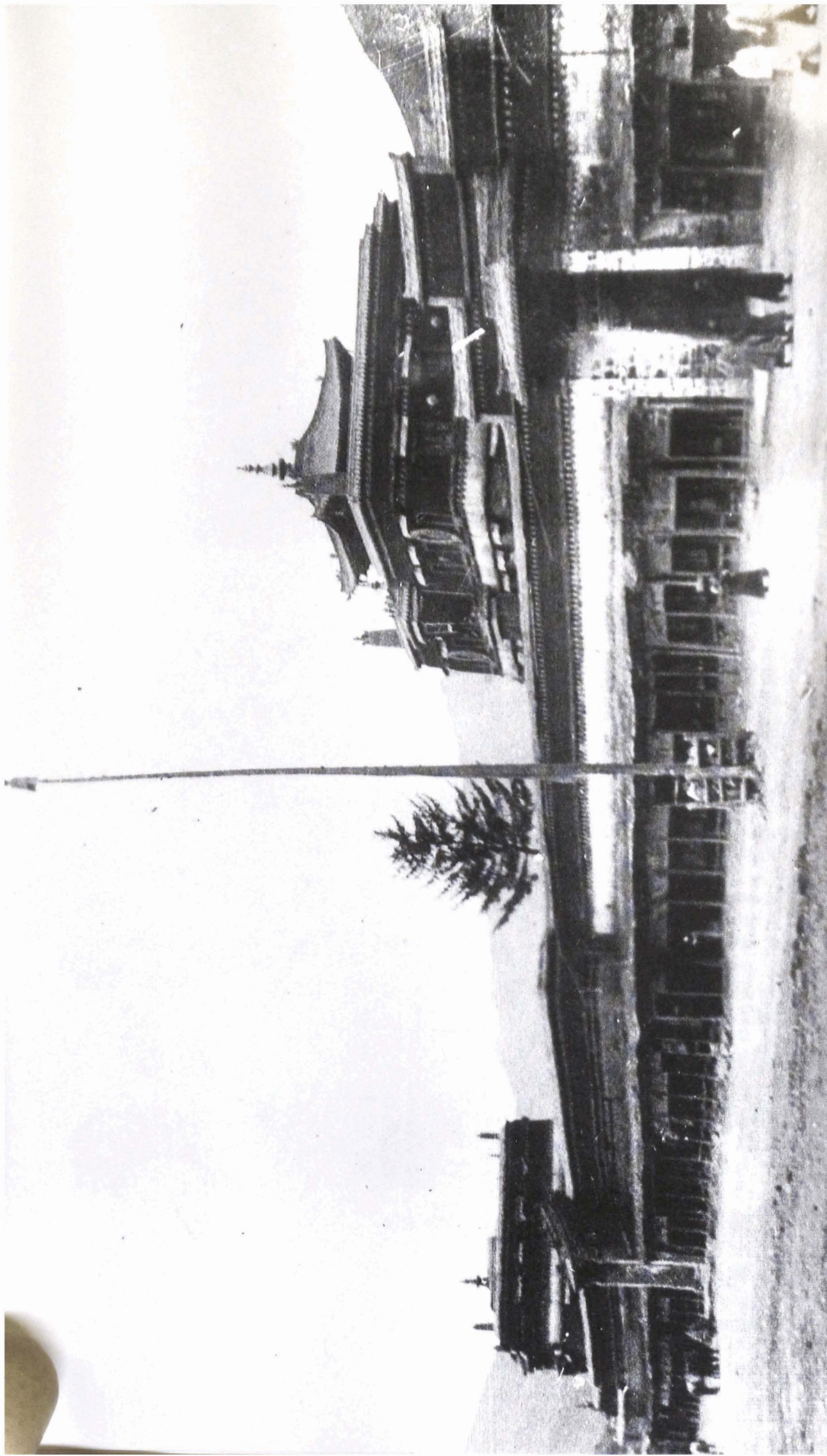
Tsihu-dmar.



Six-armed Mgon-po.



Dzambhb-ld.



The wooden cylinders of scripture of the Bla-bran Monastery.



Bla-bran men
in battle gear.



Armed soldiers as
guards of honor.



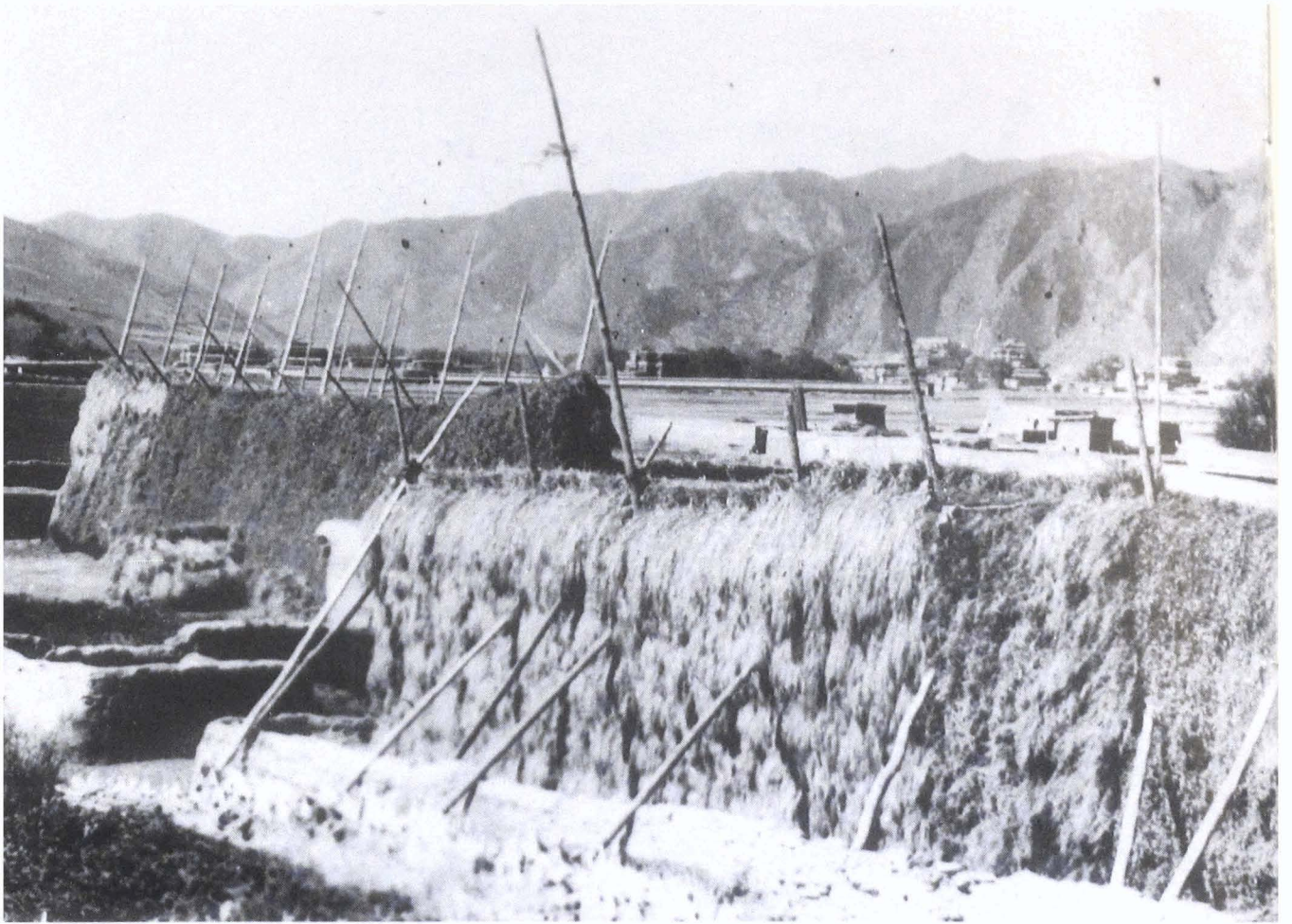
A bailing Tibetan girl.



Bla-bran ladies
in holiday best.



The typical cantilever bridge over the Hsia-ho River
in front of the Bla-bran Monastery.



Wooden stands for drying the highland barley.

INTRODUCTION

Chapter I

ETHNOGRAPHICAL SETTING

The Tibetan world, as an area inhabited by people of Tibetan language and culture, extends from 73 degrees to 104 degrees East Longitude and from 27 degrees to 38 degrees North Latitude. It is divided into three cultural regions:

1) Tibet proper, or Hsi-tsang in Chinese, which includes:

a) Mnah-ris in the westernmost section;

b) Gtsan, or Hou-tsang in Chinese, in the middle section, in which Bkra-cis-lhun-po, the seat of the Panchan Lama, is situated;

c) Dbus, or Chien-tsang in Chinese, in the eastern section, in which Lhasa, the seat of the Dalai Lama and his government, is situated;

2) Khams, or the Chinese province of Hsi-kang (Si-kang), east of Tibet;

3) A-mdo still further to the east and northeast, including:

a) the Tibetan habitat in Kokonor, or the Chinese province of Ching-hai (Tsing-hai);

b) the Tibetan habitat in the southwest part of the Chinese province of Kan-su;

c) the Tibetan habitat in the northwest part of the Chinese province of Sze-chwan.

Tibet is an autonomous political entity that appears as such on the maps of political geography.

Khams is under the direct rule of the Central Government of China, while A-mdo does not appear in geographies as such, being divided up into different *hsiens* (counties) of three different provinces. The only reason for speaking of the Tibetan world as a whole embodying Tibet, Khams and A-mdo is an anthropological one as defined above.

The inhabitants of this vast area are generally known as Tibetans, a mixture of many races. Comparative fieldwork among them in physical anthropology and linguistics has hardly been begun. Historical reconstruction of the origins at the present stage is not a fruitful attempt. The Tibetan people became first known in Chinese history as Tu-bo in the annals of the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.) and besides them records were kept of such peoples as the Chiang, Ti, Tu-ku-hun, Jong, Fu-kuo, "Woman-Ruled Country in the East," etc., in the present vast area of Tibetan culture. As the most important people in pro-Tang historical records were the Chiang, Chinese historians used to identify Tibetans with Chiang. But the problem is not so easily solved, for field data seem to contradict such an identification. Of all the aborigines in the northwestern part of Sze-chwan today such as Tibetans, Rgyal-ron, Chiang, Po-lo-tze, the Black-river people, etc., the Chiangs are the nearest to Han people in culture and physical types, while the Rgyal-ron are more closely related to the Tibetans. The point is raised in passing in order to emphasize the complexity of the problem and the wisdom of avoiding premature conclusions.¹

Whatever their origins may be, all the Tibetans call themselves Bod-pa: "Bod" is the name of their language; the ending "pa" is used for designations of both place and occupation, as in Gtsan-pa (people of Gtsan), Khams-pa (people of Khams), Hbrog-pa (nomads), Bsod-nams-pa (agriculturists), etc.² Being influenced by Buddhistic imagery since the seventh century A.D., Tibetans trace their origin to two ancestors: a monkey who is a manifestation of the God of Mercy (Spyan-ras-gzigs or Avalokitesvara) and a demoness (Srin-mo or Raksasi) who is a manifestation of his consort Sgrol-ma or Tara. All the desirable qualities are supposed to be de-

rived from the deified male ancestor and all the undesirable ones from the female.

As the altitude of their region is exceptionally high, with the lowest plain approaching 10,000 feet above sea level, the Tibetans are primarily nomads and secondarily agriculturalists.³ The pastoralists live in black tents of yak hair rooming from season to season within their tribal territories on the grasslands.⁴ Their livestock consist of sheep, yaks, *mdzo* (offspring of the yak-bull and common cow), and horses, with huge mastiffs to watch over the herds and to guard the tents against intruders. The staple foods for the nomads are boiled tea, milk (fresh and sour), cheese (dried like sand), meat (raw, dry and boiled), butter, and *rtsam-pa* or parched barley meal, which is imported from the low valleys where barley is grown. It is taken gingerly, the more remote in the wilderness the more so. Tea comes from Yun-nan, Szechwan and other Chinese provinces. When tea is poured into one's cup, a lump of butter is put into the tea to melt. This process is helped with the fingers by stirring it up and the fingers are then rubbed against the face for the same purpose as cold cream is used in modern culture. Being so stirred, the tea is covered with butter evenly on the surface. While blowing the butter away, one drinks the tea. When one-third is left in the cup, a handful of *rtsam-pa* is put in. The mixture is worked into dough which is taken out of the cup while more tea is drunk. Meat is eaten with the fingers together with the help of a knife. The grease on the hands is then rubbed on the sheep-skin cloak or leather boots for two purposes: to clean the hands and to soften the wearing surface.

Animal dung is used for fuel. A mud oven is built inside the tent to divide it into two sections. On entering the tent, the right side is reserved for guests and male members of the family, while women feed the oven with fuel from the left side and serve tea. Fire is open to both sides to keep the people warm.

A sheep-skin cloak is universal for both sexes, reaching the man's knees and the woman's ankles respectively. It is worn with fur inside directly in touch with the person's skin.

Shirts are not worn by either sex. Women do not usually wear trousers although men may have them occasionally. Both wear boots with soft soles and with uppers reaching the knees, and both have fur hats, ordinarily of sheep skin and occasionally of fox. The cloak is fastened to the waist by a girdle, making a bulging fold on the bosom for a pocket, in which each person has his or her cup ever ready for tea. When the cloak is unfastened at night, it covers from head to foot for bedding purposes, and the earth floor is covered with rugs to sleep on. With a bagful of *rtsam-pa*, some cheese and minced meat on the saddle, with or without a tea kettle, a horseman may travel without other provisions. For parched barley meal may be taken with cold water from the stream, or with tea to be boiled in the kettle when at leisure.

Sedentary Tibetans live in adobe houses not much different from those of the Pueblo Indians in the United States. They cultivate land for barley and some turnip. Animal husbandry is also a regular feature of family economy. More *rtsam-pa* and less meat and other animal products are taken for food. Noodles and bread with occasional rice constitute subsidiary diet, a sign of Hans' influence. The latter is strongest in Lhasa, where regular Chinese feasts are served to honored guests. Vegetables in general are not available in Tibetan communities except in such a place like Pa-an (Hbah-than) of Khams where an irrigation system has been built by Han people. Ordinary Tibetans are surprised to find Hans eating salad, which to them is "a behavior only worthy of the cows." Clothing is more elaborate, with shirts and trousers more often than not inside sheep-skin cloaks, which may be lined with cloth or silk. But women still persist in wearing no trousers.

Whether sedentary or nomadic, Tibetan women are the producers of society. Men are warriors with swords by the waist and rifles on the shoulder most of the time. Their right arms are always outside their long sleeves, ready to strike. Both men and women may furnish statute labor for the local chieftain or monastery, for a Tibetan community is either governed a temporal ruler, a religious order with temporal pow-

er, or a combination of chieftainship with monastic rule. In either case, it is a semi-independent tribal organization so far as the laity is concerned.

Next to warriorship, which is a manly sport often manifested in robbery, priesthood is the only other way open to every man to acquire social prestige.⁵ To be born a reincarnated lama (Living Buddha) or in the aristocracy is, of course, most desirable, but it is outside one's choice after birth. While priesthood embodies scholastic and spiritual distinctions, it entails a laborious and life-long commitment! Robbery, on the other hand, is romantic and brings quick riches. Furthermore, it is protected by collective responsibility of the tribe. For one thing, it is not wrong to attack the "other group." For another, robbery is not punishable in Tibetan folk-law by capital punishment, and any compensation in terms of a "life-price" demanded by the injured party is paid by the tribe as a whole.⁶ Again, it is complicated by religious motive. One's effort in acquiring merit often results in bankrupting oneself by giving everything up to the monastery. In order to re-establish oneself in such a limited economy as pastoralism and primitive agriculture, robbery is the natural resort. Once robbery is committed, however, one's conscience leads one to atonement by undergoing more religious rites, which tend to further limit one's wealth, and the process may repeat itself again.

Other forms of manly activities are secondary. Sowing, for example, is a man's job. He may also help in child-rearing or in the fields. Or he may undertake caravan trading.

A woman in nomadic life attends to herding while spinning wool, in addition to milking, preparing butter and cheese, making tea and taking care of the children. Her sedentary sister does the same in addition to working in the fields, gathering fuel, carrying water and building walls.

Market trading may be conducted by both sexes, silver and barter being the principal system of exchange. While priesthood is shared by both, monks are much more numerous than nuns. Spiritual medium seems to be only a man's role. Except in Lhasa, where men and women are trained to

read and write to keep account and correspondence, formal education elsewhere is traditionally offered in the monasteries for the priesthood only.

Apart from the festivities in the form of Sacred Dances and other observations undertaken by the monasteries, but participated in by the laity as audience (see Chapter XIII), the annual cycle of Tibetan activities may be summarized as follows.

On New Year's Eve⁷ two altars are built on each family's roof in the case of house-dwelling Tibetans, one for the local god of earth (non-military) and another for the local mountain god (military). Before midnight people get up to make a fire by the altars and offer sacrifices. To the non-military deity, tea, butter, *rtsam-pa* and sometimes fruits are offered; to the military deity, wine and meat. There is no bowing, but a great deal of yelling to express joy and communal spirit. After this, people visit one another's family to say "Happy New Year!" with such presents as meat, imported candies, lump sugar, peanuts, etc.

The day after New Year's Day is spent in catching up on lost sleep. But the third day begins with offerings to the tribal deity and other Protectors of the Faith common to the Buddhist pantheon. Women are not allowed to participate in the ceremony. Then horse-racing becomes the order of the day, when everybody may be a bystander while the horsemen have a chance to display their skill. After this and continuing to the sixth day, people gather together in teams to visit individual families and to sing and dance until all the families are visited. Tea, wine and other refreshments are served by the families visited, and dances may be performed individually, by twos, by fives, or by the whole group forming a 'circle. On entering and leaving a family, one person stands by the door with a cup in hand containing wine. He sprinkles the wine with his fingers on the dancers both as an offering to the local deity and as a blessing to the participants. On the edge of the cup are wool and butter to symbolize long life. "Bkra-cis!" or "Propitious!" on the lips of everybody is a sign for dispersion.

The third day is also the occasion for unmarried girls around seventeen years of age to dress up and change their hair style, make visits and receive presents in what is equivalent to an initiation ceremony. After this formal presentation to society, these girls are accepted as having reached marriageable age. They are free either to enter into formal matrimony or to accept lovers without any matrimonial ties. In either case, they can bring up children without any social stigma. This institution of initiation for girls is not universally practiced, but some recognition of changed status is in existence everywhere. It is of interest to note that there is no male counterpart of this initiation.

At the same time, on the third day and continuing to the sixth, young women, married as well as unmarried, form teams to visit important people and collect money to cover the expenses for the gatherings when communal love-songs are sung at the end of the first moon or the beginning of the second. This custom at Bla-bran, A-mdo is said to be an extension of gift-collecting by those unmarried girls who go through the initiation ceremony.

By the end of February or the beginning of March, about three weeks after the lunar New Year, young Tibetans of both sexes after the age of sixteen or seventeen gather together in the evening at the community center to drink wine at the expense of the community. Such gatherings are strictly community or tribal affairs, and are not universally practiced over all Tibetan areas. People with junior members of the family participating in them are not supposed to come, but community or tribal elders preside over the gatherings. Stimulated by wine, one boy makes bold to start singing in praise of his beloved. Or if no one is bold enough to make a start, an elder may make a speech to encourage the participants or start a song himself and throw a hat to somebody, who cannot then remain silent any longer. After a boy's song, a girl will respond by singing another either to reciprocate his praise or to challenge it with criticism. Once started, there will be no difficulty in having competitive followers. Because the boys sit on the right side of the room on entering the

door and the girls on the left side, songs shuttle back and forth from both sides, and before one has sat down another will be seen standing up. When too many stand up at the same time, events inevitably take a turn. Group after group instead of individual after individual will sing. This singing may go on for the whole night, or if they like it very much, they may come again for the second and third nights. Although this is not an exclusive affair for unmarried people, it is not uncommon for the boys and girls to become real lovers and to consummate in eventual marriages after the singing. Nor is it uncommon for such a gathering to end in riots when somebody who does not belong to the community has come and has been discovered. And more often than not, those who have junior members as participants do come to enjoy the fun, even though they have to remain in some obscure corner in order not to be recognized.

Then each tribe has its annual offerings of arrows to the local mountain god. The time differs in accordance with mythological associations about individual deities. Several tribes in one general region have a common mountain god of a higher rank. The offering of arrows for Grandfather Niangchen in Kan-su, for example, took place on July 31, 1939, when all the tribes around Bla-bran participated in the ceremony. Either tribal or intertribal, the ceremony consists of making sharpened poles in bright colors to be planted in the heap of stones on the top of the mountain. These poles are lined up together with yak-hair cords, on which are tufts of wool to symbolize luck and longevity. When people travel over mountain passes, these "arrows" inevitably come to view first of all, and everybody takes off his hat and yells in union "Victory to the gods!"

After or before the offerings to mountain gods there is a period of summer retreat for the villagers, when each family goes out camping for a few days to remind themselves of the good old days of nomadism. Good food and leisure are the necessary features.

In the intervening period between the last two forms of socio-religious activities, the villagers maintain the business of agri-

culture: plowing, manuring and planting seeds between April and May; plowing and weeding in June and July; and harvesting and thrashing in August. Pastoralists feel equally keen about the change of season, and they move to new quarters.

Then irrespective of sedentary or nomadic mode of life, there are six occasions of complete fasting to commemorate the important events of Buddha Sakyamuni's life: (a) the first half of the first moon, a season when Sakyamuni defeated his opponents in debate; (b) the 7th or the 15th (according to whether there was a second 6th moon in the previous year) of the second moon, Sakyamuni's birthday; (c) the 15th of the third moon, the first day on which he began his teaching of esotericism; (d) the 15th of the fourth moon, the date when his mother became pregnant, when in later years he attained Enlightenment, and when he attained Nirvana; (e) the 4th of the sixth moon, on which he first turned the wheel of law (began to preach exoteric Buddhism); and (f) the 22nd of the ninth moon, when he returned to the earth after his sermon to his mother in heaven. But (d) and (f) are most the important. They occur approximately in May and October respectively, for the lunar calendar is about one month later than the Julian calendar, as indicated above. On the 14th and 15th of the fourth moon and on the 21st and 22nd of the ninth moon, most Tibetan women refrain from eating, drinking and speaking, to "do penance" (snun-gnas), but put on their best to circumambulate (walk around clockwise) in groups the sacred religious objects, such as the monastery, the lines of scripture barrels, pagodas, etc. They do not speak, but sing in chorus the six-syllable formula *Om-mani-padme-hun*, sacred to the God of Mercy. With bright sheep-skin, hats, colorful dresses decorated with shining silver or other jewels, and with their high-pitched and melodious singing in ever continuous relays, these girls actually constitute a beauty parade or contest. As the fasting is a voluntary affair, not everybody observes it. Few males do it, and old men and women who do observe these commemorations do not commingle with the

young women. With the latter, the combined functions of religion, recreation and social prestige play their roles successfully.

So much for the annual cycle. In terms of life crisis, childbirth to a nomadic woman is not a period of confinement. She moves around as usual. The pregnant women in the village are treated as a case of illness. A juniper twig or other mark is put on the door to warn prospective visitors. The baby is named by a priest and it is carried most of the time in the fold of the sheep-skin cloak of the mother. Some blanket is placed under the baby, to be changed when it becomes soiled. When the child is able to move, he or she may turn up from within the cloak by the neck either in front or in the back of the mother.

Both boys and girls below the age of five are treated alike without any restraint as to proper time of feeding, sleeping, and toilet training. While boys continue to be free, girls beyond this age have to share in the activities of the mother in accordance with their capacity.

Through the high status of the mother, the indulgence of the father, free early personal life, easy access to sex partner later, and living in the atmosphere of singing during work and other activities all round, the Tibetan child is natural and self-reliant. He or she does not have to go through the process of traumatic experience or repression. Social control through religion and tribal morality come gradually from a far-away, but overwhelming, frame of reference, and more often than not in a colorful and exhilarating manner.

Demarcation of marriageable age has been mentioned above. Marriage may be either arranged for the couple by their parents or contracted by themselves. The celebration consists of the gathering of friends and relatives, who are entertained with food and wine. There is no religious ceremony. Marriage may be both inside and outside the clan, and residence may be either matrilocal or patrilocal. Both boys and girls may carry on the family line according to circumstances, and families of single females (sisters, mothers and daughters) without any recognized husband may function equally

well as other forms of family.⁸ When lovers intending to marry do not meet with the approval of the parents of either party, they can simply hide themselves in some friend's family for a period of time until hostility wears itself out. In any case, their parents will accept the *fait accompli* when a child is born. Polyandry, though in existence, is not common, as so often assumed by outsiders. When brothers marry one woman, the purpose is to protect family property from being divided up. It is not because of poverty. Marriage may be dissolved on account of incompatibility or extramarital sex relations. This pattern of easy coming and easy going leaves no room for poisoning after-effect.

Furthermore, the family is not the center of Tibetan interest. The minimum care for children and economics is very simple. Each member has his or her own sphere of influence outside the family. Very small children are carried around in the manner described above. Larger ones will take care of themselves. Neither ties their parents down. Herding, working in the fields, carrying water, trading, religious festivities, statute labor, warfare, gossip, circumambulation, communal singing, love-making, etc., are all outdoor activities. It is thus that Tibetans on the whole are happy and gay.

Illness is treated both by native medicine and by magico-religious performances. Tibetan priests may function as trained medical doctors as well as officiating masters in religious ceremonies. In many cases, a number of monks engage in chanting any number of Buddhist scriptures for the benefit of the sick. The more urgent the case or the richer the family, the more numerous the chanters and volumes of sacred literature. Magic in its pure form is inevitably performed by the *Lha-ha* or non-priestly Shamans. It is interesting to note that Tibetan treatment of the sick is quite different from the ordinary practice. The more serious the case, the greater care is taken that the sick person does not fall asleep. This manner of denying the patient complete rest may have some therapeutic value to enable him to pull through a crisis. Or it may be the survival of a more primitive necessity by not allowing the illness to drag too long, weeding out the unfit.

This question requires a systematic study to determine which is more likely the case.

Death does not mark the end of life. Rather it opens up another form of existence. The enlightened ones are released by death from "the wheel of life" or series of transmigrations. As a means of liberation, the occasion of death is considered something worth celebrating. Ordinary people short of this attainment have to go through a stage of existence called *bar-mdo*⁹ (Antara-bhava) after death and before rebirth. The form into which one is to be reborn depends upon the merits and demerits accumulated in previous lives.

In the light of such a life span, we may more profitably consider the different ways of disposal of the dead. The first stage is universally the same. The body is stripped of clothes and is doubled up into the fetal position. Then the abbot of a nearby monastery is summoned to come to perform a ritual in order "to open the road" for the soul to its destiny without going astray. The abbot receives whatever property the family can afford to give up for the benefit of the dead, and he afterwards will have it sold and have the value converted into the treasury of the monastery.

The second stage is different in accordance with the status of the dead or with the cause of death. The body of one who has died of a contagious disease is inevitably interned deep in the earth. A Living Buddha or Reincarnated Lama is cremated or mummified. The fate of the common lot may be either a water burial (thrown to the river) or an air burial (fed to the vultures); the choice to be determined by divination. Local preference has something to do with the choice too, but to feed the vultures is by far the most widespread mode of disposal. In either of the two cases, it is considered the last offering of the dead to other beings, whether in the air or in water.

The offering to vultures is the most economical way of disposing the dead. In a land where fuel is scarce, cremation cannot be easily considered. Even high lamas are not necessarily cremated. This form is only reserved for those whose

ashes or relics will be used for worship. When the people have to drink water from the same river, they refuse to allow its being polluted by having dead bodies thrown into it. This is why the practice of feeding the vultures is popular. When the body is carried to a valley some distance from the community in the early morning, a fire is made, and the smoke from it attracts huge flocks of vultures. The corpse is first cut out up at the belly, and according to the beliefs of the people the leader of the vultures comes down to pick up the eyes before the other birds dare to eat up the flesh. Then the flocks are driven away, and the attendant breaks the bones with a stone into mash. The birds come down a second time, and there is almost nothing left. They are again driven off. The attendant puts three stones to keep the head in position and uses a huge stone to crush it into a dough, so that the birds come down for the third time to finish it up. The complete process lasts less than forty minutes and no trace is left of the dead. The vultures are considered sacred. No one is allowed to harm them. Because they are so conditioned to the feeding in this manner they are not afraid of human beings and they move through the legs of the attendant who tries to help preparing the food for them. The gruesome picture often painted by outsiders of this form of disposal of the dead does not correspond to reality at all. Certainly, it does not reflect the psychology of the Tibetan people. They are as natural about this business as in any other occasion. They are dealing with an inevitable process of life at a certain stage. For them it is not death, or at least the end of life.

Chapter II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Leaving aside the actual origins of the Tibetan-speaking peoples, their mythological belief, as mentioned in the last section, makes them descendants of a monkey and demoness.

Before it was populated by these descendants, according to the story, the land had been devoid of human beings.¹⁰ In the same way as their ancestors were attributed to divine origins, by making them the “transformed bodies” or manifestations respectively of the God of Mercy and the Goddess of Mercy, their rulers were alleged to be of Han origin. An Indian refugee prince, it was said, wandered to the top of the snow-capped mountain Lha-ri-gyan-tho, where twelve shepherds saw him descending into the Valley Btsan-than-sgo-bzi. On being asked whence he came, the prince pointed upward. Imagining he came from heaven, the shepherds made him their king and carried him home seated in a wooden seat on their shoulders. The name of this first king, Gnakhri-btsan-po, means “the king seated on neck.”

Including him, seven kings had the name Khri as part of their full names.¹¹ During the reign of two later kings, popularly known as two De,¹² armor and other weapons of war were invented together with the arts of agriculture, irrigation, mining and bridge-building.

Then came kings known as Six Legs,¹³ Eight Lde,¹⁴ and Five Btsan.¹⁵ This is the pro-Buddhistic faith of Tibetan which we shall discuss in Chapter III.

Lha-tho-tho-ri-gnan-btsan (348 A.D.-?), the last of the Five Btsan, received a foreboding of Buddhism when he was sixty years old. A box containing a golden pagoda and some magic formulas alleged to have come from heaven were brought to him by an Indian monk, Blo-sems-htsho. The contents were not understood, but worshipped as something mysterious (gnan-po-gsan-ba).

After him reigned four other kings,¹⁶ the last was Gnam-ri-sron-btsan. Altogether there were thirty-two kings, said to have reigned for more than five hundred years. Called kings, they were actually chieftains ruling over small patches of vast grassland. Beginning with King Gnam-ri-sron-btsan, the contact with the culture of Han people became so frequent that astronomy and medicine were introduced into Tibet. The king is reputed to have ridden back from a hunt with meat hung over his saddle. It fell into a salt-lick, which led to

men taking salt with their food.

If the advent of Buddhism was associated with Lha-tho-tho-ri, who was later acknowledged as an incarnation of "The All-Good Religious Body (Samantabhadra or Kuntu-bzan-po)," it was formally introduced by King Sron-btsan-sgam-po (569-650 A.D.), an incarnation of the God of Mercy; and its full development was furthered by Kings Khri-sron-lde-btsan (742-797 A.D.) and Khri-ral-pa-can (814-836 A.D.), incarnations of Manjughosa (Hjam-pahi-dbyans) or God of Wisdom, and Vajrapani (Phyag-na-rdo-rje) or God of Power, respectively.

It was King Sron-btsan-sgam-po, the dominant Culture Hero of Tibet, who became first known in Chinese history as Chi-tsung-lung-tsan and who married a Nepalese princess and the Han Princess Wen-cheng, the latter in 641 A.D. These cowives were instrumental in having the first temples built to house the images brought from China's hinterland and Nepal. Thus originated the name Lhasa, "Place of the Gods." Under the influence of his two wives, both ardent Buddhists, King Sron-btsan-sgam-po sent Thon-mi-sam-bho-ta and others to India to study Buddhism and to learn Sanskrit in order to invent a Tibetan script for the translation of Buddhist scriptures. Thon-mi-sam-bho-ta accomplished the task, and so with him we have the beginning of the Tibetan language in its written form and the formal introduction of Buddhism through Tibetan translations. The king also standardized measurements and proclaimed twenty rules of Buddhist ethics for the government of the people.¹⁷

King Sron-btsan-sgam-po's grandson imported tea and porcelain from the interior of China, and in 710 A.D. his great-grandson, Khri-lde-gtsug-brtan, married the Chinese Princess Chin-cheng. During the reign of the latter many Buddhist temples were built, but no monk had yet been properly ordained.

Princess Chin-cheng gave birth to Khri-sron-lde-btsan (742-780 A.D.), the famous king who invaded Chang-an, the capital of the Tang Dynasty, in 763 A.D. He was also famous for being instrumental in having Tibetan Buddhism

fully developed. When he was enthroned in 755 A.D., there was some persecution of Buddhism engineered by his powerful ministers, who believed in Bon. It was after he gained full control over the land that he had the persecutors killed and the Bonists suppressed. Two outstanding masters from India, Santa-raksita (Zi-ba-htsho) and Padmasambhava (Padma-hbyun-gnas or Lotus-Born), were invited into Tibet. Bsam-yas, the first monastery, was built in 762-766, and seven Tibetan monks were later ordained for the first time. Santa-raksita was a teacher, while Padmasambhava was a Tantric wonder-worker. Buddhism as an institution of religious instruction owes its foundation to Santa-raksita, who arrived in Tibet in 760 A.D. and died there later. But the wonder-worker is better known to the populace for his defeating the elements hostile to Buddhism, although he had to leave Tibet at the end of two visits which, taken together, did not last more than eighteen months.

The sort of Buddhism then prevailing belonged to the Yogacharya Mahayana School, which was opposed both by the native Bonists and by the Han monks who were doing missionary work there; by the former because it was a foreign importation; by the latter because it was much too colored with image-worshipping and wonder-working. But both were defeated in open debates. As a result, the Bonists undertook to assimilate Buddhism to Bon and the Han monks left the field. We shall return to a discussion of the development of Bon. A few words concerning Han influence should be said here.

Since the marriages of the Tibetan kings with the two Chinese princesses from the Tang court, Han and Tibetan envoys were in constant exchange, and diplomatic papers were conducted in classical Chinese. Chinese classics and many other forms of gifts poured into Tibet. Together with those, Han missionary monks had a significant role to play. Even though Han history did not have any record of them, six names were mentioned in a celebrated Tibetan work.¹⁸ These monks represented the Dhyana (Zen or Mon) or Meditation School of Chinese Buddhism. Being more intuitively

minded, they did not like the colorful practices of Tibetan Buddhism at that time. Native scholars had difficulty in choosing whether to serve the Indian or the Han masters. In the debate referred to above, the master Kamalasila, who came after the death of Santa-raksita, defeated the Han opponents, and Han Buddhism as such never assorted any influence again over the Tibetan field. Han monks did help to restore Tibetan Buddhism after its destruction, as we shall see later, but their doctrine did not have any effect. It may be pointed out parenthetically that in a debate of this nature the Meditation School is bound to lose; for by the logic of the school it does not indulge in verbal communication.

To return to the genealogical order, Khri-ral-pa-can (814-836) followed his grandfather Khri-sron-lde-btsan in making territorial expansions and in favoring Buddhism. His aggressive attitude toward the Han Emperor of the Tang Dynasty ended in 822 A.D. with the erection of the Monument of Peace in Lhasa, which is still extant. During his reign, Tibetan spelling was revised in the transliteration of Sanskrit terms, a dictionary was compiled to explain loan words, and measures, weights and coins were further standardized.¹⁹ The Han system of chronology seems to have been adopted for a regular record of the annals of his country.²⁰ In addition to the promotion of Buddhist translations, the establishment of many temples and monasteries and a large-scale Indianization of local institutions, he grouped the ordinary families into sevens, each seven to support one monk. Those who dared to call a monk names had their tongues cut. A finger was cut off, if pointed at a monk with evil intention. If one stared at a monk in anger, one's eyes were gorged out. This king aroused so much opposition that he was murdered in 836 A.D.

Glan-dar-ma, his brother and leader of opposition ascended the throne. Although he was assassinated by a disguised monk, Ye-ces-rdo-rje, so that his reign was not long (836-842), Glan-dar-ma was able to wipe out by persecution whatever Buddhism there was in Tibet. Later Buddhism was revived by Tibetan monks who took refuge in A-mdo through

cooperation with Han monks there, and much later with scholars from India again. It was in commemoration of the Han contribution that Tibetan monks still wear a badge of Han monastic garments.

However, the revival of Tibetan Buddhism does not mean the revival of Tibetan kings. In fact, the latter were never again to come out in their full glory as those mentioned above. After Glan-dar-ma, Tibet became split into petty principalities until the royal family was almost completely out of the picture. Tibetan Buddhism in its later form developed power of its own through Mongol, Han and Manchu influences, as we shall also see further on. Its priest-kings have been established at the expense of Tibetan aristocracy, and Tibetan history has been the history of religious institutions.

The pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet is called Bon, which through contact with Buddhism can no longer be seen in its original form. Tibetan Buddhism before its destruction by Glan-dar-ma and what has persisted since then is known in Tibetan history as "early translation" (sna-hgyur) or *min-ma*; and what was reintroduced after Glan-dar-ma is known as "later translation" (phyi-hgyur). Rnin-ma-pa or the Ancient School has become a sect of Tibetan Buddhism, while other sects branched out of the "later translation." These are Sa-skyapa, Bkah-brgyud-pa, and Dge-lugs-pa. In popular discussion, Rnin-ma-pa is referred to as the Unreformed Church, and Dge-lugs-pa, the Reformed Church; while Sa-skyapa and Bkah-brgyud-pa are the Semi-reformed ones. In a less justifiable way Bon, Rnin-ma-pa, Sa-skyapa, Bkah-brgyud-pa, and Dge-lugs-pa are called respectively the Black, Red, Multi-colored, White, and Yellow sects.²¹ Since the Yellow Sect is in power, it is also called the Established Church. In a way equally unjustifiable, Tibetan Buddhism is given the name of Lamaism, because the Tibetan monk is called *bla-ma* (lama). *Bla-ma* in Tibetan, like *ho-shang* in Chinese, means "the superior one." As Han Buddhism is not called "Hoshangism" and as other religions that have monk priests are not called "Monkism," Tibetan Bud-

dhism should not be called Lamaism. But maybe popular usage is too far gone to be corrected.

Coming back to the historical development of Tibetan religion after Glan-dar-ma, we have to wait for more than one hundred years before the rise of important Tibetan masters known as Translator, and the coming of a particularly famous master from India to re-introduce Indian Buddhism and to translate it into Tibetan. Of the translators, Rin-chen-bzan-po (970-?), Hbrog-mi (993-1078), Mar-pa (1012-1096), etc. were the most noted. Atica (982-1054), the Indian master who came to Tibet in 1042, had a role similar to that formerly played by Santa-rakshita. The Semi-reformed schools of Sa-skyapa and Bkah-brgyudpa as well as the Reformed School of Dge-lugs-pa trace their spiritual lineages to these pioneers.

The ancestor of the Sa-skyapa originators was Hkhon-dpal-po-che, minister of Khri-sron-lde-btsan. His son, Hkhon-kluhi-dban-srun-ba, was one of the first seven monks ordained by Santa-rakshita in Bsam-yas Monastery. For ten generations since the first monk, the Hkhon family produced noted monks and married masters of the Rnin-ma-pa or Ancient School. But two brothers of the eleventh generation, Hkhon-rogs-ces-rab-tshul-khrims and Hkhon-ston-dkon-mchog-rgyal-po, did something different.

Both brothers were learned in exoteric as well as esoteric Buddhism. The younger, Hkhon-ston-dkon-mchog-rgyal-po (1034-1102), witnessed one day a public dance on the street by the lamas impersonating certain deities. He reported this to his elder brother, who said: "The esoteric lore has become corrupted. No precious sage (grub-thob) will now arise in Tibet. The proper time has come to keep hidden, as treasure (gter), all treatises and ritualistic implements regarding those ancient doctrines. I am old, but you are young. Go to the country of Mugu and there betake yourself to Translator Hbrog-mi Lo-tzah Cah-kya-ye-ces, who is learned. Learn from him the new esoteric doctrine."

So the younger brother was entrusted with the transmission of the rituals regarding the Diamond Pike

(Rdo-rje-phur-pa or Vajrakilaya) and the White Goddess (Dkar-mo); having the other images, books and implements of the Rnin-ma-pa hidden in three pagodas. Eventually, he became founder in 1073 of the Sa-skya Monastery and of the school known by that name.

In this line of teaching, Seven Masters following him were the most famous. Hgro-mgon-chos-rgyal Hphags-pa (1235-1280), the fifth of these, however, was all-important, not only for this school, but also for Tibetan religion in general. He went in 1253 to the court of Kublai Khan to bestow upon the Mongol Emperor the initiation (dban) of the Happy Thunderbolt (Kye-rdo-rje or Hevajra). As a result, in the same year he was given the honorary title of Tishih or "the Emperor's Teacher." Genghis Khan having conquered Tibet in 1206, Hphags-pa was empowered in 1255 by Kublai Khan to rule over it. This first Tibetan Priest-King was able to defeat the Taoists in an open debate in 1258. It was also said that he defeated Western missionaries in debate at the Mongol court about that time. He presented in 1269 a new Mongolian script by order of the Khan, who also adopted it. Thus by a series of favors he became sovereign ruler of the whole territory of Tibet ("the provinces of religion"), of Khams ("the province of men"), and of A-mdo ("the province of horses," i.e., inhabited by herdsmen).

Kublai Khan wished to order all the Tibetans to join the Sa-skyapa and to abide by its rules of religious observances. Considering it unjust to do so, Hphags-pa allowed them freedom to choose their own form of religion. But a theocracy became established in the kingdom of the Sa-skyapa, which lasted from 1255 to 1549. In time this kingdom was occupied by a Bkah-brgyud-pa sub-sect (1346-1618), to be displaced in 1618-1642 by a Karma family, which in turn was displaced in 1642 by the Fifth Dalai Lama,² whose successive incarnations in the Dge-lugs-pa order have been the ruling power in Tibet to the present day. Nevertheless, even today the Sa-skyapa remains one of the most respected sects of Tibetan Buddhism. Its fully-ordained monks are still called

by the title "the Precious, Most High Ones" (god-ma rin-po-che), similar to the address given to the emperors of China.

In temporal sequence after the Sa-skyapa, a sub-sect of the Bkabhrgyudpa then rose to power. The line of the Bkabhrgyudpa was founded by the Translator Marpa (1012-1096). He first studied with Translator Hbrogmi (993-1078), who was also the teacher of Hkhonston-dkon-mchog-rgyal-po, founder of the Sa-skyapa. When he went to India, Marpa studied with many others. His most celebrated pupil in Tibet was Mi-la-raspa (1040-1123), whose spiritual descendent was Dwags-po (1079-1153). The Dwags-po line branched out into four sub-sects: (a) Dwags-po's personal line, (b) Karma Bkabhrgyud from his disciple, (c) Hbah-ram Bkabhrgyud from another disciple, (d) Phagmo Bkabhrgyud from still another disciple. From Karma Bkabhrgyud there branched out two sub-sects, the Black-Hats and the Red-Hats; while from Phagmo Bkabhrgyud eight more branches were developed. Although many of these sub-sects enjoyed political powers locally, it was Phagmo Bkabhrgyud that founded a kingdom to take over the government of the Sa-skyapa rulers.

aaaaPhagmo Grubpa (1110-1170) was a native of Khams. He first studied with the Sa-skyapa teachers and later became a disciple of Dwags-po. Because he established in 1158 the monastery of Phagmo Grub, the designation for him after the monastery became better known than his personal name was Phagmo Bkabhrgyud. In the line established by him, temporal rulers had a title of "the Most High" (god-ma), and monastic abbots were known as Spyan-sna. The founder of the kingdom, that lasted from 1349 to 1618, was Ssu-tu (si-tu) Byan-chub-rgyal-mtshan (1302-?), a brother of the sixth and seventh abbots, Grags-rgyal and Grags-ces respectively. Wars with the Sa-skyapa were constantly waged by him from 1345, and his rule was recognized by the Mongol Emperor in 1351. Hjam-dbyans, the second ruler, in 1372 received the title of "the Teacher of the State" (Kuo-shih) from the Ming Emperor, and in 1375 he

was granted the prefectural authority over "10,000 households" (Wan-hu Fu). The tenth ruler, Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, in 1406 was given the title "Civilizing King" (Chan-hua Wang). He was also the tenth abbot.

The rule of this dynasty was displaced during 1618-1642 by another family by the name of Karma, namely, Karma Btsan-srun-pa, Karma Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal, and Karma Btsan-skyon-dban-po.

But this short-lived Karma dynasty was again put to an end in 1642 by a Mongol Prince, Gu-cri Khan (1582-1653), who gave the reigning power to the Fifth Dalai Lama, as mentioned above. The Manchu Emperor in 1652 conferred on the latter the title "The Great-good Self-controlled Buddha in Western Heaven and Leader of Buddhism in the World" (hsi-tien ta-shan tze-tsai fo ling tien-hsia shih-chiao). Thus enthroned as the Priest-King ever since Hphags-pa, the Dalai Lama in successive reincarnations has been in control of Tibet to the present day.

The Dalai Lama is the leader of the Dge-lugs-pa or Yellow sect of Tibetan Buddhism, and because of his temporal power this sect is known as the Established or Orthodox Church. But the founder of this school, Dge-lugs-pa, which really means "virtuous path," was Tson-kha-pa (1357-1419).

Tson-kha-pa was a native of A-mdo. At the age of three he got the initiation from a Karma-pa lama, Rol-pahi-rdo-rje (1340-1387). He went to Tibet at the age of sixteen and became a fully-ordained monk. He studied with many masters of different schools, but finally following the teachings of Atica (982-1054), he established his own school. Of his disciples, the youngest Dge-hdun-grub-pa (1391-1474) and Mkhas-grub (1385-1438) became reincarnated later respectively as the Dalai and Pan-chen Lamas. Dalai as the Priest-King has his seat in Lhasa of Dbus, while Pan-chen as a pure spiritual leader is established at Bkra-cis-lhun-po of

Stsan. The present Dalai is the fourteenth incarnation, a Tibetan boy from A-mdo. The tenth incarnation of Pan-chen is still to be decided upon, for there are a number of candidates already (true to 1948).

In the Manchu dynasty, a mechanism for controlling the selection of the candidates for incarnations of Dalai and Pan-chen was set up in 1793 with the use of two Golden Vases in Peking and Lhasa. Names of the candidates were written in Manchu, Chinese and Tibetan together with their respective hours and dates of births. These were put into the Vases. After proper ceremony lots were drawn. Identical lots coming out of the Vases would indicate the successful candidate. But this institution ended with the end of the Manchu regime.

To summarize the political situation in conclusion, Mongol, Han and Manchu emperors were responsible for the setting up of the institution of priest-kingship of the Sa-skya-pa, Bkah-brgyud-pa and Dge-lugs-pa. Mongol principalities had always been intermixed with Tibetan ones. The Manchu government established in 1726 a resident minister (Amban), whose status was made equal to that of the Dalai in 1792. The British forced an entry into Tibet in 1904, and Dalai XIII took refuge in Mongolia, A-mdo, and Peking. He went back to Tibet in 1909, only to find it necessary to take refuge in India in 1910 in order to escape punishment from the Manchu Court. 1912 was the year to witness the downfall of the Manchu dynasty and the founding of the Republic of China, and Dalai XIII returned to Tibet. His desire to establish himself on a more extended basis caused the invasion in 1918 of Khams by Lhasa troops²³ and the exile in 1923 of Pan-chen IX from Tibet. Although Dalai XIII and Pan-chen IX died respectively in 1933 and 1937, the hostilities between these Grand Lamas have been handed down to their partisans and have not yet been healed. Only greater understanding and sympathetic insight into the religious aspirations

of the people, aside from political interest, on the part of everybody concerned, whether inside or outside Tibetan culture, can pave the way to welfare adjustments.

NATIVE FAITH AND EARLY SCHOOLS OF TIBETAN BUDDHISM

Chapter III

BON: THE NATIVE FAITH

Bon in its pure form as the native faith of Tibet before the introduction of Buddhism. It has become so much interfused with Buddhism through opposition and adaptation that for practical purposes it may be taken as one of the different schools of Tibetan Buddhism. But Tibetan Buddhists insist on calling their own faith the religion (chos) as the antithesis to Bon. Thus Bon is often called the Black Faith in contrast to the "white" or pure faith of Buddhism. Bon-po or Bonists, as the believers in Bon are called, in an effort to forestall criticism, attribute to the founder of their faith an origin more ancient than Buddha Sakyamuni himself, or as his incarnation or his contemporary. However, learned scholars in the two camps do not quarrel about this, but admit that there may be different manifestations of the same faith. In the light of this attitude, it is interesting to see how Tibetan Buddhist present the history of Bon. The summary given in this chapter is the result of this history and field notes gathered from Bonist priests in Hsi-kang. Unfortunately, no works of Bonist history is in our possession.

In his book, the *Mirror of the Sects (Grub-mthah-cel-mo*, pp. 164-169),¹ a Grand Lama of A-mdo quotes a Bon scripture to the effect that in the present Bskal-pa² when the life span of human beings changes from infinity to ten years, eighteen masters were to be born

to enlighten the world. As one of the eighteen, Gcen-rab was born in the period when the normal length of human life was one hundred years. A native of Hol-mo-lun-rin (or Ol-mohi-glin) of Zan-zun, ancient name of Mnah-ris-hkhor-gsum of western Tibet, Scen-rabs founded the order of Bon. According to another work,³ it was further recorded:

To instruct (the inhabitants of) Zan-zun,
(He) manifested himself as Gcen-rabs-mi-bo,
Showing the twelve deeds.⁴
He produced the nine-vehicle doctrine⁵
To open the heavenly gate for the living,
To abolish the gate of destruction for the dead,
And to lead life to the path of Gyun-drun.⁶

Most notable of all, the classic work of *Padma-bkash-thah* (pp. 257-258) has the following to say:

From the beginning of the Bskal-pa the masses were involved in the wheel of life, the sea of sorrow, through their misdeeds as a result of ignorance. Ston-pa Gcen-rab took pity on them, and emanating five sorts of rays from his palace in heaven, radiated light all over the world. He then changed himself into a cuckoo, blue in color as blue as sapphire, and musical in voice as melodious as an organ. He alighted in this form upon the head of a heavenly king (gnam-gyi-gun-rgyal), flapped his wings three times, and radiating white light of reddish luster, disappeared into the head of his mother. When finally he was born, immediately he began to utter articulate speech and there were other signs of luck and bliss. Thus the practices of Sakyamuni had also their counterparts in Gcen-rabs' incarnation, namely, first to see whether the country into which he was to be born was worthy of his birth; secondly whether his parents-to-be inherited a proper lineage; thirdly, which place was good for the propagation of his doctrine; and fourthly, how richly endowed were the masses with the privilege of

receiving his doctrine.

In consideration of the fact that this kind of mythology was preserved in the histories written by Tibetan Buddhists, it is evident that the founder of Bon, Gcen-rabs, had been taken seriously as a remarkable person both by his followers and by his opponents. It was generally agreed that Bon originally spread from Hol-mo-lun-rin of Zan-zun in the language of that place. Later, with the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet, there was mutual antagonism and infiltration and the burial and discovery of the original and adapted scriptures of Bon. This process accounts largely for the ways of distribution and change, for it is clear that before the introduction of Buddhism and the invention of the Tibetan script, which took place after 641 A.D. (time of marriage between the Han Princess Wen-cheng and the Tibetan King Sron-btsan-sgam-po), there was no possibility of recording and transmitting any doctrine in writing.

It was believed that before the appearance of Gcen-rabs there existed in Tibet all sorts of demons harmful to the people.⁷ It was he, so far as legends go, who made these harmful beings subservient to human interest. He was reported to have visited many places. For example, the following were particularly mentioned as having been visited by him: Gsekhan-rtse of On-mdah, which was later built into the monastery of Mnah-ris; the mountain Ri-bo-rin-chen-spuns-pa; and Bon-ri, the sacred mountain situated to the east of Buchu-lha-khan of Kon-yul, western Khams. He had many disciples. The most intimately connected with him was Mutsho-ldem-drug. Other noted ones were Mu-tsa-tra-he-se, Khri-thog-bar-tsam and Hgu-hi-li-spar-ma of Persia; Lhabdag-snags-dro of India; Legs-than-smān-pa of China; Gser-rdog-lce-byams of Khrom; Ldem-gyin-tsa-smān-dge of Gtsan; Mu-spuns-gsan-than of Bum-pa; Ca-ra-bu-chen of Zan-zun and Lce-tsha-gar-dru of Mi-nag or Mu-ya in Khams. All helped to propagate Bon to the different quarters of western China and made it glorious.

The development of Bon may be divided into three

stages: (1) Brdol-bon or Hdzol-bon from the time of Gnakhri-btsan-po, the first recorded king of Tibet, down to the reign of the sixth king, Khri-sde-btsan-po; (2) Hkhyar-bon from the reign of King Gri-gum-btsan-po (first of the two De) to the formal introduction of Buddhism under Sron-btsan-sgam-po; and (3) Bsgyur-bon from Sron-btsan-sgam-po's time to that of Tson-kha-pa (1357-1419), founder of the Dge-lugs-pa or Established Church of Tibetan Buddhism.

During the first stage there was a lad of the Gcen lineage (rus) at Ham-cod-hon of Dbus, who at the age of thirteen was possessed by a demon. This lasted for thirteen years, while he moved round all over Khams and Tibet. By the age of twenty-six he came to himself with the power to see such and such a place inhabited by such and such demons for the benefit or harm of the people. He propagated the idea and methods of propitiation and subjugation of them. Thus originated the primitive practices of Bon to deal with demons in the underworld, to worship deities in heaven, and to work for the welfare of the people in between (on earth). This primitive Bon is otherwise known as the Black Sect (Chab-nag), which is also the name of a Bon monastery in Kon-po of western Khams, and which is not to be confused with the Black-Hats in the Lamaic Sacred Dances.⁸

During the second stage a serious disturbance was supposed to have been caused by demons in the reign of King Gri-gum-btsan-po. All the Bon adepts available at that time were incapable of coping with it. Consequently, three masters were invited from three places to exercise greater magic. The one from Khache (Kashmir) was able to fly in the sky sitting on a drum and to cut iron into pieces with a feather. Another from Bru-ca, northwest of Tibet, was able to perform divination by drawing lots with threads of different colors (ju-thig) and, by means of divine words (lha-bkah) and "red life" (srog-dmar), to determine good or bad luck for the people. The third from Zan-zun was capable of driving away the evil following the death of anyone, of subduing all sorts

of demons, and was well versed in many other kinds of magic. Before their arrival, Tibetan Bon was not noted for any particular theory. From this time on, it enjoyed a point of view comparable to that of the Mahesvara School of Hinduism (lha-dban-phyug-chen-po or the Great God of Freedom).

The third stage of Bonist development is further divided into three sub-stages: the earlier Bsgyur-bon, the middle Bsgyur-bon, and the later Bsgyur-bon. The earlier Bsgyur-bon was traditionally ascribed to a Blue-apron Savant (Cam-thabs-snon-po-can) for its origin. Having buried some texts of an unorthodox sort by himself, he pretended to have discovered a secret treasure and undertook to excavate it. This was embodied in the system of Bon. He was also known as having invented texts for carnal knowledge and for emancipation by killing. The middle Bsgyur-bon was developed in the reign of King Khri-sron-lde-btsan, son of the Han Princess Chin-cheng. Beginning his reign in 755, he first invited both Buddhists and Bonists to his domain, but later favored the former at the expense of the latter. Under suppression Bon adapted itself to a great many aspects of Buddhism by translating and incorporating them into its own system. According to the *Padma-bkash-than* (pp. 134-135), of the Buddhists he invited, there were eighteen noted ones from India and six from China; and of the Bonists or Bon-po, there were seven of different denominations from Zan-zun and other places. All of them were gathered together at Aryapalo-glin, a college of Bsam-yas, the first Buddhist monastery in Tibet. There they were commanded to put the Bon doctrine into scriptural writing. The king also ordered the Bon-po to officiate at a ceremony. A deer was killed as the principal victim of sacrifice together with many cattle and sheep. The Buddhists consequently made protests against this large-scale killing to the king, saying: "Bon is entirely opposed to Buddhism. Insofar as two masters cannot both be dominant in one religion and no two kings should co-exist in one kingdom, we cannot associate and cooperate with these Bon-po criminals. We wish that you would send us back to our native lands." But the king explained thus: "Formerly there

was much strife between Bon and Buddhism. Because the former was stronger than the latter, many noted Buddhist translators were consequently expelled. You had better not oppose Bon, so that both may be propagated.' On hearing this, the Buddhists became taciturn. They even refused to preach.

However, on the deaths of Rgyal-bahi-blo-gros' mother and an important minister Rta-ra-klu-gon, both parties performed rituals for the benefit of the dead. Seeing the superiority of the Buddhist one, the king was favorably impressed by it, and began to suspect the impotency of Bon. Thus he instituted an open competition in wonder-working between them at Don-mkhar-than, in which the Bon-po were defeated. In the open debate of three sets, Padmasambhava, founder of Tibetan Buddhism, engaged the two Bon-po from Than-nag; while Senta-raksita dealt with Ca-rihi-dbu-can, etc. This also resulted in the defeat of the Bon-po.

All the Bon-po of the land then were summoned to muster at Khams-gsum-na-gar and were ordered to have their hair put in braids, to wear for fur on their heads, to take a half drum in the hand, to put on civilian clothes, and to eat coarse food. In other words, they were degraded to the rank and file of laymen. Bloody sacrifices were no longer permitted. But printed images for the same purpose were adopted instead in the ceremony of propitiation. Many Bon-po were driven to Upper Tibet and to such places as Bye-ma-gyun-drun, Rtswa-mi, etc., and even to Sprehu-slag-can of Mongolia. Since then whoever killed animate beings was classified as a professional butcher and considered a social outcast.

At this time, when Bon was suppressed in favor of Buddhism, a particular monk by the name of Sans-rgyas-byan-chub was offended by a fine imposed by the king. As a measure of revenge, he adapted a certain Buddhist scripture to Bon. This became known to the king, and he so ordered that anyone who dared to degrade Buddhism by adapting its writings to Bon should be killed. Consequently, such adaptations were buried in caves to escape detection.

These, when discovered later, became known as Bonist treasures. Thus Bon was modified by Buddhism through the adaptation by the latter in this way, a characteristic process of the middle Bsgyur-bon.

Later Bsgyur-bon embodied another wave of disguised borrowing from Buddhism on a still larger scale. It happened after King Glan-dar-mais' suppression of Buddhism in the years 837-842.

Gcen-rgur-klu-dgah, a native of Nin-stod in Gtsan, adapted many Buddhist writings to Bon at Bro-lag, a Bonist center in Dar-yul of Dbus. For example, the Transcendental Knowledge in 100,000 verses⁹ was changed into *Kham-chen* of Bon, the 25,000-verse version¹⁰ into *Kham-chun*, the Yogahood determination¹¹ into the Bon-sutra (Bon-mdo), and the Five Dharani (mystic formulas) into the "100,000 white and black dragons" (Klu-hbum-dkar-nag). A different system of terminology and phraseology was adopted by Bon to differentiate itself from Buddhism, but the function in each case is the same. A few examples may be cited: Enlightenment is called Gcen-rabs, same as the name of the founder of Bon, in order to correspond to Buddha; the Three Bodies¹² are called Bon-body (Bon-sku), the All-good (kun-tu-bzan-po), and Immaculate Transformed-existence (srid-pa-tshans-po); the Wisdom-goddess¹³ is called Satri-e-san; the Solitary Saint (Arhat) is called Gcen-sras; Bodhisattva (Byan-chub-seme-dpah), Gyun-drun-sems-dpah; Bla-ma (lama), Dbon-gsas; Void-nature,¹⁴ A-me-nid; and the ten stages of enlightenment of the Bodhisattvas¹⁵ are given another set of names.

All the adaptations were embedded beneath the rocks of the Mtsho-lna-hdrehu-chun, and not long after were excavated as discoveries by the same agency. Following the example of Gcen-rgur-klu-dgah, the Bon-po of Khyun-po made further adaptations.

The third stage, including all the sub-stages outlined above, is often known as the "white sect" (Chab-dkar). This popular name may have been derived from the conception of the Buddhists that anything nearer to Buddhism must

be comparatively pure or white, for, at this stage, there was scarcely any Buddhist literature which had not been assimilated into Bon.

Apart from the whole set of the Buddhist Canon (Bkah-hgyur), which has its counterpart in Bon, Bonist literature may be classified according to its point of view, introspection, bodily discipline, service to laymen, spiritual identification, tutelary deities, cosmology, and mental-physical attainments.

So far as the Bonist point of view is concerned, there are such works as follow:

The Most Precious Golden Garland or Rdzog-pahi-rin-chen-gser-gyi-phren-ba;

Basic Commentary on the Sharp Blade or Rtsa-hgrel-rlun-gi-spu-gri;

The Wheel of Light or Man-nag-hkhor-lo-hod-gsal.

Works on introspection include:

Nine Kinds of Self-change of the Aggregates in the Semen Virile or Phun-po-ran-hgyur-thig-le-dgu-skor;

The Golden Spot or Gser-thig;

On Self-Knowledge or Lun-sems-nams-myon;

The White Book on Direct Instruction Through Intuition or Sems-lun-ye-khrid-dkar-po.

The following are some of the books on discipline:

Treatise on the Determination of the Eight Realms or Khams-brgyad-gtan-la-dbab-pahi-hbum;

The Ten Stages of Attainment of Gyun-drun or Gyun-drun-bcu-lam-gyi-hbum;

Pure Conduct or Rnam-dag-tshul-khrims-hdul-bahi-hbum;

Accumulation of Merits or Dge-rgyas-tshogs-chen-rdzog-pahi-hbum;

Curing of Black Disease or Nad-hbum-nag-po;

Life Enrichment or Tshe-hbum-khra-po;

White Medical Cure or Sman-hbum-dkar-po;

Black Exorcism or Gto-hbum-nag-po.

For the services of the laymen there are: 360 kinds of exorcism (dto-thabs); 84,000 methods of observation (dpyad-thabs), such as astrology, divination, and physiogno-

my; 4 methods of meditation (gyer-sgom); 8 lamentations (skad-con); 360 funeral ceremonies (cid-thabs); and 81 methods to subdue demons (hdul-thabs).

For the art of spiritual identification with some tutelary deities, such books are used:

Comprehensive Treasure of Bon or *Spyi-spuns-bon-mdzod*;

Nine Classes of the Fearful Fathers or *Pha-rgyud-drag-po-dgu-hdus*;

Nine Sun-mothers or *Ma-rgyud-ni-ma-dgu*;

The Boundless Fierce Ones or *Khro-rgyud-mdo-chen-hbyams-pa*.

Some of the tutelary guardians are: greater and lesser Srog-gi-sag-gdar, red and black Grwa-pa-spu-gri, Dal-hbyams-ma-mohi-khrag-sgrub, together with "seven messengers," demons, ghouls, evil spirits, sea dragons, evil stars, and Mahesuara.

So far as Bonist cosmology is concerned, some believe in a primordial Void (ye-med), out of which derived Being-in-itself (ye-yod), which in turn gave rise to clear white frost, which again resulted in crystal dew. Out of this liquid the whole universe was evolved. Others say that animate beings were hatched out of eggs; whereas still others believe in their creation by Fate or Mahesuara. The Bonist books of exorcism and propitiation are full of allusions of this sort.

According to the *Basic Treasures of Bonist Treatises*,¹⁶ "the worldly hold on to Being, while the sophisticated indulge in Void. But both are mental constructions. Without indulgence but with vigilance, there is transcendental Wisdom. With indwelling awareness but without too much discrimination, there is universal insight. This is what to be aimed at in any spiritual attainment, which brings about emancipation." For it is remarked elsewhere that the Ultimate Reality is only Suchness.¹⁷ It is not the whole visible universe, but it can reflect everything in it. The realization of Suchness means emancipation, while the holding on to the phenomenal world entangles one in the chain of births and deaths. In this respect it is evident that there is not much difference between Bonist and Buddhist outlook.

The mental-physical attainments of Bon, like those in esoteric Buddhism, presuppose an imaginary anatomy. The heart is said to have eight artery petals, in the center of which there are five roots intertwined with threads of five colors, emanating the Five Wisdoms out of the Bon-body of Light. This Body is not an entity. Therefore, it does not fall within the category of Being. Neither is it Void, because it radiates light. It is self-existent, absolute, and inconceivable of being related to any other cause. But it functions in giving sound, light, and rays, which permeate the phenomenal world through the three deeds of body, speech and mind, and the six senses of sight, sound, smell, taste, touch and law. To observe this Bon-body of Light, one should get rid of the distinction between the subjective and the objective. It requires only spontaneous intuition, and this subject-objectless intuition may be achieved by three means.

First, being seated. With a sitting posture the aspirant tries to concentrate his mind at certain times of the day. Later, thoughts will be better controlled than before until meditation is deep and undisturbed. Finally, meditation is possible whenever wanted, and the mind becomes normal again whenever it is necessary to cope with worldly affairs.

Second, spontaneous effort. This is a stage when in meditation one is face to face with a situation in which the senses are no longer the fixed channels of knowledge. The mind becomes effortless when there is nothing to control and nothing to concentrate upon. It is released from all shackles.

Third, freedom from logical distinctions between the knower, the knowing process, and the known. The Mind is then the Bon-body, being self-evident, and permeating all phenomena and changing them into Wisdom. It is clear that this is borrowed from the Great Perfection School of the Rinpoche, the nearest approach to the Dhyana or Meditation School of Chinese Buddhism (Zen Buddhism).

According to a Bonist work¹⁹ quoted by the author of a Buddhist history,²⁰ Bon teaches Nine Vehicles: four related to cause, four related to result, and one supreme of all. The first four vehicles are: (1) Phywa-gcen taught by goddesses Skyes-

bu-ber and Ta-klu-spyid-min-ske, in which there are 360 methods of exorcism and propitiation (lto-rigs) and 84,000 kinds of observation (dpyad-rigs); (2) Snan-gcen taught by a deity Gyer-sgrog-gar-gsas-btsan-pohi-lha, concerning men and gods for the purpose of assisting the temporal government, which expounds four methods of meditation (gyer-sgom), eight prayers (skad-kyi-leon), and forty-two methods of bleeding (gtar-rgyab);²¹ (3) Hphrul-gcen, after the teaching of Sbas-gsas-rnam-pa, embodies in the principal work *Zla-byan-rdzu-hphrul* on thirteen kinds of wonder-working and six great expedencies; and (4) Srid-gcen or Dur-gcen after the teaching of Hdun-gsas-spa-po, on 360 funeral ceremonies, 4 burials, and 81 methods to subdue demons.

Of the four vehicles related to result, Dge-gcen or Dge-bsnen was taught by the Omniscient Lord,²² expounding the methodology of emancipation for the animate beings, including theories of the four kinds of happiness, two sorts of purity and three great antidotes to miseries; Gcen-gyi-dran-sron has for its principal object the rules of discipline after the tradition of Theg-drug-gyun-drun-tahe-yi-rgyal-po, including ten methods of putting a stop to transitory existence, two expressions, two sorts of shame, and three methodological attainments; Gcen-gyi-la-dkar was taught by the Lord of Mysticism,²³ including eighteen "members" and nine antidotes, to transmit Bonist Tantrism; and Ye-gcen was taught by Gyun-drun-ye-dban-rgyal-po to expound four intuitive methods, sixty kinds of meditation, and sixty omens.

The Most Supreme Vehicle or Khyad-par-chen-po was taught by Tshad-med-hod-ldan. It represents the highest of Bonist teachings, embodying those of three Tutelaries (Yi-dam), one Ultimate Meaning, and the Five Essential Methods.

The four vehicles related to cause are meant to remove the barriers to true knowledge caused by the conventional distinction between the knower and the known. Of the four vehicles related to result, the first two are to remove mental obscurations of misery (non-mons-pahi-sgrib-pa) due to ego-

ism, while the other two are to remove mental obscurations of misconception (*ces-byahi-sgrib-pa*) due to prejudice. The last vehicle brings about Divine Wisdom.

Again, by means of the first four vehicles, the aspirant attains the four stages of spiritual progress after transmigration in innumerable *Bskel-pas*. The first two of the four vehicles related to result bring about emancipation at the end of the aspirant's efforts through three *Bskal-pas*, whereas the other two have the same effect on an aspirant in another birth after the present. But the last vehicle enables one to attain the *Bonbody* (Enlightenment) right within one's lifetime.

So much for a documentary summary of the historical development and theories of Bon, based largely on Buddhist sources which may sometimes quote from Bonist works.²⁴ To supplement this with field observations, we may conclude with illustrations concerning the conditions at *Sten-chen-dgon*, a Bon-po monastery in *Rdsa-khog*, a sub-district of *Te-ko County* (*Sde-dge*) of *Hsi-kang Province*.

First of all, it is of interest to note that the Abbot there²⁵ refused to recognize any schools within Bon. Evidently this was because of the overwhelming influence of the *Rnin-ma-pa* over Bon. In an effort to identify Bon with Buddhism, *Sten-chen-dgon* as represented by the Abbot tends to ignore the existence of the more primitive varieties of Bon. Actually, the monastery itself has all the appearance of any other lamasery in *Hsi-kang* and the inmates look exactly like the ordinary lamas. The painted images look very familiar too, only much more grotesque. Those with wings to denote Wisdom and Power were first seen before I had become acquainted with similar images in any *Rnin-ma-pa* monastery. The whole pantheon is classified, in the same way as esoteric Buddhism, into three classes; the serene (*zi-ba*) as we ordinarily see in temples of exoteric Buddhism prevalent elsewhere in China; the fierce (*drag-po*), characteristic of esotericism; and the Lord of Mysticism or the principal deity of the latter.

Images of exoteric Buddhism as the Buddha, *Maitreya* (*Byams-pa*),²⁶ the *White Umbrella Goddess*,²⁷ etc., are worshipped at *Sten-chen-dgon* together with those of Bonist

deities. Of their special Protectors of the Faith, the Queen of the World²⁸ is comparable to the Lamaic goddess Lha-mo (Devi) and the Lord Conch-shell Deliberation²⁹ to the personification of body, speech, mind, causality (karma), and achievement.

The Bon-po monks are also classified in the same way as the Buddhist monks. The Reincarnated One (Living Buddha) and the Abbot bear the same generic names as in Buddhist monasteries. The fully ordained monk is called Dran-sron in contrast with Dge-slon; the novice-monk who takes thirty-six vows is called Stsan-tshul in contrast with Dge-tshul. The leader in religious practice is Sgrub-stsol; the supervisor in the chanting hall, Dge-skos; his assistant, Dge-gyod; the leader in chanting, Dbu-mdzad; and the attendant in the temple, Grwa-gner; the names being either identical with or similar to those in Buddhist monasteries.

Now, this Bon-po monastery is the center of its kind in Hsi-kang, struggling for existence with the growing domination of the Established Church of Tibetan Buddhism. In the same way as any monastery of the different sects of the latter, Sten-chen-dgon has its own sphere of influence, enlisting its members from the seventy families of four villages in the neighborhood.³⁰ It was due to conflict with a Dge-lugs-pa monastery nearby that the former site of Sten-chen-dgon was destroyed. The present establishment is not as grand as the one which was razed to the ground.

There are two Reincarnated Ones or Transformed Bodies at the monastery: Cad-rdza-rin-po-chen, the founder, and Dri-med-hod-zer-yin second in rank. The former died in 1940, his reincarnation being not yet reinstated. The latter, the twenty-fourth incarnation, was going around to collect alms when we visited the place in 1944. The above-mentioned Abbot takes charge of the monastery. He has been in abbotship off and on for some twelve years. Like others in the lamaseries of Hsi-kang who have to spend a few years at some more famous seats of learning in Tibet, he studied at Sman-ri-dgon-pa, the center of Bon situated near Bkra-cis-lhun-po, the seat of Panchen Lama.

While the most famous lamaseries offer degrees for scholarship, Sten-chen-dgon is too small to have enough inmates for proper selection. This is also true of other lesser lamaseries in Hsi-kang, which accounts for the fact that many local monks consider it imperative to spend a few years to study elsewhere. Inbreeding is something to be corrected by wider contact with centers of higher standing. Nevertheless, the monk-students at Sten-chen-dgon are regularly tested even though no degrees are offered. The tests take place at a branch establishment nearby under the supervision of the Transformed Body.

True to the practice of Lamaic centers, Sten-chen-dgon has also its public festivities. On the 28th and 29th days of the twelfth moon, New Year is celebrated. Impersonation of the Fierce One (drag-po) and his eighty-eight attendants are staged for the suppression of the Evil.

The 5th day of the first moon is the anniversary of the death of Rje-mnan-med-rab-rgyal-mtshan, a famous master who was considered the Tson-kha-pa of Bon. On this day buttered figures are exhibited as a form of worship and illuminated by numerous lamps. On the 15th day of the same month, the Great Prayer Meeting takes place. But instead of Sacred Dances inevitably staged in Buddhist lamaseries, the Bonist Canon (bkah-hgyur) and Commentaries (bstan-hgyur) are circumambulated counterclockwise, which is another form of worship.

On the 10th day of the fourth moon occurs the Sacred Dance to dramatize the Lha-chen-yab-sras-gsum, Bonist counterparts of the Buddhist Fearful Thunderbolt (rdo-rje-hjigs-byed or Bhairava).

Beginning with the 15th day of the sixth moon or on the Summer Solstice a period of retreat for one month and a half is observed.

On the 28th and 29th days of the tenth moon there is another Sacred Dance to dramatize the Fierce One in the same way as that in the twelfth moon.

So far as its influence on laymen's religious behavior is concerned, Bon adopts the same mechanisms as Tibetan Bud-

dhism. For instance, both require huge piles of stones to be heaped up as objects for circumambulation, and both invent magic formulas to be recited constantly. The only difference lies in that circumambulation for the Buddhists is clockwise and for the Bon-po counterclockwise and that formulas on the stones and mumbled on the lips are usually for the former the six-syllabled "Om-mani-padme-hum" and for the latter the eight-syllabled "Om-madri-muye-sale-hdu."

In the final analysis, the differences between Bon and Tibetan Buddhism are only formal. In addition to overt behaviors such as these as a means to influence the laity, we have already seen that the names of deities and scriptures of the two systems may be different, but their functions and ideologies correspond to one another.

Chapter IV

RNIN-MA-PA: THE EARLY FORM OF TIBETAN BUDDHISM

Rnin-ma-pa literally means "the ancient school" referring to Tibetan Buddhism as introduced from India before its destruction by King Glan-dar-ma (836-842). So far as exoteric Buddhism is concerned, there is no difference between it and what was reintroduced after the destruction. But as esoteric Buddhism depends for its instruction upon the direct word of mouth of the masters, differences tend to develop in terms of interpretation and emphasis. Such expressions as "early translation" and "later translation" referred to in Chapter II as demarcation of schools are relevant only in this context. Without further developing historical distinctions, we may discuss the Rnin-ma-pa as a contemporary institution under the headings of teachings, seats of learning, academic organization, program of study, business organization, public festivities, to be followed by some generalizations.

(1) Teachings

Buddhism is divided into the following nine categories:

(a) For one who understands the doctrine upon hearing it (nan-thos-pa); (b) for perfection through one's own exertions without enlightenment through promoting the welfare of others (ran-sans-rgyas or the Solitary Non-teaching Buddha); (c) for spiritual enlightenment through promoting the welfare of others like a Bodhisattva (byan-chub-sems-dpah); (d) esoteric treatise on external performance (bya-bahi-rgyud); (e) esoteric treatise on internal as well as external conduct (spyod-pahi-rgyud); (f) esoteric treatise concerning the union with the Universal Spirit in Meditation (rnal-hbyor-rgyud or yoga); (g) the Great Yoga (maha-yoga); (h) the Anu-yoga; and (i) the Ati-yoga.

The first two (a-b) are of the Lesser Vehicle (Hinayana), all the rest of the Greater (Mahayana). The former can only deliver the aspirant, the latter will save the many. Again, the first three (a-c) are exoteric in the sense that everybody who wants to hear them is entitled to do so. All the others are esoteric, accessible only to the initiated. The first three (a-c) are said to have been delivered by Sakyamuni, the incarnate Buddha or Transformed-body. The second three (d-f) are esoteric externally, delivered by the Dispensation-body or Vajra-sattva (Rdo-rje-sems-dpah). The last three (g-i) are esoteric internally, delivered by the Law-body or Samantabhadra (Kun-tu-bzan-po).

Of the six categories of esoteric Buddhism, three are externally so because they are shared by other sects of Tibetan Buddhism, while the other three are internally because they are particularly characteristic of the Rnin-ma-pa. Their essential methods of attainment are characterized by the utilization of what is otherwise generally discarded, such as anger, lust, and what belongs to the material body. The material body in exoteric Buddhism is usually considered a shackle, a source of evil, or something to be dreaded by the spirit. But here it is taken as a profitable means to help the spirit in its enriched life of perfection. This positive approach is based on the belief that one cannot be saved by isolating oneself from

the contaminable or by setting a false dichotomy between the growing organism and what nourishes it. The only hope is to lift both to a new level. While this is true of all esoteric Buddhism, there are three classes of internally esoteric teaching taught by the Rnin-ma-pa.

First, the "transformed" (hphrul), equivalent to the Great Yoga. It is believed that everybody has within himself what is identical with the Buddha (Enlightenment). But because of ignorance and prejudice one becomes embedded in entanglements. By means of mentally creating the images of the tutelaries, however, one may become identified with them (union or Yoga), so that the impure are purified, and in the state of meditation thus resulting the arteries and other parts of the body are released to such an extent that there arise happiness, light, and disinterestedness. This sort of teaching is further divided into Treatise (rgyud-sde) and Methodology (sgrub-sde).

The Treatise includes such works as *The Serene and Angry in Transformation* (sgyu-hphrul-zi-khro) and *The Nucleus of Mysticism* or the *King of Treatises* (rgyud-rgyal-gsan-ba-snin-po). There are fifty-eight tutelary gods of serene manifestations and forty-two of anger, making a total of "one hundred most supreme serene and angry tutelaries" (zi-khro-dam-pa-rige-brgya).

Methodology is composed of the practical measures on the basis of the Treatise. The practice embodied in the worship of the Eight Tutelaries (sgrub-pa-bkah-brgyad) constitutes the eight methods of attainments. (For the Eight Tutelaries, see the table on p. 48.)

The first five belong to the supramundane realm, the last three to the mundane. Except for the Horse-headed Lord, who is the manifestation of the God of Mercy (Avalokitesvara or Sphyan-ras-gzigs), all the manifestations of the God of Wisdom (Manjumsa or Hjam-dbyans). In the Rnin-ma-pa pantheon, it may be marked, the Excellent Merit is the chief (gtso-bo) of the eight, in fact of the nine, with the addition in the group of the wisdom-holding Teacher (rig-hdzin-slob-dpon-lha), whose altar is symbolized by the

Names	Altar Symbolized by	Counteracting	Attainments
The Body of Manjusri (hjam-dpal-skui-lha)	a dark yellow triangle	haughtiness	wisdom of universal equality
The Word of the Horse-headed Lord (padma-gsum-gi-lha)	a dark red triangle	greed	wisdom of discernment
The Pure Intention (yan-dag-thugs-kyi-lha)	a greenish triangle	anger	wisdom of the great mirror (capable of complete reflection)
The Excellent Merit (chemchog-yon-tangyi-lha)	a dark brown triangle	ignorance	wisdom of realizing the true nature of all phenomena
The Diamond Pike Deed (phurpa-phrin-las-lha)	a dark blue triangle	jealousy	wisdom of accomplishment
The Demon-sending Lord (ma-mo-rbod-gton-lha)	bloody sea	any untoward accident	accomplishment of prayer and propitiation
The Violent-curse Lord (dmod-pa-drag-snags-lha)	violent fire from the navel	all evils and demons	accomplishment of prayer and propitiation
The Lord Worshipped by the World (hjig-rten-mchod-bstod-lha)	secret cemetery	all evils and demons	accomplishment of prayer and propitiation

“sea of misery” and whose function is to counteract five poisonous appearances, and embody the five kinds of wisdom altogether.

The image of the Excellent Merit has twenty-one heads in seven stories, each story with three heads. The number twenty-one indicates the twenty-one stages on the path of perfection,³¹ exoteric and esoteric, and the number seven the

seven members of the Bodhisat road.³² The faces are of different colors, red indicating warm-heartedness; white, purity; blue, constancy; green, the four virtues of serenity, fierceness, growth, and power; yellow, completeness in all merits; and multi-colored, the comprehensive nature of all phenomena.

The forty-two arms signify so many serene modes, each hand holding an image of serene type. There are two wings on the shoulders, the left signifying expediency and the right wisdom; like a god and his consort. There are eight legs, each foot treading on one *deva* king and one dragon. The eight legs symbolize eight roads to salvation, while the eight *deva* kings symbolize the eight senses; and the eight dragons the eight states of mind. A consort embraces him, and whose name Stum-mo-dug-irul-nag-mo indicates that she is the destroyer of the three arch-enemies, Greed, Anger, and Ignorance.

Returning to Methodology, there is a distinction between what has been transmitted from the direct word of mouth of the masters from India (bkah-ma) and what is handed down from the discovery of the buried texts (gter-ma). As different masters have different emphases and different treatments, there arose two main schools of the Bkah-ma tradition, Zur-lugs and Ron-lugs. The noted masters of the Zur-lugs were Zur-po-che (954-?), Zur-chun-pa (1014-1074), and Sgro-phug-pa (1074-1134). The Ron-lugs originated with Ron-zom-chen-po-chos-kyi-bzan-po, contemporaneous with Emperor Jen-tsung (r. 1023-1063) of the Sung Dynasty.

The buried texts or "treasures" began to be excavated during the reign of Kao-tsung (1127-1162) by Ni-ma-hod-zer of Nan (1124-?), to be followed by further excavations by Gu-ru Chos-kyi-dban-phyug between the reigns of Ning-tsung (1195-1224) and Li-tsung (1225-1264). The discoveries of these two persons are called "upper and lower treasures" (gter-kha-gon-hog). Thereafter, quite a number of minor "excavators" became known, until all these were edited together by Ratna Glin-pa (contemporary with Ming Dynasty Emperor Hsiao-tsung, r. 1488-1505) with his own enormous excavations to be known as "the southern treas-

ures'' (lho-gter). During the reign of Shih-tsung (1522-1566), again, there arose out of a ruling family in the north a master, Rig-hdzin-rgod-kyi-ldem-hphyul-can, who also made many excavations and edited what is known as "the northern treasures'' (byan-gter).

During the reign of Shen-tsung (1573-1619), Bkra-cis-stobs-rgyal founded the monastery Rdo-rje-brag to expound the "northern treasures," and between the Ming (1368-1644) and the Ching (1644-1911) dynasties another monastery, Smin-grol-glin, was founded by Hgyur-med-rdo-rje to expound the southern "treasures." With these two seats of learning, two schools became definitely established. But they are not exclusively concerned with the "treasures." They also teach what has been handed down from Indian masters (bkah-ma). A word may be inserted here parenthetically about the "treasures" and "excavations." No doubt, there must have been actual discoveries of some treasures because Buddhist texts were likely to be buried as a result of persecution during the reign of King Glan-dar-ma. In an effort to compete with later schools of reintroduced Buddhism, however, it is also likely that the same agents should have invented texts, buried them, and excavated them in the same way as the Bonist "treasures" were handled. In any case, all "treasures" were taken as supernatural in origin. To give greater authority to one's platform, alleged antiquity is a rather common motivation.

The second class of teaching of the three internally esoteric is the "assembled" (hdus), equivalent to Anu-Yoga. The chief treatises of this class are *The Universal Assembled Knowledge* (kun-hdus-rig-pa) and *The Assembled Mystic Cogitation* (dgons-pa-hdus-pa). In the twofold process of mental creation and identification, identification or union with the tutelaries is emphasized. This is made possible by primarily using one's own arteries and the *semen virile* for the purpose of a perfect union, so that there arise happiness, light, and disinterestedness. There are both teachings inherited from Indian masters and contained in the discovered

“treasures.”

The third class deals with the “mind” alone, equivalent to Ati-Yoga. It dispenses with images and the internal energies, characteristic of the above two classes of teaching, but is concerned with the realization of the true nature of the mind. The Dhyana or Zen School of Han Buddhism is similar in this respect. But what is unique with the Rin-ma-pa is their method of attainment called “the surpassing of the uppermost” (thod-rgyal), whereby self-illumination is maintained so that the material body may vanish in the rainbow or in the manner of the colors of the rainbow, as a way of salvation or emancipation. Both treatises and discovered treasures are their sources of teaching. And the teaching is again divided into three sub-classes.

The first sub-class concerns the mind (Sems-sde), how to realize the true nature of self and the world without being deceived by phenomenal illusions, the principal treatises of this class are *The Garuda Bird in the Air* (khyun-chen-ldin-pa), *The Universal-perfection King* (kun-byed-rgyal-po); and *The Great Perfection* (rdzogs-pa-chen-po).

The second sub-class is the soaring into mystic perfection (klon-sde). After the realization mentioned above, all shackles and prejudices fall away so that nothing is reflected in the mind but illumination and light. The mind is entirely free. There is the teaching of the Diamond Bridge (rdo-rje-zam-pa) and the principal treatise is *The Effortless* (bya-rtsol-me-pa).

The third sub-class is deep instruction (man-nag-gi-sde). While the mind is entirely free there is Enlightenment. So the body may vanish in the rainbow. The teaching of this class embodies the Four Essences (snin-thig-ya-bzi) and the principal treatises include *The Supreme Power of the Lotus* (padma-dban-rgyal), *Buddha-equality* (sans-rgyas-mnam-skyor), and *Sound-responding Perfection* (sgra-thal-hgyur).

(2) Important Seats of Learning

The most important seats of learning still functioning are Smin-grol-glin and Rdo-rje-brag, of Tibet, and Ka-thog, Dpal-

yul, Rdzogs-chen, and Zi-chen, of Hsi-kang. Of the four in Hsi-kang the first three are the most important, comparable in reputation with the three monasteries of the Dge-lugs-pa of Tibet, namely Se-ra, Hbras-spuns and Dgah-ldan, founded in 1418, 1415, 1409.³³ Here they are set forth in chronological sequence together with others less important but of historical significance.

Bsam-yas (Sam-yas) as mentioned in the last two chapters was the first Buddhist monastery established in Tibet (762-766), during the reign of King Khri-sron-lde-btsan. Such original masters as Padmasambhava and Santa-rakshita propounded Buddhism there. Not only the first translation of esoteric Buddhism as a system was connected with this institution, even the Bon-po were gathered there to put their doctrine into writing.

Mchims-phu, a retreat center of Bsam-yas, was founded during the reign of the same king. The most noted persons in the Rnin-ma-pa genealogy during the three stages (first, middle, and last) of transmission — Gnags-jnana-kumara (contemporaneous with Khri-sron-lde-btsan), Gnubs-sans-rgyas-ye-ces (9th century), Zur-po-che-cakya-hbyun-gnas, (954-?) — used this as their seat of teaching. The last was one of the three masters or the Zur-lugs mentioned above in connection with Methodology and the other two also spent some time here to propagate the doctrine. But they became better known as originators of other monasteries.

Hug-pa-lun was founded by Zur-po-che, who was succeeded by Zur-chun-pa (Ces-rab-grags-pa, 1014-1074) and Zur-cakya-sen-ge (1074-1134). The last founded another monastery, Sgro-phug, and later became known as Sgro-phug-pa.

Ka-thog of Greater Sde-dge, Hsi-kang, was founded by Bkah-gdams-pa-bde-gcegs (1122-?),³⁴ younger brother of Phag-mo-grub-pa (1110-1170) of the Bkah-brgyud-pa or White Sect, during the reign of Kao-tsung of the Sung Dynasty (1127-1162). He was a second-generation disciple of Sgro-phug-pa. Having assimilated much of the buried treasures, he belonged to the same school which later characterized Smin-grol-dlin by being an exponent of “the southern treas-

ures.” But the founder of Ka-thog was not confined exclusively to the treasures. He also transmitted his heritage of the Indian masters; only the treasures played a more important role. There are about 550 monks in the monastery of Ka-thog, headed by a Grand Lama Dri-med-zin-skyon.

Thar-pa-glin, of Bhutan, was founded by Dri-med-hod-zer (1308-1363) when he travelled in that country. From there the Rnin-ma-pa spread to Nepal.

Rdo-rje-brag, the seat of learning for “the northern treasures” in Tibet, had its beginning in an assembly called E-wam-chos-sgar, organized by Bkri-cis-stobs-rgyal, a chieftain in northern Tibet who had lost his power and travelled in Dbus. The monastery was formally established by Padma-hphrin-las, an incarnation of Bkra-cis-stobs-rgyal’s son, Nag-gi-dban-phyug. Dalai the Fifth (1617-1682) had a great admiration for this monastery. It was destroyed in 1683 by the invasion of the Jungar, but restored soon after.

Smin-grol-glin, the seat of learning for the “southern treasures” in Tibet, was founded in the last years of the Ming Dynasty (1628-1643) by Hgyur-med-rdo-rje and Nag-dban-chos-dpal, who were succeeded by Darma-cri. In a similar way to Rdo-rje-brag, it was destroyed and restored at about the same time.

Rdzogs-chen (great perfection), of Sde-dge, Hsi-kang, was founded in 1685 by Padma-rig-hdzin (1625-1697), who came from the west of the Chinsha River in 1684 at the request of Nag-dban-bkra-cis, chief of the ruling family at Sde-dge. It is now the most famous monastery of its kind, not only in Hsi-kang, and attracts students from all places, including Bhutan and Nepal. The congregation is more than five hundred, and the Grand Lama an incarnation of the founder.

Dpal-yul, of Greater Sde-dge, was founded about the same time as Rdzogs-chen by Rig-hdzin-kun-bzan-ces-rab. And, as in Rdzogs-chen, its lineage follows Smin-grol-glin. There are about six hundred monks, headed by Karma-yan-srid.

Zi-chen, not far from Rdzogs-chen, branched out from it about 1746 or later. Its founder was Zi-chen-rab-hbyams-pa.

There are about one hundred monks, but their relationship with Rdzogs-chen seems very strained.

(3) Academic Organization

Leaving aside the monasteries of Tibet, only Ka-thog, Dpal-yul, and Rdzogs-chen, of Hsi-kang, have academic colleges called Grwa-sa, for the purpose of discussion. Formerly, such monasteries were exclusively concerned with esoteric teaching which was characterized by personal attainment, not by formal communication. Especially because of their essential doctrine of Great Perfection (Rdzogs-chen) — similar to the Dhyana School mentioned above — emphasis was laid on intuitive insight rather than on communicable knowledge. But such a practice is good only for the most gifted. So far as ordinary talents are concerned, these must be doctrinally prepared before they become capable of first comprehension. Furthermore, to compete with the Dge-lugs-pa, it was also necessary to emphasize communicable knowledge. More than a century ago Rdzogs-chen Monastery established an academic college called Srisimha-slob-grwa, on the initiative of Dge-man-gzan-phan-mthah-yas, for the formal teaching of exoteric as well as esoteric Buddhism. The Great College (slob-chen) was later added to the Assembly Hall, on the model of the three famous colleges or monasteries of Dgo-lugs-pa, mentioned in the last chapter, namely Se-ra, Hbras-spun, and Dgah-ldan. The subjects taught consist of translation of Buddha's teaching and the commentaries of his Indian disciples, supplemented by the explanations of the masters of the Rnin-ma-pa.

At about the end of the 19th century, Si-tu-chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho also instituted a teaching college at Ka-thog. First established was the Treatise School (rgyud-sde-khan). Although the name implies Tantrism or esoteric Buddhism, the school is not exclusively so limited. Rather this name was adopted because of so many esoteric images in the hall. In fact, the school is divided into two colleges, the Teaching College (bcad-grwa) and the Training College (sgrub-grwa). The former gives formal instruction in the

doctrines of exoteric as well as esoteric Buddhism. When the students become versed in these doctrines, they are prepared to enter into the practical training of the latter in pure esoteric accomplishment such as “empowering, genealogical transmission, and tutelage” (dban-lun-khrid-gsum). This institution was further developed under the leadership of Kun-bzen-dpal, who was O-rgyan-bstan-hdzin-nor-bu’s pupil. Besides these colleges an Ordinance College (sgrig-grwa) was established for the ordinary monks, who cared for neither philosophical discussion nor personal attainments, but had to qualify in the performance of rituals and a knowledge of monastic discipline.

In the early twenties of the present century, the Grand Lama, Mgon-bsam, of Dpal-yul, established three academic colleges at his own seat of learning based on the pattern of the last two monasteries.

The Grand Lama (bstan-bdag), or Living Buddha (sprul-sku), of each monastery is academically the President; under him there are college deans or professors (mkhan-po) in charge of philosophical discussion, practical guidance, and religious performance. There are also lecturers (slob-dpon) to collaborate in tutorial work.

The number of students differs in each monastery, being dependent upon the amount and source of support, such as overall and partial scholarships offered by the monastery, contributions to the monastery for religious performance, alms collected, and private support from each student’s family. Rdzogs-chen, for instance, offers thirty overall scholarships, equally divided among the students of Teaching and Training Colleges, out of a fund donated by the king of Bhutan in terms of sixty pack animals’ loads of Indian silk. Each of these scholarships is in kind, amounting to two bales of barley (140 catties) and some thirty catties of butter.

As a rule, however, in all three monasteries there are about forty to fifty students in a Teaching College and more than ten in a Training College. In the Training College of Rdzogs-chen, in particular, there are thirteen fully ordained monks known as “the thirteen pure ones” (tshans-pa-bou-gsum).

Attendance is required for five years at the Teaching College, six at the Training College, and for an indeterminate period at the Ordinance College. But the number of years may always be prolonged at the wish of a student who wants to be more thoroughly grounded. For example, a slower learner may be in the Teaching College for more than ten years.³⁵

A boy of six or seven may be sent to the monastery to study with a tutor (dge-rgan) first the Tibetan alphabet (ka, kha, ga, na, etc.), secondly spelling, and thirdly sentence formation. He is called Ka-kha-pa or a beginner (grwa-chun). Then he will study with a lecturer or professor the necessary formulas in religious chanting in praise. Not until he is sixteen is his hair shaven and he himself is called a novice-to-be (dge-tshul-gsar-pa). When about twenty years old he is formally initiated into thirty-six vows and called a novice (dge-tshul or sramanera) or a regular student (grwa-pa). From this time on he may attend the Teaching College as auditor. His regular attendance is counted only after he is fully ordained to be a monk (dge-slon or Bhiksu) by taking two hundred and fifty-three vows, then called a "student of the Teaching College" (bslab-grwa-pa). As soon as his regular attendance is counted, he will be tested (rgyugs-len) on any chapter of religious works expounded by his teacher. When he has advanced far enough through many such tests, after a period of time he is called a Student-assistant (skyor-dpon), and will help guide the studies of his fellow-students. After the final examination he graduates from the Teaching College. Should he prove to be superior to all, he is entitled to Rab-hbyams-pa, a degree equivalent to the Ph.D., and receives three gifts, namely a scepter (Indra's thunderbolt or in Tibetan rdo-rje), a thunderbolt-bell, and a suit of monastic garments. The few next best are given gifts of less importance accordingly until gradually the ordinary graduates are named without gifts. Those who fail the final test are punished by being tied up to the flag-post before the chanting hall to be publicly humiliated.

A graduate of the Teaching College is qualified to enter the Training College to become a "Student of the Training

College'' (sgrub-grwa-pa). When such a person distinguishes himself in different degrees, the titles of "the self-perfecting lama'' (sgrub-pa-bla-ma) and "the perfection-instructing lama'' (sgrub-dpon-bla-ma) may be acquired. The former indicates self-training; the latter the training of others. After graduation from these two colleges one is entitled to the rank of professor (mkhen-po), being distinguished both academically and spiritually. Then he may either stay in the monastery to instruct students or become an abbot of some smaller monastery under the jurisdiction of the mother monastery.

Take Rdzogs-chen as an actual case to illustrate the peculiar position of such a professor. Once thus qualified, a monk foregoes for life the privilege of begging for alms, while the "Living Buddhas'' and other monks are free to do so. Furthermore, the monastery institutes a system of lineal religious genealogy as well as choosing leaders irrespective of origin. In other words, it is an academic combination of the principles of procreation and adoption. There are four academic units, for which professors are chosen from those who have gained the confidence of the congregation by knowledge and personality. They are not necessarily graduates from the colleges of their own monastery. There are also three units,³⁶ two exoteric (the University College so to speak and the college endowed with full scholarships) and one esoteric (an assembly on the snow mountain), whose professors must be the lineal descendants of the Rnin-ma-pa. Adherents of all sects of esoteric Buddhism may come to study. But any one of any sect of exoteric Buddhism may come to challenge the inmates of Rdzogs-chen to public debates. As a rule those who wish to do so may announce their theses and register with the monastery authorities, so that they will be given the floor in turn to propound them and to engage others in debate.

(4) Program of Study

In the Teaching College students study the teaching of the Buddha and the commentaries of both the esoteric and

exoteric schools, the latter first. There are thirteen works belonging to exoteric Buddhism in the curriculum of study:

1. *On the Attainment of One's Own Liberation* (So-sor-thar-pa or Pratimoksa);
2. *The Fundamentals of Monastic Law* (Hdul-rtan or Vinaya-mula);
3. Vasubandhu's *Abhidharma-kosa* (Mnon-mdzod);
4. *Collection of Abridged Texts of the Abhidharma* (Kun-las-btus-pa or Samgraha);
5. *Fundamentals of the Mean* (Dbu-mahi-tsa-ba or Madhyamaka-mula);
6. *On the Entrance to the Mean* (Dbu-ma-hjug-pa or Madhyamaka-avatara);
7. *On the Mean in 400 Verses* (Bzi-brgya-pa or Catuh-sataka-sastra-kariha-nama);
8. *On the Entrance to the Bodhisat Practice* (Spyod-hjug or Bodhisattva-carya-avatara);
9. *On Direct Comprehension* (Mnon-rtogs-rgyan or Abhisamayalamhara);
10. *On the Distinction Between the Mean and Extremes* (Dbu-mthah-rnam-hbyed or Madhyanta-vibhanga);
11. *On the Nature of Things in Themselves* (Chos-nid-rnam-hbyed or Dharamata-vibhanga);
12. *The Most Supreme Tantrism* (Rgyud-bla-ma or Mahayana-mutara-tantara);
13. *On the Great Vehicle Sutra* (Theg-chen-rgyan or Mahayana-sutra-alamkara).

These may be divided into four classes: monastic laws, studies of the Lesser Vehicle, those of the Great Vehicle on noumena and on phenomena. Apart from the monastic laws, the three may be further divided into theory and conduct. In practice, the thirteen works may be thoroughly studied or some may not be so studied. To take an actual example from Ka-thog, the following order of study may be noted:

1. *On the Entrance to the Bodhisat Practice* (Spyod-hjug or Bodhisattva-carya-avatara);
2. *Monastic Law in Verse* (Tsig-lahur-bcad-pa or Vinaya-karika);

3. *Clear Exposition of the Three Kinds of Monastic Laws* by Mnah-ris-pan-chen (Tri-samvara-vin-tscagya or Sdom-gsum-rnam-nes);

4. *The Five Works of Maitreya* (Byams-chos-sde-lna)³⁷ with commentaries;

5. *The Fundamentals of Monastic Laws* (Hdul-rtsa or Vinaya-mula);

6. *Fundamentals of the Mean* (Dbu-mahi-tsa-ba or Madhyamaka-mula);

7. *On the Entrance to the Mean* (Dbu-ma-hjug-pa or Madhyamaka-vatara);

8. *On the Mean in 400 Verses* (Bzi-brgya-pa or Catuh-sataka-sastra-kariha-nama);

9. Other Collection of Works on the Mean.

Following translations of original Indian works, the students are further guided by the expositions of Tibetan scholars of the Rnin-ma-pa.

So far as Rdzogs-chen is concerned, there are three months each year devoted to the lecturing on the thirteen works mentioned above. The audience come with moderately high standing, although the number of students is indeterminate. In addition, the following are included: *The Gist of the Esoteric* (Gsan-ba-snin-po or Guhyagarbha) and the works by Dri-med-hod-zer (1308-1363) and Mkhyen-brtse-hod-zer (contemporaneous with Chien-lung of the Ching Dynasty, who reigned from 1736-1795), such as *The Essentials of Merit* (Yon-tan-mdzod) and *The Wish-fulfilling Treasures* (Yid-bzin-mdzod).

After the instruction in the works on exoteric Buddhism are taught, classes begin on esoteric Buddhism in the Teaching College. First, such main works as *The Gist of the Esoteric* and *The Transforming Tantras* (Sgyu-hphrul or Maya) are explained in accordance with the commentaries of the Zur School (Sur-lugs), which constitute the common understanding with other sects (mthun-mon-pa). Secondly, they are explained in accordance with the commentaries of the Ron School (Ron-lugs) not shared by other sects (mthun-mon-ma-yin-pa). Thirdly, they are explained again in

accordance with the commentaries by Klon-chen-rab-hbyams-pa (another name for Dri-med-hod-zer) with collateral readings in *The Seven Treasures* (Mdzod-bdun), *The Three Rounds of Relaxation* (Nal-gso-skor-gsum) and *The Three Ways of Salvation* (Ran-grol-skor-gsum), known as what is absolutely not shared with other sects (cin-tu-mthun-mon-ma-yin-pa).

As soon as a student clearly understands such esoteric and exoteric works, he is qualified to enter the Training College, where he must attend for six years. For the first three years he is taught initiation ceremonies (dban), injunctions (lun), and tutelary instruction (khrid), as a basis for later self-development. The following three years, as private religious practice takes place in dark cells, hence the saying, "Three years in the open and three years in the dark."

The order of practice is first mental creation of the images of the tutelaries in terms of reciting formulas and meditating on visions thus aroused; secondly, the mental-physical control of the arteries, *semen virile*, etc.; and thirdly, the realization of the true nature of one's own mind.

For the practice of the first two, one relies upon "the three foundations" (rtsa-ba-gsum), namely one's own master (bla-ma), the tutelary deity (yi-dam), and the goddess of wisdom (mkhah-hgro or Dakini). One must be versed in meditating on them and in reciting formulas to them.

For the practice of the last one, the student relies upon "the word of instruction" (khrid-yig). This is divided into two categories: first the preamble (snon-hgro), and second the thing itself (dnos-gzi). The preamble usually consists of Dpal-sprul's *Instructions from Samantabhadra* (similar to Tsonkha-pa's *The Graded Course on the Bodhisat Road*), and may be taught before one is initiated into esoteric Buddhism. Instruction is given differently to different students. Nowadays, it is usually based on *The Comprehensive Supreme Wisdom*.

When a student graduates from the Training College, he is qualified to be a professor if he wishes. But, if he aspires to further self-development, he may travel around to visit more advanced masters for more enlightened guidance.

(5) Business Organization

Both academic and business organizations are under the ultimate central control of the Grand Lama (bstan-bdag) of the monastery, who is always a Living Buddha (sprul-sku), although there may be quite a number of Living Buddhas in one monastery who do not have administrative duties. So far as the business organization of a monastery is concerned, there are two aspects, the religious and the administrative.

The religious aspect of monastic business organization is under the direction of the Grand Lama, the professors (mkhan-po), and the chief priest (rdo-rje-slob-dpon). It is this priest who presides over religious ceremonies. He must qualify not only in personal attainments but in learning and personality. Under him there are a number of leaders in chanting (dbu-mdzad), some attendants for the offerings (mchod-dpon), and one disciplinarian (chos-khrims). The last is not only present at religious ceremonies, there is one in each of the different colleges to enforce proper conduct by the monks. Apart from the main chanting hall in a monastery there are special quarters for the worship of the Protectors of the Faith. And there are monks particularly assigned to take care of such temples.

The administration of monastic business is the charge of the Grand Lama and one regent (dgon-dpon). The regent's duties are shared by a committee of elders (rgan-pa), under whom there are a number of assistant messengers. There is one treasurer (phyag-mdzod) directly under the Grand Lama to take care of his private property and of the monastery's public property. Under the treasurer are a steward (gner-pa) and some twenty accountants (spyi-pa or spyi-gso) for the actual management of all properties, either by investment in trade or by loans to laymen on interest. The profit or interest thus acquired is to be used for expenditure on the maintenance of the monastery, the making of images, the cutting of wooden blocks for the printing of the scriptures, the subsidising of students, and on religious ceremonies, relief, medicine, and the disposal of the dead. The source of income is from livestock breeding, trade, land rent, and contributions

from believers.

All these offices are filled by monks appointed by the Grand Lama. The term of office is either three years, four years, or five years. It is not fixed. For the appointment is really based on a nomination resulting from public votes of the inmates of the monastery. Officers may be re-elected, so that they may be appointed again and again to serve the congregation.

The officers do not serve only individually. As a rule, there are standing committees for particular functions, and all these may have joint meetings to deliberate on issues of public concern. Thus, the business organization has the combined features of democracy and dictatorship. Furthermore, to safeguard the welfare of the monastery against external troubles some important personage such as a chieftain is usually invited to serve as a patron or the lay "protector of the faith."

(6) Public Festivities

Public festivities are part of the monastic religious ceremonies. But those performed daily within the monastery are not of interest to the public. Those performed on a large scale and often in costumes are occasions to attract crowds of lay people. They not only serve a religious purpose but provide recreation for the order and for the people. Often they are of such seasonal importance that a great deal of trade and other economic activities center round them. The dates of these public festivities may differ in different monasteries, but they are approximately follows:

On the first day of the first moon the New Year (lo-gsar) is celebrated at a Great Prayer meeting.

On the 18th and 19th days of the first moon there is a preliminary Sacred Dance of the Diamond Pike (Phur-pa or Vajrakilaya), called the "Lesser Pike" (phur-chun). On the 28th and 29th days the formal performance to represent the deity takes place and is called the "Greater Pike" (phur-chen). In some monasteries the Diamond Pike is not presented. But instead the "one hundred most su-

preme serene and angry tutelaries'' of the Great Yoga mentioned in the beginning of the chapter are staged. It is only the great monasteries that are well enough equipped to do this on such a scale.

On the 22nd day of the second moon the dance of worship (sgrub-mchod) takes place to personify the Eighty Methodological Tutelaries, whose characteristics have also been outlined previously.

In the third moon the rite of offering to the mountain and river gods (bswo-yul) is observed to pray for the peace and welfare of the land.

From the 1st day to the 15th day of the fourth moon is the period of silent fasting (smyun-gnas) to worship the Eleven-head Avalokita. For monks in training there is an initiation ritual after this period.

On the 10th day of the sixth or seventh moon there is the Tenth Day Observance (tshes-beu) to personify in Sacred Dance the eight manifestations of Padmasambhava (gu-ru-mtshan-brgyad). For it is said that the Master desired to come on every 10th day of each moon to this world for the benefit of sentient beings, so his followers in Tibetan areas have instituted the Tenth Day Observance. Theoretically, any tenth day will do. But it is considered especially important to observe it on the particular tenth day of the moon in the year in which it happens that the three (day, moon, year) are designated simultaneously by the monkey of the twelve animal symbols.³⁸ Thus, while every tenth day of each moon is religiously commemorated, it is on the particular tenth day of a particular year that such a Sacred Dance is performed.

On the 18th and 19th days of the ninth moon the demon-suppression ceremony (linga-sgral) is observed. All the enemies of Buddhism are supposed to be spiritually imprisoned in the figures made of barley meal mixed with butter (gtor-ma). These figures are mutilated in the Sacred Dance to simulate the destruction of enemies.³⁹ This feature may accompany other annual Sacred Dances, then it is called "the cutting of barley-meal figures" (gtor-ma-bcad).

On the 14th and 15th days of the eleventh moon a ceremony is observed to celebrate the Winter Solstice (ni-log).

The 29th day of the twelfth moon is the occasion to make offerings to commemorate the end of the month and the end of the year (lo-zad-zla-zad-dgu-gto). The idea is that with such a happy ending of the season the deities are to be praised and sentient beings are to be given gifts. So, for self-interest as well as altruism, prayers are made for peace and blessing.

(7) Generalizations

Denominational differences are ordinarily stressed by the less informed, according to the observation of learned lamas, for whom they are only so many means of suiting the different levels of student aspirants. As heritage and culture are not identical for all, there is no one method to induce everyone to develop a full personality. To give everybody a chance, different methods and viewpoints are offered in Buddhism. But the fundamental purpose is always eventual salvation. It is common knowledge that Hinayana, or the Lesser Vehicle, is the means to effect individual salvation, while Mahayana, or the Great Vehicle, makes it possible for the individual to help others to save themselves.

It is less obvious in the case of esoteric and exoteric teachings. Why esoteric? Because those who are not prepared are most likely unable to understand it and liable to abuse it. Jesus remarked that to the public He used figurative speech, but to His disciples He spoke the truth. This is not only true with every religion, but also with everyday practice of the discreet, who speak in accordance with the understanding of the audience. But in Tibetan Buddhism, which represents the later development of Buddhism in India, there are so many monstrous images, especially those in sexual embrace, that all sorts of misunderstandings result. These images, say conscientious students, are survivors of the primitive worship of sex. In any religion we can trace many symbols of phallic worship and so on. So, too, it may be said that the Christian practice of expressing thanks to the Lord

very meal is a survivor of primitive culture, when human control over nature was too limited to ensure an adequate supply of food. But this historical attribution does not explain the function of Christian prayer in modern life. So also, however, true may be the anthropomorphic interpretations of esoteric Buddhism, they do not help us to understand the mental processes of lamas who practice it today.

According to learned lamas exoteric Buddhism is a way of renunciation, in which wisdom is acquired by knowing the evils and impermanence of the phenomenal world. It is an effort to lift oneself in spite of the material bondage to which one is subjected by being born in a material body. Esoteric Buddhism, no matter whether or not originating from primitive conditions, is theoretically more advanced than exoteric Buddhism because whatever is given is taken for granted, and effort is made to utilize the given as a means for intellectual insight and spiritual development. Thus the lifting-up process is no longer in spite of the material body, but rather because of it. Theorists of the esoteric school ridicule the exoteric idealists by comparing the renunciation of the latter to searching for the shadow while what brings it about is denied existence. Once the dichotomy between body and mind is assumed there is no end of trouble. It makes no difference whether the body or the mind is given preponderant importance. If "suchness" of whatever is the starting-point, it is as real as natural to view everything impartially without prejudice and misconception. When one is free from prejudice and misconception, one is Freedom itself. This is what salvation or emancipation or eternity means. According to a passage in one esoteric text, we are told: "Good fellows, basically whatever it is. Suchness, including yourself, is not intrinsically entangled, why should you try to disentangle yourself? It is not intrinsically deluded, why should you seek truth apart from it?" In another passage it is said, "Behavior without understanding is blind. Understanding without practice is shallow. When both are one, you have self-control." This self-control is, of course, not repression but liberation. No lazy people may enjoy it. It is the result of

right endeavor or realism in thought and action.

The idea of gaining control through adjustment to the given by means of proper understanding and practice is generally known as the scientific attitude. But in the realm of phenomena concerning man, either individually or socially, the attitude lags behind in the process of becoming scientific. We are only beginning to see that society cannot be changed by individuals who denounce it. Those who want to develop it to a higher level must take society at its true value and participate in its activities instead of passing judgments and standing aloof from it. In this respect the esoteric teaching of Buddhism takes a similar stand with regard to the world and the self. Again, we are only beginning in psycho-analysis to fathom potential energy deep within ourselves. But one thing is clear already. There is no use in repression, and it is possible to redirect our energies through sublimation. Traditional moral philosophy and general exoteric Buddhism may end in repression, while esoteric Buddhism dares to stare at reality and consciously works for sublimation, if necessary.

Returning to the monstrous images again, the idea is to call up within oneself whatever there is by meditating on the images. For example, the angry expression of the deities calls to mind anger within. So also with lust, greed, ignorance, jealousy, and so on. Taking these for granted, one may try to put them in their proper place. This means a well-rounded personality. Then in the last stage the images become unnecessary, and whatever there is within the body may be freely directed. When this self-direction becomes spontaneous it is self-caused, free from causation or the wheel of life: in other words it is Nirvana here and now.

Chapter V

SA-SKYA-PA: A SEMI-REFORMED SCHOOL

We have observed in Chapter II that the Sa-skyapa

founders traced their ancestry to Hkhon-dpal-po-che, minister to King Khri-sron-lde-btsan (742-790), son of Princess Chin-cheng, and that Hkhon-ston-dkon-mchog-rgyal-po (1034-1102) of the eleventh generation left the Rnin-ma-pa, studied with Hbrog-mi (993-1078) new translations from Indian sources, and founded in 1073 the Sa-skya Monastery. Referred to by the name of the monastery, the Sa-skya-pa was at that time a reformed school. But in comparison with the still newer school, the Dge-lugs-pa, founded by Tson-kha-pa (1357-1419), the Sa-skya-pa together with the Bkah-brgyud-pa has become known as a Semi-reformed School.

But why the name Sa-skya? One explanation was that the monastery was built in the middle of white sandy ground, and ground or earth in Tibetan is *sa* and white or colorless is *dkar* or *skya*. Hence the name Sa-skya or Sa-dkar. In course of time the name Sa-skya prevailed. Another version has it that Atica (982-1054), the most famous Indian master after Glan-dar-ma and forerunner of Tson-kha-pa, saw in meditation a white lotus on the site of the monastery, on which appeared eight Tibetan words, seven *khri* and one *hum*. Thereupon he prophesied: "In the future seven masters of the Sa-skya-pa will be manifestations of Mannjughosa (Hjam-pahi-dbyans) and one will be that of Vajrapani (Phyag-na-rdo-rje) to work for the welfare of sentient beings."

This was what actually took place in the history of the Sa-skya-pa, and seven masters followed by an eighth made the school famous. Of the seven, however, five are particularly overshadowing.

The first was Sa-chen-kun-dgah-snin-po (1092-1158), son of Hkhon-ston-dkon-mohog-rgyal-po. When he was twenty years old, Sa-chen, or Sa-skya-pa the Great, became the Grand Lama of the Sa-skya Monastery. He was credited with the wonder of showing his body separated into six forms, all alike, and reuniting into one. This and many other wonders ascribed to him brought him a large number of followers. Among them were Three Excellent (mchog) Ones, seven noted for perseverance (bzod), eight sages with keen

understanding (rtogs-ldan), eleven important preachers, and seven authors of notable books.

The second was the second son of Sa-chen, known as Slob-dpon-bsod-nams-bdze-mo (1142-1172), or the Professor. At sixteen years of age he was already master of all esoteric teachings. So far as legend goes, a multitude of deities appeared, while at the age of forty-one, he was seated on the abbatial throne and preaching. They played various musical instruments and showered the place with flowers. And lo and behold! Amidst the sweet sounds of music they descended and carried the Professor away with them to the Western Paradise (nub-bde-ba-can).

The third was the third son of Sa-chen. Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147-1216) by name, he was a strict vegetarian, a difficult fame to maintain in a land like Tibet. When he was eleven years old, he was able to expound the doctrine of the Happy Thunderbolt (Kye-rdo-rje or Hevajra) before a large audience, who marvelled at his learning and wisdom. At the age of twenty-six he succeeded to the abbatial throne, living to the age of seventy.

The fourth of the five masters is popularly known as Sa-skya-pan-chen, or Sa-skya-pa the Great Scholar. His personal name was Kun-dgah-rgyal-mtshan (1182-1251) and he was the eldest son of Dpal-chen-hod-po, the fourth son of Sa-chen. He became a fully ordained monk at the age of twenty-seven. He analyzed the collection of books stored in the Sa-skya library, and refuted all wrong declarations and views therein. A Jain philosopher, Mu-stegs-ston-pa-hphrog-byed, challenged him to a debate on the condition that the defeated must be converted into the faith of the victor. As a result, Sa-pan (abridged form of Sa-skya-pan-chen) made his opponent one of the disciples of his own. Thus his fame spread far and wide. When sixty-three years old, he went to Hsi-liang on the invitation of the Great King Kuo-tan. There he remained until his death when he was seventy years old.

The fifth is popularly known by his honorary title, Hphags-pa (the noble or the sage), and by far the most illustrious. His personal name was Hgro-mgon-chos-rgyal-mtshan and he

was the eldest son of Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan, the youngest son of Dpal-chen-hod-po. When Hphags-pa (1235-1286) was born, Sa-pan, his uncle, looked at him and remarked: "This boy is truly more noble than anyone else." As a boy of three he was already able to commit to memory a Tantric book entitled *Born from the Ocean of Coercion* (sgrub-thabs-mtsho-skyes). He recited it before many people, who marvelled at his ability and said, "Indeed this child is noble." His fame spread far and wide and the designation Hphags-pa stuck with him.

At the age of eight, Hphags-pa could relate the story of Buddha Sakyamuni's life and at nine he taught a grammar and expounded the doctrine of the Happy Thunderbolt to large audiences. The pride of the learned but conceited seniors was humbled before him, and this fact became known everywhere.

When he was ten years old, he took the novice vows of renunciation under the auspices of Sa-pan before the image of the twelve-year-old Sakyamuni (jo-bo) which had been brought to Lhasa in 641 A.D. by the Han Princess Wencheng. Then he learned various doctrines with Cer-sen, a great teacher from Skyor-lun. When in the same year Sa-pan was invited to Hsi-liang, this nephew of his accompanied him as an attendant. But the ten-year-old attendant had already mastered nearly all that his uncle was capable of teaching him regarding exoteric metaphysics and philosophy (phyi-mtshan-nid) as well as esoteric doctrines (nan-gsan-snags).

When in 1253 the Mongol Kublai Khan was not yet the Emperor, he heard of Sa-pan and asked the Great King Kuo-tan to send him to his residence. Kuo-tan replied to the effect that Sa-pan had already died and his nephew was well qualified to come instead. Having been in the Khan's capital for ten days, Hphags-pa begged to leave. "How is your attainment compared with your uncle's?" was the question put to him. "My uncle's attainment," replied Hphags-pa, "was like the water of the ocean. Mine is something like a drop on the tip of the tongue, dipped by one finger from that

ocean.” Well pleased with the remark, the Khan begged initiation from him. Thus he was made “the Emperor’s Teacher” and as honorarium (yon) he received thirteen districts in Tibet from the Khan: six in Gtsan, six in Dbus, and one in the district of Yar-hbrog (Yamdok). Thereupon he sent deputies to Tibet to take over the control of these districts, the population of which was said to be of 130,000 families.

When he was twenty-one years old in 1255 he left the Mongol Court, and on the Tibeto-Mongolian border he happened to meet three masters of Buddhism, Mkhan-po Rne-than-pa-grags-pa-sen-ge, Jo-gdan-bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan, and Gsan-ston-yar-lun-pa-byan-chub-rgyal-mtshan. They conferred on Hphags-pa the major ordination.

On his return to Sa-skya he greatly pleased the nobility and the common people by distributing to them many precious gifts which he had received in Mongolia.

Some time later he was again invited to the Mongol Court and in 1258 in an open debate he defeated the Taoists by refuting their alleged theory that Lao-tze converted the western barbarians to Taoism. This debate was under the auspices of the Imperial Court and as a result the leading Taoists were converted into Buddhist monks.

Hphags-pa went back to Tibet in 1265 with an assignment by the Khan that a Mongolian script be invented. He came to the Khan again in 1269 and the script he invented was adopted by the Mongol Empire through an edict. To show his appreciation the Khan gave Hphags-pa complete rule over Tibet (Gtsan and Dbus), Hsi-kang and A-mdo, in addition to a gift of several bushels of pearls.

After seven years in the capital of the Mongol Empire Hphags-pa returned to Tibet in 1276 for the last time. At Chumig-rin-mo in 1277 he gathered together in a lecture meeting more than 70,000 noted monks, to whom he preached the Doctrine and distributed silk, gold, and many other precious things.

To return to the story of the seven manifestations of Manjughosa of the Sa-skya-pa, besides the five we have mentioned, one is commonly agreed upon to be Hphags-pa’s

father, Zan-tsha-bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan. The other, according to Lama Yongden,⁴⁰ is Gou-dpal-hod; while Yontan-rgya-mtsho⁴¹ makes him to be Kun-dgah-bkra-cis.

Then Hgro-mgon-phyag-na, Hphags-pa's brother, is said to be an incarnation of Vajrapani (Phyag-na-rdo-rje). He was an adept in wonder-working, being able to heal the sick and to bring the dead to life again. So, Atica's prophecy was fulfilled: within the hierarchy of the Sa-skyapa seven masters were born as manifestations of the God of Wisdom, and one as that of the God of Power.

Leaving political history alone, the Sa-skyapa in the course of time developed three more seats of learning, in addition to the Sa-skyapa Monastery, which gave rise to three sub-sects.

First the Nor-pa. The name came from the founder of this sub-sect, Nor-pa Kun-dgah-bzan-po (1382-1456), who in 1429 built the monastery of E-bam-chos-ldan. Second, the Kundgah-pa, followers of Kun-dgah-rnam-rgyal (1432-1495), who in 1464 founded the monastery of Gans-dkar-rdo-rje-gdan. Third, the Tshar-pa, followers of Tshar-chen-blogsal-rgya-mtsho (1502-1567), who synthesized the teachings both of the above two sub-schools and of that strictly in the hands of hereditary Sa-skyapa hierarchy. Dalai III (1543-1588) was once the pupil of Tshar-chen. The center of this sub-school is the Yar-lun Monastery.

So much for the important Sa-skyapa masters and their seats of learning. We may now turn to the monastic activities as observed in the Sa-skyapa lamaseries in Hsi-kang.

(1) Five Stages of Study

Those who wish to undergo training to become Sa-skyapa lamas must have satisfied two prerequisites, *dal-ba* and *hbyor-ba*. *Dal-ba* refers to the state in which one is peaceful and happy, being religious-minded, enjoying physical and mental health, and being civil; while *hbyor-ba* refers to the happy circumstances, in which the above are given qualities and in which one is born when a Buddha is preaching or a lama is expounding his Doctrine to his hearing.

Having met the prerequisites, they must take refuge in the Buddha, in his Doctrine, and in the Holy Order. Thus declaring their faith in the Buddha, the aspirants put on monastic garments, joining one of the colleges in the monastery.

A curriculum of study is followed, beginning with the learning of the Tibetan alphabet, to be followed by writing, and the rituals of worship and propitiation of Yogini the Selfless Goddess (Rnal-hbyor-ma-bdag-med-ma), of the Sixteen Fearful Ones, and of the Guardian Protectors of the Faith.

Then they learn how to make images and figures of buttered dough of barley meal (gtor-ma). Next, the rituals of the Happy Thunderbolt (Rye-rdo-rje or Hevajra), of the Supreme Joyous One (Bde-mchog or Samvara), of the Fairy Mothers (Mkhah-hgro-ma or Dakini), and of the Wheel of Time (Dus-hkhor-lo or Kalacakra) are learned. Moreover, they must learn the proper ways of spending the time of retreat during the summer months.

When all these are accomplished, the aspirants will go to some erudite professor (mkhan-po) of a high rank who is deeply learned in philosophy and metaphysics (mtshan-nid), and the first initiation may be begged of him, namely that of the novice-monk (dge-tshul or Cramanera). This may be considered the first stage of study.

Having spent the three summer months devoted to meditation in retreat, the aspirants start out to visit various places of religious significance. At each holy spot they must express the pious wish of attaining spiritual liberation for the welfare of all sentient beings.

When on their way of pilgrimage they happen to sojourn to a monastery of the Sa-skyapa. Observing the rules of the place, they must present themselves to the learned heads of the monastic colleges or other dignitaries, in whose presence they take the vows of the Bodhisattva (Byan-chub-sems-pa), and to devote themselves in all ways to sacrificing entirely their own interests for the welfare, spiritual and material, of other beings. This is called the entering onto the Bodhisat Road, or the second stage of study.

Then the aspirants betake themselves to the Head Lama of the Sa-skyapa and to the learned lamas of the Nor Monastery, who are considered as so many manifestations of the Thunderbolt-Holder (Rdo-rje-hchan or Vajradhara). To them offerings are presented and from them are begged initiation into the doctrines and rituals of (a) the principal object of the greatly esoteric (gsan-chen-rdo-rje-the-g-pahi-yan-snin); (b) the way and the fruit of the deep teaching of the Sa-skyapa regarding the attainment of Buddhahood in one life and one body, without being reborn several times (dpal-ldan-sa-skyahi-chos-tshe-geig-lus-geig-la sans-rgyas-pahi-gdams-nag-lam-hbras).

After this, the triple foundation of mental construction must be comprehended. The ritual of worshipping the Happy Thunderbolt must be learned in order to be empowered by him. Next, come the three Tantras or esoteric treatises to be learned by heart. Then the art of creating the mental images of some deity (skyed-rim). This is one of the many forms of esoteric meditation, in which one identifies oneself with the deity, when it is *realized* that he who meditates and the deity on whom he meditates are not two but one. In order to acquire this art one must be initiated by means of:

a) initiation conferred by placing on the head a pot containing magnetized water of long life or immortality (bum-pahi-dban);

b) esoteric initiation (gsan-bahi-dban);

c) initiation in which mystic words are uttered (tshig-gi-dban); and

d) initiation which is the result of knowledge and wisdom (ces-rab-ye-ces-kyi-dban).

Having practiced all the above and abode by them, one is now dwelling in esoteric vows and is called "a dweller in the esoteric lore." This is the third stage of study.

Then standing in the middle of five or ten fully ordained monks (dge-slons or Bhiksu), the students make obeisance to the college heads and take three kinds of vows of monkhood, which are:

(a) the ordinary vows of primitive monastic order aiming

at one's own spiritual liberation (so-sor-thar-pa);

(b) the vows of the Bodhisattva aiming at being instrumental in the liberation of all sentient beings (byan-chub-sems-pahi-sdom-pa); and

(c) the esoteric vows (gsan-snags-kyi-sdom-pa). Having learned and practiced the 253 rules of monastic law (hdul-ba), the aspirants have reached the fourth stage of study. They are fully ordained monks.

Next, one will receive the initiation into the seven mystic diagrams (dkyil-hkhor or Mandala) on the model of the Nor Monastery. The initiation into the rites of the Protector (Mgon-po or Mahakala), the Fearful Thunderbolt (Hjigs-byed or Bhairava) and others must be conferred on him. So also the initiation of the Supreme Joyous One (Bde-mchog or Samvara) according to the Kalacakra or Wheel-of-Time system. Moreover, one must practice the ways of chanting the sacred books in the choir; the ways of drawing symbolic gestures with one's hands in the air; and the ways of dancing ritualistic dances (Sacred Dances). The aspirant also learns the fundamental practices of the mystic ascetic who lives in a house (monastic or otherwise) without being a hermit. He is called in this case "a house-dwelling Yogi" (khyim-rnal-hbyor-pa). Then he is said to have reached the fifth stage of study. He may become a "diamond teacher" (Rdo-rje-slob-dpon or Vajraguru), a dignitary of a monastery to be charged with the duty of enforcing monastic discipline.

(2) Five Academic Degrees

First, the candidate must study to become a lama well versed in the five sciences.⁴² He learns the technical language and phraseology (brda-nag) of these sciences. Then he learns the commentaries on the monastic rules and philosophy, especially the *Doctrine of the Mean* (dbu-ma or Madhyamaka) by Nagarjuna (Klu-sgrub). Next, he studies the literal and grammatical meaning of words and tries to engage himself in the practice of debate. Having achieved all these, he is called by the title of Bkah-bzi-pa, or one who has observed the four

commands. He has thus acquired the first degree.

Secondly, above the Bkah-bzi-pa is one who is well versed in logic (tshad-ma) and capable of demonstrating the errors in a controversy. He can also investigate his own nature and that of external objects, being able to discern which characteristics exist and which do not. He is called a Bkah-lna-pa, or one who has observed the five commands. So he has obtained the second degree.

Thirdly, above the Bkah-lna-pa is the Bkah-bcu-pa, or one who keeps the ten commands. Although all the fully ordained monks have to observe these ten commands and although these commands are not exactly the same in the Southern School of Buddhism as compared with the Northern School (such as in Tibet), the Tibetans give the title of Bkah-bcu-pa only to the learned lamas who have passed the preliminary examinations of higher studies. While a fully ordained monk of the Southern School as in Ceylon, Burma, and so forth is forbidden to own and to touch money, their Tibetan brethren are at liberty in such matters. A Bkan-bcu-pa is considered to have acquired the third degree.

Fourthly, next in ascending order is the Rab-hbyams-pa, or one who has mastered first the fifteen works (gzun) on metaphysics and philosophy and moreover the eighteen works still more important. This title is equivalent to the Ph.D. in the West, with the difference that in the West the Ph.D. recipients are not necessarily proficient in philosophy while their Tibetan counterparts are. A Rab-hbyams-pa is the fourth degree.

Fifthly, the highest honor is the title of Panchen or "the great savant." Its title presupposes that the candidate has been qualified in the art of healing, in grammar and logic, in the esoteric meaning of the five divisions of the Buddhist scripture, in poetry, in elegant writing, and in the five kinds of astronomy and astrology. A Panchen is the fifth degree. The very pattern of such a learned one is Sa-skyapan-chen or Kundgah-rgyal-mtshan, the fourth of the five especially celebrated masters of the Sa-skyapa.

(3) Five Ritualistic Practices to Attain One's Own Psycho-physical Development

The two activities outlined above are concerned with moral discipline and intellectual development. Next in order comes the serious business of spiritual perfection, a single process of psycho-physical development.

First, having mastered the books on discipline and philosophy and having received religious instruction and direction, one rejects from one's mind the dichotomy between things objective, existing outside the mind, and things subjective, born of one's own consciousness. One must realize that (a) the thinker or the doer, (b) the thing which is thought about or the thing which is done, and (c) the thinking or the act of doing are noumenally one, only phenomenally appearing to be three. To reject one (the dichotomy) and realize the other (oneness) is done in meditation. One who is able to meditate so is called a Bsam-gtan-pa, having reached the first attainment.

Secondly, the religious practice enables one, on the one hand, to figure freely the mental images of some deity, on whom one meditates and with whom one identifies oneself, and, on the other, to complete the accomplishment; both through realization. Hence one is said to have *realized* (nams-rtogs) the two processes (rim-pa-gnis) of *creating* and *accomplishing* mental images. In this way one has become a "realizing ascetic" (nams-rtogs-dan-ldan-pahi-rnal-hbyor-pa), which is the second attainment.

Thirdly, the next attainment is equivalent to the first of "the ten stages of saintly perfection on the Bodhisat Road,"⁴³ and with such an attainment one is called a Lesser Accomplisher (grub-chen-chun-nu). This is the third attainment, following "the seeing road" (mthon-lam).

Fourthly, by acquiring successfully, in ascending order, the different kinds of wisdom attached to these stages of perfection from the second to the eighth, one becomes a Medium Accomplisher (grub-chen-hbrin-pa). This is the fourth attainment, being "immovable."

Fifthly, climbing from the eighth to the tenth of these

stages of perfection and over, one acquires the wisdom of the Buddha. Hence Buddhahood. This is the final attainment, and he who is in possession of this is called a Great Accomplisher (grub-chen-chan-po).

(4) Ten Rules Regarding Worship

Following the pattern of the monastic rules of Nalanda (Na-len-dra), a famous seat of learning in India, as set forth by Vasubandu (Dbyig-gnen) about 900 years after Buddha Sakyamuni, the Sa-skyapa monks worship through the means of (a) writing or copying the holy texts of the Doctrine, (b) honoring the Doctrine, (c) communicating the Doctrine to others, (d) listening to the Doctrine expounded by others, (e) reading the Doctrine, (f) studying the Doctrine by rote, accepting what is taught therein, (g) preaching the Doctrine, (h) reciting the Doctrine, (i) thinking about the Doctrine, and (j) meditating on the Doctrine.

Through the effect of these ten forms of worship and the discipline of the three kinds of vows,⁴⁴ one becomes careful to keep away from those harmful things. Five are especially mentioned in the Monastic Laws (hdul-ba) as bad actions resulting in bad effects, material or moral: killing; telling lies, such as boasting that one has seen gods or demons; sexual intercourse, namely illegal contact in case of laymen who are married, or in any form if one is an ordained lama; stealing; and drinking any fermented, intoxicating beverage, or using any harmful drug, such as opium and the like. If a monk commits any of these acts, he is transgressing the rules of discipline and is rejecting the respect⁴⁵ for the Doctrine.

When such transgression is known, the monastery bell must be sounded to gather together the congregation and the culprit is expelled from the holy order. It was said by the Buddha that such a one is like a broken pot or like the *palmyra* tree, of which the head has been cut off. It will never grow again.

The monk must always dwell in the monastery. He must not quarrel with his brethren. He is expected to devote his time and energy to the recitation of the holy scriptures and

to his own purification.

(5) Five Ways of Daily Observances

First, there is the summer period of retreat, lasting for two and a half months. According to the lunar calendar, it begins on the fourteenth day of the fifth moon. According to the modern calendar, it begins roughly on the fourteenth of June. During the period of retreat the monk does not go outside the boundary of the place in which the time of retreat is to be spent. He listens to the religious lectures delivered by his seniors. He himself may also preach the Doctrine to the laity. But this practice of preaching to laymen is recorded in the books rather than carried out in Tibet; whereas in Ceylon and Burma common folks are said to repair to the monasteries during this period to hear the monks preach.

Tibetan seasons of the year are divided differently from that of interior China because of high altitude and consequently long winter. There are two summer months, two autumn months, three months of the first part of the winter, two months of the second part of the winter, and three spring months. The period of retreat covers the summer months between spring and autumn. When observed in India, it was a necessity during the rainy season. With the Tibetans, it is an enjoyable recreation, for it is the best season of the year, like the spring in temperate zones.

Secondly, on the fifteenth of each month the fifteenth-day *Uposadha* (gso-sbyon) or "the cleansing of sin by making confession" is kept. So also for the last day of the month, the thirtieth-day or the twenty-ninth-day *Uposadha*. This term comes from the Pali texts of early Buddhism. On such a day at that time the monks assembled and the monastic laws for individual liberation (so-sor-thar-pa) were read aloud. After reading each section, mentioning the faults which a monk must not commit, the president of the assembly would ask, "Oh, brothers, are you pure of such faults?" If a monk had committed one of them, he had to confess it publicly and he would be told the penance which the rule prescribed for that fault. If all the monks remained silent, the president

would declare: "The brothers are silent. I understand they are pure." The reading would continue. This is still done in Ceylon and Burma. But the Tibetan monks today only chant the rules. Most of those engaged in chanting do not understand the meaning of the rules. As for the confession, it is never done.

Thirdly, three months each year must be spent by the high-ranking professors of the big monasteries in teaching various subjects to their pupils. The following books constitute the subject matter:

1) *Hdul-ba* or *Vinaya*, works on discipline aiming at taming the animal nature of man;

2) *So-sor-tharpa* or *Pratimoksa*, works on liberation for oneself from the round of births and deaths;

3) *Ga-ya-mgohi-ga-rihi-mdo* or *Gayasirsa-sutra*, one of the many Mahayanist discourses ascribed to Buddha Sakyamuni as delivered on the mountain Ga-ya-mgohi-ri;

4) *Spyod-hjug* or *Bodhisattva-caryavatara*, entrance to the Bodhisat practice, namely the third stage of mystic training, which includes (a) examining or seeing (*lta-ba* or *darsana*), (b) pondering upon (*bsgom-pa* or *bhavana*), and (c) accomplishing (*spyod-pa* or *carana*);

5) *Dbu-ma* or *Madhyama*, works on the doctrine of the Mean or the middle way, expounded by Nagarjuna;

6) *Byams-chos* or *Maitridharma*, a collection of discourses which are said to have been delivered by Buddha Sakyamuni in another world;

7) *Mdo-sde* or *Sutra*, a collection of discourses ascribed to the Buddha, with stories regarding the places and circumstances in which these discourses were delivered;

8. *Chos-nid-rnam-hbyed* or *Dharmata-vibhanga*, treatise on the nature of things in themselves;

9) *Dbu-mthar-rnam-hyed* or *Madhyanta-vibhanga*, treatise on the middle and extreme;

10) *Mnon-mdzod* or *Abhisamaya*, short form for *Abhidharma-kosa*, the most important Hinayanist treatise by Vasubandhu (*Dbyig-gnen*) on "the store of reality";

11) *Mnon-pa-kun-bstus* or *Abhidharma-samuocaya*, a collec-

tion of abridged texts of the Abhidharma;

12) *Bzi-brgya-pa* or *Catuh-sataka-sastra-karika*, a work on the Mean in 400 verses;

13) *Dbu-ma-rin-po-chehi-phren-ba* or *Madhyamaka-ratna-mala*, “garland of the precious philosophy of the Mean”;

14) *Sa-pan-sdom-gsum* or *Tri-samvara*, “the three vows by Sa-pan”;

15) *Tshad-ma-rig-gter* or *Pramana-vidya-kosa*, a “treasure of knowledge in logic”;

16) *Tshad-ma-mdo* or *Pramana-sutra*, a discourse on logic;

17) *Tshad-ma-rnam-hgrel* or *Pramana-vrtti*, a commentary on logic;

18) *Rgyud-sde* or the class of the main Tantras;

19) *Skar-rtsi* or *Jyotisa*, astrology;

20) *Sdeb-sbyor* or *Chandas*, verse-writing;

21) *Mnon-brjod* or *Abhidhana*, meaning of words;

22) *Snan-nag* or *Kavya*, poetry-writing;

23) *Tshig-rgyan* or *Alamkara*, elegant language;

24) *Gnas-chun-lna* or *Panea-raksa*, “the five protectors of the faith in the small house”;⁴⁶

25) *Sgra-tshad-ma* or *Sabda-pramana*, works on grammar and logic.

In addition to the above, the student must also study some craft (bzo) and the art of healing (gso). Those who are versed in these things should teach others.

Fourthly, the fourteenth day of the ninth moon is the anniversary of Sachen’s death. It is a solemn time. Seven days are devoted to the performance of various rituals. The work of sending away the inimical interferences is done by the monks, who for two days perform Sacred Dances.

Fifthly, on the eighth day of the eleventh moon the sun is supposed to be devoured by the Lord of Death (Gcin-rje or Yama). Life or Light is in danger of being destroyed by Death or Darkness. So the lamas propitiate the Fearful Thunderbolt (Rdo-rje-hjigs-byed or Bhairava) to conquer the Lord of Death. The Fearful Thunderbolt is the angry form of the God of Wisdom (Mjam-dbyans or Manjughosa), taking

on the terrifying shape of the Lord of Death in order to destroy him. Furthermore, the Fearful Thunderbolt symbolizes the universal process of creation and destruction continually following each other. In comparison with this process, individual death is simply trivial and insignificant. As Death is the result of Darkness and as Darkness that of Ignorance, the natural antidote to Death, Darkness, or Ignorance is of course Life, Light, or Wisdom. This Buddhist deity represents one of the aspects of the Hindu deity Siva, a personification of production and destruction.

Sixthly, the twelfth moon being the last month of the year, the lamas devote nine days to the performance of rituals in honor of the sixty Protectors (mgon-po-drug-bcu).

Seventhly, on the third of the first moon the Happy Thunderbolt (Kye-rdo-rje or Hevajra) is propitiated. Mystic diagrams (dkyil-hkhor or Mandala) are drawn in accordance with the pattern prevalent in the Nor Monastery. These diagrams, like others in such occasions in Tibetan monasteries, are drawn with powder pulverized from colored minerals, contained in and dripped out of a pointed cylinder according to lines previously marked on a square box. Like the "dry painting" of the American Indians, they are not preserved after their purpose has been served, in this case as the residence of a particular deity. While the Happy Thunderbolt is worshipped, the following deities are also worshipped in this connection:

Mgon-po-gur, one manifestation of Mahakala the Protector;

The Supreme Joyous One (Bde-mchog or Samvara), a Buddha;

The Immovable Thunderbolt in Meditation (Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje or Aksobhyavajra), a Buddha;

Bodhisattva (Byan-chub-sems-pa);

The Mystic Lord (Hjam-pahi-rdo-rje or Guhyasamaja-manjuvajra or simply Gsan-hdus), a Buddha;

The Thunderbolt Realm (Rdo-rje-dbyins or Vajradhatu as a Buddha; or Rdo-rje-dbyins-kyi-dban-phyug-ma or Vajradhatu-isvari as consort of Manjusri and protectress of the scholars).

The performance of these rites last for seven days. On the tenth day of the same month, propitiating rites are performed for the Immovable Buddha (Mi-hkhrugs-pa or Aksobhya), the Goddess of Complete Victory (Rnam-rgyal-ma or Vijayasadhana), and the Buddha of Infinite Life (Tshe-dpag-med or Amitayus).

Then another day follows for the propitiation of the Protector of the Three Kingdoms (Rigs-gsum-mgon-po), namely the kingdom of gods, the kingdom of men, and the kingdom of snake genii (Nagas); of the God of Mercy (Spyan-ras-gzigs or Avalokitesvara); of the God of Power (Phyag-na-rdo-rje or Vajrapani); and of the God of Wisdom (Hjam-dpal-dbyans or Man-jughosa).

For seven days following the above, propitiation rites are performed for: the Red Lord of Death (Gcin-rje-dmar-po or Rakta-Yamari); the Black Lord of Death (Gcin-rje-nag-po or Krsna-yamari); and the Fearful Thunderbolt. The Lord of Death is but one, but appearing in two different aspects. The black one signifies "frightful" and "terrible," while the red is rather "benign."

Following these there is one day spent in propitiating the Protector of the Doctrine Itself (Mgon-po-chos-nid).

(6) Annual Festivities at the Sa-skyapa Monastery of Sde-dge

Sde-dge-dgon-chen is a monastery situated east of Chinsha River, Hsi-kang. Therein is a very large printing establishment, installing more than 200,000 wooden blocks of Tibetan books and images. The monks there go to the Nor Monastery for further studies. But the public festivities observed are also modified by the influence of the Tshar-pa, a sister sub-school of the Nor-pa.

On the 1st day of the first moon there is a Sacred Dance, The Lesser Pike, representing the two Diamond Pikes (Rdo-rje-phur-pa) with seven followers.

On the 28th and 29th days of the same month the second Sacred Dance is called The Great Pike, representing two Diamond Pikes with forty-eight followers.

On the 28th day of the second moon Mahakala as the Protector of House or Tent (Mgon-po-gur or Gur-gyi-mgon-po) is represented after the model of the Tshar-pa. This deity is also known as the Big Black Youth (Gzon-nu-nag-po) because of his capacity to remain immortal. Mythologically, he was the younger of two brothers. On the death of his father, he was afraid that his elder brother should disinherit him. So he cut his brother's head off and fixed their father's elephant-head on his neck. At the same time he took this oath, "Unless I become old, this head should not be changed." It is also said that this Protector is a manifestation of the Happy Thunderbolt. As the latter is a manifestation of the Buddha, the Protector is indeed the equivalent of the Buddha himself.

On the 15th day of the third moon the anniversary of the Buddha's death is commemorated. First, the place is consecrated. Then a Sacred Dance is staged, and the ceremony for the Wheel of Time (Dus-kyi-hkhor-lo or Kalacakra) is observed for thirteen days.

On the 1st day of the seventh moon stories of the different births of the Buddha are staged in dramatic performances.

On the 28th and 29th days of the ninth moon Mahakala as the Protector of House is again celebrated after an indigenous tradition. Forty-five of his followers or attendants are represented.

On the Winter Solstice in the eleventh moon the Fearful Thunderbolt and his ten attendants are represented in Sacred Dances. The 14th day of the same month is also a memorial day for Sa-pan, when the ceremony of the Sea of the Skygoers is observed for seven days.

On the 28th day of the twelfth moon there is the New Year celebration. The Fearful Thunderbolt and his forty-five attendants are represented in Sacred Dances during the day and there is a great deal of gun-firing in the morning and evening.

The annual cycle outlined above is not only true at Sde-dge, but is said to be true of the twelve big Sa-skyapa monasteries elsewhere. Smaller lamaseries may not be able to per-

form the activities completely or even partially. It should be pointed out also that the dates observed by the Sa-skyapa may or may not correspond with those observed by other schools.

Now, after thus summarizing the monastic activities of this school we may like to hear in direct quotation what our principal friend-informant, Lama Ye-ces-bstan-hdzin, had to say as a final remark. "By definition," he said, "Buddhism is meant for the welfare of all beings. But nowadays few stick to the rules as they ought to. The world at large is putting a premium on verbalism, formalism, and appearances. Not a few of the monks have become commercialized, competing with one another on the market for vainglory, grudge, jealousy, and ignorance. It is said in the *Tantras of the Happy Thunderbolt* that to boast about oneself at the expense of others gives rise to selfish cliques. For one who has taken the vows of the Bodhisattvas, to abuse the Doctrine in this way is committing black crimes. Even though you may not have been successful or even though you may have remained poor, your aiming at enlightenment has already put you on the right track, provided that you are not talkative."

Chapter VI

BKAH-BRGYUD-PA: ANOTHER SEMI-REFORMED SCHOOL

Originating somewhat earlier, but gaining temporal power much later than the Sa-skyapa, the Bkha-brgyud-pa semi-reformed school of Tibetan Buddhism is better known for its ascetic life. Concerning the name of this school, the books of its Bhutanese followers⁴⁷ have it that in the early days Marpa (1012-1097), Mi-la (1040-1123) and their lineal disciples wore white robes and that for this reason they were called the "White Ones" from the word *dkar*, meaning "white."

The white robe was in ancient Tibet the distinctive garb of the Yogi ascetics, especially those who were adepts in the art of generating internal heat (gtum-mo) and in the practice of other kinds of Tantric Yoga after the fashion of the Indians. It is most likely that Mi-la,⁴⁸ the celebrated disciple of Mar-pa, wore a white cotton robe (cam-thabs). His surname Ras-pa, which means "the cotton-clad," classifies him among those ascetics called *ras-rkyan*, who wore "only cotton," namely clad in thin white cotton, and who practiced the art of generating internal heat.

Be this as it may, the word *dkar*, meaning "white," has been dropped in favor of *bkah*, which means "word," "utterance," "pronouncement," and also "command." As *brgyud* means "line" or "succession," the combination *Bkah-brgyud* means the *line* or *succession* of those who transmitted the *words* or teachings of the Masters, *-pa* being the usual word-ending previously mentioned.

Who were the Masters? Those, some will say, who transmitted the teachings of the Buddha, which had never been committed to writing and which were passed orally from Masters to disciples. But many a *Bkah-brgyud-pa* will ascribe to mystic beings the first communication of these teachings of the Buddha to a human aspirant. For instance, the Thunderbolt-Holder (Rdo-rje-hchan or Vajradhara), a contemplative Bodhisattva, is said to have revealed the esoteric teachings to Tilo, who transmitted them to Naropa, who in turn instructed Mar-pa. For the Thunderbolt-Holder is otherwise known as the Conqueror or King of esoteric words or doctrine (Gsan-snaga-rgyal). Similarly, any of the Mother Fairies (Mkhah-hgro-ma or Dakini) may be said to have been responsible for this sort of communication.

Whatever the manner of communication, there are in fact two original lines of the *Bkah-brgyud-pa*, and both have branched out into several sub-schools and sub-sub-schools. The first transmitted the various doctrines which the Mother Fairies (those who travel in the sky) imparted to Khyun-po (1002-1064).⁴⁹ The second, the teachings which Tilo

(Tilopa), a Bengali ascetic about 975 A.D. received from the Thunderbolt-Holder and which he passed to Naro (Naropa), janitor of the famous Indian monastery Nalanda, who died about 1039. From the latter the teachings were handed to his Tibetan disciple Mar-pa (1012-1096).

The line of Khyun-po is known as Cans-pa-bkah-brgyud, while that of Mar-pa as Dwags-po-bkah-brgyud. But the latter is more influential.

(1) The Line of Cans-pa-bkah-brgyud

Khyun-po in his youth studied the doctrine of the indigenous belief of Tibet, Bon. Being dissatisfied with it, he went to a master called Suwasid-dhi, the wonder-worker and translator. This master initiated him into the doctrine of Great Perfection (rdzogs-chen), characteristic of the Rnin-ma-pa. It is the Ati-anuttara Yoga of India, "the beyond all, supreme Yoga."

Khyun-po went several times to India. For fifty years he wandered across India, Nepal and Tibet, and successfully studied under 150 teachers. Of these teachers, six influenced him above all. Four taught him the Lesser Vehicle and two the esoteric doctrines, which by necessity had to be of the Great Vehicle.

The four Lesser Vehicle teachers were Rdo-rje-gdan-pa-chen-po, Sbas-pahi-rnal-hgyor-pa, Maitripa and Rahula. The two who taught him esoteric doctrines (thun-mon-ma-yin-pahi-chos), to be understood only by the Bodhisattvas but not comprehensible to the followers of the Lesser Vehicle, were Wisdom Dakini Niguma (Ye-ces-mkhah-hgro-ma-ni-gu-ma) and Swasiddhi. Niguma was the mystic wife of Naropa. But it is to be borne in mind that the Dakinis are not human women, but fairies, and that some of them, being compelled by the mystic power of Yogis, become willingly their wives. As such wives, they teach their human husbands or Tantric Yogis the mysteries of esoteric doctrines. Niguma's body was only half material, being subtle and as imponderable as the rainbow (hjah-lus).

She was, so far as the story goes, in an assembly of her

kind, presided over by their chief, when Khyun-po met her. She initiated him into the ways of acquiring an immaterial or phantomal body, the art of projecting multiple appearances of himself (skya-lus). She also taught him, among other things, the deep essence of the Six Doctrines of Naropa.

On his return to Tibet Khyun-po went to Glan-ri-than-pa, which seems to be a district somewhere in the region of modern Chinese Turkestan, and where at that time Tantric Buddhism flourished. There he became an adept in the art of propitiating the deities (bsnen-pa).

When he was later staying on the mountain somewhere north of Lhasa in the district of Hphan-yul, he was initiated into the Five Tantras and was taught the doctrines connected with all the Protectors (mgon-po) by the lama Rahula Gupta-bdza, who had been there to carry on the service of religion (chos-sgo-skyel-du), i.e., to preach and perform rites.

As a Dakini had prophesied, Khyun-po went to Upper Cans in Gtan. He remained there for three years (1061-1063) and built 108 monasteries.⁵⁰ Thus, his line of followers became known as Cans-pa-bkah-brgyud.

Khyun-po, during his lifetime, gathered around him 80,000 monk-followers and he preached for thirty years for the good of humanity. Contrary to documentary evidence, he was said to have lived 150 years. Many miracles were ascribed to him. For example, he was said to be able to multiply his body into 128 forms, which would again merge into one. He could also pass through rocks and hills. Once he remained seated in a bottle for seven days, his body having shrunk to a diminutive size. On another occasion, he was seated in mid-air and discoursed on his doctrine in that position.

Among his countless disciples, the most celebrated are called "the seven precious treasures of lineage": Rmogl-cog-pa-brtson-hgrus, Cans-sgom-chos-sen-go, Smehuston, Gyar-po-rgya-mo-che, Rdul-ston-rin-dban, La-stod-dkon-mchog-mkhar, and Sans-rgyas-ston-pa. A disciple of the last, Ahi-sen-ge, became the head of the school.

The famous Bsam-ldin Monastery was established by Cans-

ston-gyi-hjag and Mkhas-btsun-gzon-nu-grub of this school. It is situated on the shore of Yar-hbrog Lake⁵¹ in southern Tibet. It is the seat of the Lady Lama Rdo-rje-phag-mo or Diamond Sow (Vajravahā), an incarnation of the consort of the Tutelary Bde-mchog (Samvara) or the Supreme Joyous One. Waddell⁵² listed three shrines of this goddess. But there is another seat of such a Lady Living Buddha near Bla-bran in A-mdo on the Kan-su-Tibetan border. Moreover, Bsam-ldin is not of the Rnin-ma-pa as mentioned by Waddell. It is of the Bkah-brgyud-pa following Khyun-po.

To return to our story, Cans-pa-bkah-brgyud developed by this time two sub-schools: the followers of Bsam or Bsam-ldin; and those of Hjag, from Cans-ston-gyi-hjag or Hjag-chen-byams-pa-dpal. For Hjag-chen was the disciple of Rgyal-mtshan-hbum, who was Cans-ston-gyi-hjag's disciple.

Tson-kha-pa (1357-1419), founder of the Dge-luga-pa or Established School, once studied the doctrine of the Cans-pa-bkah-brgyud. Mkhas-grub (1385-1438), one of his foremost disciples, who later became Pan-chen the First of Bkra-cis-lhun-po, studied under a lama belonging to the Hjag subsect of the Cans-pa-bkah-brgyud-pa.

Another lama of the Cans-pa-bkah-brgyud-pa, whose name was Pha-rgo-kun-dgah-bzan-po, built the monastery of Rtan-nag-rdo-rje-gdan in Gtsan to the north of Bkra-cis-lhun-po. His pupil's pupil was Dge-hdun-rgya-mtsho, Dalai the Second (1475-1542), whose later incarnations became rulers of the Dge-lugs-pa, with temporal power over Tibet.

The Cans-pa-bkah-brgyud-pa seem to have had a large number of followers, but their influence remained mostly within the confines of Gtsan. Moreover, Khyun-po wrote but few works, and for this reason little is known of the doctrine upheld by him.

(2) The Line of Dwags-po-bkah-brgyud

This line is much more powerful and its sphere of influence in Hsi-kang is strong. In spite of the fact that Mar-pa the Translator (Mar-pa-chos-kyi-blo-gros-lo-tsa, 1012-1096) of

Lho-brag in southern Tibet was the founder of this line, the school name is after Dwags-po (1079-1153), who was the disciple of Mar-pa's disciple Mi-la-ras-pa (1040-1123). It may be noted in this connection that the school name of the Cans-pa-bkah-brgyud came not from its founder Khyun-po.

It is said that Mar-pa was first taught by Hbrog-mi (993-1078), who was also the teacher of Hkhon-ston-dkon-mchog-rgyal-po, founder of the Sa-skya-pa. But we may also understand that Mar-pa's first teacher was a lama living in a tent amongst his cattle, for Hbrog-mi means a herdsman. Or this master may have been a native of the district of Yar-hbrog, literally "upper grassland."

Be this as it may, Mar-pa's followers to the present day hold the belief that he received revelation from the Thunderbolt-Holder. As a matter of fact, Mar-pa went to India three times. There he studied with the celebrated Naropa, janitor of the Nalanda Monastery. Before his conversion to Buddhism Naropa had been the chaplain and spiritual master of the king of Kashmir. Under circumstances which it is needless to relate here, Naropa was told by a Mother Fairy that he should go to a Bengali ascetic, Tilo, to beg initiation, which he did.

Consequently, the Bkah-brgyud-pa of Mar-pa's line continues to chant in their monasteries in praise of the names of their spiritual ancestry: "Tilopa, Naropa, Mar-pa, Mi-la-ras-pa."

Besides Naropa, who remained all his life Mar-pa's spiritual guide, Mar-pa studied under many other masters, the most notable of whom were Maitripa, Dpal-ye-ces-snin-po and Grub-chen-zi-bsa-bzan-po. All these were followers of the Tantric school of later Buddhism in India. Thus Mar-pa became an adept in the mystic lore and rituals such as those of the Rdo-rje-theg-pa or Diamond Vehicle (esoteric Buddhism), those of the Great Hand-seal (Phyag-rgya-chen-po or Mahamudra), and others which he studied, practiced and perfectly mastered one after another.

On his return to Tibet Mar-pa gathered together around him a large number of disciples. The most noted among

them were the "four pillars": Rno-ston-chos-sku-rdo-rje, Mtshur-ston-dban, Mes-ston-tshon-po, and Mi-la-ras-pa. To the first three Mar-pa entrusted the care of preaching. They and their lineal disciples were to teach (a) the various esoteric doctrines, (b) the Four Noble Truths,⁵³ (c) the Great Illusion (Mahamaya), an idealistic philosophy, and (d) the inner meaning of the rites of the Happy Thunderbolt (Kye-rdo-rje or Hevajra).

As for Mi-la-ras-pa, Mar-pa initiated him into various methods of meditation and enjoined him to lead the life of a contemplative anchorite. Previous to his joining Mar-pa, Mi-la-ras-pa had studied black magic and killed a great number of his relatives, who were partisans to his paternal uncle who had deprived him, his sister and his mother of their property, the care of which had been entrusted to the uncle as guardian by Mi-la-ras-pa's father before his death. But having committed the crime, Mi-la-ras-pa became repentant and begged Mar-pa to lead him to the path of salvation right in the present life. As a measure of character-building, Mar-pa gave him many a painful task to perform before any formal teaching was allowed him concerning the doctrine. His biography and the 100,000 songs (glu-hbum) are reflections of his ordeal, perfection and sublime thoughts. They are still the most popular literature in the Tibetan-speaking world.

In spite of the fact that he lived largely in caves on solitary snow-clad mountains, Mi-la-ras-pa was able to attract a great number of pupils. Most of them, like himself, were *Ras-rkyans*, wearing single cotton robes. Two of his disciples stood out most prominently, the "sun-like" (nin-ma-lta-bu) Dwags-po the Physician, and the "moon-like" (zla-ba-lta-bu) Ras-chun-pa.

Ras-chun-pa (1083-1161) went to India twice. There for the first time he studied under a master called Balacandra, by whom he was initiated into the cult of the wrathful (gtum-po) God of Power (Phyag-rdor or Vajrapani). On his return to Mi-la-ras-pa he was told: "There exist in India nine different doctrines regarding the immaterial (lus-med or bodiless) Mother Fairies. My master Mar-pa was conversant

with five of them, but he had not obtained the other four. Go and get them." Ras-chun-pa then went back to India, where he was able to see Tiphupa, a direct disciple of both Naropa and Maitripa. He requested the doctrine which Mi-la-ras-pa wanted to know. These were explained to him, and from other teachers he learned other doctrines. Returning to Tibet he transmitted all of them to Mi-la-ras-pa.

Mi-la-ras-pa in turn transmitted them to Nam-rdzon-ston-pa, who wrote several treatises to comment on them. The lineage thus started is known as "the line of hearers regarding the Supreme Joyous One" (Bde-mchog-snan-brgyud). The school which followed Ras-chun-pa in the doctrines he had learned from Mi-la-ras-pa and other masters is known as "the line of hearers" following Ras-chun-pa." The expression "the line of hearers" was derived from the fact that the teaching was imparted orally from master to disciple.

(A) The Direct Line of Dwags-po Dwags-po the Physician (Lha-rje) was popularly known as Sgam-po-ba (1079-1153). Because he had the monastery of Sgam-po built in Dwags-po and because during his youth he studied medicine, such popular designations became better known than his personal name. Furthermore, the Tibetans believe that he was a reincarnation of Zla-hod-gzon-nu or Candraprabha-Kumara, at whose request Sakyamuni is said to have uttered the Sutra entitled *The King of Meditation* (Tin-ne-hdzin-rgyal-po-mdo or Samadhiraja Sutra), so that he was also known as Dwags-po-zla-hod-gzon-nu.

Already a renowned physician as a young man, Dwags-po's sorrow at the death of his dear wife at the age of twenty-five was so great that he turned to religion. He became a monk at the age of twenty-six and studied with teachers of the Bkah-gdams-pa,⁵⁴ originally founded by Atica (982-1057), who came from India to Tibet in 1042 and who was the forerunner of Tson-kha-pa, founder of the Dge-lugs-pa. Then it happened that at the age of thirty-two Dwags-po heard of Mi-la-ras-pa. At the very sound of the latter's name, he felt irresistibly attracted toward him.

He hastened to Brin in Gtsan to see Mi-la-ras-pa, who immediately recognized his superior talent and expounded to him his complete doctrine. Dwags-po meditated on this and in six months' time (or thirteen months according to other traditions) he perfectly mastered its inner meaning. Then in accordance with Mi-la-ras-pa's instruction he went back to Dbus, where he established the monastery in Dwags-po.

As he first studied the doctrines of the Bkah-gdams-pa, Dwags-po devised a new doctrine which was a mixture of the Bkah-gdams-pa and the system of the Great Hand-seal (phyag-rgya-chen-po or Mahamudra). The latter had been expounded by Mi-la-ras-pa. Dwags-po wrote a book on the *Graded Course to Salvation* (lam-rim-thar-rgyan). This line, following the mixed methods and theories, was later, transmitted successfully to the reincarnations of Tshul-khrims-snin-po, of Dbon-sgom, whose seat is the original monastery of Dwags-po.

Brtsen-hgrags-pa (1123-1194), a pupil of Tshul-khrims-snin-po, established respectively in 1175 and 1187 the monasteries of Tshal and Gun-than. His lineage became known as Tshal-pa-bkah-brgyud-pa, as a sub-sect of Dwags-po-bkah-brgyud-pa. It had both ecclesiastic and temporal powers.

(B) Karma-bkah-brgyud Karma-dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa (1110-1193) of Hsi-kang was a celebrated disciple of Dwags-po. By the age of sixteen he entered the religious order under a lama from the district of Tri-po-mchog. Then from a disciple of Atica by the name of Yol-chos-dban and from others he learned the doctrine of Bkah-brgyud-pa. At about the age of twenty, he went to Stod-lun of Dbus to study with Lama Rgya-dmar-pa and Phywa-ba-chos-kyi-sen-ge, who taught him the doctrine of loving kindness of the Coming Buddha (Byams-pa or Maitreya), the doctrine of the Mean of Nagarjuna, and logic. With Car-pa he studied the *Graded Course* (lam-rim) of the Bkah-gdams-pa, and further pursued the study of the doctrine of the mean with Pa-tshwa-ba. Mal-hdul-hdzin taught him the rules of monastic discipline (hdul-ba) and initiated him into full monkhood.

When he was thirty-three years old he met Dwags-po, who solved for him all the difficulties and perplexities which he had experienced in his studies. He also became acquainted with Ras-chun-pa, and used to repair each year to the latter's hermitage and spend some time with him. In this way he learned the Six Doctrines of Naropa (Naro-chos-drug) and other doctrines of him and Maitreya. Moreover, he learned from various other lamas, meditated successively in several hermitages and became highly enlightened. He returned to Hsi-kang when he was fifty years old, and gathered around him more than one thousand pupils.

Then he went again to Tibet and established the monasteries of Karma Lha-stin and Mtshur-phu (1159). Thus his followers became known as Karma-pas. From Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa to his sixteenth incarnation, lower and middle seats of authority of this school were first respectively Kam-po-gan-ra and Rihu-bo-che Karma-dgon, with Stod-lun-mtshur-phu of Tibet as the upper. But gradually the last has become the most important seat of authority for this school.

(a) The Black-hat Sub-sect of Karma-bkah-brgyud

Karma Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa was accustomed to wearing of a black hat. According to the story of his disciples, that hat was presented to him by some Mother Fairies and had been made of the hair of thousands of them. Imitating him, his disciples also wore black hats. Thus they began to be known as "the Black-hatted Ones" (zwa-nag). By the time of Karma Pakzi (Mongolian term for the Tibetan *slob-dpon* or teacher), or Karma the Second (1204-1283), who set the example of reincarnated Grand Lamas,⁵⁵ a dignitary hat was presented to him by the Mongol Emperor. This hat happened also to be black in color, but trimmed with golden threads. This fact reinforced the usage of designating the monks of his branch of lineage as "the Black-hatted Ones." The influence of this branch in Mongolia and other parts of China was able to compete with the Sa-skyapa. Its reputation even reached as far as India. Its reincarnated Grand Lamas up to the present count more than fourteen in

succession. Karma the Third (1284-1339), whose name was Karma Ran-byun-rdo-rje, was the master of Rtogs-ldan-grags-pa, originator of the Red-hat sub-sect. Karma the Fourth or Rol-pahi-rdo-rje (1340-1383) initiated Tson-kha-pa into the vow to renounce the five cardinal sins.⁵⁶ The fifth incarnation, by the name of Karma De-bzin-gcegs-pa (1388-1415), a friend of Emperor Yung-lo (1403-1424), had a disciple by the name of Rma-se-blo-gros-rin-chen, who originated the institution of the Sacred Dance and established a seat of learning at Zur-mun.

(b) The Red-hat Sub-sect of Karma-bkah-brgyud

As in the case of the lineage of the Black-hatted lamas, the bestowing of a red hat by a Yuan Emperor on Rtogs-ldan-grags-pa (1283-1349) gave rise to the sub-sect called "the Red-hatted Ones" (zwa-dmar). The originator was a great erudite lama, learned in esoteric and exoteric Buddhism. Among his many disciples were some Indian pandits. His sixth incarnation, Chos-kyi-dban-phyug (1584-1635), had a disciple by the name of Karma Grags-med, who originated a sub-sect called Gnas-mdo-bkah-brgyud.

Both Zur-mun and Gnas-mdo were important seats of learning for the Karma-bkah-brgyud-pa. Of later establishments, five (Stod-lun-mtshur-phur, Karma-ri-glin, Kam-pe-gnas-nan, Spuns-rin together with Tre-ka-mkhrim, and Hbar-ra together with Grwa-ma-grub-zi) represent respectively body, speech, mind, merit, and deeds. Branch monasteries from these five spread all over Tibet and Hsi-kang. In Hsi-kang particularly, two monasteries of Karma-bkah-brgyud are the most famous: Dpal-spuns in the north and Mi-nag-gans-dkar in the south.

Dpal-spuns was founded in 1727 by Kun-mkhyen-chos-kyi-hbyun-gnas, Si-tu the Eighth, whose first incarnation was a Red-hatted lama having his seat at Rihu-che-karma-dgon, the middle seat of Karma-bkah-brgyud. The eighth incarnation having become the first at Dpal-spuns, his present incarnation is the fourth, or counting from Rihu-che, the eleventh.

While Dpal-spuns is situated in Sde-dge, Mi-nag-gans-

dkar is south of Kang-ting, the provincial capital of Hsi-kang. Gans-dkar means "white snow-mountain," which was considered by a famous anchorite some eight hundred years ago fit for a seat of learning and to be symbolic of the Supreme Joyous One (Bde-mchog or Samvara). The actual building of the monastery took place some six hundred years ago by the hands of Grags-pa-dpal when Karma the Fourth, Rol-pahi-rdo-rje (1340-1387) passed by the place and endowed it with an image of "Sakyamuni as a Prince." The present Living Buddha, who is lecturing all over China, is the fifth incarnation at the new monastery of Gans-dkar, which was built some three hundred years ago. His name is Karma-bcad-sgrub-chos-kyi-sen-ge. His first incarnation was Karma-bde-cegs. As Si-tu of Dpal-spuns, he traces his spiritual lineage to Mtshur-phu.

(C) **Hbah-ram-bkah-brgyud** Another noted disciple of Dwags-po was Hbah-ram-pa-dar-ma-dban-phyug, who founded the monastery of Hbah-ram and had a group of disciples known as Hbah-ram-pa. Ras-pa with a title of "the Emperor's Teacher" was one of them.

(D) **Phag-mo-bkah-brgyud** Phag-mo-grub-pa (1110-1170) as we have seen in Chapter II, was the founder of this sub-school. The eight sub-sects are as follows:

(a) **Hbri-gun** Sub-sect of Phag-mo-bkah-brgyud

The founder of this branch was Rin-chen-dpal (1143-1217), a native of Hsi-kang. In his early years, he had already been associated with Phag-mo-grub-pa, and the establishment of the Hbri-gun Monastery in 1179 was the cause for his followers' being called Hbri-gun-pa. Once in a ceremony, it was said Rin-chen-dpal gathered together 55,525 monks, and in a retreat he was able to initiate some 100,000 lamas into full monkhood. His great influence was recognized by the saying, "Both mountains and plains belong to the Hbri-gun-pa." But by the time of his successor, Rin-chen-phun-tshogs, indulgence in excavating buried scriptures made the school more akin to the Unreformed School or Rnin-ma-pa. Since Zabs-drun Sbru-lun-pa, who was in rivalry with Dalai the Third, Bsod-nams-rgya-mtsho (1543-1588), the

popularity of this particular school has diminished.

(b) Stag-lun Sub-sect of Phag-mo-bkah-brgyud

Bkra-cis-dpal (1142-1210) began to study with Phag-mo-grub-pa at the age of twenty-four. At the request of the people of Stag-lun in 1180 he built a monastery by that name, hence the designation of his school. He imposed on himself as well as on his followers a strict rule of discipline. He neither visited the laity, nor allowed women to visit his lamasery. He was also a vegetarian. With more than three thousand disciples he was able to preserve asceticism in the characteristic manner of Mi-la-ras-pa. His school did not have any political influence, but its religious influence has been great since the founding in 1276 of a branch monastery in Hsi-kang by his grandnephew, Sans-rgyas-dbon. In later years, through the excavation of treasures, esotericism of the Rnin-ma-pa became embodied in this school. Mkhardrun-mtshar-skyos-rdo-rje was instrumental in effecting this borrowing.

(c) Khro-phu Sub-sect of Phag-mo-bkah-brgyud

Translator Khro-phu, also known as Byams-pa-dpal (1173-1225), was a disciple of two famous disciples of Phag-mo-grub-pa, namely Rgyal-tsha and Kun-ldan-ras-pa. The monastery Khro-phu gave rise to the school name. This translator was instrumental in inviting to Tibet such noted scholars as Mi-tra-dzo-ki (1198), Buddhasri (1195), and Sakyasri (1204), and it was he who initiated the fourth abbot of the Sa-skyapa into full monkhood. His emphasis on monastic discipline became a common heritage of both the Sa-skyapa and the Bkah-brgyud-pa after him. About four or five generations later, Bu-ston (1290-1366) wrote the *Essence of Yoga*, which resulted in the rise of a branch school by the name of Bulugs, "the lineage of Bu-ston."

(d) Hbrug-pa Sub-sect of Phag-mo-bkah-brgyud

Glin-ras-padma-rdo-rje (1128-1188) was a native of Nin-stod. He began to study with Phag-mo-grub-pa at the age of thirty-eight and was able to attain full and deep realization within three days. Among his disciples the most noted was Gtsan-pa-rgyal-ras (1161-1211), also a native of the same place. When he

began to study with Glin-ras-pa-dma-rdo-rje at the age of twenty-two, Gtsan-pa-rgyal-ras was able to master the technique of generating internal heat within seven days. The establishment of the monastery of Hbrug and others gave rise to the name of his followers as Hbrug-pa. Some 50,000 pupils were said to have been taught by him. They developed his school into five branches: Upper Hbrug-pa after Mgon-po-rdo-rje, Middle Hbrug-pa after Dar-ma-sen-ge, Lower Hbrug-pa after Dar-ma-dban-phyug, Hbar-ra-bkah-brgyud after Hbar-ra-rgyal-mtshan, and Southern Hbrug-pa after Nag-dban-rnam-rgyal, who had both temporal and ecclesiastic powers. The combined influence of these branch schools was so powerful that there was a saying, "Half of the Tibetan people are Hbrug-pa; half of the Hbrug-pa are begging ascetics; and half of the begging ascetics are saints."

(e) Smar-tshan Sub-sect of Phag-mo-bkah-brgyud

The originator of this school was Smar-tshan-ces-rab-sen-ge, who transmitted his teachings to Ye-ces-rgyal-mtshan and Rin-chen-glin-pa, etc. Later this school became amalgamated with the Rnin-ma-pa of Dpal-yul of Hsi-kang.

(f) Yel-pa Sub-sect of Phag-mo-bkah-brgyud

The name of this school came from the monastery of Yel-phug established by Ye-ces-brtsegs-pa, who also built a monastery to the north by the name of Rta-rna. *Ge-sar of Glin*, a popular Tibetan literary work, was said to have spoken highly of this school, and his descendants were reported to have endowed the latter monastery with the weapons used by him. This school was very influential in its early stage. But later it became mixed up with other schools. Thanks to Si-tu Padmanin-byed-rgyal-po, however, Rta-rna was finally restored to the platform of Dwags-po, direct disciple of Mi-la-ras-pa.

(g) Gyah-bzan Sub-sect of Phag-mo-bkah-brgyud

Zar-pa-skal-ldan-ye-ces-sen-ge was the founder of the monastery of Gyah-bzan, which gave rise to the school name of his followers. Many celebrated masters served in this school, which once had both temporal and ecclesiastic powers.

(h) Cug-gseb Sub-sect of Phag-mo-bkah-brgyud

This school received its name from the monastery of Cugseb at Sni-phu, established by Gyer-sgom-chen-po. Successive masters had glorious achievements. But recently nothing has been heard of about the school.

So much for the four schools, and eight sub-schools of Dwags-po-bkah-brgyud. These resulted from the varied emphasis on some aspects of teaching such as the wish to transcend the mundane world, the wisdom to embrace charitable aims, and the initiation into esoteric discipline. For example, Marpa emphasized the teachings of the words of Buddha; Mi-la-ras-pa, those of special meditation; Dwags-po, those of purifying the mind; and Karma-dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, those that equalize the mind and breath. There were not such differences as resulted from accepting one at the expense of the others.

(3) Teachings

Exoteric Bkah-brgyud, like other schools of Buddhism, includes in its curriculum monastic discipline, the Abhidharma-kosa, the five works of Maitreya (Byams-pa), the doctrine of the mean of Nagarjuna, and Transcendental Wisdom (Cer-phyin or Prajna-pa-ramita); esoteric Bkah-brgyud includes the Tantras translated after Glan-dar-ma's persecution of Buddhism, two kinds of discernment (brtag-gnis), the innermost meaning (zab-mo-nan-don), and special tutelary deities. For instance, Marpa's Tutelary was the Happy Thunderbolt (Kye-rdo-rje or Hevajra); Mi-la-ras-pa's was the Diamond Sow (Rdo-rje-phag-mo or Vajravarahi); and Dwags-po's was the Supreme Joyous One (Bde-mchog or Samvara).

In terms of meditation there are monastic discipline to correspond with conduct (spyod), the Six Methods of Naropa to correspond with psycho-physical attainment (sgom), and the Great Hand-seal (phyag-rgya-chen-po or Mahamudra) to correspond with viewpoint (Ita). The idea is to begin with the wish to transcend the mundane world, reinforced by the wish to embrace charitable aims, to attain to the detached state of the loving soul by means of a tranquil as well as discerning mind. In his book on the *Graded Course*

to *Salvation* (Lam-rim-thar-pa-rin-po-chehi-don), Dwags-po said: "With a detached mind as frame of reference (gzi), using the human body as an agent (rten), surrounded by learned friends and teachers as a contributing influence (rkyen), and with religious instruction as means, full enlightenment resulting from creation and completion of mental images of the tutelaries may contribute to the welfare of all sentient beings."

To be more specific, Mi-la-ras-pa may be quoted in connection with the exoteric viewpoint: "To suit common sense the Buddha asserts Existence. In the most exalted sense, however, there are neither demons nor the Buddha; nothing to aspire at, nor the aspirant; no ten-stage Bodhisat road, nor the five realms of existence; no Buddha-body, no Buddha-wisdom, therefore no Nirvana. These exist only in the universe of discourse." In another context he went on to say: "If there were no human beings, there would be no Buddhas of the different Bskal-pas. Without a cause there would be no effect. Thus in common sense the Buddha asserts the existence of both life and death and Nirvana."

So far as the Great Hand-seal is concerned, both Mar-pa and Mi-la-ras-pa used it as esoteric Buddhism. Internal heat was employed to give rise to Wisdom. Thus aroused, this Wisdom gave rise to full Realization as the completion part of mental training as compared with its creation part. But since Dwags-po the Great Hand-seal has been taught even to those who are not initiated into esoteric Buddhism, hence there is a difference between exoteric Hand-seal to the uninitiated and esoteric Hand-seal to the initiated.

The exoteric Hand-seal is otherwise known as Void-nature Hand-seal. In the process of training, one first concentrates one's mind on being in a state without attachment to any object. Then one questions one's mind-in-suspension as to where it is to be anchored: inside, outside, or in between? Realizing that it cannot be located or identified, one concentrates on the Void-nature of one's mind.

Esoterically, this Hand-seal refers to the Joy and Light generated from the central artery as being occupied and influ-

enced by breath. In the process of training one first discovers one's "original mind." Then it is used to direct one's breath to the central artery to rest and to undergo assimilation. With a force thus aroused one directs it to the umbilical cord to ignite a violent fire. This fire gives rise to four kinds of pleasure which make "the original mind" a great Joy. This Joy, plus the nature of its being Void, results in a Wisdom which embodies both Joy and Void-nature without distinction. Finally, this Wisdom is concentrated upon by following through the four Yogas in order to accomplish the double-attainment of the Joy-and-Void Great Hand-seal. The Hand-seal thus accomplished can put an end to any entanglement. In other words, Salvation or Liberation is attained.

In order to facilitate this attainment, Dwags-po developed the method of "Simultaneous Identification"; Rin-che-dpal, his "Five Methods"; and Gtsan-pa-rgyal-ras, his "Eight Teachings" and "Six Equalities."

Simultaneous Identification means this. Mind and individual body are simultaneous in the sense that they are coeval. With the help of instruction from the teachers, they can be identified. The process is first to acquire pure faith, clear understanding, and the wish to go beyond the wheel of deaths and births. Then in meditation Void is found everywhere.

The Five Methods are: (1) the wisdom to embrace charitable aims; (2) the identification of self with the Tutelary; (3) faith in and respect to teachers; (4) understanding of the mind without discrimination; and (5) the vow to seek spiritual rebirth.

The Eight Teachings are those of (1) teachers, (2) charitable aims, (3) causality, (4) the Five Methods mentioned above, (5) simultaneous identification, (6) Naropa's Six Methods, (7) the equality of eight mundane methods, and (8) esotericism such as the generation of internal heat.

The Six Equalities mean that by following to its logical conclusion any of these, one may equally be liberated: (1) discernment, (2) misery, (3) illness, (4) ghosts and deities, (5) pains, and (6) death. The last means of obtaining liberation is an existence between death and rebirth,⁵⁷ which is one of

the Six Methods taught by Naropa.

Originally following the teachings of Naropa and Maitripa, the Bkah-brgyud-pa since Dwags-po has incorporated those of Atica. Since Karma-dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa and Phag-mo-grub-pa, the teachings of the Sa-skye-pa have been embodied. Finally, as we have seen above, the Rnin-ma-pa has also made its contributions to this school.

(4) Grades and Festivities

The grades of lama-students are first concerned with formal learning and later with psycho-physical training. Beginners in formal learning are those who start with the Tibetan alphabet (ka-kha-pa), generally known as students (grwa-pa). Next come student-assistants (skyor-dpon) who can instruct others in a modest way. The highest rank is professorship (mkhan-po).

Having completed formal learning, three years' retreat in dark cells in psycho-physical training entitles the students to be called "lamas" (bla-ma). Then, in accordance with further stages of advancement, aspirants are given the titles of Self-Perfecting Lama (sgrub-pa-bla-ma), Officiating Lama (rdorje-slob-dpon), and Perfection-giving Lama (sgrub-dpon-bla-ma).

Sacred Dances of this school are observed on the following days according to the custom of Dpal-spuns and Mi-nag-gans-dkar:

The 28th day of the twelfth moon is the occasion for the Gathering of the Mother Fairies. During the Monkey year (e.g., 1932, 1944) at Dpal-spuns and during the Ox year (e.g., 1937, 1949), at Mi-nag-gans-dkar circumambulations around their respective sacred mountains are undertaken by the common people as a form of worship as well as a means of acquiring merit.

On the 29th day of the twelfth moon the Two-armed Protector (Mgon-po) and his eight attendants are staged.

Around the 20th day of the sixth moon the Diamond Sow is personified. On the 10th day of the same month the Eight Manifestations of Padmasam-bhava (Gu-ru-mtshan-

brgyad), are dramatized.

On the 8th and 9th days of the fourth moon the Diamond Pike (Rdo-rje-phur-pa) is personified.

The 25th day of the tenth moon is the occasion when the Supreme Joyous One (Bde-mchog) is presented to public view.

No monastery can afford to stage all these Sacred Dances annually. Some of them will be selected as a particular monastery's specialty. They are listed here to show which deities are more emphasized by this school in contradistinction to others.

DGE-LUGS-PA: THE REFORMED OR ESTABLISHED SCHOOL OF TIBETAN BUDDHISM

Chapter VII

DGE-LUGS-PA MASTERS AND MONASTERIES IN TIBET

In Part Two, a brief survey was made of the native faith in Tibet and three important earlier schools of Tibetan Buddhism. There are yet others, but none of them is institutionally strong. Unless one is particularly interested in them, even the members of these minor schools would not care to identify themselves precisely. For to classify oneself approximately in one of the better known schools is enough for practical purposes. Before we go on with the Dge-lugs-pa or Established or Reformed School of Tibetan Buddhism, a mere mention by name of some of these schools will suffice to serve our purpose.

We have mentioned the Bkah-gdams-pa, after Atica (982-1054), which influenced doctrinally all the semi-reformed schools; both Zi-byed-pa and Gcod-yul-pa, which mean respectively “putting an end to the miseries caused by life and death” and “cutting off selfishness and the chain of life and death,” traced their origins to the same Indian master Dam-pa-sans-rgyas, who visited Tibet five times, the last being in 1037. The Jo-nan-pa became known through the monastery Jo-mo-nan established by Thugs-rje-brtson-hgrus.

Eventually the Bkah-gdams-pa became absorbed into the Sa-skyapa, Bkah-brgyud-pa, and especially Dge-lugs-pa. Even its basic seat of learning, Ra-sgren (Rwa-sgren), founded in

1056 by Atica's disciple Hbron-ston-rgyal-bahi-hbyun-gnas, can no longer maintain a distinctive school. The other minor schools are too small to exert any influence. As the Dge-lugs-pa is the dominant school and as its monasteries are by far the largest and most widespread, we shall devote the rest of this study to an examination of it, first by listing its most important masters and monasteries, and secondly by citing an example at Bla-bran in its manifold institutional set-up, being the largest anywhere outside Tibet proper and the most comprehensive in structure of the monasteries in Tibet, Hsi-kang and A-mdo.

(1) Tson-kha-pa and the Dgah-ldan Monastery

That the founder of the Reformed School, Tson-kha-pa (1357-1419), was in revolt against the corrupt condition of Tibetan Buddhism at his time is taken for granted by everyone. But what was the situation then? How was he actually going about it? In this connection much has been exaggerated in current accounts. It is even sometimes assumed that he did away with Tantric practices and that all the priests of other schools were sexual perverts. Nothing is farther away from the truth.

To put it into simple terms, the existing situation in which Tson-kha-pa found himself was this: due to the rivalry in temporal powers between the Sa-skyapa and Bkah-brgyud-pa, spiritual and intellectual pursuits were often neglected. By the time of the fourteenth century, between the end of the Yuan and the beginning of the Ming dynasties, both exoteric and esoteric Buddhism was at low tide in Tibetan cultural areas. With the exception of the best few, the majority of the priests did not observe the strict rules of monastic discipline. Those who were developed intellectually did not have spiritual realization. Those who indulged in esotericism were more interested in rituals than in their meaning. Tson-kha-pa first emphasized the importance of monastic discipline by requiring proper monastic garments and other badges of the order to distinguish it from the rest of the population. Secondly, he gave primary importance to the inner

urge of wishing the welfare of others as the key to further development. Thirdly, strict guidance of the masters was required for those who practiced esotericism. Finally, in order to correct the tendency to make premature advances, he made a science of the Bodhisat road by outlining the actual process from intellectual understanding to spiritual realization. The other schools may well say that Tson-kha-pa added nothing new, and, to outsiders, neither did he discard anything which already existed in Tibetan Buddhism. But his methodical manner was his contribution. If he discarded anything, it was the disorderliness of his time. Unfortunately, his followers today very often commit the mistake of following the reverse pattern. They mistake formality for methodity. And the struggle for temporal powers gives them the same burden that caused deterioration in the earlier schools. But we are anticipating our conclusion.

So far as biographical accounts are concerned,¹ Tson-kha-pa was a manifestation of the God of Wisdom. Being a native of Tson-kha, some 16 miles west of Hsi-ning, the provincial capital of Ching-hai, he is better known by this generic name. Before his birth in 1357² his father dreamed in 1356 that a noble monk dressed in garlands and with scriptures on his back arrived from Wu-tai Mountain (in Shan-hsi) to ask for shelter and immediately climbed upstairs. As Wu-tai Mountain was known as the seat for the God of Wisdom and as his father used to worship this God, the dream was considered a sufficient omen for the family to have a boy born to manifest Wisdom. In addition, his mother also had a dream. She was being seated in her dream among hundreds of women on a plain full of flowers, when a boy and girl came by, the former carrying a vase and the latter having in her hands peacock feathers and a mirror. The boy pointed in succession at the women, asking each time, "Will this do?" The girl replied in each case by citing some particular sin committed by the woman. She smiled and answered affirmatively when Tson-kha-pa's mother was pointed at, and the boy told her that she should be purified. So saying he poured water out of the vase on her head while chanting.

She felt blissful both in dream and when awake, wondering what was to happen.

During the night of the tenth of the first moon, 1357, she dreamed again. This time innumerable multitudes, both the secular and the religious, gathered together to welcome the gods descending from heaven. She saw in the sky a golden figure as big as a mountain, surrounded by many fairies. While he was descending, his size became gradually smaller and smaller until on her head he was only as large as a hand. Then he entered into her body, along with his attendants and the multitudes in succession. The mother became exceedingly happy and her intellect particularly keen. This incident of conception coincided with the date of Sakyamuni's feat of subduing the six kinds of non-Buddhist opponents.

About the time of his birth, Tson-kha-pa's mother dreamed once more. Many monks appeared with offerings to be placed on an altar, asking where the altar was. The boy and girl who had appeared previously and who were considered the God of Mercy and his consort appeared again, saying, "Here is the altar." Consequently, the boy opened a yellow hole on the mother's bosom with a crystal key and took the golden figure out, which looked somewhat stained with blood. The girl then washed it with water from the vase and wiped it with the feathers while a Sanskrit praise was being chanted, together with offerings presented. Thus Tson-kha-pa was born in the early dawn of the twenty-fifth of the tenth moon, 1357, the same date as his Nirvana in 1419.

The day after his birth, the baby was visited by a messenger of Don-grub-rin-chen, a local lama who had attained realization in identifying himself with the Fearful Thunderbolt. He foresaw what happened and presented some religious objects to the baby.

When the umbilical cord was out, some blood dropped to the ground, from where a Tsandan tree grew up later, on the leaves of which were images of Sen-ge-sgra (Simhanada or the Buddha of Lion-roaring) and the five-syllabled formula of the God of Wisdom. When these marks became numerous, the tree and the place became known as Sku-hbum or

“100,000 bodies” (of Buddhas). We shall hear more of Sku-hbum as a monastery in the next chapter.

He was given the name of Kun-dgah-snin-po at the age of three by Karma-rol-pahi-rdo-rje, who also initiated him into the five primary vows, prophesying that he would be the pillar of Buddhism in Tibet worthy of Sakyamuni. In the same year, he was adopted by Don-rin-chen, who taught him many forms of worship, including the recitation of the five-syllable formula of the God of Wisdom, which often appeared in written form on the walls around him. He was also given the esoteric name of Don-yod-rdo-rje.

When he was seven years old in 1363, he would often see in his dreams the manifestation of the two-armed Vajrasattva and Atica. He was given a new name, Blo-bzan-grags-pa, in the same year when he was initiated into the ten vows of a novice monk by Don-rin-chen.

Before he went to Tibet in 1372 at the age of sixteen, he was instructed by the same master that as a program of activities he should first study extensively the doctrine, practice it, and then work for the welfare of sentient beings. The course of study outlined for him was first the five works of Maitreya,³ second the seven works on logic by Dharmakirti (Chos-kyi-grags-pa),⁴ third the works on the doctrine of the Mean (Madhyamaka) to avoid the extremes of Being and Non-being, and then all the practices of exoteric and esoteric teachings. He was also told that he should worship the God of Power (Phyag-na-rdo-rje or Vajrapani) to counteract misfortune, recite the five-syllabled formula of the God of Wisdom to increase wisdom, practice the rites for the Buddha of Infinite Life (Tshe-dpag-med or Amitayus) to prolong life, for the Guardian King of the North (Rnam-thos-aras or Vaisravana) to secure material means for the purpose of accomplishing things, and for the six-armed Mahakala to counteract inimical elements from human as well as non-human worlds.

On his way to Tibet, Tson-kha-pa often thought of his beloved master and wept, longing to return to him. But coming to the phrase “no return, no retracing one’s steps” in his recitation of the prayers to the God of Wisdom,

he tried to give up the idea. It also foreboded his later refusal to come back to see his mother. It may be because of his example that later abbots of Dgah-ldan, who succeeded him on the throne of that seat of learning established by him, adopted the rule of remaining in Tibet, wherever the places of their birth were.

The next year saw him at Hbri-gun Monastery studying under the Bkah-brgyud lama Hbri-gun-rin-po-che. Then he went to Gun-than, where he studied medicine. From there he went to Bde-ba-can to study the works of Maitreya. He took the opportunity of the Sa-skyapa hierarch Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan's visit to Chos-rdzon to pay his respect to him there, whereby he learned some esoteric rites about Mahakala as protector of the house (gur-mgon). He remained at Bde-ba-can for two years.

In 1375, he visited Gsan-phu, Sa-skyapa, Snar-than and other monasteries to pursue his studies and engage himself in debates. He was able to meet one of his most intimate masters-to-be, Red-mdar-pa, in 1376, and studied the works of Vasubandhu (Dbyig-gnen) and those on the doctrine of the Mean.

In 1378, he received a letter from his mother, and to prepare for his home trip he studied some rituals for the benefit of the laity. But suddenly he realized that this effort would lead him astray from the bigger tasks ahead of him. Then he decided to remain in Tibet forever. Instead he sent to his mother a portrait of himself, which, it was said, uttered "Mother!" on being received by her. She was very much consoled because of this miracle. In the same year, on his return to Bde-ba-can he received a letter and some gifts from the Mongol prince Timur.

The years 1380 and 1381 were spent in studying the Sa-skyapa teachings and in acquiring widespread reputation by carrying on debates at Sa-skyapa, Gun-than, Gsan-phu and other centers of learning.

The next important event was his initiation into a fully ordained monk, which took place at Yar-klun-rnam-rgyal under the auspices of Tshul-khrims-rin-chen and others. After-

wards, he studied with the Phag-mo-grub lama Grags-pa-byan-chub-rin-po-che the teachings about the way and fruition, the six methods of Naropa, and the works of Phag-mo-grub. His biography of this master became a masterpiece of literature. When he meditated in Gsan-phu on the Goddess of Fine Voice (Dbyans-can-ma or Sarasvati) he saw her in her real form and was instructed by her.

He wrote in 1388 at Tahal a commentary on Maitreya's "Mnon-par-rtogs-pahi-rgyan" (Abhisamayalamkara). While he was at Yar-klun he happened to relate the stories of past scholars to other monks, saying that once upon a time Blo-gros-sen-ge lectured on eleven important works eleven times a day. Then his friends asked him whether he would also condescend to lecture for them on so many works. "Perhaps I could with some preparation," was the reply. Consequently, he shut himself up in retreat for twenty days. Then, beginning with the fifth day of the next month, he lectured for three months continuously on seventeen important works⁵ fifteen times a day. Fifteen works were covered each day. Because two of them were shorter and were finished first, he added two more shorter works in order to keep pace with the other thirteen longer ones. His discourse for each was based on a major commentary and collated with others. Everybody marvelled at his energy and intellectual power, believing that unless he was empowered by the Bodhisattvas or he himself was one, it was simply impossible. However, he once lectured on twenty-one works, starting on each the same day and finishing them on the same day. For seven years he expounded innumerable works, often dealing with more than ten at a time, and in the year before his prolonged retreat in esoteric practice twenty-nine works at one time.

In 1390, he met an expert in the doctrine of the Mean, Dbu-ma-pa Brtson-hgrus-sen-ge, a native of Hsi-ning. The latter was able from his youth to see the God of Wisdom in person. But he was not sure whether the vision was reliable. He begged Tson-kha-pa for an initiation into the rites of the Goddess of Fine Voice, and the latter affirmed the truth of his

vision. Thus assured, he concentrated on esoteric training in retreat, and the image he saw in the person of his tutelary, the God of Wisdom, became more and more realistic. The criterion was that, when the image was like a reflection in the mirror, it was not real, while perfect attainment was to see him in the flesh. Tson-kha-pa on his side gained a great deal from the contact with this lama, who could explain through his tutelary the difficult points connected with the doctrine of the mean. For example, in balancing the disadvantages in holding the illusory being and non-being, he was advised to pay more attention to phenomenal entities. The argument was that insofar as the phenomenon was denied, how could the doctrine to transcend it be built up? When Tson-kha-pa was very earnest in trying to give up public discussion in order to concentrate on esoteric attainment, the lama also asked for the advice of his tutelary. "This scholar is still young," he said, "with his superb quality in public speech, is it not better for him to continue his public career? Should he isolate himself in retreat, people may blame me for depriving them of their opportunities of hearing him." But the tutelary replied: "This is a matter you do not quite understand. If the people blame you for his retreat, it is your opportunity to practice forbearance. Unless there is a period of concentrated meditation, Tson-kha-pa cannot accomplish greater tasks and his life will be shorter."

Consequently, it was decided in 1392 that after an offering to Sakyamuni's altar in Lhasa both Tson-kha-pa and Dbuma-pa Brtson-hgrus-sen-ge shut themselves in retreat at Dgahba-gdon. First, Tson-kha-pa received instruction from the God of Wisdom through his comrade. But gradually he was able to see the tutelary in person. When his companion left for Hsi-kang, Tson-kha-pa and his eight disciples went to Holkha-chos-lun and Dwags-po-smam-lun, south of Lhasa, for more secluded retreats, and many more miracles were recorded.

After rebuilding the Rdzin-phyi temple for Maitreya at Holkha in 1394, he visited Lho-brag in 1395 where he met Mkhan-chen Nam-mkhah-rgyal-mtshan. The latter saw him

as the manifestation of the God of Wisdom, while he himself saw the latter as the manifestation of the God of Power. These two gave each other many lessons and exchanged initiations into the rites of many other tutelaries. It was at this time that Tson-kha-pa intended to visit India for further studies, but the tutelary of his friend told him that his services would be greater in Tibet. In the same period, he learned with another master the doctrines of Atica more closely.

Having given more attention to the establishment of monastic discipline since 1396, he visited Rwa-agren Monastery, the seat of Atica's teaching, and lectured on many important works. Then he wrote his work on the *Graded Course on the Bodhisat Road* (Byan-chub-lam-rim-chen-mo) in 1402. He was encouraged by many deities for this work. Some of them said to him that they once served Padmasambhava and Atica and that they were willing to help him in propagating the doctrine. In this book he followed Atica very closely. By classifying mankind into three grades of endowments, with tendencies to get away from the mundane world, to work for the welfare of others, and to realize the void nature of the tangible world; he was able to set forth distinctive steps on the road of perfection. Actual process rather than abstract sermons made this work famous and outstanding.

Henceforth Tson-kha-pa often lectured on his own work among others. He wrote a brief edition (Lam-rim-chun-ba) in 1415 to facilitate easy reading. But in parallel with the larger work on exoteric Buddhism he wrote about 1404 *The Graded Course on Esoteric Buddhism* (snags-rim) among other writings. Being jealous of such achievement for Buddhism, it was said, four principal demons troubled him. Through the rites performed in his retreat one of them was subdued.

He was visited in 1408 by four delegates from the Ming Emperor to invite him to the capital. But he declined royal patronage. Instead, his pupil, Byams-chen-chos-rje (cah-kya-ye-cos), was sent with the delegation to see the Emperor.

The institution of Great Prayer Meeting (Smon-lam-chen-po) was established in 1409 for the season be-

tween the first day and fifteenth day of the first moon in commemoration of Sakyamuni's feat of defeating his opponents.

In the same year, he founded Dgah-ldan (Rnam-par-rgyal-bahi-glin), his own seat of learning, at the request of his disciples; for he used to travel around without any fixed abode. This first Dge-lugs-pa stronghold is situated thirty-five miles northeast of Lhasa. It has two colleges, Grwa-tshan-gon-byan-rtse and Grwa-tshan-hog-car-rtse. The former has thirteen residential divisions (khams-tshan) and the latter another thirteen. These correspond with the residential colleges of Western universities, only in Tibet being usually divided in accordance with the place of origin of the monk-students. The total inmates amount to more than three thousand. The followers of Tson-kha-pa are called either Dgah-ldan-pa, after the name of this monastery, or Dge-lugs-pa, which means "followers of the virtuous path."

By the end of the same year, Tson-kha-pa saw in a magical circle of the God of Wisdom the tutelary handing him a vase of water, saying, "This water was used by Atica and for more than three hundred years there has been no one to be trusted with it. Now, I give it to you." This was another confirmation of his carrying on the line of Atica.

Because he was supposed to encounter great suffering at the age of fifty-five, he spent the whole time from the winter of 1411 to the summer of 1414 in performing rites of propitiation together with mental creation and realization of his tutelaries. His most meritorious disciples, more than forty in number, helped him in sympathetic devotion. Consequently, one of the three remaining arch-demons inimical to him was subdued, and the other two were killed.

Emerging from seclusion he resumed his work of lecturing and writing, and in the midst of these activities he blessed the founding of Hbras-spuns in 1415 and Se-ra in 1418 by his disciples. These and Dgah-ldan are the three most famous monasteries of the Dge-lugs-pa.

Many miracles were recorded of his death on the twenty-fifth day of the tenth moon in 1419, including resurrection, which we have to leave out. He was succeeded on the

sabbatical throne of Dgah-ldan by the senior of his disciples, Rgyal-tshab-rje (darma-rin-chen).

(2) Rgyal-tshab-rje, First Successor to Tson-kha-pa

Rgyal-tshab-rje (1365-1431) was already a renowned Sa-skyapa, before his meeting with Tson-kha-pa, as having been engaged in debates without an equal in various monasteries by maintaining theses on ten important Buddhist commentaries. When he heard of Tson-kha-pa's reputation he could not trust his ears. About the year of 1396 or thereafter, when Tson-kha-pa was lecturing at Nin in Gtsan, he came from Dbus for a discussion. On seeing the lecturer on his seat before his audience, Rgyal-tshab-rje stepped forward without taking off his hat to bow. But the lecturer, on noticing the visitor, yielded his own seat to him and continued lecturing assuming a lower place. The visitor did not take much notice and sat on the seat yielded to him. But gradually he heard something in the lecture of a kind quite unfamiliar to him. His pride was humbled and respect aroused. He began to take off his hat and selected a seat among the audience, finally making his vow that he would like to be one of the monks attendant on the master.

Thus for twelve years with Tson-kha-pa he learned everything from him in esoteric and exoteric Buddhism, surpassing all the rest of his fellow-students. Before his death Tson-kha-pa placed his own hat and garment on the lap of Rgyal-tshab-rje, saying "You understand the meaning of this. Cherish well the Bodhisat mind." On his succession to the throne of Dgah-ldan, Rgyal-tshab-rje followed all the rules established by the master and carried on his doctrines. For thirteen years after the death of the master everybody respected him in the same way as the master himself had been respected. His successor on the throne was Mkhas-grub-chos-rje.

(3) Mkhas-grub-chos-rje and other Pan-chen Lamas

Like Rgyal-tshab-rje, this disciple of Tson-kha-pa was also a Sa-skyapa and an exponent of the theses of ten important works. Introduced by Rgyal-tshab-rje, Mkhas-grub-chos-rje

(1385-1438) visited the master in Dbus in 1407 and was immediately impressed by the master's purity and dignity. He asked the latter to solve for him some difficulties in his own studies, and after listening explanation he was praised for his capacity for esoteric understanding. He was initiated into the rites of the Fearful Thunderbolt on the same day and he retained the latter ever afterwards as his special tutelary. He became a favorite of the master in a way similar to Ananda's relation with Sakyamuni. His book on esoteric Buddhism (Rgyud-sde-spyi-rnam) is the most influential next to Tson-kha-pa's *Graded Course on Esoteric Buddhism*.

On the death of the master he went to Gtsan to preach the doctrines which he had learned from him. Later, on the invitation of Rgyal-tshab-rje he succeeded him on the abbatial throne of Dgah-ldan. He carried on the abbotship for eight years. Invitations came from all over Tibet and Hsi-kang for him to preach there; but, lest the master's lineage of esotericism should be discontinued, he preferred to other activities for the maintenance of the central seat of learning. Dalai the First, of whom we shall give an account shortly, was his as well as Tson-kha-pa's pupil but he himself became later known as Pan-chen the First.

His reincarnation, Bsod-nams-phyogs-glan (1439-1504), was known as Pan-chen II, and Blo-bzan-hdun-grub (1505-1566) as Pan-chen III. Blo-bzan-chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan, who was born in 1567 but died the next year and who was believed to have been reborn in the same family in 1570 and died in 1662, was known as Pan-chen IV, an abbot of Bkra-cis-lhun-po⁶ and teacher of both Dalai IV and Dalai V. As he was the first in whose time the institution of recognizing the Pan-chen Lamas became established, he was otherwise known as Pan-chen I. It was also after him that later Pan-chens adopted Bkra-cis-lhun-po for regular residence.

Blo-bzan-ye-ces-dpal-bzan (1663-1737), or Pan-chen V, was Dalai V's pupil, but teacher of Dalai VI and Dalai VII. It was he who in 1713 received from Emperor Kang-hsi the title "Pan-chen Erdni." Pan-chen is a combination of Sanskrit "pan" and Tibetan "chen." The former is an ab-

breiviation of "Pandit," a savant, and the latter means "great." "Erdni" (erten) is a Mongolian equivalent of the Tibetan "rin-po-che." The greatly precious Pan-chen V was once in control of the whole of Gtsan by order of Emperor Yung-cheng in 1728.

Blo-bzan-dpal-ldan-ye-ces (1738-1780), or Pan-chen VI, was pupil of Dalai VII and teacher of Dalai VIII. Bstan-pahi-ni-ma (1782-1853), or Pan-chen VII, was pupil of Dalai VIII and teacher of Dalai IX, Dalai X, and Dalai XI. Bstan-pahi-dban-phyug (1854-1882), or Pan-chen VIII, was responsible for initiating Dalai XIII into novice-monkhood.

Chos-kyi-ni-ma (1883-1937), or Pan-chen IX, was a pupil of Dalai XIII. On account of a strife caused by his subordinates and those under the Dalai Lama, he left Tibet in 1923 for the interior of China. He was responsible for popularizing the Wheel of Time (Dus-kyi-hkhor-lo or Kalacakra) doctrines among the Han population while he was in Peking and Nanking. But he was never able to return to his seat of authority at Bkra-cis-lhun-po in Gtsan, for after the death of Dalai XIII in 1933 he was still opposed by the latter's subordinates. He died on the border of Hsi-kang and Ching-hai on his attempted return journey. His reincarnation as Pan-chen X remained a problem, even though there were a number of candidates. After 1949 he was found in Ching-hai, and installed in Bkra-cis-lhun-po.

(4) Hjam-dbyans-chos-rje-dpal (?-1449) and Hbras-spuns Monastery

Next in importance to Rgyal-tshab-rje and Mkhas-grub-chos-rje among the disciples of Tson-kha-pa, this lama was noted for both erudition and purity. Lecturing in 1414, Tson-kha-pa told him that he should build another monastery even more important than the mother institution, namely, Dgah-ldan. "As the first requirement for any accomplishment is the master's command," replied the disciple, "I will attempt whatever you say." During the night he dreamed of a big river, on one bank of which were multitudes of people trying to cross but unable to find a bridge. In his dream he

jumped into the river and transformed himself into a bridge to span the river, by which all the people came across. On awakening he took this as a good omen for his undertaking. Having gained support the next year, 1415, he built the monastery of Mbras-spuns, "the heap of rice," at a place four miles west of Lhasa. It is used to house some 7,000 inmates, among whom are found many Mongols and Siberian Buriats.

By appointing seven noted disciples to be professors for the new congregation, Hjam-dbyans-chos-rje-dpal first established seven colleges for exoteric Buddhism. Later these were amalgamated into four, leaving the other three only in name, with abbots without portfolio. Among later hierarchs the twelfth was Dalai IV, the thirteenth Pan-chen IV, and the fourteenth Dalai V. Since the last this monastery has been in direct control of his successive incarnations. A particular college of the monastery is the Many-doored (sgo-man). The founder of Bla-bran Monastery in A-mdo, Hjam-dbyans-bzad-pa (1648-1721), of whom we shall learn more in the next chapter, was once its abbot, and the commentaries of five important works standardized by him have been adopted here as well as in many other places in A-mdo and Hsi-kang.

(5) Byams-chen-chos-rje (1352-1435) and Se-ra Monastery

Otherwise known as Cah-kya-ye-ces, this disciple of Tson-kha-pa was noted for his learning and good fortune. When Emperor Yung-lo of the Ming Dynasty sent for Tson-kha-pa in 1408, the latter sent him instead. He obtained the title "King of Law" from the Ming Court. On his return to Tibet a few years later he was entrusted by Tson-kha-pa with the task of erecting in 1418 the monastery of Se-ra in the suburbs of Lhasa. At first it consisted of five colleges, which were amalgamated into two, Upper and Lower Tantric Colleges. Finally, a College of Mantras was added, forming altogether three colleges. There are about 5,000 inmates.

Going back to the capital of China, Byams-chen-chos-rje became "Teacher of State" for the two reigns of Yung-lo (1403-1424) and Hsuan-de (1426-1435), spreading the Dge-

lugs-pa teachings for the first time over Mongolia and other parts of China. Among his successors in the hierarchy of Se-ra were Dalai II, Dalai III, Dalai IV, Pan-chen X, and Dalai V. After the last the hierarchy came under the control of other incarnations of the Dalai Lama exclusively.

The above three monasteries, as mentioned previously, are often spoken of together as a triad. Sometimes Bkra-cis-lhun-po is added to complete a group of four.

(6) Dge-hdun-grub-pa, other Dalai Lamas and Bkra-cis-lhun-po

The first Dalai Lama, a title retrospectively applied, was Dge-hdun-grub-pa (1391-1474), the youngest of Tson-kha-pa's pupils of note. He also studied with Rgyal-tshab-rje and Mkhas-grub-chos-rje, especially the latter. It was twenty-eight years after Tson-kha-pa's death when he founded in 1447 the Monastery of Bkra-cis-lhun-po (Tashilhunpo in Western books), which means "heap of blessing!" He was the first hierarch to hold the office for thirty-eight years. When Pan-chen IV became the hierarch, this monastery was made permanent residence for him and his latter incarnations (Pan-chen Lamas). It adjoins the town of Shigatse in Gtsan, accommodating some 5,000 monks. This center in Gtsan and the other three near Lhasa in Dbus reinforced one another in the spreading of the Dge-lugs-pa influence all over Tibet, Hsi-kang, A-mdo and Mongolia. Many monasteries of earlier schools were converted to the tenets of Tson-kha-pa.

To return to the successive incarnations of the Dalai Lama. Dge-hdun-grub-pa was a native of Gtsan, the third of four brothers with one sister in a pastoral family. During the night of his birth the family was attacked by robbers. Unable to take him in the flight, his mother put him in a crevice of rocks. Coming back in the morning she saw that he was being protected by a crow. As a child, he used to play at preaching among other children and assist his parents in herding sheep. By the age of twenty-five he went to Dbus. When he visited Tson-kha-pa for his lessons in logic, the latter was well pleased with him, so that a suit of monastic gar-

ments worn by the master was given him, as an omen for the future success of the youth in spreading the teachings of monastic discipline. After the founding of Bkra-cis-lhun-po he was invited in 1450 to assume the duties of the abbatial throne of Dgah-ldan, but he declined by saying: "Whatever I have been doing has been for the sake of Buddhism. This monastery was only recently established. If I go to Dgah-ldan, the foundation cannot be made secure. For the sake of Tsonkha-pa's teachings I have to remain at Bkra-cis-lhun-po. The younger brother of Mkhas-grub-chos-rje, Ba-so-chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan (1401-1473), deserves the appointment. Please ask him."

Dge-hdun-rgya-mtsho (1475-1542), or Dalai II, was said to be able to recite the formula of Tara (Sgrol-ma or Goddess of Mercy) as soon as he was born. Having studied for three years at Hbras-spuns, he was ordained at the age of twenty-one. After visiting Dkar-mo-ljons and Lha-mo-lha-mtsho he built in 1509 at the latter place a monastery called Rgyal-legs-bcad-pahi-dgah-tshal. Then he was welcomed to Bkra-cis-lhun-po to take over the duties of abbotship. After a few years there he began to divide his time between Hbras-spuns in the spring and Rgyal-legs-bcad-pahi-dgah-tshal in the summer and autumn.

Bsod-nams-rgya-mtsho (1543-1588), or Dalai III, was said to have been born mumbling *Om-mani-padme-hum*, the six-syllable formula sacred to the Goddess of Mercy. While he was three years old, he could relate the life story of his former incarnations, making everybody believe that he was Dalai II coming back. He was ushered into Hbras-spuns in 1546 to be initiated into the vows renouncing the five cardinal sins. Having been a novice monk since 1549, he became the hierarch of Hbras-spuns in 1552. It was not until 1564 that he was fully ordained. On the invitation of the Mongol Altan Khan he proceeded to Mongolia in 1577 and was received by the former in 1578. Arriving in Hsi-kang he built in 1580 the monastery of Li-than (now Li-hua) and in 1581 visited Chabmdo (Chang-tu). When he visited the birth place of Tsonkha-pa at Sku-hbum in Ching-hai, he had a silver pagoda

built over the tree which grew out of the spot wherein the master's umbilical cord had been buried. At the invitation of Kharchin Khan he further spread the teachings of the Dge-lugs-pa among the princes and officials of Mongolia. He died there at the age of forty-six.

Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho (1589-1614), or Dalai IV, was born in Mongolia and ushered into Tibet in 1602. Making his permanent headquarters at Hbras-spuns, he visited many other monasteries, especially Bkra-cis-lhun-po, where he was ordained by Pan-chen IV a full-fledged monk in 1614.

Nag-dban-blo-bzan-rgya-mtsho (1617-1682), or Dalai V, was the most important of all the Dalais so far. He was first installed in Hbras-spuns at the age of six (1622). The Mongol prince Gucri Khan (1582-1653) from Ching-hai having punished the chieftain of Be-ri of Hsi-kang, a Bonist, in 1639, and captured the king of Gtsan in 1641, the Dalai Lama was given control over all Tibet. The famous palace of Potala was built in 1645 and the Dalai Lama made his permanent residence there as the sovereign ruler of Tibet for the first time. In 1652, he visited the Manchu imperial court in Peking and received a long title to confirm his rule. Although there is a difference of opinion as to whether it was Dalai III or Dalai V who got the first Mongolian title of "Dalai" (sea), it is certain that it was first made official in 1652 by imperial decree. Incidentally, it may be pointed out that the Tibetans as a rule are not aware of this title. They call the Dalai Lama "Rgyal-ba-rin-po-che," the most precious Jina. The Pan-chen Lama on the other hand is well known by his title.

Tshans-dbyans-rgya-mtsho (1683-1706), or Dalai VI, was discovered only and ushered into Potala at the age of fifteen (1697). Internal trouble caused much confusion. The viceroy (sde-srid) Sans-rgyas-rgya-mtsho resigned his office in 1703 and the Mongol prince Lha-bzan became king of Tibet. The former was killed in 1705, and Lha-bzan declared himself the absolute monarch. At the same time Pad-dkar-hdzin-pa Ye-ces-rgya-mtsho was identified as the real incarnation of the Dalai Lama over against Tshans-dbyans-rgya-mtsho. To

clarify the situation, the Manchu Emperor Kang-hsi in 1706 ordered the latter to come to Peking. But on the border of Ching-hai he disappeared. Whether he died or escaped, it was never known. Partisans pro and con have different stories. Those who had faith in him would like to believe that he went to A-mdo, Mongolia, Nepal, and India to propagate the doctrine by getting rid of official glories.

Skal-bzan-rgya-mtsho (1708-1757), or Dalai VII, was born in Li-than of Hsi-kang. The history of Tibet was quite eventful during his time. The armies of Zungar, the left branch of the Mongols, slew king Lha-bzan in 1717 and sacked many Rnin-ma-pa monasteries in favor of the Dge-lugs-pa. Dalai VII was escorted to Tibet in 1720. The Oeloth Mongols of Ching-hai fought with the imperial forces and were defeated in 1723. A regular resident Amban, from the imperial court, was first established in Lhasa in 1726 to watch affairs there. Three Lhasa ministers (bkah-blon) in 1727 killed the viceroy Zan-khan-chen-po. Pholatheje Bsod-nams-stobs-rgyas came with the troops of Ladak, Mnah-ri and Gtsan, and, being reinforced by Han troops, killed the three ministers and removed the Dalai Lama to Hkah-dag of Hsi-kang in 1728. Pholatheje became viceroy of Tibet and invested with the title of Chun-wang. At this time Pan-chen V was ordered by the imperial court to control the whole province of Gtsan. At the command of Emperor Yung-cheng, in 1734, Chan-skya-rin-po-che escorted the Dalai Lama from Hsi-kang back to Tibet. By 1747, however, Pholatheje's son tried to revolt with the help of Zungar. Amban Fu-ching and another Manchu official, Labudun, killed him in 1750, but they were in turn killed by his partisans. Consequently, Governor Tse-ring and General Yueh Chung-chi, of Szechwan, led an army into Tibet. A temple was built for the two victims, the practice of appointing a viceroy in Tibet was put to an end, and the four-minister (bkah-blon) cabinet was set up to assist the Dalai Lama in the government.

Bkra-cis-mtsho (1758-1804), or Dalai VIII, was installed in Potala when he was five years old. At the age of twenty he took over the reins of government. The Khalkhas invaded

Tibet in 1790 and they were defeated in 1792 by imperial troops. The power of the Amban, or imperial resident representative, in Lhasa was made equal with that of the Dalai Lama in 1792, and the system of the Golden Vase was instituted in 1793 to determine the legitimate candidates for the incarnations of the important Grand Lamas, such as Dalai, Pan-chen, and other most important ones in Tibet, Hsi-kang and A-mdo.

Lun-rtogs-rgya-mtsho (1805-1815), or Dalai IX, died young. Tshul-khrims-rgya-mtsho (1816-1837), or Dalai X, was born in Hsi-kang. So also was Mkhas-grub-rgya-mtsho (1838-1855), or Dalai XI. These three incarnations, to be followed by Hphrin-las-rgya-mtsho (1856-1875), or Dalai XII, lived too short a life span for a record.

Thub-bstan-rgya-mtsho (1876-1933), or Dalai XIII, had the most eventual life. His birth was considered sufficiently in agreement with the prophecies about the reincarnation of Dalai XII, so that permission was secured from the imperial court to give him recognition without going through the mechanism of the Golden Vase. When he was three years old, he was enthroned in Potala. At the age of twelve he used three oranges to identify the incarnation of Pan-chen IX, the result of which was identical to that selected later through the Golden Vase. Fully ordained in 1895 when he was twenty years old, he assumed the duties of government in the same year. He went to Mongolia in 1904 at the age of twenty-nine, when a British military expedition forced its way into Tibet. Turning from Mongolia to Ching-hai in 1906, the next year, he visited the sacred mountain Wu-tai in Shan-hsi (Shansi) Province. He found himself in Peking in 1908 at the command of the Manchu Emperor Kuang-hsu. Returning to Tibet in 1909, he found the Manchu Amban full of hatred on account of the responsibility between the two for being the cause of foreign invasion. Being afraid of punishment, the Dalai Lama escaped in 1910 to India. With the end of the Manchu regime and the founding of the Republic of China in 1912, the Manchu garrison soldiers left Lhasa and the Dalai Lama returned to Potala. Partisans of Dalai against those to

Pan-chen IX made it impossible for the latter to live in Tibet, and he left in 1923 to the interior of China, never to return. In the wake of the death of Dalai XIII in 1933, Huang Mu-sung went to Tibet in 1934 as a special representative of the Central Government of China to officiate at the funeral.

When Dalai XIV was discovered in Ching-hai, near the birth place of Tson-kha-pa, and ushered into Tibet during the war (1940), he could speak only Chinese. In 1950, Tibet was liberated peacefully. In 1959 there were some disturbances in Tibet and Dalai Lama fled to India.

Chapter VIII

DGE-LUGS-PA MASTERS AND MONASTERIES IN HSI-KANG AND A-MDO

Other important monasteries of the Dge-lugs-ga outside Tibet, but inside Hsi-kang and A-mdo, may be listed in the order they were established. As our interest in Bla-bran is by way of a case study, the present chapter is primarily a record of the history of the incarnations of the founder of this monastery.

(1) Smad-rab-bzan and the Monastery of Byams-pa-glin

Smad-rab-bzan, a native of Hsi-kang, first studied at Se-ra and later became an associate professor in that famous institution. Much impressed with the high standard of spiritual and intellectual attainments on the part of many scholars there, he once thought to himself, "On my return home I should like to do something similar for the welfare of the people." Byan-chub-hbum, an important personage at Se-ra, read his mind and invited him to his own room. The guest was given many gifts and was told, "I understand you will soon return to Hsi-kang to propagate the doctrine, hence these small gifts." The guest was surprised, saying: "I did not speak of returning to Hsi-kang. Do I understand that I

am not welcome here? I shall ask Rgyal-tshab-rje about this. Maybe he will let me stay.” He went to Dgah-ldan to see him. But strange enough, this senior disciple of Tson-kha-pa did not persuade him to remain in Tibet either, but instead encouraged him to go to Chab-mdo, Hsi-kang, and gave him many gifts. Consequently, in 1437 he built the monastery Byams-pa-glin at Chab-mdo, the first in Hsi-kang, for the previously mentioned monastery at Li-than was built in 1580 by Dalai III.

When the monastery was actually established, the founder gathered together more than three thousand monks to study with him. Then he realized that Byan-chub-hbum had had a supernatural premonition of his future. This seat at Chab-mdo is still a very important center of learning today.

(2) Hod-zer-rgya-mtsho and Sku-hbum Monastery

The forerunner of establishing Dge-lugs-pa teachings in A-mdo was Don-rin-po-che, first teacher of Tson-kha-pa, who built a small monastery not far from Tson-kha, where Tson-kha-pa took refuge as a novice monk. Later, a pagoda was built at the latter's birth place, and monks gradually gathered around it. When Dalai III visited the place on his way to Mongolia, he ordered Hod-zer-rgya-mtsho to build a monastery proper in 1578. Because of the strange images on the leaves of the Tsandan tree, related in the last chapter, it became known as Sku-hbum, the famous Tar-ssu in Chinese (pagoda-temple), near Hsi-ning (Si-ning), the provincial capital of Ching-hai. It developed into exoteric and esoteric colleges. There are now four of them, one of which specializes in medicine. The incarnate lama is supposed to be Tson-kha-pa's father.

(3) Rgyal-sras-don-rgyan-pa and Dgon-lun-byams-pa-glin Monastery

This is the second monastery in A-mdo, in the present jurisdiction of Ching-hai. It was built in 1604, at the command of Dalai IV, by Rgyal-sras-don-rgyan-pa, and was the first esoteric institution in A-mdo. Later, the founder of Bla-bran

monastery added to it an esoteric college, making it a full double-attainment stronghold. Important Grand Lamas, famous in the Manchu dynasty, such as Chang-chia (Ichan-skya) and Tukuan had their seats therein. Sum-pa-mkhan-po, the author of a Tibetan chronological table,⁷ was also an abbot of this center.

(4) Hjam-dbyans-bzad-pa and Bla-bran Monastery

This monastery in A-mdo is the fourth in order of establishment, in 1709. Formerly under the jurisdiction of Ching-hai, it has recently been transferred to that of Kan-su. Reserving a fuller treatment of its location, structure, etc. for the next few chapters of this study, we give a record here of its founder and his later reincarnations, who developed it to the present-day status.

Hjam-dbyans-bzad-pa (1648-1721), the founder, was a native of the neighborhood (Brag-dkar), later to be known as Hjam-byans I. Many prophecies were related to him. One of them was to the effect that he was destined to manifest the God of Power; another, according to Ma-gcig-lab-sgron (1052- ?), the lady saint who had visited A-mdo, he was a manifestation of the God of Mercy. His paternal grandfather was noted for having counted his rosary beads a million times in reciting the Mantras of the God of Power, and for having copied the entire Bkash-gyur in silver, thereby acquiring great merit for his descendants. His father, Dpal-cul-kha-hdal-dpal-hbum-rgyal, was the youngest of three brothers. But he himself was the eldest of his brothers, the second and fourth being monks and the third most wealthy in the locality.

His mother, Mkhar-mo-skyid of Kha-gyas, had many lucky dreams when she was pregnant. On his birth on the eighth day of the first moon, 1648, a dragon's roar was heard in the rain. When astrologers were invited to examine him, the verdict was that he was destined to be extraordinary, but that for the time being it should be kept a secret. As a rule he could not be pacified by laying him down, but only setting him up would stop his crying. He was not afraid

of visitors, always responding with smiles.

At the feast of celebration one month after his birth he was adopted by A-mes-bla-ma-skyabs, a very respected elder, on the advice of an oracle, lest his stars should be too strong for the parents to bring him up. A special person, A-yis-bya-bral, was employed by his adopted father to take care of him, and he was treated dearly as if he were the pupil of the latter's eyes. As a child of two or three years old he used to see bluish auras in all places, and oftentimes conical shapes and Buddhist images. The former, it was said, because in his previous incarnations he was devoted to the recitation of the Mantras of the Wheel of Time; the latter, because at other times he was expert in those of the Mystic Lord (Gsan-hdus or Guhyasamaja). When at play he used to build temples, making offerings and sitting in meditative posture, or preach before other children or prostrate himself in worship. He also often visibly perceive the dark orange edges of the Buddhist temples, and the arrows in front of those for the Protectors of the Faith, both of which were identified as the same as those existing in a monastery in Tibet, which he visited later; because, it was said, he was formerly the abbot there in previous incarnations. When he was five years old, in 1652, Dalai V visited A-mdo on his way to Peking. By his unusual activities he was able to draw the attention of the latter.

When he was learning the Tibetan alphabet at the age of seven with Bsod-nams-lhun-hgrub, his paternal uncle, he suggested that the subject should be taught through illustrations in order to be easily understood. By this means he became proficient in writing many styles of the letters. He also became skillful in making divination and in offering magic water to cure illness. Once he cured a boil for his father when other people had tried and failed.

At the age of thirteen he was made a novice monk by Yeces-rgya-mtsho, receiving the name Blo-bzan-rgyal-mtshan. He later became a student of Thub-med-lha-btsun. The latter was famous for having recited six-syllabled "Om-mani-padme-hum" 10,000,000 times and for the fact

that, by virtue of the formula, he acquired a new set of teeth in old age. Being known as a “dun-so” for this fact, Thub-med-lha-btsun was universally respected. But he was very much impressed by the talent of this pupil of his and advised the child’s parents to send him to Tibet for further studies.

At this time, the father became seriously ill. Expecting to die any minute, he summoned his son to his presence, saying, “After my death you should be responsible for the maintenance of the family. Try to make it glorious by not failing me.” But the child’s reply was most extraordinary. “You are not to die yet,” said he, “for your karma is still heavy. Should you die now, it might be easier for you. I could also invite many monks to recite scriptures for your future welfare. Don’t worry, I shall be responsible for everything.” This unexpected reply, however, made the father feel much better, and he gradually became well again.

Attracted by the monastic garments of the attendants to the Buddha in images, the novice decided to become a monk by going to Tibet. But he encountered strong objections from his parents and uncle, who said to each other: “All of us are rather old. He should be with us in order to comfort our eyes by his presence. Furthermore, there is no need for him to go to Tibet to study. He is already learned enough, having studied here.”

The child, however, became rebellious. “If you do not allow me to go to Tibet,” threatened he, “I will not remain at home either. I would rather die on the wayside, while roaming around, than stay put right here.” Finally, his parents gave him their permission to study in Tibet.

He was actually twenty-one years old (1668) when he undertook the journey to Lhasa. All the way he was protected by earth-gods and each day he was conscious of what would happen the next day. When he reached the Tang-la Mountain he saw in the sky a vision of the Six-armed Mahakala, which from afar looked like a human lung with bees flying in and out, but a nearer view revealed thousands of Buddhas. This mass fell on his body, to give him a sweet smell and a joyous heart, forgetting all the fatigue on the jour-

ney. After his arrival in Lhasa he presented ceremonial scarfs to the images of Sakyamuni and the God of Wisdom. The latter received them with a smile, hence his Hjam-dbyans-bzad-pa, "Manjughosa's smile." When he kowtowed to the image of Dalai I, in Lam-rim Lha-khad of Hbras-spuns, it stretched out one hand to touch his head. The image of Tson-kha-pa, erected by Dalai II, responded even more miraculously, when the new-comer presented himself, by speaking, "Come here again after your fiftieth year of age!" At that time he did not know what was meant. But when later at the age of fifty-three he became the abbot of the Many-doored College (Sgo-man-grwa-tshan) of Hbras-spuns, he began to realize that this was a prophecy. Apart from this sort of story, however, the first impression left by him at Hbras-spuns was very favorable. For he borrowed, on the very day of his arrival, a copy of Tson-kha-pa's abridged edition of the *Graded Course*. The inmates there were much surprised, for it was not much read by them. In fact, the unabridged edition was not available at all.

Admitted the next day to the Many-doored College, he made rapid progress in his studies. It was the time when Klo-hbum-nag-dban-blo-gros-rgya-mtsho occupied the abbatial chair, who visited in 1627 the Emperor of the Ming Dynasty on the invitation of the latter. This fact may account for the later outlook of the young monk from A-mdo concerning the relationship between Tibet and the Chinese authorities.

At the age of twenty-five (1672) he was admitted to the class studying the doctrine of the Mean. He happened to occupy, in Gsan-phu Temple of the Protector of the Faith, the seat formerly occupied by Mkhas-grub-chos-rje, namely by the side of the seventh column in the hall. This incident inspired him to become a specialist in Mkhas-grub-chos-rje's writings, which he was instrumental in printing and popularizing by having wooden blocks made for them.

He was ordained a full-fledged monk by Dalai V himself, at the age of twenty-seven (1674). At this time he was particularly noted for his ascetic life, by preferring water to tea.

Refusing the honor of becoming the abbot of the Many-doored College in 1676, he entered the Lower School of Theology (Rgyud-smad, founded in 1433). Then the abbot happened to be the same who had been the one to admit him into the Many-doored College, namely Klo-hbum-nag-dban-blo-gros-rgya-mtsho. The new-comer of esoteric Buddhism was well respected as a student and later as an instructor. But he had to go in to retreat, in order to escape from an appointment to the abbotship, even though it was to the disappointment of his master, the former abbot, whom he loved ever since his days with him in the former college.

Before he was fifty (1697) he studied with Dkon-mchog-yar-hphel at Sre-rgyud-dgon-pa and got from him the oral teachings of the Dge-lugs-pa, which were not committed to writing. At that time, four visitors from his native land promised him that should a monastery be built later in their motherland, they would try their best to help by donating a piece of land. When he was fifty, the boy who was to become Dalai VI (Tshans-dbyans-rgya-mtsho) was ushered from Mon, south of Tibet, into Lhasa, and he foresaw that this boy would not abide by his later vows of celibacy.

In 1700, he became the abbot of the Many-doored College, an appointment by the Dalai himself, which he could not very well decline. On the twenty-fifth day of the tenth moon he offered many butter-figures to commemorate the anniversary of Tson-kha-pa's death, a feature which has since become famous in many Dge-lugs-pa centers of learning. He was also responsible for the rediscovery, and enforcing, of the rules of government for the college, and as a means of enforcing strict discipline he was able to secure many sources of support for the livelihood of the order.

When in 1702 he was fifty-five years old, he was one of those who accompanied Dalai VI to Bkra-cis-lhun-po for the initiation ceremony of the latter under the auspices of Pan-chen V. It was said that the novice Dalai Lama asked whether the different orders of initiations should be bestowed on himself successively. On that being affirmed by the Pan-chen

Lama, Dalai asked whether these should be disavowed successively too. "All of them could be disavowed at the same time," was the reply. "Then," said the novice Dalai, "I return all these initiations to you," and he jumped off his chair and went away. Nobody could persuade him to come back for the proper ceremony. This caused much confusion. Between the issues connected with Sans-rgyas-rgya-mtsho,⁸ who was killed in 1705 by the Mongol prince Lha-bzan, Dalai VI, who was deposed in 1706, and the second Dalai VI, who was put on the throne, Hjam-dbyans-bzad-pa participated intimately in the state affairs of Tibet, which are too intricate to relate here.

To return to the personal story of the eventful career of Hjam-dbyans-bzad-pa. In 1703, he received the whole set of Buddhist scriptures brought for him from his home by the Mongol prince Air-rdi-ni-ju-nan.⁹ The latter asked him to return home to propagate Buddhism. To this he replied, "Suppose I go back home, could you help me in building as good a monastery as Hbras-spuns?" "It would be somewhat difficult to build one like this," the prince replied, "but I shall try my best to fulfill your wish."

In 1707, when he was sixty years old Hjam-dbyans-bzad-pa resigned his abbotship of the Many-doored College. But in the same year he was invited to be the abbot of Pha-bon-kha. This was considered the most sacred of the twenty-four sacred spots in Tibet, where King Sron-btsan-sgam-po was said to have spent some time in religious meditation. Thus, despite his wish to return home soon, he accepted the chair in the tenth moon of the year.

In 1708, the Mongol prince Air-rdi-ni-ju-nan sent for him, but he told the messenger that he intended to return home the next year. Leaving Lhasa in the summer of 1709, all the way on his journey he performed religious ceremonies for many people, arriving in the territory of the prince in the ninth moon of the year. Bkan-dkah-bcu donated the piece of land, Bkra-cis-hkhyil, which he had promised, and the foundation for the monastery of Bla-bran was laid on the spot called Rgya-sgar-tog-tin, to make it the same year of the

sexagesimal cycle in which Dgah-ldan was built (1409), the new establishment being exactly five cycles or 300 years later (1709).

The Tibetan term "bkra-cis-hkhyil" was said to be equivalent to Sanskrit "Atha." The initial letter "A" in the latter was considered representative of A-mes-ge-sar-rdo-rtags, "monument (rdo-rtags) of ancestor (a-mes) Ge-sar." The origin of the place name was otherwise identified as "A" in a prophecy made by Ma-gcig-lab-sgron in the eleventh century A.D. In this prophecy it was said that in the place called "A" a monastery would be built by a manifestation of the God of Wisdom. Assuming that Hjam-dbyans-bzad-pa was meant by the prophecy, it became fulfilled by his building this monastery at Bkra-cis-hkhyil.

In the seventh moon of 1710, he started the first exoteric college with an initial attendance of some 300 monk-students. The Mongol prince donated the first shelter in the form of a large tent, which could accommodate 1,000 people. Others gave many other necessary contributions. The actual building of the Chanting Hall began in 1711 and the expenses were met by the prince. It was after the model of the Many-doored College in Tibet, having eighty columns.

In 1716, the Lower College of Theology was built after the model of its name's sake in Tibet, Rgyud-smad, which was built in 1433. In 1720, a golden seal was awarded by the Manchu Emperor Kang-hsi to confer on Hjam-dbyans-bzad-pa the title of "Precious Master of Law" (erdni nomun-khan). He died on the fifth day of the second moon in 1721 when he was seventy-four years old. His body was enshrined in a gilded pagoda in the Chanting Hall of Bla-bran and his death is still commemorated.

(a) Hjam-dbyans II (1728-1791) The second incarnation of the founder of Bla-bran was a native Nan-chen, on the border of Ching-hai and Hsi-kang. His family was one of the four important clans in the region. Due to an objection caused by the belief that Hjam-dbyans I became reincarnated as the Manchu Emperor Chien-lung, Hjam-dbyans II was for a long time denied proper recognition by the former associ-

ates of the founder. The wife of the Mongol prince went to Lhasa in 1742 to get the state oracle to identify him as the proper reincarnation, and he was ushered into Bla-bran the next year, when he was already sixteen years. He was ordained a full-fledged monk, by the Lehan-skya Grand Lama, at the age of twenty-two. The years between twenty-five and thirty-two ages were spent in Lhasa in further studies. Since the age of thirty-three he spent every day at Bla-bran in supervising the debates of the thirteen classes of monk-students, until he became an abbot at Dgon-lun-byams-pa-glin, at the age of thirty-six. When he was thirty-eight years old, he became abbot of Sku-hbum, a custom established since then for the incarnations of Hjam-dbyans to assume that office once in a lifetime. On his return to Bla-bran at the age of forty-five he remained to work for twelve years, using every effort to make the people devoted to the monastery. He went to Lhasa again at the age of fifty-eight and returned at sixty. He died at sixty-four. During his life he enlarged the Chanting Hall to twice the size of the one left by its founder; and in 1763 and 1784 respectively he built the College of the Wheel of Time (dus-hkhor) to specialize in the Lhasa calendar, and the College of Medicine for the cure of illness.

(b) Hjam-dbyans III (1792-1856) This incarnation was a native of Nan-thog, of Pao-an in Ching-hai. When he was four years old, representatives from Bla-bran brought to him among other things articles which had been used by Hjam-dbyans II for him to identify. But the people of Sung-pan, Szechwan, claimed him as the incarnation of a Grand Lama in their province. Everybody was reconciled when evidence from the shrine of Hjam-dbyans II and the Dalai Lama's word were in favor of Bla-bran. Ushered into the latter place at the age of seven, he went to Tibet when he was eighteen. The Pan-chen Lama ordained him to full monkhood when he was twenty years old, and he returned to Bla-bran two years later. In spite of being a Grand Lama, Hjam-dbyans III remained an ascetic. He never wore any new garments and refused the use of silver. He was ever ready to help in consulta-

tion with the ordinary monks, and he even would not sit on an embroidered cushion. Most of the time he was in the meditative mood. He could be absorbed in meditation while traveling on horseback. He did not establish any new college, but completed the College of Medicine left by his former incarnation.

(c) Hjam-dbyans IV (1856-1916) A native of Sde-dge, Hsi-kang, he was welcomed to Bla-bran at the age of five. When he was twenty-one he went to Lhasa for further studies. Having spent three years there he returned to his seat of authority and built in 1881 the College of the Happy Thunderbolt (Kye-rdo-rje) to specialize in the Peking calendar. As for his temperament, he was just the opposite of his former incarnation, being fond of trips and buildings. Besides many temples built by him, he also constructed various private quarters. In 1898, he undertook a trip to Peking, and to the sacred mountain Wu-tai in Shan-hsi. His biography is full of stories as to how he enjoyed unfamiliar sights in distant places.

(d) Hjam-dbyans V (1916-1947) Born in Li-hua (formerly Li-than) he came to Bla-bran at the age of five (1920) together with his family, an unusual practice for an incarnate lama. When the monastery was attacked by the Moslems in 1924, he took refuge elsewhere. The central government of China being petitioned to assign Bla-bran to Kan-su in order to avoid further trouble with the Ching-hai authorities, an order came in 1927 favorably and the Grand Lama came back in the same year. He went to Lhasa in 1938 and Upper College of Theology (rgyud-stod) began to build in 1939. On his return to Bla-bran in 1940 he became interested in extending the usual curriculum of exoteric Buddhism, and in 1945 the subject matter of primary Chinese schools was added to the training of a selected number of younger monks in his charge. He himself studied Chinese with a Chinese college graduate who became a monk¹⁰ under him. There were signs of cultural fusion at this famous center of Tibetan scholarship on the border of Han culture. Unfortunately he died young, at the age of thirty-two, when he was ready to do a great deal for the

cause of Tibetan renaissance.

The incarnation for Hjam-dbyans VI is not yet identified. But the monastic and temporal affairs of Bla-bran are in the charge of two brothers of Hjam-dbyans V.

BLA-BRAN: A DGE-LUGS-PA MONASTERY

Chapter IX

BLA-BRAN AND ITS BENEFACTORS

Bla-bran literally means "residence of the superior one," namely that of a Living Buddha or Grand Lama. The Grand Lama in this case is the founder of the monastery and his later incarnations. The proper name of the monastery is Bkra-cis-hkhyil, "the auspicious whirlpool." It is situated on the north bank of the Hsia River, approaching an elevation of 10,000 feet. The Chinese name of the *hsien* (county) administration, which corresponds with Bla-bran as a district, is Hsia-ho, after the name of the river. Some seventy miles or three stages on pack animals to the northeast is Lin-hsia (formerly Ho-chou), the so-called Chinese Mecca, sacred to Chinese Moslems in China's northwest. The same distance from Lin-hsia eastward is Lan-chou, the provincial capital of Kan-su, to which both Lin-hsia and Hsia-ho belong. Southeastward from Hsia-ho, Lin-tan Old City is eighty miles away, four days' journey on horseback through grasslands and mountainous regions. Four days' journey due south on grassland is the Lha-mo Monastery on the Kan-su-Sze-chwan border. Southwest of Hsia-ho, toward the bend of the Yellow River, is a journey entirely on grassland, on the main route to Lhasa, some twenty-eight horse-stages. Tung-jen and Hsun-hua, of Ching-hai, are two or three days' journey to the northwest of Hsia-ho. Before 1927 Bla-bran belonged, together with Tung-jen and Hsun-hua, to the jurisdiction of Ching-hai.

But since then it has been assigned to Kan-su and the name Hsia-ho has been adopted to designate the administrative unit of the county. Before the introduction of motor and rail transportation it took some fifty-four days to travel on horseback from Bla-bran to Peking. The railroad is still too far away from Bla-bran. Motor cars are available from Lan-chou to other parts of China. But airplanes between Lan-chou and Bla-bran are possible, though not used.

Thus Bla-bran may be considered from different points of view, as a monastery, a local community, and a district. As a monastery, this particular site was chosen because it was thought to embody the eight lucky signs: the Mandala hill in the south as the lotus flower, Chahsiger in the east as the conch-shell (with a clockwise spiral), Ludi six miles to the west as the vase, Mabshadewa as the umbrella, the red rocks of Chiuchia as the standard, Pakou as the wheel, Thangdi of Chaohuthang as the fish, Chiashia in Sankhothang as the lucky knot.

The monastery as a religious institution, as well as everything in it, may be considered an object of worship. The Buddhisttriad (dkon-mchog-gsum), Buddha, Dharma (Doctrine), and Sangha (Order), embodied therein, gives sufficient reason for this. So far as Buddha is concerned, there are the images and Living Buddhas. Apart from the images in the six colleges, and the dramatization of some of them, to which we shall turn in Chapters XI and XIII, there are those in more than thirty separate temples, six temples for special Protectors of the Faith for internal affairs (mgon-khan), four for external affairs (btsan-khan), more than thirty mansions of the Living Buddhas, and many pagodas and great numbers of miniature images. Some five hundred Living Buddhas, including eighteen major ones, in the monastery may be classified either in the Buddha category or in the Sangha. The Dharma (dam-chos) is represented by eighteen sets of the Bkah-hgyur (translation of Buddha's commandment) and the Bstan-hgyur (translation of commentaries) in golden letters, more than 10,000 volumes of various scriptures in the monastery library, more than 1,000 volumes

in the different colleges, several hundred volumes in each of the mansions of the Living Buddhas, forty to two hundred in the hands of every scholar; the wooden printing blocks in the printing establishment; and myriads of printed sheets in the Mani cylinders surrounding the walls of the monastery, to be turned while walking along as a form of worship. The holy order (dge-hdun) of the monastery consists of some 3,600 inmates. Even though the number may be much more during the time of public festivities and much less in ordinary seasons, Bla-bran is officially known for this round number. If we add to this the monks in 108 branch monasteries, the size of the order under the direct control of Bla-bran is tremendous. Although the number is more ceremonial than real (108 being a number sacred to the Buddhists), the actual count of the branch monasteries is more, not less, than this. There are more than two hundred of them scattered over many provinces, even including Inner Mongolia.

As a local community, the congregation is reinforced primarily by Upper Tawa and Lower Tawa, and secondarily by "the thirteen villages." We shall enumerate the actual population for each of them in the beginning of Chapter XV. But the mythological relationship between the founder of the monastery and the special Protector of the Faith for Lower Tawa is rather illustrative of the principle that nothing happens without an antecedent. Actually, the people of the Tawas came after the establishment of the monastery. They came in order to serve it. The original number of families of Upper Tawa was eleven and that of Lower Tawa, six.

The people of Lower Tawa worship their special Protector in his temple in the lay community on the third day of the first moon, and on a mountain on the eleventh day of the fourth moon. His name is A-mye-bya-lag. The story is as follows.

Once upon a time there was an Indian prince Dapa, who lived with his father and stepmother. He and his stepbrother played together, with him as a chief and his stepbrother as his second-rank officer. These roles displeased the

mother. She put on the air of being seriously ill, spitting blood. The father was much worried and pressed to get her the remedy, namely that she should eat Dapa's heart. Being unable to resist the temptation, the father was about to open his son's heart, while two birds passed by flying. The son asked what they were and the answer was "a mother bird trying to teach her baby bird how to fly." The son then remarked, "Even a bird knows how to bring up her child. Were my own mother alive, my relation with her would be like this. But alas! she is no longer with us, and you have to kill me!"

The father was very much moved, so that, instead of killing his son, he killed a crow, whose heart he presented to his wife. Dapa being put to shelter in a relative's family, the mother recovered her health. Eight months later, however, the truth was discovered, and her illness become serious again.

This time the remedy as revealed by her was supposed to be a drug in the abode of a cannibal demon (srin-po). Dapa, of course, was the one chosen to secure it for her. Having prepared his ration, he rode off on his horse, thinking that he would never come back alive. At the door of the demon he met A-mye-bya-lag, a door-keeper for his master the cannibal. On ascertaining the truth of the visitor's mission the guardian became deeply sympathetic and informed him that the demon was in his period of seven days' fast, when he practiced vegetarianism and slept a great deal.

Eventually, Dapa was let in, where he met, and became friends with, Makshiana, daughter of the demon. Then it was revealed that the name of the drug really referred to this girl. She decided to come with him to his home as his wife. On leaving the abode they saw the guardian, who requested that should Dapa build a monastery to propagate Buddhism, he himself should be allowed to come along as a defender, in order to be saved from the sins in having served the demon.

Makshiana had with her two dragons when she came with Dapa. The stepmother was indeed surprised at the young couple's arrival. She pretended to be ill without a

hope, saying, "Any remedy is too late for me. I am bound to die" Her melancholy air distressed her husband as well as her stepson. The daughter-in-law urged her to say her wish in order to be saved, promising at the same time that whatever she wished could be arranged.

She wanted the demon's palace. And it was constructed the next morning. But this easily-met gratification did not please her. She persisted in being helpless. Further pressed, however, she wished to have a big sea, wherein there should be all sorts of birds flying around, thousands of lotus flowers, on each of which a Buddha should be seated. "When I circumambulate the Buddhas in this way," said she, "I might be saved."

Consequently the dragons made a big sea appear and they themselves changed into buffaloes wading around. The daughter-in-law manifested herself as into so many Buddhas sitting on the lotuses. But as soon as the mother came, the buffaloes cornered and killed her in the water.

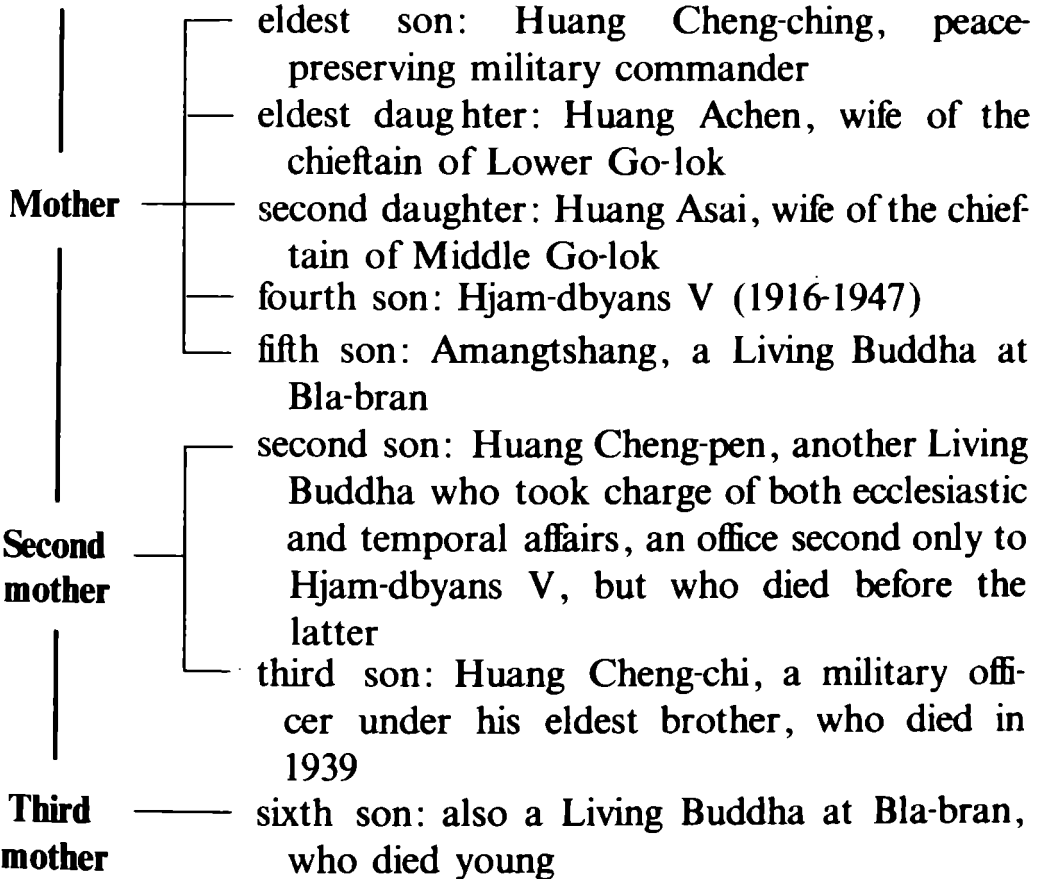
The father became deeply grieved at the loss of his love. But the young couple finally consoled him by expounding Buddhism to him, proving at the same time that the dead mother had really been a demoness.

Now, Dapa was the previous incarnation of Hjam-bdyans-bzad-pa. As he built Bla-bran, A-mye-bya-lag has come to fulfill his wish. The dragons have also come, remaining in the Hsia River at Sankhogthang. Whenever there is any drought a prayer on the mountain where A-mye-bya-lag is worshipped will be answered.

As a district, the monastic administration of Bla-bran is shared in various degrees by the magistrate of Hsia-ho County, the Peace-preserving Commander, and the Mongol prince. The county office, as any other in China, is not connected with any religious association and may be dismissed from our discussion. As the military commander comes from the same family as the last Hjam-dbyans V and as the prince has his jurisdiction partly in the district under Bla-bran and partly in Ching-hai, more information is necessary to clarify confusion.

As mentioned previously, his family came together with Hjam-dbyans V when he was ushered into monastery. Their native home was in Li-hua, Hsi-kang. This happened in 1920. Because of a battle with the Moslems from Ching-hai in 1924, the family took refuge away from Bla-bran. When the jurisdiction was transferred in 1927 from Ching-hai to Kan-su and everybody came back, a county magistracy (formal status since 1928) as well as the commander's office was created by the provincial government of Kan-su. While appointee for the former was a person of Han nationality, the latter was one of Hjam-dbyans V's brothers. A complete list of all the members of the family is as follows:

Father: Huang Wei-chung



Amangtshang has taken over the office of Phyag-mdzod, left by Huang Cheng-pen. Even though a purely ecclesiastic rank, it carries a great deal of influence outside the monas-

tery, for the latter itself is a manifold institution. By collaborating with his two brothers at different times, Huang Cheng-ching on the other hand is also in a strategic position to make full use of both Han and Tibetan resources. That he is most ready to give help to visitors is one of the factors that have made Bla-bran well-known. In addition to the marriages of his sisters with two of the chieftains of Go-lok, the marriage of his son with the sister of the late Mongol prince is one more influence contributing to regional unity.

We have already seen that the family of the Mongol prince many generations ago was instrumental in inviting Hjam-dbyans I to come back home to found the monastery. It also continued to be the principal benefactor of Bla-bran. A record of this family is briefly summarized from their official genealogy "Ku-cri-bstan-hdzin-chos-kyi-rgyal-pohi-zabs-lags."

Air-rdi-ni-ju-nan, mentioned in the last chapter according to Hjam-dbyans I's biography, was known in this genealogy as Phyag-na-bstan-hdzin whose rank was Theji, but successively promoted in 1665 to Tolo Beile, in 1718 to Tolo Chun-wang, and in 1723 to Chin-wang. He was the eldest son of Bo-ceg-thu-jo-nan, the eldest son of Yul-thu-chi-tshe-rin. The last was the eldest son of Gucri Khan (1582-1653) or Ku-cri-bstan-hdzin-chos-kyi-rgyal-po, who originally started as Thu-pe-hu, but, having given Tibet to Dalai V in 1642, got the title of Gucri Khan in 1653 from the Manchu court.

He was the sixth son of Haminnoyenhungor, son of Pobemilcha or Weilat Khan, a ninth-generation descendant of Habutuhasar. Habutuhasar was the younger brother of Genghis Khan, who conquered Tibet in 1206.

Counting downward, Air-rdi-ni-ju-nan or the eleventh-generation descendant of Genghis Khan was succeeded by his eldest son Bstan-hdzin-dban-phyug in 1735. The latter died in 1736 and he was succeeded by his son Dban-lan-rdo-rje-pha-lam, who in turn was succeeded in 1771 by his son Nag-dban-dar-rgyas, who, because of an offence, was deprived of his title of Chin-wang, but retained the rank of Chun-wang. Having retired on account of illness, Nag-dban-dar-rgyas was succeeded by his son Bkra-cis-hbyun-gnas

in 1807. The latter retired in due time, and his eldest son Bkra-cis-dban-rgyal succeeded him in 1833. Bkra-cis-dban-rgyal was succeeded by his son Chos-rgyal, sixth generation after Air-rdi-ni-ju-nan.

But Chos-rgyal did not have a son. Consequently, he was succeeded in 1887 by Dpal-hbyor-rab-brtan, the seventh-generation descendant of Si-than-dpal-hbar, younger brother of Air-rdi-ni-ju-nan. After the founding of the Republic of China, Dpal-hbyor-rab-brtan was quick in showing his loyalty, and he got back the ancestral title of Chin-wang from the president in 1913. He was succeeded in 1920 by his only son Kun-dgah-dpal-hbyor. The latter's mother was Hjam-dbyans IV's niece, and the relationship between the monastery and the royal family became more intimate than was usual between a religious establishment and its official benefactor.

This Mongol prince, Kun-dgah-dpal-hbyor, when young, was told by a Grand Lama that, unless he became a monk, he could not live long. The family was naturally very much concerned with his fate, and so he became a monk. But since there was no other heir to his father's legacy, he had to put aside his monastic vows later to become married and thus to carry on the family line. However, he became seriously ill and died in 1940 just one day before the return of Hjam-dbyans V to Bla-bran from Lhasa.

The young prince having died without a son to survive him, the family made his younger sister, Bkra-cis-tshe-rin, its temporary heiress, hoping that after her marriage, her son would be the proper heir. The late prince's mother, and his wife, Lha-mo-tshe-rin, in the meanwhile, shared the rule over their subjects in Bla-bran and Ching-hai. The last news reported that the heiress, Bkra-cis-tshe-rin, was married to the son of General Huang Cheng-ching, eldest brother of the late Hjam-dbyans V.

Now, this Mongol family is popularly known as Huang-ho-nan-chin-wang, "prince south of the Yellow River," in control of the front-first banner (chien-shou-chi) of the Hoshuot Mongols in Ching-hai. When Bla-bran was first founded it was in the territory of this family. But after the above-

mentioned conflict between the Moslem rulers of Ching-hai and the monastery in 1924 and since the allocation of Blabran to Kan-su in 1927, the position of the Mongol aristocracy has become very difficult. For the mansion of the family remains at Blabran while most of its subjects are in Ching-hai. It is the provincial authority of the latter in the hands of the Moslem rulers that the family and its heads have to obey.

The present printing establishment of the monastery was formerly the mansion of the Mongol prince. It was yielded to religious purpose when the monastery was being built. The family moved to the present quarters which included the present headquarters of General Huang Cheng-ching. When the family of Hjam-dbyans came in 1920, that part was given up in their favor. Another mansion was being built to the west of the monastery when the late prince died.

In spite of the tragedy, this family is still the largest of all the surviving Mongol princedoms in Ching-hai. Without going into detail, we may record the following data.

After donating portions to the monastery, the remaining territory of the Huang-ho-nan-chin-wang covers: (a) Tatshan within Hsia-ho County of Kan-su Province: 300 families or 1,200 people; (b) Thachu within Ching-hai: 500 families or 2,500 people; (c) Tsanger within Ching-hai: 500 families or 2,500 people; and (d) "The Eleven Arrows" within Ching-hai: 500 families or 2,500 people.

These figures are only rough estimates. To take a round number, the total of the Mongol subjects would be 15,000. All of them are more or less Tibetanized. In comparison with other Mongol princes in Ching-hai, such as Kheri with 1,000 families, Khekhe with 300 families, Tshakher with 80, Tshing-hai with 30, and even come with only 8, this "prince south of the Yellow River" still occupies a conspicuous position in A-mdo in the general decadent picture of Mongol aristocracy. The tendency of nomadic Mongols to disintegrate, when they are surrounded by the Tibetans and Moslems, is also made manifest.

So much for a framework of the differential functions between the monastery, the peace-preserving commander, and

the Mongol prince, in the local community and district of Bla-bran. As the internal aspects of the monastery will be treated in detail in the next few chapters, except Chapter XIV on the lay population, some indication is better made here as to the relationship between the laity and the monastery.

To start from the top, the incarnation of Hjam-dbyans in each lifetime serves as the overlord of the monastery, other branch monasteries, and the population of the district. The Grand Lama appoints immediately under him another lama in the overall capacity called Phyag-mdzod, which we have defined as "one in whose *hand* the *treasury* is." In their religious function, the former is a miniature Pope, while the latter his arch-bishop. Academically, the Grand Lama is the President of the University of Bla-bran and the Phyag-mdzod the provost. Under them are appointed the Dean of Studies and the Dean of Discipline over the six colleges, while each college has a separate dean appointed over other functionaries. But these will be treated in the next chapter. In their political function, however, should we compare the Grand Lama to an emperor, and the Phyag-mdzod would be equivalent to a prime minister. Even though on a much smaller scale, the analogy is not misleading. For these two dignitaries have authority over their subjects as real as an emperor and his minister over theirs. To carry out their orders, the Grand Lama and Phyag-mdzod appoint a number of monk officials over the lay population.

So far as "the thirteen villages" around the monastery are concerned, the monk official appointed by the Phyag-mdzod is called Gner-ba. The latter appoints elders (rgan-pa) for each village, under whom a special "wiser" is appointed to announce each morning in a loud voice what is expected of the people. For routine work the Gner-ba is the final authority. In case of serious events he has to report to the Phyag-mdzod. Outside these immediate villages the monk officials are variously called Sku-tshab, Hgo-ba, Gner-ba, etc.

None of these functionaries is paid. Apart from butter, which is regularly collected from the people who also serve them in statute labor, the livelihood of the official depends in

turn upon fines exacted from those people who fail in their duties or in the observation of tradition. These fines vary in amount not only in accordance with the nature of the case, but also because of the character of the officials concerned. The more lenient get smaller sums while the hard-boiled receive more. These they receive for themselves in case of minor transactions. In dealing with major cases, half of the fines goes to the Phyag-mdzod for the monastery and the other half to themselves. When any case is grave enough beyond their power, it is dealt with directly by the Phyag-mdzod.

The Gner-bas and their equivalents are appointed from among the attendants of the Grand Lama, for a term of three years. When a protest against them is received by the Phyag-mdzod on the ground of wrongdoing and it is justified before the higher authority, these officials may be recalled before their term of office expires. But being afraid that a protest might turn out to their disadvantage, the people do not very often take advantage of this privilege. As a rule, the officials get rich by the end of their terms. Some of them may then find monastic life unattractive, so that they leave the monastery to lead a family life. In fact, many of the rich among the Tibetans, unless they are hereditary chieftains, are former monk officials.

Practically, all the real estate within the area of the two Tawas belongs to the monastery. To secure the use of a piece of land to build a private house on, the applicant pays for the space for each individual room an initial sum of five silver dollars and an annual rent of 125 coppers.¹ To till the land belonging to the monastery, the peasant pays for each measure of seed an equal amount of grain as rent. In the case of reclamation the rent varies from half to double the measure of seed planted.

Possession of land by the monastery may be explained by the fact that, apart from what it possessed originally from gifts made by important donors, any real estate may be given to it as a form of alms-giving for the accumulation of merit by its owner at the time of his death, especially when he is

heirless. Consequently, the accumulation of property of the monastery becomes greater and greater as time goes on. Of the whole area covered by "the thirteen villages" more than ninety percent belongs to the monastery now.

As to the duties and traditions, the following illustrations may be cited. First, the service of free transportation called *ula* is to be supplied at the command of the Gner-ba. In the case of individual needs on the part of the eighteen major and other Living Buddhas, food is given to the people who render such services. Secondly, fuel and fodder are supplied by the people in turn to the lama officials in charge of lay affairs. Thirdly, in case of any strife between the monastery and other localities, all the males of the people are soldiers, who use their own horses and rifles and ammunitions in actual warfare. When these are not ready, they are fined. The actual loss as a result of a fight is borne by each individual concerned. In the bargain of "life-prices" between the contending parties, outgoing expenses are shared by everybody in the community, but income goes to the monastery.

In daily life the people have to rely upon religious services performed by the monks, whom they pay either in kind or in cash. Apart from welfare performance as periodic features, illness and death are especially taken care of in this manner. When the monks come, their attention is often drawn to things beyond the ceremonial. For example, any amount of cleanliness which is beyond the ordinary, any cave which is made of shales (a use proper only in monastic dormitories), the painting of doors (which is also proper only for monastic mansions), the wearing of stockings on the part of women (a characteristic of non-Tibetan customs): these and many others may subject the tradition-offenders to any amount of fine.

In areas beyond "the thirteen villages" where hereditary chieftains are in existence, elders for the villages and nomadic communities are appointed by these chieftains. But in such a place there is always a branch monastery under the control of Bla-bran, for the prestige of local aristocracy demands its establishment. Once established, it takes root. By

giving a mansion inside the local monastery to the founding aristocracy, the ecclesiastic order is considered to be doing the latter an honor. To reciprocate the latter, the powers-that-be will inevitably give to the religious body the same facilities as if their subjects were directly under the monastery. As the Tibetans value precedents to high level, a practice once established becomes a matter of course. In the long run, the monastery will be the inevitable ruler of the people, and the ruling family itself may become decadent and only nominally in control.

We shall describe the public festivities of Bla-bran in Chapter XIII. During the Great Prayer Meeting in the first part of the first moon the whole congregation is fed and given shares of alms for fifteen days. This huge amount of money is covered by contributions in turn from different tribes who live within the Bla-bran sphere of religious influence. To mention the feeding first, there are three big cauldrons in the cooking hall. Each is filled with three yaks, forty catties of rice, eighty catties of raisins, and seventy catties of butter. Counting the amount for one meal a day for fifteen days, we may observe:

Ingredients	for one meal	for fifteen days	cost per unit (silver \$)	total cost (silver \$)
Yaks	3	45	30	1,350
Rice	40 catties	600 catties	3	1,800
Butter	70 catties	1,050 catties	0.40	420
Raisins	80 catties	1,200 catties	1	1,200

Total for one cauldron 4,770
 Total for three cauldrons 14,310

In addition to the meal there are butter and money shared by the 3,600 monks:

	quantity per person each year	total amount in catties	cost per unit (silver \$)	total (silver \$)
Butter	5 catties	18,000	0.40	7,200
Money	7 (silver \$)			25,200

Then, adding up the three items, the total is 46,710 silver dollars. In consideration of the form and level of production in Tibetan communities, to finance a prayer meeting like this is much heavier than any modern income tax. To do so by turns, the tribes have to save so many years to meet the occasion. They struggle to the limit to surpass one another in liberality of support. On the other hand, the Dean of Studies may have to use a certain amount of persuasion to encourage the people in this form of worship. Theoretically, he is obliged to finance it himself if he fails to find an alms-giver. In reality, his prestige must be high both in scholarship and spiritual attainment on the one hand and in wealth on the other.

Chapter X

MONASTIC ORGANIZATION

Having given in the last chapter some indication about the location and external relations of Bla-bran, we may now study the picture of the monastic organization from the inside by examining more closely the six colleges and the classification of their inmates and officers.

(1) The Six Colleges

One of the six is the largest, specializing in liberal arts or exoteric Buddhism, while the others are esoteric in nature. Each is called by a generic name Grwa-tshan, to be distinguished from one another by preceding qualifiers. More details will be found in the next three chapters, but we have to start with an outline as necessary frame of reference for later discussion.

First, the College of Exoteric Buddhism is known as Thosam-glin, established in 1710 by Hjam-dbyans I. There are some 3,000 monk-students in the college, using the Great Chanting Hall for their congregation. They study five principal classics of Buddhistic literature and are divided into

thirteen grades. Different degrees are offered, a feature available only in big institutions. When the complete course finished, they may either remain for further studies or transfer to other colleges of esoteric Buddhism. Of course they may also stop after a few years of study. If they want to, they may go to another college at any time, but it will take at least fifteen years if they want to complete the course. Few can actually do it in such a short time, while many remain lifelong in lower grades. Even though the monks from Bla-bran, like others, may go to Tibet for advanced studies, the standard here is as high as the best there, thanks to the five incarnations of Hjam-dbyans and their associates.

The principal images in this college are not different from those in any Han or non-esoteric temples elsewhere. But the walls of the Great Chanting Hall are full of esoteric paintings; for this hall is also the general assembly hall for all the inmates in the monastery.

Second, the Lower College of Theology, Rgyud-smad-pa-grwa-tshan, was the first of the esoteric colleges, founded in 1716 by Hjam-dbyans I. There are about 150 monks in this college, divided into three grades. The lowest is called Lesser Explanation Grade (ti-ka-chun-hdzin-grwa), the middle Greater Explanation Grade (ti-ka-chen-hdzin-grwa), and the highest Creation Grade (bskyed-rim-hdzin-grwa). The students in all grades are taught in different degrees the explanation, reading, ceremony, and the mental creation and completion in meditation of the tutelaries (yi-dam), namely the Supreme Joyous One (Bde-mchog or Samvara), the Lord of Mysticism (Gsan-hdus or Guhyasamaja), and the Fearful Thunderbolt (Hjigs-byed or Bhairava). The actual attainment rather than formal knowledge of the students is the criterion of their being admitted into each grade. Rites for these tutelaries are performed respectively in the third, ninth and tenth moons.

Third, the College of the Wheel of Time, Dus-hkhor-grwa-tshan, established in 1763 by Hjam-dbyans II to specialize in the Lhasa system of calendar-making, has about 100 student-monks. They are also divided into three grades.

The lowest is called Explanatory (ti-ka). The students are expected to study Sanskrit letters, to learn to read, and to commit to memory the texts about different deities. When they qualify themselves through examination, they are promoted to the middle class, the process of Mental Creation (bskyed-rim). At this stage they learn how to chant, to draw and to make observations of the solar system. The making of mystic diagrams, the performance of Sacred Dances, the play of religious music, etc., are also to be learned. Then after further examination they are promoted to the highest class, Bkah-rams. There is no particular limit to the time for each grade. One may be promoted according to individual attainment. Although as a rule a student begins from the beginning, and once in this college there is no chance to transfer to the College of Exoteric Buddhism, there are cases in which students of the latter may qualify themselves to enter this college at the highest grade, and in which students in this college do get transferred to the other, when they are especially good in general philosophy and literature.

For seven days at a time rites for each of the three deities are performed from the 15th day of the 9th moon for the Wheel of Time, from the 18th day of the 8th moon for the Bigsun Buddha (Rnam-par-snan-mdzad or Vairocana), and from the 18th day of the 9th moon for the Universal Knowledge (Kun-rig).

Fourth, the College of Medicine, Sman-pa-grwa-tshan, established in 1784 by Hjam-dbyans II, has more than 100 student-monks. They are divided into three grades: the lowest called Scripture-classifying, the middle called Scripture-explaining, and the highest called Graded Course on the Path. The first is taught by the highest class from the 11th day of the 2nd moon onwards in reading the texts on feeling the pulse, analysis of urine, purgatives, surgery, etc. Details are given on anatomy, pathology, diet, behavior, drugs, and medical instruments. The program continues until the 18th day of the 4th moon, when professors and other officials will come to test the students for a week. Those who pass are given gifts, while those who fail are punished.

Then there is a seven-day ceremony beginning with the 18th day of the 5th moon. After this ceremony instruction continues to the end of the 5th moon. Beginning with the 1st day of the 6th moon, the whole college undertakes a trip one or two days' distance from the monastery. There, tents are pitched on mountain slopes and in the morning lessons are given in the same way as in the monastery. But in the afternoon everybody goes out to collect roots, stems, leaves, flowers and fruits of medicinal herbs, as well as other medicines in minerals, soil, and so forth. Then there is another gathering-together when elderly people explain to the inexperienced the names, life histories, forms, tastes, and functions of the specimens collected. Thus each day the process is repeated, and the specimens are dried, wrapped, and marked as to their tastes, functions, how to be used, and for what illness. The party returns to the monastery on the 14th day of the 6th moon.

Beginning with the 15th day of the same month, there is a period of retreat. The first choice of the drugs is presented to the Grand Lama, and successively to the Dean of Studies, and to the deans of the different colleges.

Then there is a three-day holiday beginning with the 17th day of the 8th moon. As it is the best time of the year for all sorts of plants, they are shown to the students in their natural state on the spot. The methods of preparing medicine in ointment, pills, powder, and plaster are also demonstrated to the students. Similarly, religious music and the steps in Sacred Dances are learned in this season. On the last day medicines are distributed to the monk-students themselves.

In the winter ceremony the lower-grade graduates are promoted to the middle grade. Those of the latter are similarly tested in the same subjects, but at a higher level. When they pass, they are promoted to the highest grade. There is no limit to the years spent in the last.

Ceremonies for purely religious purposes are (a) four days from the 23rd day of the 8th moon for the welfare of Hjam-dbyans; (b) three days after this for the propitiation of the Horse-headed Lord (Rta-mgrin or Hayagriva), when on the

last day, the 29th, figures of barley meal and butter are offered; (c) seven days from the 18th day of the 3rd moon for the worship of the fifty-one Buddhas of Medicine; (d) seven days from the 9th day of the 8th moon for the worship of nine Horse-headed Lords.

The ceremonies in common with other colleges are: (a) the Great Prayer Meeting from the 3rd day of the 1st moon for 15 days; (b) composite offerings from the 3rd day of the 2nd moon for 5 days to commemorate the anniversary of Hjam-dbyans I's death; (c) the commemoration of Mi-la-ras-pa from the 1st day of the 7th moon for 15 days; and (d) the commemoration of Tson-kha-pa's death from the 25th day of the 10th moon for 7 days.

The principal deities characteristic of this college are the Horse-headed Lord, the Buddha of Medicine (Sman-lha), the Unagitated Buddha (Mi-hkhrugs-pa or Aksobhya), the Fearful Thunderbolt, the Proctor (Agon-po or Mahakala), the King of Law, and Zan-blön.

Fifth, the College of the Happy Thunderbolt, Kye-rdor-grwa-tshan, established in 1881 by Hjam-dbyans IV to specialize in calendar-making according to the system practiced in Peking, has also three grades: the lower enrolling 35 students, the middle 25 students, and the highest 60 students. The lower grade studies the short treatises concerning the Fearful Thunderbolt, the Proctor, the Four-headed Avalokitesvara, the Propitious Mother (Dpal-ldan-lha-mo or Srimati-devi), the Guardian King of the North, the Happy Thunderbolt, the God of Power, etc. Then longer treatises on the above are studied together with the art of chanting, diagram-drawing, the different styles of the Sanskrit letters, etc. Finally, after other tests the students are admitted to the highest grade when the serious business of mental creation and completion is attempted. There are three big ceremonies in the 3rd, 8th and 9th moons. The calendar they use is exactly the same as available in Chinese rural communities today.

In addition to what is shared with other colleges, particular deities of this college are the Happy Thunderbolt, the Great

wheel Thunderbolt, and Yogambara.

Sixth, the Upper College of Theology, Rgyud-stod-pa-grwa-tshan, established in 1939 by Hjam-dbyans V, has the same content as the Lower College of Theology. Only the details of performance are different, and we need not trouble to relate them. But it should be made clear that the terms "upper" and "lower" do not imply any difference in quality. They are not to be understood as if by passing the lower one goes to the upper. These two have their origins in Tibet, which are situated in upper and lower places topographically. As repeatedly pointed out, esoteric Buddhism depends upon the direct instruction of the masters. Even though the scriptures are the same, the tradition may be different, hence the two in Tibet. Bla-bran has an ambition to make the monastery as comprehensive as possible. Therefore, everything in existence in Tibet in the teachings of the Dge-lugs-pa has to be embodied in the facilities of this seat of learning. When this college was first established, the Lower College had to have some of its students transferred there.

(2) Classification of Inmates

Many bases of classification have often caused confusion when combined. Here we see how the lamas classify themselves.

First, in contrast with illiterate laymen, everybody studying in the monastery is called Grwa-pa, literally a "school-man" or student. The Grwa-pas may either be "transformed bodies" (sprul-sku), usually called Living Buddha or, more likely, may be ordinary people without the knowledge of their previous lives. A "transformed body" has his own distinctions, which are not acquired in this life, but which on being discovered as such are supposed to be the supernatural qualities carried from previous existence. These qualities do not give their possessor any academic standing or administrative duties. Academic recognition has to be earned, and unless he inherits the ownership of a monastery, he has to be appointed by a higher authority to any

position. Thus, it is only in his own monastery that a "transformed body" has administrative privileges. Otherwise he is academically and administratively just like any other. Even in his own monastery he has to go through the regular mechanism of scholastic work.

Second, all the Grwa-pas, "transformed" or otherwise, may be classified according to whether they are office-holding or non-office-holding. In the non-office-holding category, the Grwa-pas may further be classified on the bases of type of initiation, attendance in the Chanting Hall, the kind of books they have mastered, the degrees they have acquired, and the honorary titles they happen to be called by.

In terms of initiation, the first is *dge-bsnen*, who is bound by the five vows: not to kill, not to steal, not to commit adultery, not to lie, and not to imbibe intoxicating drinks. To keep these five vows one does not need to be a monk. Many laymen in Han and Tibetan communities do it in married life. But as the Tibetans enter into a monastery at an early age, say around six or seven, they cannot be expected to observe too strict monastic discipline. Thus they start with these minimum observances.

The next is *rab-byun* when the life of celibacy and a certain amount of asceticism is expected. In addition to the five vows of *dge-bsnen*, five others are to be observed: not to sit on elevated beds, not to carry with one a knife, not to eat after noontime, not to use perfumes, and not to hoard wealth. Next comes the *dge-tshul*, who observes thirteen vows, which may be analyzed into thirty-six more detailed vows. A *dge-tshul* is often called a novice. A full-fledged monk is called *dge-slon*, who keeps 253 vows.

With respect to attendance in the Chanting Hall, the lowest order is a *mug-phrug*, who is too young to attend any ceremony, but who lives in the monastery in order to have tutorial schooling. Literally "a child," this *mug-phrug* is also called *gron-dge*, "a good boy from the village." Once admitted to the Chanting Hall for worship, one is called *sgar-dge*, "a good boy in the monastery." In contradistinction to those who are regular students in the colleges, any non-

classified attendant to the Chanting Hall is called *tshogs-hbrims-pa*, "one in the assembly."

On the basis of books studied the students are variously known as *bsdus-grwa-pa*, "specialists in the abridged works" or the first four years of logic; *rtags-rigs-pa*, "specialists in logic" or the fifth year of the subject; *phar-phyin-pa*, "specialists in the classics on wisdom" or the fourth year after logic; *dbu-ma-pa*, "specialists in the doctrine of the Mean" or the two years after the Wisdom; *mdzod-pa*, "specialists in the Abhidharma-kosa" or four years after the doctrine of the Mean; *bkah-rams-pa*, "master of the law" or the last grade in any college. In the College of Exoteric Buddhism it means the year of or after the Abhidharma-kosa when the classics in monastic disciple are being specialized in. All stages of study may be marked by specific names. But the six mentioned here are the most important.

In terms of degrees, the first is *rab-hbyams-pa*, equivalent to a B.A., a title conferred on those who have passed an oral test in the ceremonies of the first and second moons. Candidates come from the first year in the study of the Wisdom up to the last year of the doctrine of the Mean. When the test takes place in the sixth moon, the same degree is called *bkah-bcu*. The second is *rdo-ram-pa*, an equivalent of an M.A. The candidates come anywhere from the Abhidharma-kosa upward. Because the tests take place in the courtyard (*rdo*), they are literally successful candidates from the courtyard, while *rams-pa* is the abridged form of *rab-hbyams-pa*, "one deeply read." The same degree obtained from Lhasa in the first-moon ceremony is called *lha-ram-pa*. The third is *snags-ram-pa*, "one versed in esotericism." When one gets this degree in some of the esoteric colleges after graduation from the College of Exoteric Buddhism, it is the equivalent of a Ph.D. or D.D. For those who get it in any of the esoteric colleges without having first studied exoteric Buddhism, it is a B.D.

The most common honorary titles are *mkhas-pa* and *dge-bces*. Both in general means "good scholarship," but specifically the former means "learned," while the latter,

abridged form of *dge-bahi-bces-gnen* (kalyana-matra), designates "pure life, good character and learning." Whereas in Lhasa "rdo-ram-pa," "glin-bzi-pa," "tshogs-ram-pa" and "lha-ram-pa" are entitled to be called *dge-bces* as degree distinctions, here at Bla-bran *Dge-bces* is more of an honor of address than a designation of any degree. Other honorary addresses are *dge-rgan* or teacher, and *bla-ma* or the superior one.

(3) Officers

In the office-holding category we may distinguish between those who have titles from the government of China and those who are appointed by the monastery authorities.

In the Ching Dynasty all the lamas were classified according to the four areas: first, those residing in Peking; second, those in Tibet; third, those in A-mdo and Hsi-kang, who were called "fan"; and fourth, those in Inner and Outer Mongolia, who were called "nomads."

The lamas in Peking were: Seal-holding Chasak Ta Lama, 1; Deputy Seal-holding Chasak Ta Lama, 1; Chasak Lamas, 4; Ta Lamas, 17; Deputy Ta Lamas, 4; Sula Lamas (without portfolio), 19; Teaching Sula Lamas, 6; Extra Teaching Sula Lamas, 4; Temchi (skyi-pa), 31; and Gebkui (sde-bakos), 50. These officers were either "transformed bodies" or ordinary lamas. As a class they were called Sekai in contradistinction to those who were simply followers; the higher officers of the latter being Gelong (*dge-slon*) and the lower ones, Bande (*btsun-pa*).

In Tibet the lama titles recorded, in addition to the Dalai and Pan-chen Lamas, were: 18 Hutuktus, 12 Sha-bu-longs (*zabs-drun*), both categories being "transformed bodies"; Bka-blon or ministers, Mdzod-dpon or councillor of the treasury; Gner-tshan-pa or controller of the revenue; Lam-mdzad-gcags or controller of streets and roads; and so forth.

There were 40 "transformed bodies" recognized in A-mdo and 76 in Mongolia. But, as mentioned above, there are 500 of them in the single monastery of Bla-bran, to say

nothing of other monasteries elsewhere. The difference between the officially recognized and the socially accepted is certainly great, as this institution of reincarnated lamas represents a form of vested interests. But it is necessary to remind ourselves of the fact that at Bla-bran itself Hjam-dbyans I received the title of Hutuktu and Gun-than, one of his eighteen famous disciples, was another Hutuktu in Peking.

Now, with the classification by the Manchu court of the lamas in general as a background, we may classify the office-holding lamas at Bla-bran appointed by the monastery authorities. Here we should distinguish between three categories: those who serve as collegiate officers, those who attend upon the Grand Lama personally, some of whom are lama officials in control of the laity, and those who attend upon other Living Buddhas.

Of the collegiate officers, first, there are a few for the monastery or university as a whole. We have mentioned Hjam-dbyans and the Phyag-mdzod as President and Provost respectively. Appointed by them there are:

1) Dean of Studies or Tshogs-chen-khri-pa, chairman of all academic gatherings, with a term of office ranging from one to three years. As a rule he has to be rich, a "transformed body," both learned and respected.

2) Dean of Discipline or Zal-no, responsible for proper conduct throughout the monastery, with a term of office for one year beginning and ending on the 25th day of the tenth moon. He must be rich, well built and elderly with a serious mien. His costume is too expensive for the poor. It is broad-shouldered like a classical Japanese warrior's. Walking slowly with a silver-headed quadrilateral stick carried by himself or by his attendant for him, he is a man feared by everybody.

3) The Leader of Chanting or Dbu-mdzad, who performs function inside the Chanting Hall and whose term of office is three years, beginning and ending on the 11th day of the second moon.

4) Two Treasurers or Spyi-ba, whose duty is to make investment of the property of the monastery and to offer food to the congregation at important ceremonies. The term of of

rice for each is one year and a half, with a total of three years for the team, to begin and end on the 1st day of the eleventh moon.

5) Next in order of rank is the assistant to the Dean of Discipline. He is called Chab-ltag-ma, also broad-shouldered in costume. His term of office is six months, beginning and ending on the 25th day of the fourth moon and the 25th day of the tenth moon.

6) Then the Keeper of the Chanting Hall, Ikon-gner, whose function is to clean the Chanting Hall, to offer daily offerings to the images, and to keep custody of everything in the Hall. His term of office is three years, beginning and ending in the early part of the second moon.

7) Two assistant keepers of order or Dge-gyog to help temporarily in the function of the Dean of Discipline and his assistant in the Great Prayer Meetings in the first and second moons.

8) Two Chab-ril or water-jar holders. One is under the Dean of Discipline with his term of office identical with that of the latter. The other is under the assistant to the Dean, Chab-ltag-ma, with his term of office identical with that of the assistant. Chab-ltag-ma means literally "above the water-jar holder."

9) An assistant to the second water-jar holder, who is called Chab-gyog and who functions only in the Great Prayer Meeting of the first moon.

As to the officers of the separate colleges, the College of Exoteric Buddhism has many functionaries serving in both collegiate and intercollegiate capacities. The College Dean for example is always the Dean of Studies for the whole monastery. But there are also officers strictly serving the college;

a) two Dge-bskos or supervisors, whose term of office is six months, beginning and ending on the 17th day of the eleventh moon and the 17th day of the fifth moon;

b) one leader of chanting or Dbu-mdzad, whose term of office is three years, beginning and ending in the middle of the third moon;

c) four elderly representatives of Rgan-pa, whose term of

office is one year and a half, without any definite date for the assuming and ending of office;

d) two college *Spyi-ba* for the supply of food, whose term of office is the same as above;

e) two *Thog-gner* in control of college investment and responsible for the wheat meal to be served at the nine "periods of concentrated lectures" (*chos-thog*) of the year (four 30-day ones, two 20-day ones, and three 15-day ones);

In the College of the Happy Thunderbolt, as in other esoteric colleges, the college dean or *Grwa-tshan-khri-pa* is appointed from among the learned and respected of the College of Exoteric Buddhism. Below him there are the following officers:

a) one Thunderbolt-grasper or *Rdo-rje-hdzin-pa* or college superintendent, whose term of office is three years without definite date for the assuming and ending of his office;

b) one supervisor or *Dge-bskos*, whose term of office is one year, beginning and ending on the 17th day of the fifth moon;

c) one leader of chanting or *Dbu-mdzad*;

d) four major and minor treasurers or *Spyi-ba*;

e) four elderly representatives or *Rgan-pa*;

f) one cook or *Ja-ma*;

g) one water-jar holder or *Chab-ril*.

All, from c) to g), have one year's term of office, beginning and ending on the 17th day of the fifth moon.

In the Lower College of Theology there are (in addition to the college dean) the college superintendent called *Bla-ma-dbu-mdzad*, the college leader of chanting called *Byin-hdren*, and two of their treasurers, called respectively *Rab-gnas-spyi-ba* and *Dnul-gner*. The former is responsible for food and for the barley used in the ceremonies between the 3rd day and the 5th day of the sixth moon for the Fearful Thunderbolt, or the Lord of Mysticism, or the Supreme Joyous One. The latter is in charge of the college treasury proper. The other offices are the same as those in the College of the Happy Thunderbolt.

The Upper College of Theology has the same kind of

functionaries as the Lower College of Theology.

The officers of the College of the Wheel of Time are identical with those of the College of the Happy Thunderbolt, except that two of the Spyi-ba are respectively Dnul-gner, as in the Lower College of Theology, and Kun-byan-spyi-ba, responsible for food when the scripture for the Great-sun Buddha (kun-rig-rnams-snan-mnon-byan) are read; and except that there is in addition a Thog-gner, as in the College of Exoteric Buddhism.

In the College of Medicine there is no Thunderbolt-grasper (rdo-rje-hdzin-pa) and except two of the treasurers (spyi-ba) there is no difference between the officers here and in the College of the Happy Thunderbolt. One of the treasurers is called Ma-ni-spyi-ba responsible for vegetarian food during the seven days in the eighth moon. The other is Mgon-smān-spyi-ba in charge of drugs.

In addition to the officers of the university and the colleges, there are the following special functionaries:

a) two treasurers (spyi-ba) for the printing establishment (par-khan);

b) two Dbyar-gnas-spyi-ba responsible for food during the time between the 15th day of the sixth moon and the end of the seventh moon;

c) two special Spyi-ba for the anniversaries of the deities and saints;

d) one Go-re-spyi-ba to distribute doughnuts on the 1st and 2nd days of the first moon; and

e) one Kha-phan or Kha-bzas-spyi-ba to distribute butter during the nine periods of concentrated lectures (chos-thog).

There are also special officers in religious ceremonies, such as the chief dancer (hcham-dpon), chief musician (rol-dpon), and so forth. Because they serve only occasionally they are not enumerated here.

So much for the functionaries of the colleges and other activities. Those who attend the Living Buddhas may be classified as follows:

First, those who attend Hjam-dbyans directly and indirectly are said to amount to more than two hundred. In

the order of importance they are:

(a) Higher class: 1) the all-important Phyag-mdzod; 2) Srid-skyons-chen-mo or personal representative of Hjam-dbyans, an office formerly occupied by A-man-tshan while his brother Huang Cheng-pen was Phyag-mdzod; 3) Sku-bcar-mkhan-po or personal chaplain; 4) Gsol-dpon-chen-mo or supervisor of his food; 5) Gzims-dpon-chen-mo or supervisor of his bed; 6) Mchod-dpon-chen-mo or supervisor of his offerings to the deities; 7) Drun-yig-chen-mo or his chief secretary; 8) Mgron-gner-chen-mo or his chief usher of guests; 9) Gsol-dpon-cheun-ba or lesser supervisor of his food; 10) Gzims-dpon-chun-ba or lesser supervisor of his bed; 11) two Bla-bran-sku-htshab or representatives of his mansion; 12) Pho-bran-sde-ba or keeper of his other private quarters; 13) Mchod-khan-sde-ba or keeper of his private temples; 14) Mgron-gner-gzon-pa or junior ushers of his guests; 15) Ma-chen or head cook; 16) four Sde-hchan-ba or stewards; 17) Gur-dpon or keeper of his tents; 18) two Gzims-hgag-pa or order-keepers of the pilgrims who come to pay respect to Hjam-dbyans; and 19) two gner-ba or monk officials in charge of the laity.

(b) Middle class: 1) Gdugs-hdzin-mkhan-po or his parasol-holder; 2) four Hkah-ram-pa or readers of the scriptures for his welfare; 3) two Sku-mdun-pa or personal attendants; 4) two Gsol-thab-pa or assistant cooks; 5) Phyag-sde or assistant steward; 6) Drun-yig or secretary; 7) two Be-ri-cim or musicians; 8) Bla-sman or medical doctor; 9) A-mchod or regular reader of the scriptures for his welfare; and 10) two Rdzug-pa or lay assistants to the monk officials in charge of the laity.

(c) Lower Class: 1) one Rnin-ma-pa holder of image in front of the procession when Hjam-dbyans travels; 2) six laymen who hold the banners in such a procession; 3) two monks to keep his horse and tents when travelling; 4) four laymen to carry his sedan-chair; 5) a monk to supervise the above; 6) eighty ordinary monks on errands (Zabs-phyi); and 7) some eighty representatives to branch monasteries and communities to control the people, variously called Sku-

htshab, Hgo-ba-gner-ba, etc.

Second, there are other Living Buddhas who are to be served. The officers in this connection vary in number and rank in accordance with the importance of the Living Buddhas themselves.

In the mansions (nan-chen) of the highest Living Buddhas next to Hjam-dbyans, there are some fifteen functionaries in each: 1) Dbon-po or supervisor of the mansion, usually a relative of the particular "transformed body"; 2) Gner-ba or steward; 3) Gsol-dpon or supervisor of food; 4) Sku-mdun-pa or personal attendant; 5) Gsol-thab-pa or cook; 6) Gner-gyod or assistant steward; 7) A-mchod or regular reader of the scriptures for his personal welfare; 8) Don-gner or attendant to his private temple or shrine; 9) Hon-gyod or servant of the supervisor; 10) Gsol-thab-byi-lu or layman assistant cook; 11) Ja-ma or assistant cook; and 12) two Nan-zan or errand boys.

In the second-class mansions, such as Rgyal-tshan and Mkhan-po-tshan, etc., there are in each some ten functionaries: the supervisor, steward, cook, personal attendant, assistant steward, assistant cook, regular reader of the scriptures, errand boy, etc.

In small mansions such as Hgyan-ri-tshan, Tshogs-chen-khri-jur-tshan, etc., there are only five or six functionaries in each: the steward, the supervisor, the cook, assistant steward, assistant, etc. There are also those "transformed bodies" who have no subordinate functionaries at all.

Now, in dealing with public affairs of the monastery as a whole, there are two councils to decide upon matters which are not easily covered by the routine of individual functionaries: the Executive Council and the Grand Council.

Members of the Executive Council (tshogs-chen-tshogs-hdus) consist of: the Dean of Discipline, the Leader of Chanting, two Spyi-so-sde-pa, two representatives from Hjam-dbyans' mansion, one representative from the mansion of the Mongol prince, six elders from the colleges, the chief secretary and the water-jar holder.

Members of the Grand Council (tshogs-chen-spyi-pa) con-

sist of: the Dean of Studies, six college deans, keeper of the Chanting Hall, twenty representatives from the colleges, five ushers from the mansion of Hjam-dbyans, two monk officials in charge of the laity, two assistant to the former, eighteen representatives from the mansions of other "transformed bodies," the Dean of Discipline, the leader of chanting, two Spyi-so-sde-pa, and other retired officers, making a total of more than eighty.

Chapter XI

PRINCIPAL DEITIES

The deities of Tibetan Buddhism are often misunderstood. The reasons are not far to seek. For one thing most of them are esoteric which is not common to those in other places of Buddhism, where only the exoteric phase of it is presented. For another, there is the fact that many temples in the Lamaic monastery do not admit ordinary visitors. These temples are in all cases those wherein the Protectors of the Faith are housed. They also belong to the esoteric phase of Buddhism. We have already seen some of these images in connection with the earlier schools. In this chapter we shall examine more systematically two classes of the principal deities of the Dge-lugs-pa as exemplified in this monastery of Bla-bran, the tutelaries and the proctors, leaving aside the ordinary ones known in exoteric Buddhism. Before our discussion of them individually a bird's-eye-view of the classification of Buddhist deities may be helpful.

While exoteric Buddhism has images mostly of the serene type, esoteric Buddhism is largely seen through those in monstrous forms, which are embodied in the following categories of attainment:

(a) ceremonial Tantra (*bya-bahi-rgyud*) with reference to such matters as diet, cleanliness, etc.;

(b) devotional Tantra (*spyod-pahi-rgyud*), a combination

of formal and meditative aspects;

(c) Yoga (rnal-hbyor-rgyud) or union with the tutelary in meditation;

(d) Anuttara-yoga (rnal-hbyor-bla-ma-med-pahi-rgyud) with reference to the superconscious meditation wherein wisdom and methods are united.

We have seen the nine teachings of the Rnin-ma-pa in Chapter IV. The first three listed there (a to c) belong to exoteric Buddhism; the second three (d to f) correspond to the first three here; and the last three (g to i) are further elaborations of our last in this connection.

According to ceremonial and devotional Tantras, the deities are divided into three classes (rigs): the Tathagata, the Lotus, and the Thunderbolt. According to Yoga and Anuttara-yoga Tantras, they are divided respectively into six and five. Without going into the details of the different classifications, suffice it to say that the ranks given to the deities in each class are different from the others. As an illustration we tabulate here the ranks of the Tathagata class as they are more elaborate:

(a) The Superior One (Gtso-bo): Sakyamuni;

(b) The Lord (bdag-po): the God of Wisdom (Hjamdpal or Manjusri);

His consorts (yum): the Goddess of Light (Hod-zer-can-ma) and five other goddesses;

(c) The Heads (gtsug-tor): the Most Respected Head (Gtsug-tor-rnam-rgyal), the Immaculate (Dri-med), the White Umbrellas Goddess (Gdugs-dkar);

(d) The Angry Ones, male and female (khro-bo-khro-mo): the Most Respected King (Rnam-rgyal-ba), the Inciting Mother (Skul-byed-ma);

(e) Servants (pho-na-mo): the Many-children One (Bu-man-po-ston-pa), the Good-door One (Sgo-bzan-po), the Bad-people Suppressor (Hi-rgod-rnam-hjoms-pa);

(f) Bodhisattva: the God of Mercy (Spyan-ras-gzigs or Avalokitesvara);

(g) Deva (lha), Naga (klu), Yaksa (gnod-sbyin), water gods, earth gods, etc.

Anyone from the Bodhisattva upward may be a tutelary according to the specialty of the devotee. Only the Superior One in any class is a Buddha. But by the nature of Buddhist theory, which is a denial of logical classification so far as anything "real" is concerned, the deities cannot be put into watertight compartments. For instance, the God of Mercy is the Head of the Lotus class, but a Bodhisattva here; the God of Wisdom is ordinarily a Bodhisattva, but here a Lord; and Maitreya (Byams-pa) is also a Bodhisattva ordinarily, but the Coming Buddha in another age.

As to the place of the Protector of the Faith, it can be anywhere from the Lord down to the bottom. As Protector with particular duties, he is of lower rank than the tutelaries. But he may be a tutelary himself in other contexts. Protectors of the lowest rank, (g) for example, can never be tutelaries.

(1) Tutelaries

Even though shared by all the other colleges, the principal tutelaries of the Lower College of Theology are the Supreme Joyous One, the Lord of Mysticism, and the Fearful Thunderbolt. Leaving the latter to be described in the group of protectors, the first two are as follows.

The Supreme Joyous One (Bde-mchog or Samvara) is a Buddha. The background of the image is fire to symbolize that whatever is wished is fulfilled. He stands on a lotus platform, meaning that he is above the transmigratory world in the same way as the lotus grows out of the mud without being contaminated by it. Above the lotus is the sun, symbolizing the Void, the illuminated state of the mind. Being Void, it knows everything. The Buddha has four faces: the white is tranquil (zi-ba); the yellow, beneficial (rgyas-pa); the red, powerful (dban); and the blue, fearful (drag-po). There are three eyes on each face to care for all the sentient beings (sems-can). On the left of the top of his head is a half moon in white color, representing the "happiness of man." Above each face there are five skulls for a crown and the body is covered with a tiger skin, both symbolizing mili-

tary power (dpah-bo). On top of the head is a double thunderbolt (rdo-rje), a symbolism of the completion of two methods. His body is blue in color because he belongs to the Thunderbolt class of deities in contradistinction to the Tathagata and Lotus classes. His body is decorated with fifty human heads and beads of human bones. While both signify impermanence, the former also represents the Sanskrit alphabet; and to be overwhelmingly decorated with the latter means the completeness of the scriptures.

He has twelve arms to stand for twelve truths (bden-don-bcu-gnis) to counteract the twelve links of the cause chain.² The first two arms embrace his consort, with the right hand holding a thunderbolt and the left a bell. The second pair of arms stretch out an elephant hide, meaning that Ignorance is already destroyed. The third right hand holds an ax, while the left holds a cranium full of blood. All weapons signify the destruction of evil or ignorance, while blood represents happiness. The right hand of the fourth pair has a thunderbolt-handled moon-shaped knife and the left, a lasso with a hook on one end and thunderbolt on the other. The right hand of the fifth pair holds a trident, and in the left are the four heads of Mahabrahma (Tshans-pa-chen-po). The right hand of the sixth pair has a hand-drum, and in the left is a skeleton stick, ornamented at the upper end by a thunderbolt, a cranium, two human heads (black and red), a double thunderbolt, a vase, and lotus. The cranium and the other two heads symbolize the three main arteries (rtsa) in contrast with 1,720 smaller veins in the human body.³ The vase means that whatever is wanted is present.

He has two legs. The right one is straight to show that the doctrine is spreading smoothly, while the left one is bent as a gesture that happiness which was offered is accepted. At the same time, the two legs represent respectively method and wisdom. Under the right foot is the Fearful One (hjigs-byed), a Mahadeva, lying on his face, with two hands holding clubs, a third hand holding a hand-drum, and a fourth hand holding a trident. Having him suppressed is having Anger (ze-sdan) subdued. Under the left foot is the Time-

symbol Woman (dus-mtshan-ma) lying on her back, with two hands holding clubs, a third holding a cranium of blood, and a fourth holding a skeleton stick. To have her under foot is having Lust under control (hdod-chags).

His consort (yum or Sakti) is the Diamond Sow (Rdo-rje-phag-mo or Varahi), whom we have mentioned in connection with the Bkah-brgyud-pa. She is red-faced and has three eyes. Her right hand holds a moon-shaped knife to kill off all evil and to attract (to hook up) everything good, and her left hand holds a cranium full of blood to offer happiness to her lord. Her decoration of fifty human heads signifies the essence of the scriptures in terms of the fifty letters of the Sanskrit alphabet. She is also decorated with beads of human bones to symbolize the six means of deliverance (phar-phyin-drug-dag-pa); altruism, discipline, tolerance, industry, meditation, and wisdom. One of her incarnations or manifestations is found at the White Rock Temple (brag-dkar) some seventeen miles north of Bla-bran. As the attendants, male and female, to her lord are supposed to live in twenty-four places (gnas-chen-ner-bzihi-dpah-bo-dpah-mo), the White Rock is one of them. A huge rock standing up in isolation between Lin-hsia and Lan-chou is also taken to be a phallic symbol of her lord.

The Lord of Mysticism (Gsan-hdus or Guhyasamaja) is also a Buddha. He is blue in color, of the Thunderbolt class, characteristic of the mirror-like wisdom. He has three faces: the central one being blue, the one on the right being white, and the one on the left being red. Other characteristics of the head, such as three eyes, the double-thunderbolt, etc., are like those of the Supreme Joyous One. But the five-petal crown symbolizes the five classes of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, of the Yoga category of the four phases of esoteric Buddhism. The table on the next page gives some idea of the symbolism of these five classes.

The Lord of Mysticism has six arms to show that (1) both men and women have three signs of sex; (2) there are three pairs of methods and wisdoms; and (3) there are three signs of death and another three before rebirth. On the verge

Classes	Colors	Kinds of Wisdom	Virtues	Direction
Thunderbolt	blue	mirror-like wisdom	fearful	east
Tathagata	white	universal wisdom	tranquil	central
Lotus	red	discerning wisdom	powerful	west
Ratna	yellow	non-discriminating wisdom	beneficial	south
Karma	green	accomplishing wisdom	combined virtues	north

of death, when the breath is just stopped, the heart and face become white; then both become red; and then blue. At that time when the white from the head comes down to meet in the heart the red from below the navel, it is a sign when neither light nor darkness is differentiated. If at that time one is capable of being conscious of everything, Buddhahood is attained.

The six objects in the hands stand for the above-mentioned classes again. In the middle the right hand with a thunderbolt and the left with a bell signify the double attainment of method and wisdom: the Thunderbolt class. The upper right hand holds a wheel to represent the doctrine of Buddhism or the Tathagata class, while the upper left with a jewel is a symbol of wish-fulfillment, of the Ratna class. The lower left hand with a dagger signifies the cutting off of ignorance, symbolic of the Karma class; and the lower right with a lotus represents the Lotus class.

He has two legs in meditation position, on a platform supported by lotus flowers, above which is the sun. He is covered with monastic garments and embraced by his consort, the Tangible Thunderbolt Mother (Reg-bya-rdo-rje-ma), who is exactly like him in all details.

In the College of the Wheel of Time the distinctive image is the one by whose name the College is known. Of the other deities, the Universal Knowledge has an ordinary form and the Big-sun Buddha has four faces and two hands, which hold a wheel, without further details

The Wheel of Time (Dus-hkhor or Kalacakra) is most elaborate of all in every detail. His body is blue in color, emitting five rays of pure light. He has three necks: the middle in blue, the right in red, and the left in white. There are four heads. The one in front is blue in color, with angry teeth

protruding from the mouth. That on the right is red in color, with a mien of lust. That in the back is yellow in color as if in meditation. The fourth on the left is white in color, being serene. Each of the four faces has three eyes, and on each head there is a crown made of skulls. On the hair in the center there are decorations in an ascending order thunderbolts of various colors, half moon, and a miniature Vajrasattva who holds a bell and thunderbolt in the right and left hands. Decorations over the body are jewels, earrings, bracelets, wristlets, a gir-dle, anklets, scarves, beads: all of diamonds. A skirt of tiger-skin is fastened to the waist.

There are three shoulders on each side in the colors of blue, red, and white in an ascending order. With two arms on each shoulder, there are altogether twelve arms. The first two pairs are blue; the next two are red; and the upper two are white. With two hands on each arm, there are twenty-four hands: the first four pairs in blue, the middle four pairs in red, and the upper four pairs in white. The fingers on each hand from the thumb to the small are respectively yellow, white, red, blue, and green. The joints of each finger from the tip to the palm are respectively blue, red, and white. Each finger wears a ring that radiates light. The parapherna-lia in the hands are:

On the right

On the left

The first four in blue

- 1st: thunderbolt
- 2nd: sword
- 3rd: trident
- 4th: moon-shaped knife

- thunderbolt-handled bell shield
- demon-suppressing stick (kha-tam-ga)
- cranium full of blood

The second four in red

- 1st: fire-arrow
- 2nd: thunderbolt hook
- 3rd: sound-emanating drum
- 4th: hammer

- bow
- lasso with thunderbolt jewel
- white lotus

The third four in white

1st: wheel
2nd: spear
3rd: club
4th: ax

white conch-shell
mirror
thunderbolt chain
the head of Mahabrahma

Standing on a lotus in the air on which there are the sun, the moon, the star Rahu (Sgra-gcan), and the fire of Time (dus-me), the Buddha stretches his right leg out in a playful manner. The leg is red in color, and under this foot is the red deity of desire (hdod-lha), who has one head and four hands, holding a five-flower arrow, bow, lasso, and hook. The left leg of the Buddha is white in color and in a bent position. Under the foot is the white fierce demon, who has one head, three eyes, and four hands, holding a trident, a hand-drum, a cranium, and Kha-tam-ga. The consorts of the deity of desire and the fierce demon hold respectively the soles of the Buddha, with their heads looking down.

The consort of the Buddha embraces him with various gestures. She is yellow in color, having four heads and eight hands. The heads arranged at the front, right, back and left are respectively yellow, white, blue and red in color, with three eyes on each face. The four hands on the right hold respectively a sword, hook, sound-producing drum, and beads; while those on the left have cranium, lasso, hundred-petalled lotus, and jewel. On the top of her head in the center is a miniature Vajrasattva. She stretches her left leg and has the right one bent in order to make a uniform position with her lord.

The principal deities of the College of Medicine were mentioned in the last chapter. The Buddha of Medicine and the Unagitated Buddha are of the serene type. With the exception of Zan-blön, the others will be described in the group of Protectors. A special protector for this college, Zan-blön, does not fall within the same category as the others. Neither is he a tutelary. At the risk of inconsistency a description of him is given here.

Zan-blon (chen-po-rdo-rje-bdud-hdul) is a Yaksa (gnod-sbyin), with a dark-blue body, one head and two hands. The right hand holds a jewel, while the left has a jar of nectar. There are three eyes, red in anger. His teeth are very menacing. With a crown of various jewels, he has a wide cloak decorated with black tapes. A devi (Iha-mo) is by his side as if beseeching. On the left side is his consort, All-accomplishing Woman (Run-grub-ma) by name, with a greenish color, one head and two hands. She holds a bag of disease germs in her right hand, and her left hand has food to offer to her man. The color of the tapes on her garment is white. They are surrounded by their attendants in the form of minor Yaksas.

In addition to what is shared with other colleges, the College of the Happy Thunderbolt has its own distinctive deities, i.e., the Great Wheel Thunderbolt, and Yogambara.

The Happy Thunderbolt (Kye-rdo-rje or Hevajra) is another Buddha. His body is white in color, with eight faces, sixteen hands, and four legs. Three faces are in the front: white in the middle, red on the left, and blue on the right; two others are on each side further back, all in the back and the one above is gray. For each there are three eyes, four fangs sticking out of the wide-open mouth, and five-skull crown. The hair is yellow in color, done upward, and decorated with crossed double-thunderbolts. Over the neck is hanging a rosary of fifty human heads, fresh with dripping blood and the eyes on each being still in motion. The hands are holding the following objects in craniums:

On the right side

- 1st: white elephant
- 2nd: green horse
- 3rd: white donkey
- 4th: red fox
- 5th: gray camel
- 6th: red man
- 7th: green god of antelopes
- 8th: cat god (byi-lha)

On the left side

- yellow god of earth
- white god of earth
- green god of wind
- red god of fire
- white god of moon
- red god of sun
- green god of death
- yellow Yaksa

The two legs behind are in a sitting position. The two in front are standing; the right one stretched out, the left one being bent.

His consort is the Thunderbolt Selfless Mother (Rdo-rje-bdag-med-ma), blue in color, with one head, two arms and three eyes. Her yellow hair is done upward, crowned with five skulls. Her right hand holds a moon-shaped sword, and her left one has a cranium full of blood. Embraced by her lord, she has over her neck the beads of fifty human heads similar to her lord's. With a tiger-skin skirt, she has her left leg stretched out and her right leg hooked over the body of her lord.

The Great-wheel Thunderbolt (Hkhor-chen-rdo-rje or Mahacakravajra) has three heads, six arms and two legs. The right upper hand holds a thunderbolt, while the left one is making the hand-gesture of suppression. The two in the middle have their palms together in salutation, while the lower two each hold a snake. Under their feet are images of Brahma and Indra.

Yogambara (Rnal-hbyor-nam-mkhah) has also three heads, six arms and two legs. The two upper hands have thunderbolt and bell, while one of the middle hands holds the nipple of his consort and the other holds an arrow. The lower two have a cranium and a bow.

All the three principal deities have numerous attendants, whom we shall not enumerate.

(2) The Protectors of the Faith (Chos-skyon or Dharmapala)

They are as follows:

I. Those in the Mgon-khan for internal affairs:

(a) in the Colleges of the Wheel of Time and the Happy Thunderbolt:

The Fearful Thunderbolt (Hjigs-byed or Bhairava)

The Protector (Mgon-po or Mahakala)

The Propitious Mother (Dpal-ldan-lha-mo or Srimati)

The King of Law (Chos-rgyal or Dharmaraja)

The Four-faced Avalokita (Zal-bzi-ba)

The Guardian King of the North (Rnam-thos-sras or Vaisravana)

(b) in the Colleges of Theology (lower and upper), Exoteric Buddhism, and Medicine:

The Fearful Thunderbolt

The Protector

The King of Law

II. Those in the Btsan-khan for external affairs:

(a) in the Colleges of Theology:

The Horse-headed Lord (Rta-mgrin or Hayagriva)

(b) in the College of the Happy Thunderbolt:

Tsihu-dmar

(c) In a separate temple called Gnas-chun ("small house") for external affairs for the monastery as a whole:

The Lord of Deeds (Gnas-chun-hphrin-las-rgyal-po)

1. *The Fearful Thunderbolt* is a manifestation of the God of Wisdom. He assumes the form of the Lord of Death in order to suppress the latter's cruelty. Reference to him was made already in connection with the Sa-skyapa daily observances. So far as his form is concerned, he has nine heads, with three eyes on each, thirty-four arms, and sixteen legs. With a body blue in color, he embraces a consort, who except the three eyes has the normal organs of the human anatomy (see further on). Both of them are naked, standing on a lotus pedestal. Above the lotus is the red sun, and the background is flame of fire.

His nine heads represent the nine kinds of scriptures and spells to suppress the Lord of Death. The three eyes on each are symbolic of Void or clairvoyance. The head in the middle front is blue in color with horns of a buffalo to imitate the Lord of Death and therefore to subdue him, on the one hand, and to stand for two Truths, on the other, the Truth of Void and the Truth of Being. The three heads on the right side are arranged as follows: the middle in blue, the right in red, and the left in yellow, to represent respectively anger, power, and serenity; whereas the three on the left side are respectively white, gray, and black in color, with the gray representing death. A head above the one in the middle front

is red in color, an imitation of the cannibal hobgoblin (Srin-po or Raksasa). All the eight heads mentioned thus far have each a five-skull crown. The top-most head above them is yellow in color, the original form of the God of Wisdom, kindly and peaceful. The hair is done upward, intended to inspire all to reach Buddhahood.

The thirty-four arms together with the mind, body, and speech represent the thirty-seven roads from Bodhisattva to Buddhahood. The number thirty-seven consists of the eight noble paths, four wisdoms, four kinds of industriousness, four kinds of meditation, five capacities, five powers, and seven natures of enlightenment. The seventeen hands on the right have the thumbs, the middle and fourth fingers bent, the index and small fingers straight, and the palms downward: a gesture to challenge the Devas and Nagas. The other seventeen hands on the left have the same hand-gesture, but with palms upward to offer drink and food to the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. The first pair of hands stretch out an elephant-hide to show that Ignorance is destroyed. The second pair have in the right and left respectively a moon-shaped sword and a cranium, while his consort is embraced in these arms. The following arms are separated on the two sides and may be better tabulated thus:

On the right

- 3rd hand: a white vase containing three peacock feathers
- 4th hand: a pestle
- 5th hand: hooked sword
- 6th hand: short lance
- 7th hand: moon-shaped ax
- 8th hand: sword
- 9th hand: arrow
- 10th hand: hooked knife
- 11th hand: club

On the left

- the head of Brahma
- a shield
- a left leg cut off from a human body
- lasso with end of thunder-bolt and another a hook
- bow
- human intestines
- bell
- cut-off left arm
- cemetery cloth

12th hand: skeleton club with a thunderbolt on top, below which are skull, black and red heads, crossed double-thunderbolts, jar, and lotus	trident piercing a male human body
13th hand: wheel of law	oven emitting wind
14th hand: thunderbolt	cranium full of blood
15th hand: hammer	cut-off left arm
16th hand: dagger	three three-storied houses: a standard of victory, the top of which moves in the wind
17th hand: hand-drum	a piece of black cloth, the motion of which causes wind

The sixteen legs are to crush the sixteen-sided castle of the Lord of Death on the one hand and to indicate the sixteen kinds of Void on the other (internal Void, external Void, Void both internal and external, the Void itself being Void, etc.). The eight legs on the right are bent to suppress the eight Devas, while those on the left stretch out to suppress their eight females. While the undertrodden on both sides represent the state of the inferior, those on the right also symbolize the military and those on the left the ghostly.

Below the eight Devas, counting from the front backward, there are: a prostrate male, a standing buffalo, an ox, a deer, a camel, a dog, a sheep, and a fox. Below the eight demonesses are a vulture, an owl, a crow, a parrot, an eagle, a duck, a rooster, and a swan. Yet there is a third stratum on either side. The Devas on the right side symbolize four achievements, namely calm, development, authority, and anger. Their names are Brahma, the Powerful (dban-po) of the Heaven of the Thirty-three, Lord of Pleasure (Khdab-hjug or Vishnu), the Angry One (Drag-po or Hjigs-byed or Bhairava). The other four on the left symbolize four kinds of happiness: the Six-headed One in red, the Elephant-headed One (Log-hdren) in white, Lord of the Moon in white, and

Lord of the Sun in red. As the white is symbolic of male happiness and the red the female counterpart, the four Devas in two colors on the left stand for the completion of both the active and passive virtues.

The Fearful Thunderbolt wears for decoration fifty human heads on his body, thirty-four signifying the consonants and sixteen the vowels of the Sanskrit alphabet, for, the alphabet being complete, all the scriptures written therein are complete. In addition to these, he has over his body rosaries of human bones, indicating again the completeness of the scriptures. Whereas things of the dead suggest the idea of impermanence of life, they also mean the wearer's control over life.

The name of his consort is Ro-lans-ma, "the reanimated corpse." She is blue in color to match her lord. With a five-skull crown on her head, she is militant. But her hair is long and falls down to suggest female obedience. Her right hand holds a moon-shaped sword to sever sentient relations, and her left hand has a cranium full of blood, an offering to her lord: "Would you enjoy this happiness?" She stretches her right leg to crush the demonesses and raises her left leg to signify that happiness is preserved. She also has on her body rosaries of human bones.

Both images are naked because they are beyond this mundane world. The lotus below indicates that they are outside of the Wheel of Life, in the same way as the lotus emerges from mud without being contaminated by it. The sun above the lotus suggests the idea that their minds are all-knowing as the sun is all-illuminating. The flames in the background are symbolic both of their overflowing merits as the flames of fire and of the driving away of all the demons.

According to the story of the scriptures about this deity, he is the Buddha himself. Because the Lord of Death in the south was very cruel, Sakyamuni assumed the form of this deity. The former became terrified and determined to be the protector of the faith for Buddhism. The esoteric scriptures delivered by the Buddha in this connection were put under the custody of the God of Power (Phayg-rdor or Vajrapani), and

kept in the country to the west called U-rgyan or Oddiyana. An Indian anchorite wanted to secure these scriptures and by magic power flew over to that place. But being unaware of the proper procedure, he had painted his legs with red dirt. All the people there were versed in esotericism. One woman, seeing him, became indignant, for the red dirt which was supposed to be on the head of the Fairy Mothers was seen on his legs. Consequently she turned his head upside down. Luckily, he came across the consort of the Fearful Thunderbolt, herself a Fairy Mother of Wisdom. She returned his head to its proper position and commanded him to be silent. On entering the city, his wish was not granted by the lord there, but he was allowed to read the scriptures on the western hills. It was understood that whatever he could memorize might be transmitted back to the human world in India. Finally, he went back home with the memory of four volumes. He used to change his shape on account of his proficiency in them.

Among the translators from Tibet are two famous schools: Ron-lugs and Zur-lugs (see the early part of Chapter IV). Bla-bran belongs to the former. This deity has three main manifestations: the red, the black, and the one we have described. But there are three varieties of the latter: one in military form, the exact form of our description, worshipped daily in the Chanting Hall; one with twelve consorts, unique in the Colleges of Theology, but also worshipped in the Chanting Hall during six days a month; and another with forty-eight associates, not worshipped at Bla-bran.

A brief story in the genealogy of the Ron-lugs may be related to illustrate the idea in the minds of those who meditate on this deity and try to become identified with him, instead of worshipping him purely as a protector. It may also reflect the likelihood that even the Buddhists of the esoteric school might misunderstand the father-mother images.

The originator of the Ron-lugs, it is said, used to appear with a woman and two children. Rumors spread that this monk must be very bad, namely that he violated the rule of celibacy. Soldiers were sent by the Tibetan king to arrest

him. Surrounded by them in his room, he surprised everyone. For lo and behold! he appeared in the sky with his wife and children. Gradually, the woman became absorbed into his body and the children changed respectively into a bell and a thunderbolt, whereas he himself assumed the monstrous form of the Fearful Thunderbolt. Finally convinced that all the forms were but mental creations, the king let him alone.

2. *The Protector* may also be variously classified as a Buddha, a Bodhisattva, or a Deva. Here we are concerned with a description of him as a manifestation of the God of Mercy (Spyan-ras-gzigs or Avalokitesvara), a Bodhisattva. Even as such he has various forms: the two-armed, four-armed, six-armed, and four-armed-and-four-headed. We shall describe him in his capacity of a Protector of the Faith in the six-armed form.

This deity has four associates, two in front of him and two behind. Each has three eyes, a five-skull crown, hair standing up, and wears a tiger-skin. The right front one (Ksetrapala) is mounted on a tawny bear. His body is blue in color, with the right hand holding a moon-shaped sword and the left a cranium full of blood. The left front one (Jinamitra) is standing, his body being red in color. His two hands hold respectively a hand-drum and a cranium. The rear one at the right (Dakaraja) has a blue body, also standing. The objects in his hands are a long drum and a cranium. The rear one at the left (Tra-kcad-nag-po) is black in color and mounted on a black horse. His hands have a spear and a cranium. Around these four associates there are seventy-five attendants and around the latter are many soldiers.

The six-armed Protector himself is blue in color and wears a tiger-skin, a symbol of anger. He is bare-footed, being above impurity. He is also decorated with fifty human heads and with beads of human bones. A long black snake dangles over his shoulders to show that he has suppressed the dragons and other demons. His neck, six wrists, and two ankles are wrapped respectively with white, yellow, and white snakes. A white snake is used as a girdle around his waist,

and between his waist and the snakes there is a piece of green cloth. All the snakes thus used indicate the suppression of the dragon kings. The wristlets, armlets, and anklets are made of human bones. The number of each of the first two is six, symbolic of the six purities or the six means of salvation. He has three eyes, a five-skull crown, and red hair standing straight up. The last is an imitation of the red-haired, red-eyed cannibalistic hobgoblin, the same as the one on the Fearful Thunderbolt's head. This imitation is also meant for his suppression. The red hair is fastened with a black snake to further strengthen the idea of subduing the dragon kings.

The first pair of his six arms are in front of his bosom, with the right holding a moon-shaped knife and the left a cranium full of blood. The other arms are separated. The second right hand grasps a rosary of human bones to count the bad against the good people, and the left hand holds a trident to pierce through the sentient relations in heaven, on earth, and underground; while an elephant-hide is stretched out by these hands to dispose of Ignorance. The third right hand holds a hand-drum to invite the demoness to come to be subdued, and the left one has a black cord or lasso with a thunderbolt at one end and a hook at the other to get all the "entanglements" tied up.

His right leg is bent with the foot resting on the bosom of the elephant-headed Deva (a Ganesa by the name of Tshogsbdag), while the left leg is stretched out with the foot resting on the legs of the Deva. The Deva himself is white in color and is also a god of wealth in the north. He lies on his back, with his head turned to the right as if saying to the Protector, "Whatever you demand, please do as you please." The Deva was originally very cruel, but being subdued by the Protector, he serves him in this manner. The legs of the Deva are stretched out. His right hand holds a cranium, while the left hand grasps a radish and a package of pastry, the chief ingredient of which is also radish, considered to be a kind of medicine. The radish was supposed to have been obtained for him by two rats, which are often represented separately when the Deva is also an image by himself.

Below the Deva is the sun, and below the sun is the lotus. The meanings are the same as given for those in connection with the Fearful Thunderbolt.

The consort of the Protector is the Propitious Mother, standing to his left. There are other presentations with both of them in sexual embrace, but in this instance she is standing by.

3. *The Propitious Mother* is also a protectress in her own right, in addition to being the consort of the Protector. She was originally very cruel, but being later subdued by the God of Power has become faithful to Buddhism. She is also considered the chief of the world of desires.

She is mounted on a mule which has two extra eyes on the hip. She rides fast in flight through the three realms: in the sky, on earth, and underground. The mule is harnessed with a saddle, the bridge of which is covered with the skin of a Raksasa (Srin-po). The front end of the bridge is made of his forehead, while the hind end is his lower jaw. Under the former there are two dice. Should the red one of the two come out, it predicts death by killing. The white one implies pardoning. Under the jaw are two thread-balls, the touching of which makes one ill. A bag containing disease and pestilence is attached to the bridge. The reins of the mule are made of a long snake, and the mule itself travels through the sea of blood. The background is wind surrounded by fire.

The goddess is blue in color without any footwear. She has over her on the lower part her own son's skin, and on the upper part the skin of a tiger. She is also decorated with human-bone beads, one string of dry bones and another of fresh ones.

She is crowned with five skulls, with her orange hair standing upward. Above the hair is a half-moon, showing the supremacy of her methods. Above the moon is an umbrella of peacock feathers, a becoming decoration for a lady. But she has in her mouth the body of a Raksasa still alive, not a lady-like sight. She has a lion for an earring on the right, symbolic of listening to the doctrine of Buddhism, and a snake for another on the left, a sign of much anger. There is

a sun on her navel to symbolize wisdom. On her left side by the waist there is a wooden board (khram-cin) on which a record is made of those to be flayed. Her right hand holds a club (be-con) ornamented at both ends with thunderbolts to fight the Asuras, while her left hand holds a cranium of blood to symbolize happiness. The thumb and the fourth finger of her right hand touch each other as a sign of anger.

Her shrine in Tibet on the lake Ma-pham-gyu-mtsho some hundred miles away from Lhasa is the famous site visited by the Dalai Lama once in a lifetime. Many miraculous stories are told of the shrine as well as of the lake. According to "Lha-hdre-bkahi-than-yig," she was one of four demonesses in the form of iron lions. When Padmasambhava first came to Tibet in the reign of King Khri-sron-lde-btsan, Tibet was still in the dark stage, overwhelmed by demons and demonesses. On hearing of the approach of Padmasambhava, the latter held council together to devise means to oppose him. While fighting them, the master pressed on. By the time he entered Nepal, four iron lions came forward to attack him. He was deeply absorbed in meditation, and by this concentrated force the four were changed into female shape, their original state. On their petition to be forgiven, the master questioned them, "Whence do you come? What is your intention now?" "From the sea of blood, Sir," was the reply, "in the northern horizon, from which the sun emerges." "We were dispensers of disease and pestilence," they continued. "All sentient beings have been, and still are under our control. We are now at your service, willing to offer you everything we possess, only to be forgiven and delivered." Being moved by their pitiful manner, the master initiated them into 108 direct methods of attainment. At this success of subduing the arch-enemies of Buddhism all sorts of non-human beings came forward with offerings, while divine music sounded, the universe was filled with fragrance, and standards and umbrellas and such like hovered in the sky in various patterns. At the end of three months of this process of rebirth, the above-mentioned shrine was built for the Propitious Mother.

4. *The King of Law*, like the Fearful Thunderbolt, is a manifestation of the God of Wisdom. By assuming the shape of the Lord of Death, he has the latter subdued. His head, like that of a buffalo, is an imitation of the Lord of Death. With a five-skull crown, three eyes, hair standing upward, blue in color, decorated with beads of human bones and rosaries of human heads, he is almost like the Fearful Thunderbolt. But, whereas the latter is both a tutelary and protector, the King of Law serves only as a protector. He holds a skeleton club in his right hand, which is the very skeleton of "the Evil-doer" (gnod-byed). In his left hand is a lasso with a hook at one end and a thunderbolt at the other. He has no footwear. The right leg is bent, resting on a buffalo's head to restrain the latter's (therefore the Lord of Death's) haughtiness, while the left one is straight, resting on his hip to subdue his cruel power. Below the buffalo, or the Lord of Death, is the Evil-doer, a male lying on his back.

The name of the consort of the King of Law is Camundi (tsa-muntri), "the Angry." She was captured by the Lord of Death to be his wife and represents his wisdom. As the King of Law, as manifestation of the God of Wisdom, is imitating the Lord of Death, the latter's wife is also represented. She is naked, but covered on the back with a deer-skin. Her mouth is wide-open, to devour the entire mundane world of transmigration. Her hair is downward to show obedience. A five-skull crown signifies prowess. With a trident in her right hand, she holds in her left hand a cranium of blood to offer happiness to her lord.

Both the deity and his consort have snakes for wristlets, armlets, and anklets to subdue the dragon kings. Their background is fire and below them is a lotus, on which is a sun.

5. *The Four-faced Avalokita* is a fearful form of the God of Mercy. The front head in the middle is blue in color, while the one on the right is white and the other on the left is red. The fourth is on top of these, light dark in color. Each head has a five-skull crown and three eyes. The hair is black standing upward.

There are four arms. The first pair touch each other in

the front, with a moon-shaped knife in the right hand and a cranium in the left. There is also a water jar on the left arm, containing the water of life. Whereas the second right hand holds a dagger, the second left has a spear.

His body is blue in color, decorated with fifty human heads, one string of beads of dry human bone, another of fresh ones, and a tiger-skin. The leg on the right is bent and that on the left, stretched; with both feet on the body of an evil male lying on his back.

The background is fire. The platform is a triangular board called the "origin of the doctrine" (chos-hbyun). On the board is a sun.

There is no consort for him. But he has four associates and one errand boy by the name of "Brahman-seeing" (Bram-gzigs).

6. *The Guardian King of the North* as such is called Vaisravana. But as the God of Wealth he is known as Kubera. He is sometimes even a Bodhisattva. He is yellow in color in contrast with the Guardian Kings of the East (Yul-hkhor-srun or Dhrtarastra), the South (Hphags-skyes-po or Virudhaka), and the West (Spyan-mi-bzan or Virupaksa), who are respectively white, blue, and red in color.

The Guardian King of the North is clad as a general and wears earrings. Although he is also of the supramundane world, he is still in this mundane one. Holding an umbrella in his right hand, the rotation of which produces jewels, he has in his left hand a mongoose which emits treasures by vomiting. The mongoose is capable of controlling the snakes that are proverbially believed to be guardians of hidden treasures. As a protector this King is mounted on a green-maned lion. But as a pure guardian king he is represented in a sitting position. He has to shut his mouth all the time, for once open it emits a breath of disease which causes death to the people. He has eight associates, each of whom holds a mongoose in the left hand.

In his function as God of Wealth this deity was the subject of an episode in connection with the originator of Ronlugs, of whom we have spoken in the section on the Fearful

hunderbolt. Although an adept in the rites of the latter tutelary, the Tibetan scholar was very poor. He read in vain for twenty-one days the scriptures to attract wealth. Then he performed a ritual with burnt offerings. Consequently, the God of Wealth was forced into a frying pan by his magical power and the magician said to his captive thus: "I have read the scriptures for twenty-one days in vain, wasting my time and labor and food. It is bad enough to have received no wealth as a result. But even my butter is not increased by a single piece nor my barley flour by a spoonful. What have you done? Now I have captured you. What will you be able to do?"

"Wait a minute," replied the God in the frying pan, "don't be so sure of your power. Although you are an adept in the rite of the Fearful Thunderbolt, I am not a novice either. I long ago acquired my power in the time of Buddha Sakyamuni. Nay, even long before him, namely in the time of the Buddhas Kanakamuni (Zser-thub) and Kasyapa (Hod-srun). You cannot do me any harm. If you want to know why you are so poverty-stricken, you should have realized that it has come from your karma. You have had to beg for your food during several lifetimes. Even if you were a horse, you would have to be a skinny one. Treasures I did send to you. Look, inside and outside your cave, what are they?"

The anchorite turned round. He saw so many stones which had not been there previously. "Do you understand?" continued the God of Wealth, "because of your karma the treasures have changed into stone!"

"Seven generations back," he further remarked, "you were passing through a place which is the present village of Tsamcho in Eastern India when you tumbled down and scattered a handful of the barley flour which you had begged to get. A group of brownish ants fed on it and later became reborn into human beings who established the village by that name. If you like some easy food not through begging you may go to India and eat the fruit for which you have previously planted the seeds."

After the explanation the parties separated in peace. The Tibetan scholar eventually went to the place and was respected as a precious lama by the villagers in India, who supplied him with food and clothing to his satisfaction.

This story is interesting for two reasons. On the one hand it shows the psychology of the people who believe in karma. On the other hand, the mechanism in myth-making is shown to have been adapted to the social milieu of the author and his audience, the barley flour trait being attributed to India.

7. *The Horse-headed Lord* has many forms. By and large there are three classes: the eight-headed, the six-headed, and the winged. The Dge-lugs-pa worship only the first two, leaving the winged form to the earlier sects, especially the Rnima-pa. Bla-bran worships only the six-headed. He is classified as a Buddha, a Bodhisattva, and a protector. In his capacity as a protector he is the Angry One in the Lotus class of deities. Bla-bran did not worship him from the outset. But because of an illness, the nature of which is never fatal but rather resistant to treatment until the entire possessions of the owner are gone, his worship became forced upon the order and laity. This kind of illness still exists at Bla-bran, but the poor never have it. In the case of the rich, it is considered necessary to perform rites in honor of this deity. Two theories are offered to account for this illness. One theory is that a former prince who has become a demon causes it. The other is that a person who has acquired wealth but not in the proper way would be troubled by this kind of illness, which would disappear after his financial ruin.

But, whatever the case may be, let us concern ourselves with the characteristics of this six-headed, horse-headed, Lord himself. He has three human heads and an equal number of horse heads. The human ones form the lower stratum with three eyes in each and with red hair standing upright. The middle head in front is red in color and symbolic of the richness of happiness. The one on the right is white, a sign of the attainment of serenity; whereas the one on the left is blue to stand for anger. The three colors also represent the three

stages immediately after death, as pointed out in connection with the Lord of Mysticism. The three mouths express nine moods: the front one is expressive of anger and serenity in the background of happiness; the right one expressive of anger and lust in the background of serenity; and the left one expressive of serenity and lust in the background of anger. Hence, he is otherwise known as the Nine-mood General.

Of the three horse heads on the upper stratum, which are green to stand for the completion of all things, the number itself being symbolic of the suppression of the demons in heaven, on earth, and underground, each has two eyes and a line of white mane on the middle, a characteristic of a particular kind of sorrel horse. Each is neighing to challenge the demons in heaven, on earth, and underground, as if to say: "Come! and you'll be subdued!"

The Lord is red in color, with his body decorated with fifty human heads, beads of human bones, a tiger-skin by the waist, and an elephant-hide over the shoulders.

Of the six hands the upper right holds a thunderbolt to stand for concentration, while the upper left has a hand-gesture of threat, with the thumb on the middle and fourth fingers, and with the index and small fingers half bent. The middle right hand holds a trident-headed skeleton club to point to the seventy-seven Bodhisat roads. The middle left has a short spear, symbolic of a general. The lower right grasps a dagger to symbolize the sharpness of wisdom, and the left one has a lasso made of human intestines, standing for the disappearance of the distinction between good and evil.

There are eight legs. The four on the right are bent to signify the variety of methods, while the four on the left are stretched to symbolize the freedom of wisdom. Each foot rests on a snake; and all the armlets and wristlets and the bracelets express the same idea of suppressing the dragon kings.

He has no consort. The platform on which he stands is lotus-supported, and above the lotus is the sun. The entire background is fire.

8. *Tsih-u-dmar*, unlike the above-mentioned deities who

have their origin in India, is a native deity of Tibet. He is both a god of earth and a protector. So far as tradition goes, a Tibetan woman once upon a time gave birth to seven eggs, out of which seven brothers were hatched. Tsihu-dmar was the eldest. Having been killed by an enemy, he became a dangerous demon, ever ready to seek for revenge. Fortunately, Padmasambhava subdued him and he pledged himself to be a protector of the Buddhist faith. Otherwise, it was said, he might have killed off all the Tibetans.

Tradition also has it that the Mongol lamas in Tibet, after it had been conquered by Genghis Khan, were often persecuted by Tibetan lamas who were jealous of their achievement. A novice escaped to Mongolia and reported this to a general named Dugeryesang, who consequently led an army into Tibet and killed quite a number of those who were not well-behaved. During this trouble Tsihu-dmar at Bsam-yas was boiled in a cauldron and the hands of his counterpart in Lhasa were nailed to the wall. Thus, the image of Tsihu-dmar to the present day is still represented with the lower lip being bitten in agony or anger; and the Mongol lamas in Tibet always avoid seeing it. But, Bla-bran, being so far away from the actual scene of persecution and revenge, the Mongols here are not particularly afraid of the image.

According to a representative from the Lhasa government, Blo-bzan-tshe-dban, who came to Bla-bran when Dalai XIV was being welcomed to Lhasa, there is a magician, "god-man" (lha-ba), who once in a lifetime is possessed by this deity. He does not eat but is fed on the flavor of burnt juniper twigs mixed with barley flour, which is an ordinary burnt offering. He is a skeleton himself but performs miracles. When he dies, the lamas will read the scriptures and another dead body in good condition will be possessed again. Thus his function never ends.

But to come back to the image. Tsihu-dmar is red in color, as the name implies. He has three eyes, bites his lower lip, and is mounted on a red horse, trotting through a sea of blood. All these indicate anger. He is clad as a general. His boots indicate that he is still in this mundane or impure

world. His two hands hold a long spear, with the fingers of his left hand attached to a lasso, at the other end of which is an evil man entangled therein. The man is also pierced through with the spear and bleeding. The right arm of the deity has a quiver and on the left is a bow. The background is wind surrounded by flames of fire.

9. *The Lord of Deeds* is white in color, symbolic of purity. His body is naked but his back is covered with a tiger-skin-fringed white cloth. He has a yellow, broad-brimmed lama hat with a cubical button on top. There are three heads, the middle one being white, the one on the right in blue, and the one on the left in red. Each has three eyes. There are six arms. The first pair are wide open, with a thunder bolt-headed hook in the right hand, and a curved sword in the left. The second pair are in the shooting position with arrow and bow in the right and left hands respectively. The third hand on the right holds a dagger, while the left one grasps a club, wherein his life lies.

He is mounted on a green-maned white lion to symbolize the suppression of haughtiness. The pedestal is a lotus and sun with a background of fire. As his name indicates, he is the embodiment of deeds. His four associates are the embodiments of the following:

Body (sku-yi-rgyal-po), mounted on a yellow horse;

Speech (gsun-gi-rgyal-po), mounted on a crocodile;

Mind (thugs-kyi-rgyal-po), mounted on a yellow lion;

Merit (yon-tan-rgyal-po), mounted on a yellow deer.

Other attendants are five personifications of the stars (gzah or Rahula), and a very powerful one-eyed-one-toothed-one-breasted-one-haired Esoteric Protective Mother (Snags-bsrun-ma or Ral-pa-gcig-ma or Ekajata).

Otherwise known as White-All-Over-the-Sky, this Lord of Deeds was also made a protector by Padmasambhava. His incarnation used to be married to hold the office of divination generation after generation. Dalai V made him a particular protector for the Dge-lugs-pa to serve as the State Oracle. Then he could no longer marry, but being housed in a monastery of one hundred and one inmates, one of them would be

come possessed after his death. This monastery in Tibet is stuffed with the bodies of wild animals and birds. Therefore any temple elsewhere, in which this deity is worshipped, is full of such specimens. It is an awesome sight to keep away unintentional wayfarers from the "small house," (gnas-chun) as such a temple is called.

The State Oracle was made a duke under the Ching Dynasty to forecast the incarnations of the important Grand Lamas. But abuses were reported and the institution of the Golden Vase was set up as a check. According to an edict proclaimed in 1794:

Tibet is a place under the leadership of the Dalai and Pan-chen Lamas, wherein offerings are made by all the Mongols and Tibetans. The "transformed bodies" must be truly identified in order to properly propagate Buddhism and to satisfy the believers.... But the State Oracle is often influenced by personal favors, and consequently the high Lamas within the past quarter century always seemed to be reincarnated in the same families, to the surprise of all concerned with the welfare of Buddhism. The abuse is something like hereditary office. Henceforth, the Oracle must be careful and truthful in naming a few of the "proper candidates" to be further identified through the use of the Golden Vase.

Chapter XII

TRAINING AND CURRICULUM

The monastery of Bla-bran in its educational aspect is a veritable university. The only difference between this Lamaic university and modern ones is that the former starts from the beginning, say from the kindergarten grade.

The relationship between the colleges shows an emphasis on liberal education as offered in the College of Exoteric Buddhism over against technical skill in the esoteric colleges. Thus, to transfer from the former to the latter is comparative-

ly easy, while the reverse is almost impossible. For the possibilities of admission to these colleges are limited in this way: (1) either one enters into the College of Exoteric Buddhism first and joins some of the esoteric colleges later; (2) or one registers at any of the esoteric colleges without any hope of joining the College of Exoteric Buddhism at all; and (3) or one may stay put in the latter. We have seen in Chapter X that the appointment of all college deans is made from among the scholars of the College of Exoteric Buddhism. The latter is also by far the largest. While all esoteric colleges have only three grades, there are thirteen in exoteric Buddhism.

As the educational mechanism of a monastery often appears to be overshadowed by its religious activities so far as outside understanding is concerned, we examine in this chapter the training and curriculum of Bla-bran in greater detail. Should there be any difference of opinion with regard to the subject matter, there is a great deal to be said in favor of the Lamaic institution as an educational mechanism.

(1) Training

In terms of training, we may discuss the mechanism under the headings of (a) admission, (b) academic activities, (c) examinations and degrees, (d) discipline, and (e) further opportunities of study for the teachers.

(a) Admission

There are three requirements before a student is admitted. First, there are personal requirements of the applicant. He must not be one who has escaped from his family without the knowledge of his parents. He must not be one who has joined a monastery and then returned to family life. He must not be one who has been expelled from another monastery. He must not be one who has been guilty of adultery, murder, theft, drunkenness, lying, etc. He must not be a heretic. Then on the positive side his teacher, if he has any, must be morally sound, and he himself must be diligent and inclined to study, respectful to Buddhism, preferably above the age of seven, and determined to remain in the monastery.

Secondly, he should equip himself with the following nec-

essary articles: 1) cloak; 2) vest; 3) skirt (because no trousers are worn); 4) saffron-color cloth for his mendicant robe (nur-smrig or Uasaya); 5) blankets; 6) hat — all these should be of the ordinary kind, neither too poor for the dignity of the order, nor too luxurious to encourage vainglory; 7) water bag; 8) pen case; 9) rosary of natural-colored beads in contrast to the decorated kind; 10) wooden bowl of birch either white or red in color, in contrast to the often jewel-ornamented ones used by the rich or the noble; 11) leather bag for barley meal; 12) boots of the monastic kind, without socks as worn by the Han people, without nails on the soles; the kinds worn by nomads and agriculturalists cannot be used. Neither should any weapon be carried on the person.⁴

Thirdly, the procedure requirements of admission. One first finds a teacher who is both learned and morally respected. In the College of Exoteric Buddhism the minimum standard for the teacher is that of a monk above the eleventh grade. The equivalent in esoteric colleges is the third or highest grade. This teacher will lead the candidate to see the Dean of Studies to get a permit, and then report to the Dean of Discipline and the college supervisor (dge-kos). In every case the different forms of the Tibetan letters (the printed form and the running style) are studied in the beginning. In the case of exoteric Buddhism, qualified students from other monasteries may take to enter into corresponding classes. The requirement is that at least one examination at Chos-grwa should be passed and that an offering of tea to the order either in the Chanting Hall or in the college should be made as a form of alms-giving. We shall turn to the discussion of Chos-grwa immediately. In the examination, except in special cases, the students from the first grade to the thirteenth inclusive will debate with him. A candidate must pass this examination before he is admitted to the corresponding class.

(b) Academic Activities

There are two kinds of academic activities in the monastery. The first kind is individual tutorship. This not only gives the student special attention to his private progress,

which in combination with a class-work system characterized by standardization will give him a well-rounded training, but because of another factor also establishes a relationship between tutor and pupil which is found in no other educational institutions. This factor is the absence of tuition fees for the students and salaries for the teachers. In one sense both tutor and pupil are fellow-students in the same institution. Both get their support partly from alms-giving and partly from their own families. The source from the family is on a par with the relation in modern schools between the family and the student. Tibetan monks are not like other monks, say Han ones, who have necessarily renounced their family relations, but maintain a normal contact with their families in the same way as our college students do. Alms given to the monastery by other people are distributed to both tutor and pupil by the former in religious ceremonies. In Chapter IX, we have seen how this kind of alms-giving is undertaken by the tribes in turn. We shall see presently how the alms-giving is arranged.⁵ On the other hand, elderly and more respected lamas may have income directly from the laity whom they serve by performing rituals, but they get nothing from their students. This common standing of both teacher and students, plus the fact that no scores of credit are given by the former, make the relationship between the two classes purely spiritual. For examinations are given orally by the college or monastery in public, not by the teacher individually. In fact, if the student fails too badly, the teacher himself will be punished.

The second kind of academic activity is in groups, which may be either religious or purely intellectual. Except on regular holidays, such as 1st-3rd days of the first moon, 25th-26th days of the second, fourth, fifth moons, 10th-11th days of the sixth moon, 29th day of the seventh moon to the 1st day of the eighth moon, 10th-11th days and 25th-26th days of the eighth moon, and 30th day of the twelfth moon, both religions and intellectual group activities are means of standardization.

Everyday religious activities take place three times in the

Chanting Hall. The first is the morning chapel called Cog-tshogs. The second is the noon chapel called Dgon-tshigs-tshogs. The third is evening chapel called Dgon-ja-tshogs.

At each time a gong is sounded. Wherever the monks may happen to be, whether in their dormitories or elsewhere, as soon as they hear the sound, they must put on their hats and cloaks and walk slowly and steadily towards the Chanting Hall. On reaching the main door they sit on the steps outside, with the elderly near the door and the younger farther away from it. When everybody is present, they enter the Hall in lines. In the middle row, the Lead Chanter or Bkah-grwa-pa sits nearest to the altar. In the other rows on the sides the older occupy the inner seats and the younger the seats near the door. This is done very orderly. No disturbance is allowed. When the chanting begins, it is under the leadership of the Chanting Conductor. The monks are expected to sit upright without looking sidewise or reclining forward and backward. When the nose must be cleansed, a woolen handkerchief is used to cover the face. While the congregation is still seated, one cannot make any noise when tea is served by junior monks of the third and fourth grades. In the long session no drowsiness is allowed. Nor the playing of one's fingers or the covering of one's mouth without a cause. In session or out of session in dispersion, unnecessary talk, or joking, or words of ill intention, or jumping around, or antics to arouse laughter is not tolerated.

When tea or money or butter is distributed, there are two sources of income for it. One is the sinking fund of the monastery. The other is direct gift by private donors who have consulted the monastery authorities for this purpose. In the preparation of such, the representative of the Dean of Studies and the college supervisor share in the general supervision. In the case of tea, any left over is poured on the floor rather than given away for fear of planned favors or embezzlement. Except the donor and those responsible for the making and distributing of tea, no others are allowed in the kitchen. While the observation of strict rules is enforced by the col-

lege supervisor, the cooks are responsible for the tea, whether or not it is well made.

When alms are distributed in the Chanting Hall, the proportions are as follows: Hjam-dbyans, seven shares; the Dean of Studies, seven shares; attendants to the Dean of Studies, three shares altogether; the Dean of Discipline and the Supervisor, two shares each; the Chanting Conductor, one share; college supervisors, one share each; assistant to the Dean of Discipline, one share; treasurers and monk officials in charge of the laity, three shares each; Keeper of the Chanting Hall, Water-jar Holder, and Head Cook, one share each; cooks and assistant cooks, eight shares altogether.

These are given their shares no matter whether they are present or not in the Chanting Hall. Other monks must be present in order to get their individual and equal shares. In the case of illness or religious retreat (when one has shut oneself in a dark cell or other room), the Dean of Studies must be informed and a permit must be issued before a share is reserved during the applicant's absence. When one is engaged in reciting scriptures for others or is nursing a friend, leave may be asked of the supervisor so that, as soon as the distribution is over, one may absent oneself before the end of the session.

Purely intellectual group activities are gatherings called Chos-grwa. They take place in one of three open-air courts when lectures, debates and examinations are conducted.

Chos-grwa is conducted three times a day in the nine periods of concentrated lectures of the year called Chos-thog. The nine periods are: four thirty-day periods in the second, fifth, eighth and eleventh moons; two twenty-day periods in the third and ninth moons; and three fifteen-day periods in the fourth, seventh and tenth moons.

During these periods, the Dean of Studies presides regularly over one of the three meetings each day. The meetings not only standardize the teaching class by class, but also encourage mutual furtherance on an inter-class basis. As a rule, many by-standers watch such performances of the monks. While the highest academic authority and the stu-

dents are thus engaged in open-air lectures, the tutors are released from their daily teaching duties. We shall turn to this aspect of the Lamaic education in the following sections.

The daily Chos-grwas at Bla-bran are arranged in this manner. First, the morning meeting called Cog-chos-grwa takes place after the morning chapel. Secondly, after the noon chapel there is the noon meeting called Dgon-tshigs-chos-grwa. Thirdly, there is an evening meeting which comes after the evening chapel called Bkah-grams. While there are Chos-grwas in all the colleges, the following example comes from the College of Exoteric Buddhism, being the most elaborate. It is meant to illustrate the system at work, even though we have to ignore the differences in the number of classes and in the subject matter.

At Cog-chos-grwa the college supervisor stands by the door of the hall outside which the meeting is to take place. The students form themselves in half-moon-shaped lines facing the door, with the Lead Chanter in the center surrounded by the classes of the thirteenth and twelfth grades. Behind them sit respectively the eleventh, tenth, ninth, eighth, seventh classes, etc. Then the lessons are recited in unison with the Chanting Conductor. When this is over, they form groups of two separately so that one individual may question the other. When it happens that one is left without a partner, he should report to the supervisor.

At Dgon-tshigs-chos-grwa the order of sitting is reversed, with the lower classes in the center. Then someone starts a shrill sound "gi...i...i..." to be followed by all in unison "gi...i...i...." Then everybody tries to find somebody of a higher class to ask for his guidance. For instance, boys from the first to the fourth classes may ask those of the thirteenth class. The one intending to ask for guidance should place his cloak before his superior. When the latter clasps his hands as a sign to welcome him, the junior member will put on his cloak and squat in front of the senior to be questioned. In this process, the senior is "giving wisdom" to the junior who is "growing in wisdom." This occasion is called Dam-bcah, "to maintain a thesis," a practice of the Buddhists

mentioned previously in connection with some of the Dge-lugs-pa masters. While this goes on, the supervisor will be watching to see when the proper time has arrived for the Dean of Studies to come.

At the proper time somebody goes to see him. Then the multitude sits down in half-moon rows facing the door, outside which the intellectual activities have been going on. While waiting for the arrival of the Dean, they chant the "Essence of the Paramita" (wisdom). After his arrival, the higher classes move forward to listen to his lectures. Then all the other classes in turn have the chance of listening to him. The content differs according to fixed schedule of the season. Once the lecture is over for a particular class, that class goes back to its original place and sits around the student-assistant (skyor-dpon) to recite the scriptures lectured on by the Dean. While the upper classes are doing this under the general supervision of the college supervisor, who walks around from one class to another, the lower classes are still listening, one by one, to the lectures of the Dean. Both in advancing to and retreating from him each makes three bows to him in order to show respect and gratitude.

After recitation, class by class, the students rearrange themselves in single pairs with each other. Argumentation (rtsod-pa) is encouraged: with heated cries, clasping of hands, and in general high spirit so that both the participants and the by-standers are enveloped in an atmosphere of mutual furtherance. This is also a tradition borrowed from India. The various activities in the same court: listening to lectures, reciting the lessons, and arguing with each other at the same time form a pattern of diversity in unity, not very different from the modern primary school practice when several classes are conducted by one teacher in the same classroom. But the variety and freedom in the monastery are much greater.

When every class has listened to the Dean's lecture, the Dean himself withdraws from the scene. Then the supervisor takes off his hat and makes a motion with it from his left to his right. At this gesture the thirteenth class may withdraw.

With a further motion of his hand, the twelfth and eleventh classes are dismissed. Finally, he shakes the fringe of his cloak, and all the classes from the tenth down will disappear. Both in coming to the court and in leaving it one is expected to put one's hat on and to walk in line without disorder.

The preliminary debate at Bkah-rams in the evening are the same as Dgon-tshigs-chos-grwa. When the monks sit to chant, the scriptures are different from those read in the afternoon. After chanting in unison, a shrill "gi...i..." starts the serious debates in pairs of two individuals, two classes of various combinations, etc., to be determined by the supervisor on the spot in order to suit the needs of the participants. The time to be spent in these activities depends upon how much of the day is left by previous activities. But after the formal debates there are often individuals who voluntarily continue to argue extemporaneously, even throughout the whole night. This aftermath is called Rje-gcod-pa, "a final cutting off." The last to leave the spot is also expected to cry "gi...i..."

Any single absence from one of the three Chos-grwas of the day has to be reported to the Dean of Discipline. When an absence of three days is necessary, leave must be asked of the supervisor. Should it be more than three days, permission from the Dean of Studies is necessary. Both the Dean of Studies and the supervisor give moral lectures twice in each of the thirty-day periods and twice in any other. When a new supervisor assumes his duties for the first time, he addresses the students both in the Chanting Hall and at the Chos-grwa three days after his assumption of office. The subject of these lectures is the rule of the monastery called Tshogs-gtam or Bcah-yig.

The individual tutors are also expected to encourage their students to concentrate on the subject matter covered by the Chos-grwa lectures. Even though progress may be individually different in accordance with different talents, the basic idea is to encourage both speech and bodily performance as well as the double objective of respecting the teacher

and treasuring the doctrine. Other activities not directly connected with the requirement of the Chos-grwa, such as the study of pure literature, the art of divination and medicine, circumambulation around the scripture-cylinders outside the monastery walls, etc., are discouraged. Even whether or not an individual is qualified for religious retreat in his own cell, called Mtahams, which is ordinarily a highly respected means of attaining individual progress, has to be examined before a leave of absence from the Chos-grwa may be granted. The time value is highly respected. Spiritually, one is expected to make endeavors in wishing for the welfare of all sentient beings, in constant prayers, and in accumulating merit, in order to develop one's good roots towards eventual liberation. Intellectually, argumentation is a form of interstimulation. Hence, flattery, sarcasm, jealousy, partisanship, etc., are not allowed. Aims to attain heaven through magic are considered cheap. They should not be the motivation behind these spiritual and intellectual activities.

As a rule, the Dean of Studies delivers lectures only and inevitably at the Dgon-tshigs-chos-grwa. In special cases when he cannot be present, studies in the art of proper articulation and the practice of argumentation are engaged in interchangeably. Occasionally, when the Dean of Studies wishes to come to Cog-chos-grwa to deliver lectures, he is invited in during the chanting of the scripture for the White Umbrella Goddess (Gdugs-dkar or Sitatapatra). It is in the periods of the eighth and ninth moons that he may come to the Bkah-rams. To the thirteenth and twelfth classes he delivers two lectures. To the eleventh and tenth classes he delivers another two. But to the classes from the eighth to the fifth he delivers three lectures. The students are expected to recite these scriptures thus lectured on before him during the Chos-grwas of the third and seventh moons.

Specific activities during the different Chos-grwas may be summarized as follows: (a) In the second moon the Dean listens to the debates of the selected few from the twelfth grade down. The participants must not consider them a form of drudgery. Instead, they must be very serious and well pre-

pared in the subject matter so that they can deliver the expositions and engage in argumentations very fluently. (b) In the second and seventh moons the Dean lectures on the *Graded Course on the Bodhisattva Road*. (c) In the third moon the classes from the eighth to the fifth compete with one another in speech-making. (d) In the fourth moon the classes from the ninth to the sixth are engaged in argumentation during six days. On the first day the eighth class remains seated to be questioned by the ninth class. On the second day the order is reversed. On the third day the eighth class is questioned by the seventh, and the reverse occurs on the fourth day. On the fifth day the seventh class remains seated to be questioned by the sixth, and the sixth day the order is reversed. Each time one maintains a thesis and the others try to find fault with it. Arguments on both sides are supported with evidence from authority in the scriptures as well as from everyday experience. It is an uproaring and hilarious affair. Even the by-standers who are as a rule illiterate are caught in the atmosphere. They show their approval and disapproval as if they were movie-star fans. (e) In the other months in which Chos-grwa occurs the activities are similar. The participants may be from different classes and the subject matter may be different in terms of the scriptures, but the pattern is the same. For example, meaning is emphasized in the second moon, while sentence-structure has more value during the summer. In every case merits are rewarded with encouraging words and demerits are punished variously by scolding, enforced kowtowing, beating, and hanging a water bucket on the neck of the person to be humiliated.

(c) Examinations and Degrees

Examinations are required before any promotion to a higher class. This is true with all the colleges. But here we are concerned with other particular functions connected with examinations as such. They are elimination, demotion, and degree-conferring.

Elimination examination occurs in the College of Exoteric Buddhism in the early part of the tenth moon in connection with the fifth class. If at this time the students

cannot pass the test of reciting verbatim without any mistake the two texts on the Doctrine of the Mean (Dbu-ma or Madkyamika) and on the Direct Comprehension (Mnon-par-rtogs-pahi-rgyan or Abhisamayalamkara) they are automatically eliminated and can no longer remain in the monastery. Even though the total of the two is only rather more than one hundred leaves (more than two hundred pages), the texts are very difficult in structure. To be able to pass the test should be proof that the students are mentally above the average.

These examples of demotion are also taken from the College of Exoteric Buddhism. First, when it is proved that one cannot understand the meaning of what is read in the fourth grade but is able to read well so far as diction is concerned, he will be made a Lead Chanter in the Chanting Hall without ever having the chance of being promoted to a higher class. Secondly, when one is already in the fifth grade the texts on the White Umbrella Goddess and the Three-body Works on Logic (by Dharmakirti, *vide* following on curriculum) must have been mastered before one's promotion to the sixth grade. Otherwise one is appointed Keeper of the Chanting Hall for three years, and then a second opportunity for examination will be offered. Similarly those in the classes from the sixth to the eighth who cannot accomplish the required standard are retained three years as Keepers of the Chanting Hall. Thirdly, those whose minds are not set on academic progress are given various other jobs to fit individual tastes. The art of calendar-making is one. Those who are clever and rich may be appointed Treasurers for the monastery or monk officials over lay affairs. The poor may be encouraged to become printers carving the printing blocks.

It should be noted, however, that as a regular feature of academic life, many would voluntarily repeat the courses even though they had passed them. In order to have a thorough grounding, they may repeat the courses several times. But, while this is being done by the individuals voluntarily, their formal classification is not effected.

We have already mentioned the names of the degrees.

Here in this connection details should be supplied about them. Candidates for a B.A. or Rab-hbyams-pa are tested on Logic and the Doctrine of the Mean. These examinations take place twice a year as a rule: first on the days from the third to the fifteenth of the first moon and secondly on those from the first to fifteenth of the seventh moon. In each period the candidates are examined orally by all the learned scholars of the monastery from nine o'clock to eleven in the morning in a manner similar to the debates and arguments in ordinary Chos-grwa meetings. When the candidates fail to answer correctly, the whole assembly laughs uproariously. In addition to qualifications in subject matter to be tested, the candidates should also be prepared with some one hundred silver dollars ready to offer tea to their fellow-students in the same class during all the days in the period. Their friends at the same time present them with silk scarfs (kha-btags) to express congratulations. As a privilege, the successful candidates will no longer need to carry on the drudgery of distributing tea to the assembly in the daily religious meetings in the Chanting Hall (*vide* section (1), next chapter).

The candidates for an M.A. or Rdo-ram-pa are graduates from the fourth classic, namely the Abhidharma-kosa. But the number of the degrees to be offered to them is limited to two individuals at a time. Since the graduates are many in number each time and the subject matter covered in the examinations includes the whole range of the five classics: Logic, the Doctrine of the Mean, the Abhidharma-kosa, and the Monastic Law, consequently these graduates prefer to wait for some ten years before they feel competent to take the examinations. The examinations take place also twice a year: first on the days from the seventeenth to the twenty-first of the first moon and secondly on those from the ninth to the thirteenth of the seventh moon. On each day in these periods a full evening is spent for this purpose from six o'clock to ten p.m. The questioning in open-air meetings is the same as above. The candidates have to have a few hundred silver dollars to offer tea to the learned scholars during every day of the period and to the assembly once in the Chanting Hall.

The successful candidates may then excuse themselves from any meetings in the Chanting Hall unless they want to attend them.

The candidates for a D.D. or Ph.D. in esoteric Buddhism called Snags-ram-pa are the graduates from the classic Abhidharma-kosa who have further studied for two or three years in the Colleges of Theology or in that of the Happy Thunderbolt. It makes no difference whether they have or have not already received an M.A. degree. Such examinations take place from 10 to 12 a.m. on the days from the 17th to the 21st of the second moon. Only one degree is conferred on a successful candidate annually. Similar degrees cannot be obtained from both the Colleges of Medicine and the Wheel of Time. But in the case of those who joined these esoteric colleges directly without the intermediate stage of exoteric Buddhism, the same degree is equivalent to a B.D., and successful candidates from any of these colleges may receive it.

(d) Discipline

Apart from the regulations previously mentioned, a further summary may be given of the general rules of discipline. First, the Dean of Studies must be strict and tireless in enforcing the rules. Because it is in his hand that every order and standard is maintained, he must be present at all the meetings in which his supervision is required, with the exception of special cases in which he is required elsewhere.

Second, all forms of merit have their basis in the rules of monastic laws. Those who are initiated into the laws in various degrees must protect themselves from any violation of them. The care given to law-abiding behavior should be comparable to that given to one's own eyes.

Third, on meeting the elderly, the morally and intellectually respected, etc., one should take off one's hat and rearrange one's monastic robe in order to bow in reverence. One should not address one's senior by his name.

Fourth, in the period without any Chos-grwa, which is called Chos-mtshams or "interval of the doctrine," one should devote oneself to self-study in one's room without

being engaged in gossip with other followers. Unless there is a necessity, one should not visit the market. If leave is asked of the authority, real reasons should be stated. It is up to that authority to see whether any leave should be granted.

Fifth, whether in the places of Chos-grwa or in the alleys of the monastery, when some article left by others is picked up, it should be presented to the college supervisor. Otherwise it may be taken on discovery as evidence of theft.

Sixth, whenever a game of dice or cards, or the singing of profane songs, or any other play which is not becoming to a monk is discovered, the guilty should be taken to the Chanting Hall to read the scriptures of confession before the assembly. He should also kowtow one hundred times.

Seventh, any crime of the following order should draw the attention of the whole congregation by sounding the gong of alarm to have the accused judged in public and expelled from the holy order: adultery, murder, theft, lying, drinking intoxicating liquor, fighting with a weapon, personal violation of the teacher, supervisor, or chanting conductor, feud in partisan groups, disobedience by virtue of power, and abuse of position at the expense of monastic welfare. Such cases should be dealt with by collective effort. No personal favor can be allowed to intervene.

Eighth, teachers and responsible officers should be impartial without flattery to the powerful. They cannot take advantage of their position to avenge a personal grudge. Any violation to this rule shall be punished accordingly.

Finally, according to the teachings of Buddhism, the law of causation is absolute. "If you study, you will know the law," it was said in the scriptures, "if you study, you will be able to keep away from sin." Furthermore: "When you study, you will appreciate the value of studying. It is by this means that you will find your way out of the wheel of death and rebirth. The five paths and ten stages of Bodhisattva perfection are gradual and graded. When you fully resolve the problems, you have already attained Buddhahood. In respecting this doctrine you have the fulfillment of your wishes, and in the disregard of it you will find your way to the

judgment of the Lord of Death. Be careful to keep the right path in thinking and in action, and your reward will be ocean-like."

(e) Teachers' Opportunity of Further Studies

As a teacher in most cases has advanced beyond the stage of compulsory attendance to the routine meetings in the Chanting Hall, his time during the day is spent largely in preparing the lessons and in giving them to students. The more diligent and learned he is, the more students he attracts, and that means the less time for himself. For there is no limit set by any fees or registration. He simply offers lessons in his room, which may be packed full and overflowing by the attendance. No sooner is one group gone than another takes its place. Except on the regular holidays, his daily schedule is as fixed as that of any chief executive in a modern business concern. But the atmosphere is entirely spiritual. He does not complain, on the contrary he loves and is loved by his students. So long as his room or courtyard can hold them, he cannot very well refuse anyone who comes to request his guidance.

It is only during the concentrated periods when Chosgrwas are conducted by the Dean of Studies that a private tutor is released from his duties. He may then shut himself in isolation called Mtshams, which is respected by everybody, lay or of the holy order. This may be in his own room or some secluded spot elsewhere. He can concentrate on meditation, on reading or writing.

But he may also feel the urge to seek further guidance from somebody who is in the position to give it. In a monastery as large as Bla-bran somebody is in fact always available. It may be his own former tutor who is no longer teaching regular students, or another person with whom he has never had any contact but whom he has respected all the time. Lama Lago, for example, was the official tutor of Hjam-dbyans, but is not regularly engaged because of old age and other considerations. He is already a saint. Nobody would bother him unnecessarily. When the Pan-chen Lama (the Ninth) visited Bla-bran, he was said to have kowtowed to

Lago, even though officially he would always be kowtowed to by others. This honor was given as a recognition of the spiritual and intellectual attainment of Lago. Lama Lago will often voluntarily announce that he is ready to deliver lectures on certain scriptures on such and such a day. Those tutors who feel qualified will come to attend these lectures. Or some of them who know him personally may request him to give lectures on some particular text, and it will be an open opportunity for others who are qualified.

We used to know a few of these retired professors at Bla-bran. It was from them that we learned the most. They are free and detached, while their students who are actively engaged teachers are too busy to give any time to outsiders. But it is also this free institution of retired professorship from which the regular teachers benefitted the most. The atmosphere of voluntary spiritual relationship between teachers and students at various stages making everybody a lifelong student is something unique in a comprehensive monastery like Bla-bran. This, together with the mechanism of concentrated lectures, makes quite a contrast with the situation of modern education. For is it not often a regrettable fact with modern education that, once a professor, he is no longer subject to further check apart from the unreliable source of gossip among students and fellow-workers, and that except in the rare cases of research professorship and sabbatical leave there is no opportunity for self-development? While there are extreme cases of mass production and lack of standardization in modern education, the Tibetan monastic system avoids both at the same time.

(2) Curriculum

So far as the formal curriculum is concerned, we may give an outline of the literature covered in the different colleges. First the College of Exoteric Buddhism.

(a) Logic (tshad-mahi-rigs-pa) to be studied in five grades requiring at least five years. This course consists first of the rules of argumentation and second of the principles of epistemology. The first four grades (bsdus) study the former

and the fifth (rtage-rigs) the latter. The principal texts are:

First: the works of Dinnaga (Phyogs-glan) on Britena Ingenenal (tshad-ma-kun-las-btus-pa or Pramana-samuccaya), Britena of Objection Cognition (dmigs-pa-brtag-pa or Alambana-pariksa), on Introduction to Logic (tshad-mahibstan-bcos-rigs-pa-la-hjug-pa or Nyamya-pravesa premana), etc;

Second: Dharmakirti (Chos-kyi-grags-pa)'s Three- "body" Works (Tshad-ma-rnam-hgrel-gyi-tshig-lehur-byas-pa or Pramana-varttika-karika, Tshad-ma-rnam-pa-nes-pa or Pramana-
viniscaya, Rigs-pahi-thigs-pa or Nyaya-bindu) and the Four-member Works (Gtan-tshigs-kyi-thigs-pa or Hetu-bindu, Rtsod-pahi-rigs-pa or Vada-nyaya, Hbrel-pa-brtag-pa or Sambandha-pariksa, Rgyud-gzan-grub-pa or Samtanantara-siddhi);

Third: works on logic by Candragomin (Zla-ba), Vinyadeva (Hdul-ba-lha), Dharmattara (Chos-mchog), etc.

The three classes by Indian masters form some seventeen cases or packages. But there are also works by Tibetan authors such as Tson-kha-pa, Rgyal-tshab-rje, Mkhas-grub-chos-rje, Hjam-dbyans, etc. While each monastery may have a wide choice of emphasis in the selection from the vast variety of literature, it as a rule gives more attention to the works by its own outstanding authors.

(b) "Wisdom" (Phar-phyin or Prajna-pamata) to be studied in four grades requiring at least four years. By "wisdom" is meant the ability to "know everything and to disentangle perplexities as well as to realize truth." In the two schools of Buddhism, the Deep View (Zab-mohi-lta-ba) and the Comprehensive Practice (Rgya-chen-spyod-pa), this class of literature belongs to the latter. Intellectually, the aspirant is expected to learn all the six methods of deliverance (altruism, discipline, industry, meditation, wisdom) and other doctrines. The intellectual power thus gained plus the merits accumulated through comprehensive practices will give the aspirant the necessary spiritual enlightenment. The Comprehensive Practice school was started in the fourth century A.D. by the brothers Asanga (Thogs-med) and Vasubandhu (Dbyig-gnen) and further developed by their disciples such as

Sthiramati (Blo-gros-brtan-pa), Dinnaga (Phyogs-glan), Gunaprabha (Yon-tan-hod), and Vimuktasena (Rnam-sde). Sthiramati had two disciples, Purnavardhana (Gan-ba-spel) and Visvamitra (Khyad-par-bces-gnen). The latter came to Tibet to propagate this school of teaching. Dinnaga, on the other hand, transmitted it to Dharmapala (Chos-skyon) and Dharmakirti (Chos-skyi-grags-pa). The famous monk, Hsuan-chuang, of the Tang Dynasty, propagated the doctrine of Dharmapala.

The most important text of this class of Buddhist classics is the Direct Comprehension (Mnon-par-rtogs-pahi-rgyan or Abhisamayalamkara) by Maitreya (Byams-pa). It has only some fifty leaves, but it is a good summary of the voluminous work on the same subject (600 volumes). It teaches three states of wisdom, four practices, and one universal-body fruit. Thus in eight verses:

Prajna-paramita (Transcendental Wisdom)

Teaches eight things:

All-phenomena wisdom, wisdom of the path,

And universal wisdom; (three stages)

Direct comprehension of all,

To the utmost, in graded course,

With sudden realizations (four practices)

And the law-body fruit, making eight. (fruit)

Other texts of importance are: The Light of Direct Comprehension (Mnon-par-rtsogs-pahi-rgyan-gyi-snan-ba or Abhisamayalamkaraloka). The Manifest Meaning of Direct Comprehension (Ston-phrag-ni-cu-lna-pa or Pancavimsati-sahasrika). Commentary on Direct Comprehension (mnon-par-rtogs-pahi-rgyan-hgrel-pa or Abhisamayalamkara-vrtti), by Haribhadra (Sen-ge-bzan-po); Commentary in 25,000 verses by Vinmaktasena (Rnam-sde); Well-said Golden Rosary of Direct Comprehension (Legs-bcad-gser-phren-ba) by Tson-kha-pa; Complete Explanation of the Terms of Direct Comprehension (Rgyan-gyi-rnam-bcad) by Rgyal-tshab-rje; and Comprehensive Commentary on Direct Com-

prehension by Hjam-dbyans.

(c) The Doctrine of the Mean (dbu-ma) to be studied in two grades requiring at least two years. This is meant to transcend the extremes of Void and Being theories. According to four-verse thesis:*

The law derived of causality
Is neither life nor death;
Neither is it Non-Being, nor is it Being;
It is neither coming, nor going.

Of the above-mentioned two schools this doctrine belongs to the Deep View. As the view is not easily understood by ordinary people, it is called "deep." It was developed in the second century A.D. by Nagarjuna (Klu-sgrub), who transmitted it to Aryadeva (Hphags-pa-lha), who in turn transmitted it to Rahula (Sgra-gean-hdzin) and Nagamitra (Kluhi-bces-gnen). While Rahula transmitted this view to Nilanetra, Nagamitra transmitted it to Buddhapalita (Sana-rgyas-bakyons) and Bhavaviveka (Legs-ldan-hbyed). Candrakirti (Zla-ba-grags-pa) was a disciple of Buddhapalita's disciple. The important texts of this class are the following:

Nagarjuna's Doctrine of the Mean (dbu-ma-rtsa-bahitshig-lehur-byas-pa-ces-rab-ces-bya-ba or Prajna-nama-mulamadhyamaka-karika); seventy leaves which must be mastered verbatim;

Buddhapalita's commentary (dbu-ma-rtsa-bahihgrel-pa or Mula-madhyamaka-vrtti), seven volumes;

Candrakirti's Clearly-worded Explanation (dbu-ma-rtsa-bahihgrel-pa-tshig-gsal-ba or Mila-madhyamaka-vrtti-prasanapada), seven volumes;

Bhavaviveka's Lamp of the Paramita and its commentary (dbu-mahi-rtsa-bahihgrel-pa-ces-rab-sgron-ma or Prajna-pradipa-mula-madhyamaka-vrtti; dbu-ma-rin-po-chehi-sgron-ma

* This is the Pratilyo-samut-pada verse; for a correct translation, see *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (Indiae volume).

or Madhyamaka-ratna-pradipa), seven volumes;

Aryadeva's The Four Hundred (bstan-boos-bzi-brgya-pa or Catuh-sataka-sastra-karika);

Candrakirti's commentary (byan-chub-sems-dpahi-rnal-hbyor-spyod-pa-bzi-brgya-pahi-rgya-cher-hgrel-pa or Bodhisattva-yogacarya-catuh-sataka-tika);

Tson-kha-pa's comprehensive commentary on the entrance to the Doctrine of the Mean, 289 leaves; summary of the above, 60 leaves;

Rgyal-tshab-rje's essence of the broad meaning of the Doctrine of the Mean, 60 leaves;

Mkhas-grub-chos-rje's clear outline of the comprehensive view on the entrance to the Doctrine of the Mean, 281 leaves;

Hjam-dbyans' comprehensive commentary on the Doctrine of the Mean.

(d) The Abhidharma-kosa (mdsod) to be studied in one grade requiring at least four years. The main works consist of Vasubandhu's verses (Chos-mnon-pahi-mdzod-kyi-tshig-lehur-byas-pa or Abhidharma-kosa-karika) and his own commentary (Chos-mnon-pahi-mdzod-kyi-bcad-pa or Abhidharma-kosa-kosa-bhasya). The book in verse has eight chapters: the realms, the roots, the world, karma, illusion, the sage, wisdom and meditation. The commentary has nine chapters with eight on the above and the ninth to dispose of the ego. The first year of the students is devoted to the first four chapters, and the second to the other four. The last two years are spent in the review and digestion of the whole. The first two chapters are common to both purity and impurity, serving as an introduction. The other six chapters treat purity and impurity separately. Thus, karma and illusion as the cause of impurity establish the three realms (feeling, object, objectless) and the ordinary world with animate and inanimate beings as the impure class. Then, with wisdom and meditation as the cause of purity, sageship as the result of purity in the supramundane world is established. This is the purity class.

Though a Hinayana classic, this book is the most impor-

tant in depicting the impure as the source of misery and in leading thence to the way of liberation. Other important texts in the same class, such as the comprehensive commentary on the Kosa by Hjam-dbyans, are many. Bla-bran is noted for this class of commentaries, which is said to be better and more voluminous than that in Lhasa. But there are quite a number of important works in Chinese translations which are not found in Tibetan. It may be worthwhile some day to have them translated into Tibetan.

(e) Monastic Law (hdul-ba) to be studied in one grade without definite years limited as a requirement. Many students may remain in this grade for the rest of their lives, for while the above-mentioned classics belong to the sphere of formal instruction and learning, this class is a matter of practice. No one can really say that he has perfectly mastered the monastic law or discipline.

There are three kinds of monastic law in general: "for individual liberation" (so-sor-thar-pa or Pratimoksa); "for the good of the sentient beings," and "embodying all good behavior." The first kind is common with the Lesser Vehicle, whereas the other two are of the Greater Vehicle.

Monastic law "for individual liberation" aims at the taming of the animal nature of man to set free each individual according to his status. Consequently, there are seven orders of the law: (1) for the fully ordained monks (dge-slon) who keep 253 rules or vows; (2) for the fully ordained nuns (dge-slon-ma) who keep 341 rules; (3) for the novice (dge-tshul) who keeps thirteen rules; (4) for the Rab-byun who keeps ten rules; (5) for the novice-nun (dge-tshul-ma) who keeps twenty-two rules; (6) for the Dge-bsnen who keeps five rules; and (7) for his female counterpart, Dge-bsnen-ma, who keeps the same number of rules.

The law "for the good of sentient beings" is an expedient to allow the devotees to do whatever is necessary for the welfare of other beings. For instance, to tell a lie is a violation of the five cardinal vows. But in order to achieve the end of some objective good for somebody it may be necessary to hold the truth from him for the time when he is not

prepared for it. The marriage of the God of Mercy with a demoness in the origin myth of the Tibetans is another illustration of how the apparent violation of celibacy may be a desirable thing for a Bodhisattva to save his protegee. The very manifestation of anger on the part of so many images would be a contradiction to Buddhist tranquility if not understood as a means to an end.

The law "embodying all good behavior" refers to the behavior of the Bodhisattvas, which covers the entire manifestations of hearing, thinking, and practice. In the law book of Yoga Bodhisattva eight classes are mentioned.

There are eighteen cases (packages) in the Bstan-hgyud on the monastic laws of the Lesser Vehicle. The most important are, Gunaprabha (Yon-tan-hod)'s Vinaya-sutra (Hdul-bahi-mdo), his Ekottara-karmasataka (Lus-brgya-rtsa-goig-pa); Dharmamitra (Chos-kyi-bces-gnen)'s comprehensive commentary (Hdul-bahi-mdohi-rgya-cher-hgrel-pa or Vinaya-sutra-tika) and his commentary on individual liberation (so-sor-thar-pahi-mdohi-hgrel-pa or Pratimoksa-sutra-vrtti); and Nagarjuna's verses on Dge-tshul (hphags-pa-gzi-thams-cad-yod-par-smra-bahi-dge-tshul-gyi-tshig-lehur-byas-pa or Arya-mula-sarvastivadi-sramanera-karika).

Among the voluminous works by Tson-kha-pa and his two celebrated disciples, Rgyal-tshab-rje and Mkhas-grub-chos-rje, the master's commentaries on the Bodhisat vows and the vows of ordained monks (five volumes for each) are the most widely accepted. Other works on the Bodhisat vows and esoteric vows are too numerous to mention.

Before we conclude our discussion of the curriculum of the College of Exoteric Buddhism a word should be said about the places where the courses are conducted and of the particular manner in which the lessons are prepared.

The Chanting Hall, as previously stated, is the place where the scriptures of pure religious nature are read as a form of worship. Formal lessons are given outdoors in three places whenever there is Chos-grwa. The first place is Stonchos, literally "lecturing on the doctrine," wherein most

lectures are conducted. It is a separate terraced court some distance from the Hall. The second place is Grub-can, a very pleasant walled forest wherein to lecture and debate during the summer. The third is Rdo-gcal (Rdo-gzal), the open space outside the Chanting Hall. Lectures are given here only in evenings of the winter or during the rainy days of the summer. But all the Sacred Dances of the monastery as a whole are staged here. Other Dances of particular colleges are staged in their respective courts.

Five or six times each month the lessons are required to be prepared in the evening on the roofs of the dormitories of the students. This lasts from dusk to midnight. The lessons prepared are of course different in individual cases. But during the seasons between winter and spring the evenings on the roof with strong breezes are very cold. The Dean of Discipline (zal-no) and his assistant (chab-ltag-ma) walk through the lanes to see whether everybody is in his place. There is no possibility of escape. It is only when the students have advanced to the last grade in the Doctrine of the Mean that they are no longer required to prepare their lessons on the roofs.

Now, in the Colleges of Theology the curriculum covers the following topics, the Fearful Thunderbolt, the Angry Ones, the Lord of Death, mental creation, the Supreme Joyous One, the Lord of Mysticism, methods of empowering, mystic diagrams, dragon kings, burnt offerings, the art of articulation, hand-gesture, consecration, five kinds of prayers, eighty kinds of religious behavior, etc.

The College of Medicine has in addition to purely religious works on particular deities, which we have mentioned in the last chapter, basic medical works called the Four Classics. They are Fundamentals, Explanations, Prescriptions, and Last Chapters (Uttara-tantra). These were translated from Indian texts into Tibetan in a very literal manner. Chinese medical works are also said in Tibetan history to have been translated, but they are not yet identified to our knowledge.

The preparation of the Lhasa calendar system (lehu-tho,

an apparent transliteration of Li-tou in Chinese) is the specialty of the College of the Wheel of Time. But the curriculum of this college is more ceremonial than technical. The following may suggest a general idea: The Real Names of the God of Wisdom, The Void Name of the God of Wisdom, Methods of Meditation on the Thirteen Fearful Thunderbolts, Empowering Procedure, Burnt Offering Procedure, to Invite Rain Through the Means of Colored Diagrams, the Graded Course on the Bodhisat Road, and mental creation of various sorts. Scriptures on particular deities mentioned in Chapter X need not be repeated here.

The curriculum of the College of the Happy Thunderbolt is more or less the same as that of the College of the Wheel of Time, except that emphasis is given to its principal deity. The special way in which the Peking calendar system is made is not mentioned in the list supplied by the college representative because it is considered by him one of the essential features of esotericism.

Chapter XIII

PUBLIC FESTIVITIES

By "Public Festivities" we mean the Sacred Dances and other religious activities at the monastery which are open to the public. From the standpoint of the monastery they are theoretically only a form of worship, but practically they are a means of mass education through ceremonial and artistic performances. From the point of view of the laity, it is a combination of interests, religious, artistic, social and economic, the satisfaction of which is offered on these occasions. For on the highlands where production is simple, the sort of life led by everybody is at best monotonous and isolated. The grandiose buildings of the monastery itself are sufficient attractions to those whose lot is to live in tents and adobe houses. These "open house" opportunities are not to be easily

passed by. Then the occasions of seeing something extraordinary not even available at the monastery in other times, of visiting people at a place to which everybody comes from afar, and of trading the surplus of animal husbandry for something from the farm and industry, are more substantial in actuality than whatever can be depicted in abstract terms.

There are seven occasions of this sort annually at Bla-bran. During the fourth-moon and ninth-moon affairs particularly, tribes from afar come in large numbers. Whenever they come, they camp with their families in a large open space called Sankhogthang some fifteen miles to the west of Bla-bran. Then they come to the monastery. In addition to visiting the temples and observing the performances, some of them kowtow at each step in circumambulating the monastery many times. There are even those who come kowtowing all the way from home. In the following pages, we give a summary of the activities during these seven occasions.

(1) The First-moon Great Prayer (Smon-lam)

During this season there are two kinds of activities going on in the monastery. The first are the meetings centered in the Chanting Hall, and the second, real public festivities from the point of view of the laity.

Seven meetings are held in the Chanting Hall every day from the third to the seventeenth of this month. The first meeting is the regular morning chapel (cog-tshogs) from early dawn to sunrise. All the monks of the monastery participate in this meeting. The particular feature of this season is that each monk gets a share of alms which totals about 125 coppers.

The second meeting takes place in the open space outside the Chanting Hall, which is Rdo-gcal (Rdo-gzal). The meeting itself is called Gsun-chos-grwa, an equivalent of the morning Chos-grwa (cog-chos-grwa) during the Chos-thog seasons. The Dean of Studies is in charge of the meeting. First the B.A. candidates are tested, and then he lectures on the life stories of Buddha Sakyamuni, the Graded Course, the Five Works by Maitreya, etc.

The third meeting is a regular noon chapel, Dgon-tshigs-tshogs. The difference here is that each monk gets three shares of butter in his tea and a meal. The junior members of the assembly are divided into three teams and the other members in the Hall are divided into three groups. Each team goes to the kitchen trice and comes back trice to distribute buttered tea each time to a different group in the Hall. A large lump of butter is put into the bucket of hot tea. Each bucket is shared by three persons. If there is anything left in the bucket, it is poured into a large wooden container. But a supervisor stands by this container. If there is too much butter in the bucket, his job is to force the distributor to go back to dispose of it to the monks. It may happen to the embarrassment of the distributor when everyone in the group refuses to take more. Then after the distribution of buttered tea come the rounds of gruel in a similar way. We have already mentioned in Chapter X the ingredients of the gruel to be prepared on the previous day in three large cauldrons. The content is too rich for anyone to take much. It is a wonder, nevertheless, to see how some three thousand and six hundred monks can be served within half an hour.

The fourth meeting is the Prayer Meeting proper in the Chanting Hall at a time corresponding to the Dgon-tshigs-chos-grwa in the concentrated periods of lecturing and debating. The Dean of Studies takes charge of this meeting, when the scriptures are chanted for the propagation of Buddhism, the welfare of the sentient beings, the peace of the world, and so forth. On the return of a Tibetan delegation from Chung-king in 1939 this meeting was held in the courtyard of Hjam-dbyans' residence. Both the order and laity participated and speeches were made in Tibetan, Chinese, and Mongolian, in addition to the regular chanting for universal peace.

The fifth meeting in the order of the day is a "tea-serving" occasion, Grwa-ja-tshogs. It is not a necessary feature. Whenever there are people to offer tea it will be held in the Chanting Hall. Although called "tea-serving," there are 50-75 coppers distributed to each

monk in addition to milk-tea. Sources for both are the alms-givers.

The sixth meeting is another regular one in the Chanting Hall, the evening chapel or Dgon-ja-tshogs, which lasts for some forty minutes.

The seventh meeting is called Evening Debate or Dgon-jahi-dam-bcah, taking place in front of the Chanting Hall, an equivalent to the Bkah-rams-chos-grwa. Candidates for the M.A. degree are tested at this time. Because the place is called Rdo-gcal (Rdo-gzal), the degree is called Rdo-ram-pa, as mentioned in Chapter X.

So much for the activities centered in the Chanting Hall. In respect of public activities from the point of view of the laity, there are five events to be described.

First, the event on the 8th day of the first moon called Tshe-thar or "liberation of life" for animals by dedicating them to the God of Wealth or the Guardian King of the North. The ceremony takes place in the courtyard of Hjam-dbyans' residence. In the west corner of the platform is hung the image of this deity, before whom these offerings are placed: two teapots, one containing *l.d.k* and the other milk-tea; a skinned frozen yak, with head, horn, tail and hoofs untouched; right behind this a sheep in similar state; parallel to the yak a table on which there are twelve dishes full of nuts and dried fruits. Perpendicular to the altar and right below the platform are arranged the animals to be dedicated alive, such as horses, yaks, dogs, a monkey, and a bear, which will never be killed. Besides them are horses colorfully decorated, supposedly pack-animals for the deity himself. The laity rush to bow behind their tails to get some merit or fortune through contact.

In the eastern half of the court six monks are seated on the platform playing bugles, nine-cymbal framework, etc., while ten small boys in costume dance to the music, with the object of making fun to please the deity and audience as well as recalling the early days of Bla-bran when fagots were gathered by the novice monks for their masters. (Bla-bran depends today on animals' dung for fuel.)

When the dance is finished, milk and tea from the above-mentioned pots are poured on the heads of the animals to bless them, and silk rags are fastened to their hair to mark them out from others that are not so saved through dedication to the deity. A burnt offering is made in a large oven-like structure, around which the horses are led to circumambulate clockwise.

In preparing for this ceremonial the Phyag-mdzod and his attendants (zabs-phyi) read scriptures in another quarter. Then seven mounted guards are appointed for the whole period of the first-moon activities. The leader is a monk and the others are laymen, villagers from Lower Tawa and Sahar, whose ancestors were the first settlers at Bla-bran. They are the only privileged group who may ride through the monastery. During this particular season no one but they is allowed to carry any weapon. (On ordinary days Tibetan laymen always have arms with them.)

Second, the "sunning of the Buddhas" (than-mo-che) on the 13th day. Each year a large embroidered or applique image (gos-sku) of Sakyamuni or Amitabha or Amitayus or Tson-kha-pa is displayed on the slope on the other side of the Hsia River. The Dean of Studies performs the necessary ritual elsewhere, while a representative of the Living Buddhas comes from the temple of Bkra-cis-rab-btan across the river to read scriptures before the image. Four earth-gods or "variegated bodies" (thi-gu-khya-res) dance skillfully in obeisance before the representative. The dignified Dean of Studies then comes to take charge of order and peace and is assisted by a few monks who have in their hands either whips or branches of a tree to strike the multitude when they press in too close to the image. In addition, there are two men in embroidered costumes to imitate tigers jumping around. They sometimes have fun with the people by snatching their hats away, but the main purpose is to make space amidst the crowded audience and to show that even wild and ferocious animals are tamed through the influence of Buddhism. At the same time some of the laymen still press close to the image to steal a chance of touching its fringe with their heads at the

risk of being whipped, while others kowtow to show their reverence.

Third, the Bid Sacred Dance (hcham-chen) on the 14th day, taking place in the open space outside the Chanting Hall. As a preparation, scriptures and spells are read for ten days previously to ask permission and blessings of the Fearful Thunderbolt and the King of Law. These are accompanied by burnt offerings (sbyin-sreg or Homa). In the Dance proper the dancers and musicians, about twenty for each class, chant the scriptures of the Iron Castle of the Lord of Death (lcags-mkhar). On the left side of the door of the Hall a large-sized image of the King of Law stands in exhibition to subdue the cruelty of the Lord of Death as well as to ward off any evil. Otherwise, it is believed, the dancers would spit blood. The dancers are supposed to be: the King of Law, his consort, their attendants, the spying boys of the Lord of Death (ken-rus), and the Black-hats of the Rnin-ma-pa. In the center of the space is a piece of cloth on which a human figure is drawn to represent the "evil-doer" (lin-ga), whom it is the objective of the ceremony to destroy. By the side stands a triangular pyramid made of barley flour and butter (gtor-ma), as an offering to the evil spirit. The order of appearance of the dancers on the scene is as follows.

Four spying boys come first, dressed like skeletons. It was said that in the valley wherein the dead are disposed of at Bla-bran, such a form may turn up when in its judgment there are too many of the dead. Then another place has to be used for the burial by feeding the vultures.

The second scene is the attendants coming out two by two. There are five pairs of them, otherwise called Heroes and Heroines (dpah-bo-dpah-mo). They are masked and in costume, but without horns. There are in addition, however, two horned ones, one deer and one yak.

The third scene is the consort and the King of Law appearing one after another. Their costume and other characteristics will be described in the ninth-moon ceremony. With the King, his attendants come out again so that all of them dance in a circle.

The leader of the Black-hats (hcham-dpon) comes out first in the fourth scene, to be followed by his fellows, about twenty in number. They form a circle to dance. To be such a leader one has to have more than fifteen years of experience in participating in such dances.

While the King is dancing, a deputy leader (a-rgan-pa) of the dance pours imitation blood twice as offerings to him. When the Black-hats are dancing, the leader uses all sorts of miniature weapons to kill, strike, and suppress the image of the "evil-doer." Finally, the triangular pyramid offering is burnt together with the "evil-doer" on cloth. This is the end of the Sacred Dance, having killed what was to be killed, and suppressed what was to be suppressed.

The pyramid offering, it was said, was very light in weight before the dance. But by the time of setting it on fire, it has become very heavy, being laden with magic power. Sometimes, it was further mentioned, it becomes so heavy that it is impossible to remove it.

The whole performance is in the charge of a lama officer called Do-dam-pa, "an elderly overseer." The dancers are trained for one year before any actual participation. Once one is engaged in dancing the duty lasts for three years. Then when others come in, one's job is to help them. Four Las-hdzin-pas who have more than twelve years' experience assist the leader in everything concerning the dance. To guide the twenty musicians who chant the scriptures at the same time, a special leader of chanting, called Dbyans-dpon, must have over fifteen years of experience.

This kind of dance had its origin in Bkra-cis-lhun-po; for Pan-chen IV (1567-1662) was supposed to have miraculously (rdzu-hphrul-gyis) visited the mystical region of Utopia or Cambhala. Because he saw the dance there he instituted one on his return to Bkra-cis-lhun-po. As the Pan-chens are specialists in the Wheel of Time system, the college at Bla-bran by this name is theoretically responsible for this dance directly borrowed from his seat of learning and indirectly from Cambhala. But the scale is too large for one particular esoteric college, so that it has become a joint affair of all the

colleges.

According to the belief of the monastery, everybody who participates in the Dance, whether in dancing, in chanting, or in playing music, will be employed by the king of Cambhala when he comes. Any bystander through sight and hearing gets such benefit as the removal of fear after his death.

There are all sorts of interpretations as to the identity of the "evil-doer" and the Black-hats are often mistaken for the Bon-po. Those who know the Black-hats as Rnin-ma-pa magicians are likely to depict them as performing a historical act to recall the drama wherein King Glan-dar-ma was assassinated by a lama. But as a matter of fact the ceremony is meant to eradicate the mental states which are detrimental to proper Buddhist enlightenment, namely Greed, Hatred and Ignorance. Of course, one can theoretically identify any of these abstract evils with a concrete manifestation, in history or in contemporary social context. The lamas, however, prefer the abstract interpretation, or even an animistic one, to any historical allusion. The reason why they impersonate the Rnin-ma-pa Black-hats is that they believe in the potency of the latter.

Fourth, the butter-figures as a form of offering (me-tog-mchod-pa) on the evening of the fifteenth day. The figures are made of butter mixed with barley meal. They represent Buddha Sakyamuni, the God of Wisdom, the Universal Good (Kun-tu-bzan-po or Samantabhadra), the Coming Buddha, the Buddha of Infinite Life, the various goddesses of mercy (Sgrol-ma or Tara), etc. Each is put on a wooden framework decorated with flowers and branches of juniper. Some thirty of these are arranged around the Chanting Hall. Each of the thirteen classes in the College of Exoteric Buddhism has one of these figures prepared, and all the classes in the esoteric colleges have their contributions. In front of each figure butter lamps and torches are placed to make the exhibition gorgeous and magnificent. The multitudes walk around this building, and everyone tries to touch the frameworks with his head to show respect. But the ladies take off their heavy hairdress behind their backs in order to avoid

damage and possible theft in the heavily packed crowds. The mounted monk and his lay assistants are especially busy on this evening and may have many whipped to make the traffic of pilgrims orderly and less dangerous.

Fifth, the procession in honor of the Coming Buddha on the morning of the sixteenth day. A huge image of him and two small images together with a masked boy are carried in the company of costumed lamas from the Chanting Hall around the monastery clockwise. This line is followed by laymen as bystanders. When they reach the open space outside the Hall, the procession breaks up, being the end for the day.

According to Buddhist accounts, there are different Bskal-pa for the existence and destruction of the world. In Auspicious Bskal-pa (bzan-pa) I there have been four Buddhas to rule over the world: The Life-and-death-destruction Buddha (Hkhor-ba-hjig or Krakuchanda) when the life span was 80,000 years; the Golden-immortal Buddha (Gser-thub or Kanakamuni) when it was 40,000 years; the Light-protection Buddha (Hod-srun or Kasyapa) when it was 20,000 years; Buddha Sakyamuni when it has been 100 years. But the reign of Buddha Sakayamuni lasts only 5,000 years, in Auspicious Bskal-pa II the Coming Buddha will come when the life span will be 80,000 years again. The procession is a gesture to welcome his coming. While the procession is circumambulating the monastery, the learned lamas do the same around the temple of the Coming Buddha himself. This temple is golden-roofed, built by Hjam-dbyans II.

To summarize all the events in the Great Prayer Meeting season of the first moon, they are meant to commemorate the period when Buddha Sakyamuni conquered the heretics by miraculous power. It is traditionally believed that between the first and the eighth days of the first moon the Buddha adopted on purpose a losing position in debate. But between the ninth and the fifteenth days he exerted his real power and defeated his opponents one by one. Some of them were either burnt or drowned to death. Others fell over cliffs. With the heretics destroyed, Buddhism had an easy time spreading itself over the world.

(2) The Second-moon Composite Offering (Tshogs-mchod)

This is an observation of the anniversary of Hjam-dbyans I's death on the fifth day of the second moon. The ceremony lasts from the fourth to the eighth days. On the first three days the meetings are planned as those in the first moon period. But on the evening of the fifth day each class from the Abhidharma-kosa down selects a spot to gather together in chanting scriptures in commemoration of the fortunate day on which their Grand Lama attained Nirvana. Collections are also made from among themselves to prepare offerings for the deceased and food and drink for themselves. A poem is read in praise of the master personally, and before the gathering is adjourned, praises on Tson-kha-pa are read aloud to reach far and wide.

On the seventh and eighth days there are two events in the nature of public festivities. The first is Glud-rdzons, or Ransom Scapegoat, and the second Ser-phren, a procession.

The Ransom Scapegoat on the seventh day is in commemoration of the Leader of the Monastery (who in this case is Hjam-dbyans, but who is also meant for a universal leader), who was in danger and had to be ransomed in order to save his life. In Lhasa, this ceremony is observed annually, but at Sku-hbum (Tar-ssu) it is done once in every three years. Bla-bran has adopted the practice of Lhasa.

Twenty monks read scriptures (glo-bur-las-bcol) on the fifth, sixth and seventh days in the temple called Zabs-brtan-lha-khan to request for long continued presence of the Buddha and to prepare the triangular pyramid or Gtor-ma. On the morning of the seventh day the person to personify the Ransom Scapegoat, who is called by that name, Glud-rdzons, is decorated with a hat, on which there are chicken's feathers, a sheep-skin cloak with wool outside, and two horse tails in his hands. His whole body, including the hat, face, the cloak and the horse tails, is in two contrasting colors, with the right side in white and the left in black. He goes to the market place (tshon-ra) to collect money from everybody. Then he visits the dormitories of the monks individ-

ually. Nobody can refuse to give something. But the largest sum comes from the Grand Lama's residence, six hundred silver dollars. After these collections he takes away the pyramid Gtor-ma from the temple and goes to the Grand Lama's residence, whence an effigy or scapegoat for the dignitary is carried in a sedan-chair by four monks to follow him out to the bank of the Hsia River. Behind the sedan-chair run two masked men with swords in their right hands. The idea is to drive the evil spirit away. And behind these characters the crowds cry "Down with the devil!"

A high lama arrives on the scene from the temple of Zabsbrtan-lha-khan and bargains with the half-white-half-black character. A dice is cast to see the luck. If the character is not satisfied with the amount of ransom, he moves the black tail. Otherwise he uses the white one. But the bargaining at this stage is always only a formality, for otherwise this character would not have come. He is always satisfied.

As both parties are satisfied, the effigy and the pyramid Gtor-ma are burnt. In the outbursts of crying on the part of the multitudes "Down with the devil! Down with the devil! ..., " Glud-rdzons jumps across the bridge to the other side of the river and climbs up the mountain, wherein he keeps hiding for seven days. Should he come out within this period, he would be subject to maltreatment at the risk of his life. He has to be a bad sort anyway. No decent person would care to take the money in order to be universally cursed. While the apparently big sum is a compensation for his being cursed, a really decent man would also be incapable of demanding it from everybody.

In this connection there is another misunderstanding which ought to be removed. It is often alleged that the evil impersonated here is the Manchu general Nien Keng-yao, who in 1723 led a punitive expedition against the rebels in Ching-hai, because he killed many lamas. As proof, the eight pagodas at Sku-hbum are taken for the tombs wherein the dead lamas were supposed to have been buried. Even the conversation between the general and the lamas before their deaths was reported in some Chinese books which were not meant

for novels. But actually Nien Keng-yao was never known in Lhasa, where this ceremonial originated. Nor had the lamas of Bla-bran any knowledge of him. The eight pagodas at Skubhum are but an example of similar ones around many monasteries, a characteristic borrowed from India to commemorate the eight events in Buddha Sakyamuni's life, such as his entering into his mother's womb, his birth, and so forth.

Ser-phren, on the eighth day, is popularly called the Exhibition of Treasures. The actual transaction is a procession of some three hundred monks from the six colleges who are dressed in bright monastic garments, carrying all sorts of paraphernalia from public and private sources in circumambulation of the monastery. There are, for example, twenty-five monks carrying banners, another twenty-five carrying umbrellas, another twenty-five carrying "the standards of victory" (rgyal-mtshan), still another twenty-five carrying pennons, and many others who have musical instruments and the eight lucky signs, parasol, golden fish, lotus, conch-shell with clockwise spirals, the lucky knot, the standard, the vase, and the wheel. Other rarities are: the fruit of the wishing tree (dpag-bsam-cin-hbras-bu), the stick from Emperor Kang-hsi (1662-1722), the 100-ounce golden ingot, the dragon's egg (hbrug-gi-agon), etc. There was such a very large diamond, but it was lost during a raid.

The procession is supposed to be an offering to the deities, literally a "suitable (phan-hdogs) offering." After the procession there is a "dance of the scriptures" (garbrohi-hcham).

(3) The Third-moon Dance (Dgar-hcham)

On the sixth day the College of the Wheel of Time begins to prepare a "dry painting" in different colors to represent the palace of this Buddha, which is a mystic diagram or Man-dala (Dkyil-hkhor). Colored meal of minerals dips from pointed tubes onto a low table. Each tube contains a different color. The multi-colored design represents the palace as seen from above. It takes seven days to complete the design and on the fifteenth a playful dance is performed.

Sixteen monks impersonate maidens wearing five-Buddha caps and female costumes. They dance gracefully to please the Buddha. Although not on a grand scale, the performance is quite unique in that it, of all the Lamaic dances, is pleasing rather than awe-inspiring. It takes place in the courtyard of the college, but ordinary visitors are allowed. It is believed that the dancers after their deaths will be reborn in the city of the Wheel of Time.

(4) The Fourth-moon Events

There are two events in this moon that attract public attention. The first is the debate in the noon Chos-grwa on the days from the twentieth to the twenty-third among the classes studying the Wisdom, which was mentioned in the previous chapter.

The second is the fasting (smyun-gnas or bsnen-gnas) to commemorate the fifteenth day of the month, on which Buddha Sakyamuni was supposed to have entered into his mother's womb, and later to have attained enlightenment and Nirvana. The fasting and singing on the part of lay girls were described in Chapter I. But every temple of the monastery is open on this day, and all the monks practice vegetarianism at this time. As both laity and the order show their respects to the deities, offer butter to the lamps on the altars, and circumambulate the monastery, it is a great occasion, truly public in nature, not like the other seasons when the laymen are only bystanders.

(5) The Seventh-moon Theatrical Performance (rig-grwa)

During the first fifteen days of the month daily activities are the same as the Great Prayer season of the first moon. In the morning chapel each monk gets a share of 75-100 coppers. The Dean of Studies lectures in the second meeting (gsun-chos-grwa). In the noon chapel butter is distributed to the congregation. Two lamas are engaged in debate in the next session and flowers are offered them. During the afternoon tea (grwa-ja), more alms may be distributed. The evening chapel being over, the evening debate session is devoted

to the examination of M.A. candidates, second chance in the year. The amount gained by the monks on these days is equivalent to that in the first moon, a substantial part of the support a monk can get in the year.

The theatrical performance itself, a joint affair of the six colleges, takes place outside the Chanting Hall either on the eighth or on the ninth day, the difference being accounted for by the fact that the previous month may have either thirty days or twenty-nine days according to the calendar of the year.

As in any other gathering at this place, the ordinary people sit around to form an enclosure. Two chairs are placed facing the door of the Hall. On the eastern side the musicians sit in one line: one big drum, one gong, two cymbals, and one bugle. Then, as the first act, one person who impersonates the mountain god in the form of an Indian Brahma (A-tsa-ra or Acharya) comes out. His mask shows a ghostly face with conch shell lines on top of the head as a peculiar kind of hair. The beards are made of colored wool. With a red tape on his right arm, he dances, with a club in hand.

In the second act another A-tsa-ra dances with two lions, decorated with colored balls and silk, as if all the wild animals are so pleased with Buddhism that they dance to worship the Buddha. The costumes for the lions were given by a chieftain's wife of Someng, Sung-pan, Sze-chwan, to Hjam-dbyans II. The animals signify the eight lions protecting the seat of Buddha Sakyamuni. The people who dance as lions must be of pure character, it is believed, for otherwise calamity would fall upon them. If we on seeing these lions consider ourselves, it is further said, to be in the presence of the Buddha instead of looking at a game, the beneficial influence would be great.

In the third act one more big drum and cymbal are added, and two colorfully dressed gods of earth (Thi-gu-phyas) appear on the scene. Each face is covered with a piece of yellow leather, and both head and beard are white. A knotted cord is used to fasten the waist, with the knots symbolizing snakes or dragons. One of the gods has on

his back a bundle of scriptures, and each waves a banner, while barley is being scattered as an offering to the local gods. Then after some gestures as if preparations are being made for the arrival of important personages, both read the scriptures together to explain the life and significance of Mi-la-ras-pa, whom we have recorded in Chapter VI on the Bkah-brgyud-pa.

In the last act the gods of earth lead two lamas out. Each of the latter has a bundle of scriptures on his back and a monastic stick in the right hand. Both have lama-hats with their faces covered by black strings hanging from the brims of their hats. Then they are seated on the chairs, and their sticks are placed in front of them. One lama would be sufficient to represent Mi-la-ras-pa; but in order to carry on a conversation for the benefit of the audience, he is made to have a brother. Then two deer come forward one after another. After jumping and dancing, they are supposed to have been persuaded by Mi-la-ras-pa to get rid of fear. Finally, they prostrate themselves by the side of the lamas. No sooner has this been done than two yellow-faced boys come out whipping two hunting dogs to run after the deer. The boys are supposed to be the sons of a hunter. While both boys and dogs jump around, Mi-la-ras-pa is successful in persuading the latter to give up their chase and to lie down. Immediately a hunter, huge in stature, comes out, speaking to himself, to be followed by two more boys who strike their whips while running. The latter are immediately followed by another hunter.

One hunter is Mgon-po-rdo-rje and the other plays the part of his brother in order to carry on a conversation. Their sons, two for each, are additional features. So dogs and deer are also in pairs to make the rhythmic dance to the music more effective. The hunters are both red-faced, white-bearded, clad in fox-fur garments with the fur outside, with rosaries on the shoulders, and with swords at the waist. Of the two pairs of sons, the younger is dressed in yellow and carries a bundle, a water jar, and bow and arrows. The elder boy is dressed in red and has with him food and a kettle. Wiping

perspiration from the face and trying to see where the missing objects are, the hunters talk in disguised voice first about the place, secondly about the people, and finally about their own lives. They are fantastic clowns both in appearance and in talk, serving the function of official jester and making sarcastic remarks about things which are ordinarily taboo in a sacred atmosphere. For instance, they may caricature the monks of the monastery: "Do you think it a good thing to give alms to all the monks? No, indeed, my brother! It is only profitable to serve the good ones who observe strict monastic discipline and are industrious in their intellectual and spiritual endeavor. What good is there if we serve the following sort who often say, 'Is the tea well prepared in this chapel?' or 'Are we going to get larger shares in the distribution of alms!' or 'Another bowl please!' while they are being served?"

Finally, when discovering their dogs and deer by the side of the lamas, the hunters become furious and want to kill them for their interference. But the arrows turn to the sky and fall down on the ground instead of going to their objectives. Then they question Mi-la-ras-pa as to his identity. The latter takes the chance to convert them to Buddhism by persuading them to give up the practice of destroying any more lives. Thus, Mgon-po-rdo-rje was saved and he later contributed a great deal to the propagation of the doctrine for the welfare of all sentient beings.

(6) The Ninth-moon Sacred Dance (dgu-hcham)

Before the Sacred Dance of this month there is another period of fasting on the twenty-second day, this time to commemorate Buddha Sakyamuni coming down from heaven after his sermon to his mother, in order to "turn the wheel of law" for the human world. The monastery is open to the public in the same way it was in the fourth moon.

The Sacred Dance proper takes place on the twenty-ninth in the courtyard of the Grand Lama's residence. A borrowed practice from Rtse-rnam-rgyal-grwa-tshan in Lhasa, the performance is in the charge of the College of the Happy Thun-

derbolt. So far as the setting is concerned, all the verandas upstairs and the western quarter of the courtyard are occupied by bystanders. On the veranda on the west side there are eight large tridents to symbolize anger. The central door on the north side is the passage through which the dancers come out and return inside. On the veranda on the east side there are the following objects arranged from the north to the south. First, a triangular pyramid made of butter and barley meal. The triangle symbolizes anger. On the fringe of the angles wind-wheels are attached to represent ears that can hear sounds from afar. Below the pyramid a human figure hangs upsidedown, personifying the evil to be suppressed. The ingredient, barley meal, stands for the element earth, while the open spaces on the pyramid represent air. The lines on it are symbolic of water and fire respectively. Thus, the four elements are complete. There are three rings on the wheels to simulate the three veins of anger. The thunderbolt on top also represents anger. Secondly, smaller pyramids, the number of which differs in accordance with the kind of scriptures, but the significance of whose details is the same as that of the large one. Thirdly, a chair and a table for the supervisor of the college, whose title is Thunderbolt-grasper or Rdo-rje-hdzin-pa. Fourthly, two monks, each blowing a bugle made of human thighbone. Fifthly, six monks with large drums, the skin of which is painted with animal figures. The drum sticks are long with bent ends. Sixthly, five monks with cymbals. The one in the middle, who has a raised seat, is the chanting conductor (dbu-mdzad). Seventhly, six more drummers as above. Eighthly, eight blowers of cylindrical bugles more than twelve feet long. All these people wear brand new monastic costumes which suggest those worn by Catholic bishops. The arms of the blowers of large cylindrical bugles are wrapped with heavy strings of coral.

So far as the Dance is concerned, the first scene follows this order of appearance: Six boys with braziers in hand; two blowers of ordinary bugles; the college treasurer (spyi-ba), who wears a square-brimmed felt hat and has incense-sticks in hand; a number of laymen attendants; a boy holding a water-

jar; the masked god of earth or Tsihu-dmar, who is in full armor with a five-skull crown and covered on the outside of the costume with strings of human-bone beads. He has in his right and left hands respectively a banner and a spear. In front of his bosom is a mirror, in the center of which is the mark of the essence of spells. Next, an A-tsa-ra who is green-faced, with lines on his shining head, wears a long green gown and holds a thighbone in his left hand. Then the attendants serving Tsihu-dmar: one yellow-faced, two red-faced, one dark-brown-faced, one green-faced, two red-faced of another shade. Each of these has in the right hand a sword and in the left a lasso, with three eyes and a five-skull crown. The last one is another A-tsa-ra. When the former group in front of Tsihu-dmar retires, the latter leads the others in masks to dance in a big circle. The two A-tsa-ras dance beside him. When the dance is over, the first group comes in again to lead the masked ones back to the room behind the door. Then the A-tsa-ras place the human figure painted on cloth on the ground towards the southern end of the circle, with the legs towards the north. A black bundle is placed beside the legs.

In the second scene the first group is the same but followed by seventeen other masked ones: the King of Law with green buffalo head, a five-skull crown, and in the right and left hands respectively a skeleton club and a lasso; his consort with the same kind of head but without horns, who holds in one hand a trident and in another a cranium; the warriors: one yellow-headed buffalo with a consort, another pair in yellow, a red-headed pair, one green-headed pair, another pair in yellow, another pair in red, and another pair in yellow. All these warriors have five-skull crowns with buttons on top, but the crowns of their consorts are without the button. Both male and female each have a sword. The last character is a deer-headed one, personal attendant to the King of Law. He has no crown. When the circle is formed, they dance with the King in the center. Then the first group returns to serve as ushers.

The third scene opens with the A-tsa-ras' carrying the cylindrical bugles blown from behind by two people. Two

others blow thighbone bugles. Then the first group leads nine masked ones out: The Guardian King of the North and three associates, who are all red-faced and old umbrellas and mon-gooses respectively in the right and left hands; one green-faced warrior holding a dagger; one with a spear and a banner; another with a yellow face and a miniature treasure-house; the last one with a light yellow face and with a shield and sword in hands. The dance and the way in which the dancers are ushered back are the same as before.

There is an interval between this scene and what follows. The musicians leave their seats to take refreshments.

The fourth and last scene is the longest, taking a time equivalent to the total occupied by the first three. It begins in the same way as the third scene. The ushering group changes in composition thus: four brazier-carriers, two water-jar carriers, two tray-carriers, two bugle-blowers, one incense-carrier, attended by a monk, one square-brimmed-hat leader, attended by a layman. Following them are fifteen Black-hat dancers. Each of them has in the right hand a thunderbolt pike and in the left hand a cranium. The black hat has a hexangular design on the brim and at each angle there is a painted skull. The top is made of colored silk, in the center of which is a black floss-silk ball. On the top of the ball in ascending order there is a skull, a thunderbolt, and golden clouds. There are six wheels below the sides of the clouds, touching the brim of the hat. The clouds represent fire, a simile of the pyramid offering, while the wheels are symbolic of anger. The dancers themselves have their mouths covered with black cloth and their faces painted with three black lines, both standing for anger again. They are dressed in embroidered robes, as those on the Han stage, and over the robe are strings of beads of human bone to represent the completeness of the scriptures. The leader has on his robe five skulls designed on an animal figure.

When the dancers form a complete circle, there are two water-jar holders facing each other in the center. They pour the "golden wine" (gser-skyems) into the cups and then add some grains of barley. The dancers dance with the cups

and then throw the content away. Once more the cups are filled and once more the content is thrown away. This is repeated four times. The first two times it is thrown backward to the Lamas and the Protectors, and the last two forward to the Protectors' attendants and the gods of earth supposed in Lamaic account to be the roots of the Buddhas, whence are developed the tutelaries (yi-dam), who are the lords of the Protectors of the Faith. The "golden wine" is prepared by filing an alloy bar of iron, gold, silver, copper and bronze (seg-brdar) and by putting the filings into wine. It is served to the deities in order to ask for protection for Buddhism in the days of anger.

When the libation is performed the third time, an attendant monk puts a low table in the center of the dance circle and covers it with a black cloth. After the fourth libation the cups are collected by the attendant monk, who then retires. The dancers begin to dance again, with the leader in the center. He strikes at the human figure on cloth, and the other dancers repeat this action. Then he makes hand-gestures, dances, chants spells, and makes hand-gestures again. Next, the black cloth on the table is removed to reveal a tray of all sorts of miniature weapons. Then the process of dancing, hand-gesture-making and spell-chanting is repeated twice more, before his thunderbolt pike and cranium are taken by the attendant monk to be placed on the table, and a ladle and stick are given to him from it. He dances with these instruments what are then changed for a lasso with one end attached to a thunderbolt and another attached to a hook. This is thrown into a tray on the human figure, covered with the black cloth. Then a chain is taken from the table to dance with and is again thrown into the tray on the human figure. After a ball is picked up and danced with, it is placed on the table. Then the following weapons are changed each time to dance with and to be returned to the table: a hammer, a moon-shaped knife, a trident, a thunderbolt pike, and a dagger. The attendant monk makes hand-gestures each time he receives a weapon from the dance leader and each time he hands a new weapon to him.

Then the leader takes up his original skull cup and pike to read spells to the figure with gestures of striking. He changes the weapon in his right hand for a cranium ladle, changes that in his left hand for a shallow ladle, and then in addition to the shallow one in the left hand adds the cranium ladle to his right hand. For each change he dances and pours the imaginary content in the ladles upon the figure.

The next step is to take up his cranium and pike again and to dance with them while mumbling spells. Then he changes them for a hammer and a nail to nail the figure down. Taking up the original cranium and pike again, he dances and returns them to the table. After further mumbling with his hands together, he picks up a dagger and cuts the imitation flesh on the black cloth. Lastly, he changes the dagger for his cranium and pike and returns to his associates in the line. The attendant monk distributes the flesh to each skull cup of the dancers, who then dance together. The table is removed and the dancers take their skull cups in their right hands and dance. After a pause, they use their pikes to strike and then dance. Finally, they are led away by the same group which ushered them in.

When each scene has ended, the lama officials offer silk scarfs (kha-btags) to the leaders. At the end of the fourth, the important participants come out in line from the door in the north. First, the elder with the broad-brimmed hat is followed by armed laymen who appear for the first time. Next, the pyramid offering is carried away. Then the Guardian King of the North, the King of Law and his consort, Tsihudmar, and all the Black-hats together with the musicians come out in double lines. The associates and warriors and attendants on the deities have already taken off their costumes so that they do not appear at this stage. The procession reaches an open space between the headquarters of the military commander and the mansion of the Mongol prince, when the pyramid is burnt and the laymen open fire with their rifles in the air. Thus, all the evil has been expelled.

This detailed description is given of the ninth-moon dance because its variety is greater than that of any other cer-

emony. The symbolism mentioned here may equally apply to similar cases in the other ceremonies.

(7) The Tenth-moon Anniversaries

The twenty-fifth day of the tenth moon happens to be the anniversary of the deaths of Tson-kha-pa and his disciples Hjam-dbyans-chos-rje-dpal, founder of Hbras-spuns, and Byams-chen-chos-rje, founder of Se-ra. Hjam-dbyans II died on the twenty-seventh day of the same month. Consequently, the monastery of Bla-bran is open for three days from the twenty-fifth to the twenty-seventh. The altars in the temples have new features added to them, namely snow-figures as seasonal offerings. Laymen come with barley meal, juniper twigs, and butter to make burnt offerings and to add oil to the lamps.

On the evening of the twenty-fifth day lamps are placed in every house and temple of the monastery while the monks chant scriptures and the biography of Tson-kha-pa. In the villages near the monastery lamps are also lit everywhere. To climb the mountain on the other side of the river to look down upon the community is something to remind one of modern big cities. It is a sight most striking in the sparsely populated habitat of the Tibetans.

At the end of the seven public festivities we may mention two events of the year, although they are not of the same order. They are the Winter and Summer Solstices.

Before the Winter Solstice the monks of the College of the Wheel of Time read the scriptures of the Protector, or Mahakala, for three days. On the day of solstice pyramid offerings are sent from every college, Living Buddha's residence, etc., to the bank of the river to be burnt for the suppression of the evil ones. Armed laymen fire with their rifles in the air both in the residence of Hjam-dbyans and in the courtyard of the College of the Wheel of Time. When the pyramids are carried away, they also accompany them, the idea being that, when the sun begins to change its course, the evil spirits may come with it, hence the necessary ceremony to suppress them.

At the same time, the scripture banners on the flagposts at the eastern and southern sides of the monastery, in front

of the temples of the Protectors of the Faith, in the spaces where Chos-grwas are held, and in front of the mansion of the Mongol prince are changed for new ones. (The banners on the post in front of the Chanting Hall are changed on the third day of the first moon.) The laymen who have helped to drive away the evil ones with their bullets receive gratitudes from the authorities.

At the Summer Solstice the same ceremonies are performed under the auspices of the College of the Happy Thunderbolt; but at this time the banners are not changed.

Chapter XIV

POPULATION UNDER BLA-BRAN

We have seen Bla-bran in its capacities as a monastery, as a community, and as a district (Chapter IX). Its monastic features have already been discussed in detail. In order to give them a more concrete base we shall now examine the entire population in the local community and the district. Although the population is not strictly identical with the people of Hsia-ho County, the monastery's influence is more or less felt throughout the district.

The author toured through this area three times. Only once was he in the position to collect information about the population as a whole. The figures given here have to be rough estimates; even though in certain cases intensive surveys were made, only totals are included. Of the proportion between nomadic pastoralists and sedentary agriculturalists, together with their features, we shall have a mention towards the end of the chapter.

1. The "thirteen villages" nearest to Bla-bran Monastery are clustered in four groups: Thangnag, Sahar, Tawa (Upper and Lower) and Dechung.

Thangnag is situated on the southern bank of the Hsia River, facing the monastery and Tawa on the other bank.

The villages included in this cluster are: Nlawenchog with 32 families; Upper and Lower Thangnag with 86 families; Lechiog on the northern bank with 47 families; Sayi and Lanhsiel with a collective name of Sanyinno with a total of 55 families. The total number of families for Thangnag is 223. According to an average we arrived at in working out the statistics of the village families there are 3.7 persons per family; the total population here means 8,251.

Sahar on the northern bank, east of Tawa, consists of: Sahar with 45 families, Chiawu with 15 families, and Futi in the valley of Futi with 42 families. There are altogether 102 families or 377 persons.

Tawa, the seat of the district government of Hsia-ho County, consists of two units: Lower Tawa has 556 families or 1,709 persons, with 44% Han, 35% Tibetan, 21% Islamic; Upper Tawa has 504 families or 1,676 persons, with 40% Han, 40% Islamic, 20% Tibetan. Two sub-villages are attached to Tawa: Manker with 33 families and Sasoma with 18 families, forming a total population of 188. The larger total for Tawa then is 3,573.

Dechung consists of the small villages of Jihgcha, Mennag, Kard, Lungkothang, Yichunghang and Lochieg, with a total of 60 families or 222 persons.

It is evident that "the thirteen villages" are not exactly thirteen. But they are traditionally so designated. These settlements began with the founding of the monastery for the purpose of serving the latter. Gradually, they became expanded even to include Han and Islamic traders and other professions. The Han magistrate rules over them as he does over the others in the district. But the monk official appointed by the monastery has more intimate and traditional contact with "the thirteen villages." He is called Gner-ba, literally "a procurer."

Apart from the offering of arrows (lab-tse) to the mountain god, Grandfather Niangchen, mentioned in Chapter I, which is an occasion for most of the people in the district of Bla-bran, the people of "the thirteen villages" have a more local god, to whose quiver they add arrows on the eleventh

day of the fourth moon. All the able-bodied men of these villages make a pilgrimage on that day to this local mountain god together with the representatives of the "eighteen residences of Living Buddhas," of the residence of Hjam-dbyans, of the monastery and the six colleges, and the particular officers such as the monastery treasurer, the steward of the Mongol prince, the Dean of Studies, the Dean of Discipline, the Chanting Conductor, and the elder of the Executive Council.

2. Sankhogthang fifteen miles to the west of the monastery is inhabited by Tibetans in a group of 250 tents. According to the average nomadic population, the number of persons per tent is 4, making the population here 1,000. The people are directly governed by a monk official called Hgo-ba, appointed once in every three years from among the eighty attendants to Hjam-dbyans. Under him there are four Chuehpons to assist in the administration.

3. Traveling southward from the above for four yak-stages, about fifteen miles per stage, we arrive at Kho-tshai. There are 200 tents or 800 people. They are governed by a Hgo-ba, who is assisted by six Kogongwos. There is a monastery called Keker with some 100 inmates under the leadership of an abbot (khri-pa) appointed by Bla-bran.

4. One stage more to the southeast is Tatshan where 1,200 Tibetanized Mongols live in 300 tents. Subjects of the Mongol prince "south of the Yellow River," they are ruled directly by a chieftain and ten Khagens.

5. One more stage in the same direction is Weissu, where 600 Mongols live in 150 tents under the control of four Tshangkhens appointed by the Mongol prince.⁶

6. Thogku to the west of Weissu is another place under the jurisdiction of the Mongol prince, where 400 Mongols live in 100 tents. There is a chieftain assisted by four Khakens.

7. Due south of the above two is Tsuorkenima with 200 tents occupied by 800 Tibetans divided into five tribes: Tsuorke (to be distinguished from another tribe by the same name in Sze-chwan), Tshamjang (from Apa or Ngawa in Sze-

chwan Tsuhuakha, Mola (from Samtsha), and Tshui. The boundaries reach Chiegchi in the east, the Yellow River in the south, Wuhas in the west, and Lungwechiang in the north. The people are ruled by a Hgo-ba, under whom there are one Gner-ba and ten Kogongwos. There are two small lamaseries in this area: Tshihahwehsiang with 45 inmates whose abbot is appointed by Bla-bran, and Tsohui with only 9 monks under the direct control of Gan-than, one of the most important of the "eighteen Living Buddhas" at Bla-bran.

8. Two yak-stages from Wuhas of Tsuorkenima is the ferry to cross the Yellow River. The boat is a simple wooden box reminding one of the Biblical story of Noak's ark. People and loads are placed in the square box and a horse is fastened by the tail to the box. While the horse swims, the box is pulled across the river. As the box is only ten feet square, however, all the people in the caravan do not take advantage of it, lest the ferrying time should be too long. In no case are the animals ferried. The men take off their garments, each putting his own into a sheep-skin bag, which is fastened to the bosom to serve as a life buoy. He then attaches himself to the neck of his own horse. The latter swims and he is carried over. Yaks are driven into the river to swim, but they often turn back again. The crossing of the river takes a great deal of time and is extremely dangerous. What is particularly interesting to a student of culture is that these nomads who are perfectly at home with grassland and animals use their technique in this context to adjust themselves to the river, in regard to which they have no skill. They are not accustomed to the use of cars or the building of boats.

In the bend of the Yellow River is Ngora, a pasture inhabited by some 2,000 Tibetans in 500 tents. They are divided into three tribes: the Big Clan, Hsungning, and Sogro. Their boundaries reach Chiaokho to the east by one horse-stage (some thirty miles); Apa or Ngawa to the south by three horse-stages; Go-lok to the west by two stages; and Sohu to the north by two stages. They are governed by a monk official Hgo-ba, the biggest of its kind in the region

under Bla-bran. He is assisted by one Gner-ba, one Tango, two Demchis, two Demchus, four Chiehuns, and twelve attendants appointed in turn from among the nomads. There is a small lamasery called Khechang accommodating some 80 inmates under the control of Bla-bran.

This settlement was originally composed of seven families contributed by Hantha, a Living Buddha, to Hjam-dbyans II at the latter's request. Hjam-dbyans II ordered these seven families to expand in seven directions. At first they developed into two tribes and then into three to the present day. Their summer quarters is Nangtathang, with their autumn, winter and spring quarters at Ngogtso, Hsiehkhoh and Ngoalir respectively. There is a lamasery by the name of Tsang at Tsangladma in their territory, with some two dozens of inmates who were once opposed to Bla-bran.

The Go-loks to the west are notoriously known for their robbery and bravery, because they live around the much talked-about Amnyi Machen Mountain. As a matter of fact, the Ngoras are much more courageous than the Go-loks. According to the scale set by the Tibetans themselves, ten people from Bla-bran (i.e., the "thirteen villages") cannot equal one Go-lok, but ten Go-loks are no match for a single Ngora.

9. Southeastward from here are the three Chiaokhos and the Six Tribes of Apa or Ngawa, who are politically within the jurisdiction of Sze-chwan but religiously under the control of Bla-bran. At the Three Chiaokhos there are 5,600 people in 1,400 tents and there are the following lamaseries: Tshanchihg with 200 monks, Hsiahsu with 150 monks, and Chihama with 45 monks. There are one thousand families in the Six Tribes of Apa under the guidance of a representative from Bla-bran. A comparatively big lamasery there by the name of Ngomengko has some 500 inmates. The following smaller ones have each some fifteen monks: Ngohsu, Swa, Wahsu, and Taochir. In addition to the Chiaokhos and Apas, Megur has the same relationship with Bla-bran. There are some 300 families.

10. Returning from Ngora northeastward to Tsurorke-

nima and from there in the same direction to cross the borders of Samtsha, Hsitshang, and Tsuorkenima, and to cross the Tao River, two horse-stages bring us to Hsitshang the New Monastery. Here again we are in sedentary settlements. In the monastery there are 500 monks with a representative from Bla-bran. The Old Monastery is two miles to the west, with 100 monks under the leadership of an abbot appointed by Bla-bran. The ruins of the ancient city may be seen further to the west.

In the clusters of settlements around the New Monastery there are a dozen Tibetan families, thirty immigrant Tibetan families from Sung-pan, Sze-chwan, and about ten families of Islam traders. The whole area of Hsitshang is inhabited by twelve tribes with a total of 1,000 families. But only two tribes are under the control of Bla-bran, the others belonging to Lin-tan County.

So far as the whole area is concerned, the boundaries of Hsitshang are: one horse-stage to Lajatikha in the east bordering on the sedentary area of Samtsha; two horse-stages to Sanstshonin in the south bordering on the grassland of Samtsha; one stage and a half to Chiehnachikha in the west bordering on Khotahai; and half stage to Tichithang in the north bordering on Amchog. The ten divisions in Lin-tan are: the pastoral areas of Lajenko, Hsitshang, Kahsu, Siti, Majui, Tsetsa, Mane and Chiehkhu, and the agricultural areas of Ladikhasum and Mamarisum. The two tribes belonging to Bla-bran are: Chiehker, east of the New Monastery, with a mixed population of 32 families of nomads and agriculturists; Huaker, west of the New Monastery, with 30 families of pastoralists. Their boundaries are: Alalacha in the east, Setingpong-puna in the south, Jahsilongker in the west, and beyond the Tao River in the north to Horkagur in the east and Mane in the west. On the fifteenth day of the fifth moon, all the twelve tribes participate in the ceremony.

11. One horse-stage eastward from Hsitshang is Chitshang. There are 100 monks in the monastery, which includes a residence for the visitor from Bla-bran but which is not controlled by any representative from the latter. The pop-

ulation is under the direction of eight elders appointed by two independent Hgo-bas who are under the district government of Hsia-ho County, but not under the rule of Bla-bran. There are 150 families in sedentary life and there are six tent circles. One tent circle corresponds to a local community, the tents being arranged in a circle facing the center in order to protect the animals in the enclosure during the night. The boundaries are: Hutatipong to border on Meja in the east, Hsichenchikha to border on Samtsha in the south, Lantieningo to border on Hsitshang in the southwest, and Chihkha to border on Amchog in the north.

12. Five miles northeastward is Mehsiu, where there are 370 villagers in 100 families. There is a lamasery by the name of Meja accommodating 40-50 monks under the leadership of several Semshis appointed by Bla-bran.

13. Southeast of Mehsiu is Lohsiu, where there are 925 villagers in 250 families. They are ruled by a representative and a Spyi-ba from Bla-bran. The two functionaries appoint in turn 40 Semshis to assist them. There are four lamaseries in this area: Chashiker with 200 monks, with whom the representative and Spyi-ba live; Motuker with 100 monks or more; Ngoakuk with 70-80 monks; and Wangugoati with 30-40 monks.

14. Starting from Chitshang northward one passes the Kochen Mountain, on the south side of which is Mehsiu and on the north side of which is Amchog. The lamasery of Amchog has 230 monks under the leadership of a representative and a Spyi-ba appointed by Bla-bran, who are assisted by four attendants or Tawas and 80 Semshis. The lamasery is divided into three colleges: One College of Exoteric Buddhism, one College of Theology, and a third College of the Wheel of Time. The Dean of Studies here is concurrently in charge of Chitshang lamasery in the same capacity. There is also a printing establishment with some rare editions of Tibetan books which are not found elsewhere. On the hills south of a small river in front of the lamasery there is a retreat center kept by some twenty monks.

In the area of Amchog there are 500 families divided into

300 families of villagers, with a few Islamic and Chinese traders, and 200 families of tent-dwellers. The total population of both groups amounts to 1,910. The boundaries are: Chioltokaro in the east, bordering on Pora, connecting with Chitshang in the south without any demarcation, Chinokhad in the west, bordering on Hsitshang, and Hsientmori in the north, bordering on Sankhogthang. The ceremony of offering arrows to the mountain god Chioke Amnyi Hunpo on the fifteenth day of the fifth moon is participated in by all the able-bodied people of Amchog.

15. Some seven miles eastward from Amchog is Pora. All the people are villagers, 1,110 grouped into 300 families and four tribes: Tshorg, Chungtshangona, Wotsa, and Khajakuta. The boundaries reach in the east the five tribes of Ngogtshowa, Tseyud of Hsiapakou in the south, Amchog in the west, and Dokhar in the north. There is a lamasery with 250 inmates, whose abbot is appointed by Bla-bran. There are two occasions for the people to offer arrows to the mountain gods. One is Lunpo Tangogchen on the fifteenth day of the sixth moon. The other is Yingje on the seventeenth day of the fourth moon.

16. Eight miles northeastward is Dokhar. There are two tribes, Chiachithangpa and Ngowanika, divided into nine small villages. The total population is 370 in 100 families. The boundaries are: Chihtopantshih in the east bordering on Hetsho, Adsanna in the south, bordering on Pora, Komachikha in the west, bordering on Hetsho, and Langtangtikha in the north, bordering on Hetsho again. A lamasery is the College of the Wheel of Time, accommodating 60-70 monks under the leadership of an abbot appointed by Bla-bran. There are two occasions for the people to offer arrows to the mountain gods. One is to Nori Yingje, on the fourth day of the fifth moon. The other is the Mohun in front of the lamasery, on the thirteenth day of the seventh moon.

17. Seven miles northeastward is Hetsho on an elevation of 2,989 meters, the only market town besides Bla-bran in the district of Hsia-ho County. The market is held once in every ten days. The population together with Mewu and

Khaja is 1,232 in 326 families, with a predominant portion of Islamic and Chinese traders. But the figure covers only villagers, whose census was taken in 1939. Beyond this there are four tribes of Hetsho who live in tents, with a total population of 700. The tribes are Tsos, Chamor, Nawa and Jihni. Their boundaries are: Chiachihkha in the east, bordering on Mewu, Latsutingkha in the south, bordering on Dokha, Huimokha in the west, bordering on Tsayu, and Yimo in the north, bordering on Khaja.

The monastery at Hetsho accommodates 350 monks studying exoteric Buddhism. The nine-storied building is famous in the region. The Grand Lama in charge is Gser-khri IV, an incarnation of one who was once an abbot of Dgahldan in Tibet. This dignitary at Hetsho is notorious for his violation of monastic discipline by having free relations with very many women. His Tibetan devotees had to besiege him carrying arms in order to secure from him a pledge that he would formally marry a few wives. His power is independent of Bla-bran and extends to the monastery of Lhamo on the border between Kan-shu and Sze-chwan. But there is another Living Buddha, Sotshang by name, who in rank is lower than Gser-khri but whose reputation is exceedingly high.

18. Seven miles eastward from Hetsho is Mewu. Besides some Islamic and Han traders at Mewu there are five tribes totalling some 1,000 families or more, with a population of 3,820. Four-tenths in this area are house-dwellers and six-tenths tent-dwellers. The tribes are Mewu, Ritoma, Chihke, Nungwa and Nator. They are bound by Choni at Setsangchi in the east, Dokhar at Tungchichin Thungnakha in the south, Hetsho at Chiachihkha in the west, and Khaja at Chalachi in the north.

The five tribes were originally known as "the eight banners of Mewu." They first belonged to Hsun-hua, Ching-hai, and late in the nineteenth century were transferred to Tao-chou (now Lin-tan), Kan-su. Since the establishment of Hsiaho County they have been under the jurisdiction of the latter. They are ruled directly by five chieftains, who have not an official connection with Bla-bran. But recently the leader of the

five married the daughter of General Huang Cheng-ching of Bla-bran, and the relationship has been more cordial than ever.

There are three lamaseries in this area: the Old with more than 200 monks, the New with more than 100, and Jih-toma with 75.

19. Seven miles northward is Khaja on an elevation of 2,195 meters. Besides Han traders who were included in the census together with Hetsho and Lungwa, there are 660 Tibetans living in 150 families partly nomadic and partly agricultural. They are territorially bound by Mewu at Yozchikha in the east, Hetsho at Sangouk in the south, Lungwa at Manlungto in the west, and Hortsang at Lachishi Mosadi in the north. The lamasery in this area is known as the Old in contrast to the New at Upper Khaja, which is not included in this region. Besides the leader, Hgyan-ri-tshan, who belongs to Bla-bran, the other Living Buddhas at the Old lamasery are partly aligned with the above-mentioned Lhamo Monastery on the Sze-chwan border and partly with Bla-bran. The congregation consists of 100 monks.

The occasion for the people to offer arrows to their mountain god, Shag, takes place on the fifteenth day of the sixth moon. In the village of Lotunto less than a mile to the west of Khaja the people suffer from leprosy very badly.

20. Twenty miles northwestward is Lungwa, where besides the Islamic and Han traders live 1,480 Tibetan villagers in 300 families. Their boundaries reach Khaja at Chialung Ngowung in the east, Tsayu at Polungniga in the south, Tamethang at the Tame Mountain in the west, and Shakou at Pholung in the north. The chieftain of Lungwa lives at Huangkulakha, while his son lives a monastic life in his own residence called Lungwahuantshang. The Lungwa Monastery accommodates 40-50 monks, having allegiance to Shakou. Their own abbot is already the eighteenth in succession. But there is another monastery of the name of Chashig with 100 monks who are under the control of Bla-bran. A Tiger-headed mountain god is worshipped by having his quiver filled on the fifteenth day of the fourth moon.

21. Tsayu is situated in an area south of Lungwa, west of Hetsho, southeast of Bla-bran, and northeast of Amchog. There are 600 Tibetans living in 180 families under the rule of an elder of the name of Arkha. A lamasery accommodating 40-50 monks is under the leadership of a representative from Bla-bran.

22. Climbing the Tame Mountain west of the Lungwa, the sea of clouds is a grand view. Some nine miles east of the mountain is Tamethang. In addition to the Han and Islamic population, whose census is included in that of Wangarhang, there are 740 Tibetan villagers who live in 150 families. Their boundaries are Shakou in the east, Tsayu in the south, "the thirteen villages" in the west, and Wata of Kanja in the north. The place is otherwise known as Upper Namla. A small lamasery of 30 monks is called Lachih.

23. East of Tamethang some three miles bring us to Shanthang, seven miles further to Shakou or Sasoma, and three miles further to Wangarhang or Namla. Still further east following the Hsia River are Hungchiang, Tsatsassu (with Yashu valley on the southern bank and Kuanyin valley on the northern) and Kutuissu, collectively known as Hortsang. Inside Wangarhang the chieftain controlling Lower Namla was Chao Yun-hai, killed in 1940 by his own people for suppressing robbery in his territory. There is a small lamasery with the name of Aiyu. Middle Namla is controlled by the monastery of Shakou. (Upper Namla is the above-mentioned Tamethang.) Three of the four tribes of Hortsang are included in this area: Koni inside the Kuanyin valley, where there are Tibetanized Han people who show no features of Han people now but the memory of their kinship with the Chiu clans at Nanchuan of Lin-hsia (formerly Hochou), supposedly descendants of the Taoist leader Chiu Tzu in the Mongol dynasty; Kunchiehchiashi under the rule of Kutuissu; and Chenchih inside the Yashu valley, who together with Koni are under the rule of Tsatsassu. The total population of the area is 2,122 with 939 males and 1,183 females. A few Han people and Moslems are included in this figure. All the people, Tibetan and otherwise, are house-dwellers.

24. Some seventeen miles still further eastward by way of Chiaokou, Chingshui and Shaichingthang to Thumenkuan, the boundary between Hsia-ho County and Lin-hsia, is the territory of Mani, the fourth of the Hortsang tribes. There is a small lamasery at Shaichingthang. The population of the Tibetan villagers in this area, including a few Chinese and Moslems, is 1,232, with 621 males and 611 females.

25. Eleven miles north of Bla-bran is the territory of the six tribes of Kanja: Upper Kanja, Middle Kanja, Khaja, Shigur, Serig, and Rinchen. There are altogether 1,200 nomadic Tibetans, living in 300 families. The White Rock Temple or Pai-shih-yeh Temple for the Lady Grand Lama is here in the north. Reference was made to her in connection with the Bkah-brgyud-pa and the Supreme Joyous One. The last one was the fifth incarnation, who attained Nirvana in 1935. The sixth incarnation, installed in 1942, is the present abbess. A cave by the side of the temple is the source of extraordinary stories. But this temple was originally a place of worship for Han Buddhists, for there is still a bell inscribed in Chinese with the date of the nineteenth year of Cheng-hua of the Ming Dynasty (1483). There are similar cases elsewhere in which Han Buddhist temples were changed into Tibetan or esoteric form. The only Bon establishment in this region is also found here south of the seat of the Lady Living Buddha. Its name is Tsorkuiker with a membership of 70-80 Bon-po. But they do not live in the monastery. Having families of their own, they come to the monastery only when there is any ceremony. Still further to the south is a deserted city, called Pachiao-cheng or "Octagonal City." There are in the city 150 Tibetans, living in 35 families together with five Han families engaged in agriculture.

26. There is a small lamasery, called Kanping, to the southwest. It originally belonged to the nomadic tribes of Jen-an of Tung-jen, Ching-hai, but an experimental station of animal husbandry has been in operation nearby under the auspices of the provincial government of Kan-su.

To summarize, the total population of the district of Hsia-ho County, more or less co-extensive with Bla-bran's sphere

of influence, there are 13,249 villagers, 26,427 tent-dwellers, and 7,640 monks: 47,316 altogether. Of the tent-dwellers, or nomadic pastoralists, 23,227 are Tibetans and 3,200 Tibetanized Mongols. As the villagers or house-dwellers are agriculturalists and as their number is about one half of the pastoralists, it is clear that only one-third of the productive population is engaged in small-scale farming. The total area of the district was estimated to be 27,500 square *li*. Taking 32 *li* for 10 miles, one can easily estimate the density of population per square mile. But it would be only an estimate, for the land has never been surveyed.

Because this district, of all the Tibetan world in A-mdo, is the nearest to Han civilization, there are also schools for secular education recently established by Hans and Tibetans. First, there is a primary school, under the auspices of the Tibetan Cultural Association, with an enrollment of 100 students. Secondly, there is another primary school under the county government. A third is especially for Tibetan girls, the first of its kind in any Tibetan community. It was established as a private institution for demonstration purposes. The author's wife was instrumental in persuading Mrs. Huang Cheng-ching, a local Tibetan, to become interested in its establishment and in becoming its principal, and the enrollment of eighty students was a great success. In addition to the formal program of teaching according to primary school requirements, the girls were taught through productive activities. For instance, the adobe bricks for the building of the walls were made by them, giving them a sense that they were building their own school. Vegetables were first grown in the school garden and the girls were enthusiastic in introducing a new item into their diet by bringing their own products back home. The teaching of Tibetan in modern methods met also with the approval of monastic scholars. After the departure in 1942 of the author's wife from Bla-bran the school has been taken over by the county government.

Then, there is a vocational school of middle school standing under the direct auspices of the Ministry of Education,

with fifty students studying public health and animal husbandry. A travelling team promoting education through public lectures and motion pictures, also under the direct auspices of the Ministry of Education, was unfortunately short-lived. For lack of facilities, the Popular Education Institute under the auspices of Kan-su Science Education Institute had a similar experience.

All the above are at Bla-bran. There are five short-course schools at Hetsho, Mewu, Khaja, Chingshui, and Chiaokou, with each enrolling about twenty-five students, most of whom are Han. The teachers are appointed by the county government.

The most significant mechanism of directed acculturation, however, has been the extension course under the leadership of the late Hjam-dbyans V in the monastery itself, as mentioned in Chapter VIII. If Tibetan education is to be modernized, the initiative must come from the traditional centers of prestige. The Han problem has been how to have the education vitalized by the active participation of scholars in the real business of life of the illiterate masses. The Tibetan population is no less in need of help from its intellectuals, the lamas. The latter have the same challenge as their Han brethren, and both of them have equal chances of enriching their own scholarship and spiritual life if they are not isolated in their respective ivory towers.

Chapter XV

CONCLUSION

Having studied thus far Tibetan religion first in historical order as well as in parallel existence by way of examining the different schools and secondly in its functional configuration by way of a case presentation of Bla-bran, we should draw some conclusions in order to put into relief the points implicitly contained or explicitly stated at different places.

First of all, the advantages in the system of Tibetan religion is obvious.

Educationally, the mechanism itself has the following merits: (a) Both moral and intellectual qualities are emphasized without the disadvantages of modern education, wherein the passing-on of information is predominant. (b) So far as discipline is concerned, it is equally expected of students and faculty. It is the common creed of both groups, unlike the situation in modern schools in which the students are set apart as the objective of discipline, whereas the teachers have another code of behavior. (c) Students and teachers are united together purely on a voluntary basis of intellectual and spiritual aspirations, without being handicapped by a credit system or commercialized atmosphere of tuition fees, salaries, and mechanical promotion. (d) The rules, academic and otherwise, are strict, leaving no room for personal favors. (e) Both students and teachers enjoy freedom of individual adjustment without the formalistic restrictions characterized by mass-production. (f) Open debates, group examination and public lectures offer facilities for standardization. (g) This process effects not only the students, but also the teachers. If one is able to prove one's thesis, even a novel one, it becomes the common property of everybody, because it has been demonstrated in public. There is no room for fanciful theories put forward for the satisfaction of their authors in the name of free thinking. (h) Concentration on certain problems is possible with all the time necessary, for there is no cramming and no room for being busy for the sake of being active.

Politically, the mechanism has proved the most stable in comparison with any other form of government which has been in contact with it. It may be recalled that the Tibetans have been organized in semi-independent communities, under either a chieftain or a monastery or a combination of the two. This is true not only in Hsi-kang and A-mdo, where the Dalai Lama never had any political control, but also even in Tibet proper, where he rules indirectly through such autonomous entities supervised by his appointees. Whenever there is a conflict between the monastery and a hereditary chief, it is

always the former that comes out the better in the long run, irrespective of denominational differences, including Bon itself.

In observing a monastery in operation in its influence over the people and in its competition with other agencies, one has to answer the question, "Why is it possible for the monastery to maintain itself on an expanding basis without deteriorating like so many other political bodies?" In one sense it is true that political domination did a great deal of harm to the dominating body itself. The historical shift of influence on the part of the different schools of Tibetan religion is a witness to this phenomenon. But our point of interest is the contrast between monastic and non-monastic rules. To account for the strength of the former, the following factors should be considered.

On the one hand, it has some democratic features in contrast with an aristocracy, while, on the other hand, its prestige is even higher than aristocracy itself. First, leadership in the monastery is the result of free selection in the form of reincarnated Living Buddhas. Not being limited by any particular family line as in the case of hereditary chieftains, the best boy in native qualities is inevitably chosen. Once chosen, he is trained in the monastery as any other novice-monks are, without the danger of being spoiled by family interference. In his minority and even during his active rule there are the councils and assemblies to carry on routine administration, ready to check him if he goes too far in individual fancies at the expense of public welfare. In this sense, a monastery is not unlike a constitutional monarchy.

Second, a Living Buddha surpasses aristocracy in continuity, prestige and efficiency. Once recognized as such, his prestige is exceedingly high. A reincarnation is by definition the same saint or deity who was worshipped previously, and divine glory has no equal in the human world. In addition to the overwhelming belief on the part of the people, the reincarnated Lama in his very early years is able to identify himself with his previous existence by reading the accounts in biographical form. Such a spiritual identity over many generations is the best form of continuity, a source from which

an aspiring personality as well as an expectant community can be easily developed. An administrator with this deep-rooted self respect, while enjoying the full admiration of his people on the one hand and a responsible council and assembly on the other, cannot but be very effective. Indeed, it would be an unusual experience to have it turn out differently. In consideration of such factors, there is no wonder that a monastery is always expanding and that no other influence has ever so far been able to weaken it.

In addition to the educational and political aspects, the psychological advantages offered by Tibetan religion cannot be ignored. For one thing every phase of Tibetan life is permeated with deep religious aspirations. The Tibetans are conscious of the fact that their standard of living is very low. But at the same time they will tell you, "Man does not live by bread alone." Their conception of the value of human life is so high that they cannot bear the idea of capital punishment. "To kill one person is bad enough," they would say, "why kill another as a form of punishment?" Thus, the Tibetan way is to exact a "life-price" through payment to settle an apparent case of injury to the party whose member was killed. Actually, the murderer or robber who did the killing is considered to have sown the seeds which will punish himself in lives to come. Who can escape a karma which is self-wrought? This is their reasoning. Furthermore, nothing unnecessary for spiritual development is to be enjoyed. They take food to cure hunger as any other medicine is taken to cure an illness. They are not supposed to enjoy food. This may sound strange; but the fact remains that it is difficult to persuade any Tibetan to give up Rtsam-pa or parched barley flour in favor of any elaborate food for long, even at no cost to him. In spite of the seemingly ill nourishment, the Tibetans are very healthy, much stronger than the Han people who indulge in a genuine culinary art. Of course, there are other factors besides food. But the point is that they are healthier despite poor food, so that they are right in taking pride in their simple ways of life. We have mentioned their good-natured, music-loving, risk-daring sort of life. The predomi-

nant note is that they are satisfied and enjoy life. If their religion is able to offer this, it must be intrinsically valuable, whatever it may be.

This brings us to a consideration of two commonly held misconceptions about Tibetan religion, that Tson-kha-pa has purged "Lamaism" of magical performances and that "Lamaism" is a debased form of Buddhism due to the influence of Bon. Insofar as esoteric Buddhism includes magic, the founder of the Dge-lugs-pa was far from keeping away from it. Esotericism was as important to him as philosophical Buddhism. It is in comparison with the older schools that philosophical discussion is more emphasized by the Reformed or Established School. This influence has extended even to the older schools themselves as a result of the usual process of stimulus and response or action and reaction. However, as a conscious effort, the Reform has been particularly in terms of monastic discipline and order.

As pointed out already, it is Bon that was influenced by Buddhism. If Tibetan Buddhism is debased in any sense, it is the difference between the later Buddhism of India, which the Tibetans borrowed, and its earlier form immediately following the Buddha. So far as the Tibetan lamas are concerned, there are all gradations of mental response, from animatism through nihilism to impersonal compassion for the ignorance of the masses who are entangled in verbalism. Everything is true in so far as it works because it is believed in. But at the same time nothing is true because everything is but mental creation. The only truth is the freedom from attachment to the seemingly true and the seemingly not-true. This transcendental wisdom is what in modern terms is called relativity, epistemologically and socio-culturally. In fact, there are lamas who, being Living Buddhas themselves, could announce that they would not come back again, being fully aware of the artificiality of the institution, but at the same time refraining from doing any damage to the vested interests of their colleagues.

This apparent non-concern, however, does not mean that the best lamas are self-centered. It is true that esoteric Bud-

dhism is reserved for the chosen who are properly initiated, but the chosen are those who have taken the vow to make the welfare of others their sole concern. In this sense esotericism, as we pointed out at the end of Chapter IV, is one stage more advanced than exoteric Buddhism. Whatever exists is taken as the necessary material to work with, not to be discarded or kept apart, in order to attain the perfect stage of enlightenment. In the world of individualism and self-righteousness, separatism and even "pure research," which have been obstacles to real democracy — of the people, for the people, by the people — the lamas alone have long been theoretically conscious of the necessity of being with the people. They are not only theorists either. They experiment on themselves as part of humanity, or rather, of all the sentient beings and the universe. They are in line with those who stand for interdisciplinary and experimental research in the psychophysico-cultural realms. The modern studies of culture and personality through the joint effort of ethnology and psychoanalysis will be enriched immensely by the findings of experimental psychology of the lamas, if only we could learn it. The rich material of biographies of so many Tibetan saints and Living Buddhas is something which modern scholarship cannot afford to ignore for long. But apart from research values, the living examples of these people have an enlivening effect on the masses in general which will not be gauged for a long time to come until socio-cultural sciences are more advanced. This is why, in spite of many drawbacks, Tibetan culture has been an integrative and vigorous one ever since its contact with Buddhism.

So far we have been dealing with Tibetan religion in its favor. In order to give a balanced picture and for the future good of Tibetan culture we have to point out its drawbacks as an institution.

First, the subject matter taught in the monasteries is too limited to equip the students with the common knowledge necessary to cope with a world which is pressing in. Everybody is handicapped by the difficulty in mastering the written form of the Tibetan language. While all are good public

speakers, whether literate or illiterate, even the scholars are fearful of writing a letter or a piece of literature for ordinary communication. But the most serious dilemma is the concentration of knowledge and of the scholars in the monasteries with the result of leaving the masses entirely without formal education. Unless the latter become enlightened so that their level of production is raised, the basis of the monasteries themselves is endangered in facing encroaching cultures. The Tibetans are conscious of the fact that Buddhism in India as well as in Sinkiang has been wiped out by Islam. They are also conscious of the dominant power of Islamic traders over their economy. They are quite concerned with Western missionary work on the borders, which they cannot reciprocate in other lands. All these point to the problem of how their own people could be more effectively productive, so that their religion could remain prosperous.

Second, whatever advantages there are in Tibetan religion as such, it cannot be denied that the people in general and many lamas in particular are overwhelmed in magic at the expense of effective adjustment to nature through scientific means. Even in the best of the truly sophisticated and enlightened their contribution is in the field of introvert adjustment rather than in that of controlling nature to serve human welfare. Of course there is danger in going to extremes in the external aspect of culture at the expense of human values themselves and the lamas as well as the laity are well aware of it. But the Tibetans are in the other extreme so far as their total culture is concerned. It would be within the logic of their teachings of the Doctrine of the Mean to strike a happy balance. It might have been a different situation had the world remained in little isolated pockets of population. But the world is no longer like that now. Unless there is conscious change on the part of the Tibetans and their lama leaders, all their theories of cosmopolitanism and transcendentalism cannot help them in the present magic-laden environment of nature and in the inter-tribal feuds in the social realm. Nor can either help them in their eventual adjustment to the rest of the world. Thus, it is clear that, if

the happy balance is reestablished, the Tibetans, with many merits in their traditional heritage, will have a great deal to contribute to the world, in addition to enhancing their own welfare. Otherwise their culture might be doomed to disintegration.

Third, unless the total culture is made more effective in terms of external adjustment, the Tibetan mechanism of political control cannot hold itself either, however effective it might have been in the past. Modern politics is no longer a matter of form. It is the culture in general that makes it work. Here again, the Tibetan problem points to the need of a well directed process of change.

However, it would serve our purpose better if we analyze why the change did not come, as it should have come, some time ago. First of all, Tibetan culture has been a closed system, protected from free communication by natural environment. Because the system remained unbroken, the Tibetans in general were not conscious of the insufficiencies of their culture. On the contrary, they were very proud of their culture and afraid of any possible sign of change. They had good reasons for this. All the outsiders with whom they came in contact were either those who were ardent believers in their faith and therefore would rationalize whatever defect there was in the institution, or those who wanted to keep them subjected by showing them apparent respect or genuine contempt, or those who would help by changing them to fit the pattern of the well-wishers themselves. In other words, the Tibetans seldom had the chance of meeting with people who understood them and wanted to offer suggestions for them to change on their own basis. The principal obstacle in the way of understanding was the attitude toward their religion. For the believers everything was good and there was no need of change. For the non-believer, everything was bad and nothing short of complete change of the pattern would serve their purpose. But we may ask, "What constitutes a religion? What is basic in all religions and in the different denominations of the same religion?" If we could answer these questions, we would be able to appreciate all the reli-

gions without being partisans, in the same way that a cultural anthropologist in another field is able to appreciate all cultures without being a partisan. While there is room for everyone to adopt a particular culture or religion, there is no need for him to condemn any other culture or religion because of its difference in detail from that of his adoption. At the same time, by recognizing the essential, one can build up a wider and wider basis as well as higher and higher levels of common standpoints with others, quite apart from the passive virtue of mere tolerance. This attitude of positive cultural relativism will be useful towards advancing world culture as a whole, not to mention from the mutual understanding between the Tibetans and outsiders.

The basis of religion seems to be "belief." Belief in oneself is confidence, belief in others is reliance and trust, and belief about something is conviction. But why belief? Is not scientific knowledge much better? Yes, it would be much better if life itself could be scientifically determined. Life, however, is a continuum which cannot wait for scientific solutions. This human continuum at the progressive level is a process of growth or integration, unfolding and enfolding at the same time, no matter whether any factor in the process or the overall picture before one is or is not scientifically proved. This process is seen in the emergence of the badly coordinated organism of infancy as well as in the development of social groups or ties, primary and secondary, through the successive stages of familism, tribalism, nationalism, internationalism and cosmic citizenship, or through the bias of egocentrism, ethnocentrism and geocentrism to cosmic unity. At each and every turn one is faced with the problem of the unknown. Intellectually, one sooner or later comes to a limit of one's individual capacity or of the knowledge of the group at a given time and place. But emotionally one demands a practical solution as if the aleatory element were not there. As this emotional urge is not limited by physical happenings, one is free to find spiritual integration and identification at any level of intensity and breadth. Naturally, the more one can identify oneself with or the more inclusive

one's integration becomes, the greater personality one has, and the more religious one really is. But the more so, the more abstract and mystical it seems to become.

That science has been constantly conquering new fields by changing the previously unknown into the realm of the known does not change the role of emotional integration and identification. For it is a curious fact of scientific quest that the larger the field conquered, the vaster is the area revealed yet to be known. The stronger the torch light, the greater is the vision of darkness encountered. Grounds may shift, but the necessity of adjusting to the unknown remains. At the same time, even what is intellectually clear may not necessarily be what one is willing to adopt or to identify oneself with. So, whatever happens, the problem of the emotional urge remains.

Thus, we see that belief is deeply rooted in the integrative and identifying continuum of life itself. The identified and integrated whole is always more comprehensive than the physical body, or even what one considers belonging to oneself in the immediate environment. It transcends everything, reaching retrospectively to the past, prospectively to the future, diffusively to the infinite. It is when the projected whole is beyond the limit of available knowledge that the distinctive religious character comes in. The realization of at-one-ment is esoteric thrill or absorbing quietitude.

But apart from a small number of adepts, this state of at-one-ment is but momentary flashes. Only through conceptualization of the transcending whole it is possible for everybody to peep into this state, through imagination. While conceptualization necessarily utilizes the best knowledge available, it is sooner or later outmoded by new discoveries. It is a characteristic of human weakness to call one's own conceptualization truth and those of others, with which one does not happen to agree, superstitions.

On the other hand, in the state of ecstasy, when one is able to identify oneself with the largest possible whole, one cannot help expressing oneself in gestures such as dance, prostration, silence, prayer, etc. If flowers and candles are consid-

ered desirable on such occasions, why not images and altars?'

But it should be remembered that both conceptualization and automatic expression, which are ordinarily called mythology and ritual, are only means to an end, to offer concrete aid to the highly emotion-charged urge of integration and identification which is life itself; for life, without this kind of growth, is only death. This urge, however, though universal, is personal and private, and therefore non-communicable. As personal aids, conceptualization and automatic expression are necessary. As part of missionary work, they are at least misleading. There is no wonder, then, that one aspirant cannot agree with another in the definition of what by nature cannot be defined and in the expressions which do not give form to one's own mood. This is how one denomination differs from another and one religion from the rest. That one can appreciate the devotion of another irrespective of myths and rituals lies in the fact that there is a common ground between the two.

Such being the case, why not adopt consciously what suits oneself and tolerate what suits others? On the one hand, this attitude of tolerance or aesthetic approach is necessary in the field of comparative religion to back up the legal right of religious freedom. What is more important, on the other hand, is that through this attitude one can be scientific and religious at the same time. Not as a compromise, but as a necessity in dealing with two spheres of adjustment. Intellectual adjustment is science, whereas emotional adjustment is art. Art plus the systems of mythology and rituals, with or without other additions, is the institution of religion, and a religious institution, like any other institutions, may have vested interests. But the institution of religion is not religion. It is a historical fact that religious institutions have been changing all the time in the same way that other institutions have been changing. The school may change, but education will remain as long as there is society. So also the church may change and religion will remain. The curious thing is that whereas none would advocate the abolition of education because of the inefficiency of the school, it has been fashiona-

ble to throw religion overboard together with mythology and rituals. It is this unfounded logic in connection with religion that has made the Tibetans fearful of any change on the one hand and the impotent well-wishers on the other.

All this discussion is implicit in the Great Vehicle of Buddhism. As all esoteric Buddhism is of the Great Vehicle and as it is theoretically more advanced than ordinary exoteric Buddhism in being more inclusive, it but needs sympathetic encouragement for the lamas to engage themselves in actual educational work for the laity. To help the people to help themselves is always a better policy than an institutionalized monopoly to do things for them. If Tibetan religion is intrinsically valuable, why not teach it to the people instead of reserving it in the monasteries by simply chanting the scriptures over them? To interest the lamas in the needs of the ordinary people is a problem quite similar to that in which secularization of knowledge has taken place in many parts of the world. "Go back to nature and to the people" is a demand as valid for the Tibetan privileged now as it was to the Europeans in the Middle Ages.

As we have mentioned previously, the curriculum of a monastery of Bla-bran includes astronomy and medicine besides the universal inclusion of philosophy and theology. Should modern techniques and other subjects be added on a large scale besides the beginnings at Bla-bran, they will go a long way toward modernization. Modern medicine particularly is recognized by the Tibetans as having a more specific value in certain cases in which traditional Tibetan medicine does not offer cures. What we as non-members of Tibetan culture can do to help is by way of demonstrating along the lines of improved animal husbandry and chemical and textile industrialization of animal products in addition to modern medicine. But in order to do this we must be careful in the matter of religion.

Tibetan saints have done wonders in their own way. Tsonkha-pa particularly was a reformer. As the times are different, Tibetan leadership together with sympathetic collaborators should eventually be able to come forward to

meet the new needs. The carrying out of what is basic in Tibetan religion, the secularization of its teachings, and the addition of modern techniques: these constitute a contemporary Tibetan renaissance.

NOTES

Part One **Introduction**

1. The Chiangs exist today only in Sze-chwan, whereas historical geography had them in the present Kan-su and Ching-hai provinces. The ethnic complexity of the general area of A-mdo in Chinese history may be observed in the general introduction of Prof. F. W. Thomas' *Nam, an Ancient Language of the Sino-Tibetan Borderland*, Oxford University Press, 1948. (p. 8)

2. This word ending has caused much confusion in Western literature on things Tibetan, occupation and place names often being reported as racial names of the people. The practice of pronouncing "pa" as "wa" when it is preceded by a vowel has added to the confusion. (p. 8)

3. Robert Ekvall's *Cultural Relations* (Chicago University Press, 1939) is a good reference. (p. 9)

4. The idea of nomads roaming from place to place without limit is a universal misconception of almost all Hans. Actually, the Tibetans have definite sites to move within their tribal territory. Sometimes the fireplaces are reserved to be used again by the same owners on their completing a tour of migration. (p. 9)

5. For the proportion of ecclesiastic population in a certain district in Khams, see Li An-che's "Doge: A Study of Tibetan Population," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 3, No. 4, winter 1947. (p. 11)

6. See Yu Shih-yu's "Tibetan Folk-law," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July 1949. (p. 11)

7. Tibetans observe two systems of lunar calendar, one of Peking and one of Lhasa, according to the nearness of the locality to either. In any case, there is only a few days' difference. These lunar calendars are one month behind those in the West. A lunar month is referred to in this book as this or that moon. (p. 12)

8. See "Doge: A Study of Tibetan Population," cited in note (5) for statistics. (p. 17)

9. See W. Y. Evans-Went: *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* (Oxford University Press, 1928) for fuller account. (p. 18)

10. Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho's *Outline of Tibetan History of Buddhism* (Ris-med-chos-kyi-hbyun-gnas), published in Tibetan at Bpal-spuns, Sde-dge, Khams. (p. 20)

11. Gnah-khri-btsan-po, Mu-khri-btsan-po, Din-khri-btsan-po, So-khri-btsan-po, Mer-khri-btsan-po, Gdags-khri-btsan-po, Slibs-khri-btsan-po. (p. 20)

12. Gri-gum-btsan-po and Gya-khri. (p. 20)

13. E-co-legs, De-co-legs, Thi-co-legs, Gu-ru-legs, and Hbron-zi-legs, I-co-legs. (p. 20)

14. Za-nam-zin-lde, Lde-hphrul-gnam-gzun-btsan, Se-snol-nam-lde, Se-snol-po-lde, Lde-snol-nam, Lde-sdol-po, Lde-rgyal-po, Lde-sprin-btsan. (p. 20)

15. Re-lon-btsan, Khri-btsan-nam, Khri-sgra-dpun-btsan, Khri-tho-rje-btsan, and Lha-tho-tho-ri-anan-btsan. (p. 20)

16. Khri-gnan-gzun-btsan, Hgro-gnan-ldehu, Stag-ri-gnan-gzigs, and Gnam-ri-sron-btsan. (p. 20)

17. (1) One who kills is to be killed. (2) One who steals must return the thing stolen and shall be punished by a fine of eight times its value. (3) The adulterous shall be mutilated and exiled. (4) One who is accused of speaking falsehood shall swear in proof of innocence. (5) Take refuge in the Buddha, his Doctrine, and his congregation. (6) Reciprocate parental care with filial piety. (7) Respect the elders. (8) Imitate the gentle and wise. (9) Violate not the religious and noble; but accept their admonition. (10) Model one's behavior after the righteous. (11) Learn Buddhism, such letters and meaning. (12) Believe in causality and be ashamed of evil. (13) Help relatives and friends without annoying them. (14) Rectify the heart. (15) Do not drink beyond your capacity. (16) Pay debts when due. (17) Do not use measures privately manufactured. (18) Do not interfere with others' business without being asked for help. (19) Make yourself responsible in dealing with important matters, taking no heed of what is said by a woman. (20) Make a vow before a deity if uncertain as to right and wrong. (p. 21)

18. In *Padma-bkahl-than*, pp. 134-135, these names are given Phasankhri-gzer-sam-ca, Monk Mahasutra, Monk Maharadza, Monk Bde-ba-can, Monk Mahayana, and Philosopher Hara-nagpo. They are either Sanskrit or Tibetan in form. None is in Chinese. (p. 22)

19. Charles Bell's *The Religion of Tibet*, pp. 43-45, Oxford University Press, 1931. (p. 23)

20. L. A. Waddell's *Lamaism or The Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 34, reprinted 1939. (p. 23)

21. Black is derogatory against Bon; Red referring to Rnin-ma-pa comes from the garnet color of Monastic garments not only of the Unformed School, but of all schools of Tibetan Buddhism; Multi-colored as a designation comes from the fact that some of the Sa-skyapa monasteries have their walls painted in three vertical stripes, red and blue and white, in parallel succession to symbolize the Gods of Wisdom, Power

and Mercy; White is because of the ancient custom of Bkahl-rgyud-pa masters wearing white cotton; Yellow is because of the color of the official caps of the Dge-lugs-pa monks. With perhaps the exception of the last two, color designation for denominational differences is not known to the lamas themselves. (p. 24)

22. See Chapter VII "The Dge-lugs-pa Masters" for the different incarnations of the Dalai Lama. (p. 26)

23. A truce was made in 1919 to make the Golden Sand River or Chinscha River (the upper course of the Yangtze) the temporary boundary between Tibet and Kham or Hsi-kang. (p. 29)

Part Two

Native Faith and Early Schools of Tibetan Buddhism

1. Published in 1801. The author's name is Blo-bzan-chos-kyi-ni-ma, otherwise known as Tuhugan (T'u-kuan) Hutuktu, Living Buddha of the monastery called Ningyu in Chinese and Dgon-lun-byams-paglin in Tibetan, in Amdo. He was born in 1737. See Section 7 in Chapter VIII. (p. 31)

2. Designation of the various cycles of world-destruction and world-creation in Buddhist cosmology. (p. 31)

3. Be-tudkar-po or Vaidurya-dkar-po. (p. 32)

4. These refer to the life story of Buddha Sakyamuni, such as "to be conceived," "to be born," "to renounce the world," "to turn the wheel of law," etc. (p. 32)

5. See further in the chapter for an explanation. (p. 32)

6. The Bonist counterpart of the Buddhist Mdo-rje or Vajra, literally diamond or thunderbolt, a sign of indestructibility. Das in his *Tibetan-English Dictionary* identifies Gyun-drun with the Sanskrit Srastika, the mystic cross, or a monogrammatic symbol formed of two Pali syllables, signifying complete resignation under all circumstances. (p. 32)

7. See the *Four Gates and Five Treasures of Bon* (Bon-sgo-bzi-mdzod-lna). (p. 33)

8. They represent the adepts of the Rnin-ma-pa or ancient sect of Tibetan Buddhism, who are again to be distinguished from the sub-sect Black-Hats of the Bkahl-rgyud-pa, one of the Semi-reformed sects. (p. 34)

9. Ces-rab-kyi-pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa-ston-phrag-brgya-pa or Satasahasrika-prajnaparamita. (p. 37)

10. Ces-rab-kyi-pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa-ston-phrag-ni-cu-lna-pa or Pancavimtisahasrika-prajnaparamita. (p. 37)

11. Rnal-hbyor-spyod-pahi-sa-mam-par-gtan-la-dbab-pa or Yogacaryabhuminiviscayasamgraha. (p. 37)

12. Dharma-kaya or Chos-kyi-sku, Sambhoga-kaya or Lons-spyod-

rdzogs-pahi-sku, Nirmana-kaya or Sprul-pahi-sku, which mean respectively Law-body, Compensation-body, and Transformed-body. (p. 37)

13. Mkhah-hgre-ma-ye-ces or Makinjnana. (p. 37)

14. Ston-pa-nid or Sdnyata. (p. 37)

15. See note 4, Chapter V for a full list. (p. 37)

16. Hdus-pa-rin-chen-po-chehi-rgyud. (p. 39)

17. Tathata or De-lta-bu. (p. 39)

18. Rdzogs-chen-pa. (p. 40)

19. Gzun-bsran. (p. 40)

20. Rgyal-rabs-gsal-bahi-mo-lon, pp. 25-26. (p. 40)

21. Gtah-rag being the term in my note. (p. 41)

22. Ye-mkhyen-hphrul-rgyal or Kun-ces-hphrul-rgyal-po. (p. 41)

23. Gsan-ba-hdus-pa. (p. 41)

24. A Bonist history entitled *Treasures Exquisitely Expounded and Loved by the Wise* (legs-bcad-rin-po-chehi-mdzod-dpycd-ldan-dgah-bahi-char-zes-bya-bzugs-so) by Cad-rdza-rin-po-chen, which I saw at the Bon monastery of Sten-chen-dgon, Sde-dge, Khams, explained the co-existence of Bon with Buddhism by citing a story different from what we have mentioned here. It was said that as a result of suppression of Bon under King Khri-sron-lde-btsan, there occurred all kinds of calamities including the illness of the king himself. An oriole was sought after and carried out to the effect that both Bon and Buddhism were allowed to spread hand in hand, equal in efficiency, but different in form. This story is borne out by the findings of Mr. Ma Chang-shou in his article on "The Origins of Bon," *Ethnological Research* (both in Chinese), Vol. 3, Dec. 1942. His information was gathered in the Rgyal-ron region between Hsi-kang and Sze-chwan. (p. 42)

25. Gyu-sprul-tshe-dban by name. (p. 42)

26. The Loving One or Buddha to come. (p. 42)

27. Gdugs-dkar or Sitatspatra. (p. 42)

28. Srid-pa-rgyal-mo. (p. 43)

29. Rgyal-po-ldun-rtog. (p. 43)

30. The four villages are Na-dun-sun, Zo-to, Ra-na-ni, and De-nun. (p. 43)

31. In the Great Yoga system there are thirteen esoteric stages on the path of perfection. But in Anu-Yoga there are twenty-one stages, and in Ati-Yoga or the Great Perfection School there are sixteen. (p. 48)

32. The seven members of the Bodhisat road are: mindful, discerning, devotional, happy, ease, meditative, and detached. (p. 49)

33. For particulars see Chapter VII. (p. 52)

34. This is based on the notes supplied by Karma Bcad-sgrub-chos-kyi-sen-go, Grand Lama of the new monastery of Mi-nag-gans-dkar, Hsi-kang. According to a history of the Rnin-ma-pa by Hjigs-med-glin-pa (1729-1798), published by the printing establishment at Sde-dge, the founder

- is Spobs-pa-mthah-yas, son of Pheg-mo-grub-pa's wife's brother. (p. 52)
35. For comparative data see Chapters V, VI, X, XII. (p. 56)
36. A monastery may have any number of academic units. The three colleges previously mentioned (Teaching, Training, Ordinance) are classified according to functions, not to be confused with the subject matter (esoteric or exoteric). An academic unit may be either, and one category may have more than one unit. (p. 57)
37. These five refer to the titles 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13 above. (p. 59)
38. The order is: mouse, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, rooster, dog, and boar. Days, months, and years are marked consecutively by these symbols in combination with ten other symbols, such as male and female wood, fire, earth, metal, and water, forming cycles of 60. (p. 63)
39. This is the ordinary or crude interpretation. More sophisticated interpretation is offered by learned lamas. The figures are the materialistic symbolization of inner enemies such as anger, greed, and ignorance. (p. 63)
40. Lama Yonden is the adopted son of Madame Alexandra David-Neel. In their sojourn in Chengtu, both were members of the West China Frontier Research Institute. The author is indebted to the Lama for his translation of the Tibetan notes on the Sa-skyapa. (p. 71)
41. See his book on *The Tibetan History of Religion* (ris-mod-chos-kyi-hbyun-gnas), Dpal-spuns Monastery, Hsi-kang. (p. 71)
42. There are two classes of the five sciences, five higher ones (che-ba-lna) and five minor ones (chun-ba-lna), to be collectively referred to as the ten sciences (rig-gnas-bcu). Medicine (gso-ba-rig-pa), linguistics (sgra-rig-pa), logic (tshad-ma), dialectics (gtan-tshig-rig), and mechanics (bzo-rig-pa) are the minor ones, while the spiritual knowledge of the Tripitaka constitute the higher ones (nan-don-sde-snod-gsum-rig-pa). (p. 74)
43. 1st stage: supreme happiness (rab-tu-dgah-ba);
 2nd stage: spotless purity (dri-ma-med-pa);
 3rd stage: enlightenment (hod-byed-pa);
 4th stage: illumination (hod-hphro-ba-can);
 5th stage: unconquerableness (cin-du-sbyan-dkah);
 6th stage: direct comprehension (mnon-du-gyur-pa);
 7th stage: far reaching (rin-du-son-ba);
 8th stage: immovableness (mi-gyo-ba);
 9th stage: good wisdom (legs-pahi-blo-gros);
 10th stage: Dharma-cloud (chos-kyi-sprin).

These are the stages in accordance with exoteric Buddhism. But in esoteric Buddhism the Sa-skyapa have three and a half more stages, while the Dge-lugs-pa hold exactly four more stages. By adding an extra first stage, they make the above list cover numbers "2-11." Thus:

1st stage: behavior based on best understanding (smos-spyod-kyi-sa);

- 12th stage: incomparableness (dpe-med-kyi-sa);
 13th stage: all-wisdom (ye-ces-ldan-gyi-sa);
 14th or 13.5th stage: universal light (kun-tu-hod-kyi-sa). (p. 76)
44. See the fourth of the five stages of study outlined above. (p. 77)
45. Ordinarily, the monk's respect is expressed by joining the palms of the hands (thal-mo-span-ba). Borrowed from India, the gesture is a sign of homage and salutation. (p. 77)
46. See No. 9, section (2), Chapter XI on the Dge-lugs-pa deities for the identification of these "protectors." (p. 80)
47. Hbrug-pa-bkah-brgyud, to be explained further in section (2). (p. 84)
48. W. Y. Evans-Wents' *Tibet's Great Yogi, Milarepa*, 1926. (p. 85)
49. Dated by Mr. Chu Wei-han. (p. 85)
50. One hundred and eight is a ceremonial number in Buddhism, such as so many names for a deity or so many Bodhisattvas. (p. 87)
51. Popularly spelt Yamdok in Western literature. (p. 88)
52. *Buddhism of Tibet*, 2nd ed., 1934, p. 276; for the seat near Bla-bran see Chapter XIV. (p. 88)
53. The truth of sorrow, the truth of the origin of sorrow, the truth of the cessation of sorrow, and the truth of the way leading to the cessation of sorrow, taught by Sakyamuni early in his course of preaching. (p. 90)
54. See the beginning of Chapter VII for some of the minor sects of Tibetan Buddhism. (p. 91)
55. Reincarnated Grand Lamas or Living Buddhas as an institution were thus recorded in Tibetan history. The Dalai Lamas of the Dge-lugs-pa were not originators in this respect, as often popularly reported. (p. 93)
56. Murder, theft, adultery, lying, and drunkenness. (p. 94)
57. See Evans-Wonts' *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, 1928. (p. 100)

Part Three

Dge-lugs-pa: The Reformed or Established School of Tibetan Buddhism

1. Legends and facts are herewith recorded of Tson-kha-pa and Hjam-dbans-bzad-pa, founder of Bla-bran, in a similar attempt just as to ordinary anthropological case-histories, in order to reveal the psycho-social setting, which appears to any religious leader in Tibetan culture. (p. 105)
2. The usual date given in Chinese history is 60 years too late, a result of miscalculation of the 60-year cycles. (p. 105)
3. Maitreya or Byams-pa's works are: *Mnon-par-rtogs-pahi-rgyan* or *Abhisamayalamkara*, *Thegpa-chen-po-mdo-sdehi-rgyan* or *Mahayana-sutra-dlamkara*, *Dbus-dar-mihar-mam-par-hbyed-pa* or *Madhyanta-vibhanga-karika*, *Chos-dar-chos-nid-mam-par-hbyed-pa* or *Dharma-dharmatavi-bhanga*, and *Thegpa-chen-po-rgyud-bla*

mahi-bstan-bece or *Mahayanottara-tantra-sastra*. (p. 107)

4. They are: *Tshad-ma-mam-hgrel-gyi-tshig-lehur-byas-pa* or *Pramana-varttika-karika*, *Tshad-ma-mam-pa-nes-pa* or *Pramana-viniscaya*, *Rigs-pahi-thigs-par-zes-bya-bahi-rab-tu-byed-pa* or *Nyaya-bindu-nama-prakarana*, *Gtar-tshige-kyi-thigs-par-zes-hya-bahi-rab-tu-byed-pa* or *Hetu-bindu-nama-prakarana*, *Rtsod-pahi-rigs-par-zes-bya-bahi-rab-tu-byed-pa* or *Vadargyaya-nama-prakarana*, *Hbrel-par-brtag-pahi-rab-tu-byed-pa* or *Sambandhe-parika-prakarana*, and *Rgyud-gzan-grub-pa* or *Samtanantara-siddhi*. (p. 107)

5. These include the five mentioned in note 3, five works on the doctrine of the Mean by Nagarjuna (Klu-agrub), namely, *Dbu-ma-rtsa-bahi-tshig-lehur-byas-par-ses-rab* or *Prajna-mula-madhyamak-karika*, *Rtsod-pa-bzlog-pahi-tshig-lehur-byas-pa* or *Vigrahas-byavartan-karika*, *Rigs-pa-drug-cu-pahi-tshig-lehur-byas-pa* or *Yuktisasthika-karika*, *Ston-pa-nid-bdun-cu-pshi-tshig-lehur-byas-pa* or *Sunyatasaptat-karika*, *Zib-mo-mam-par-hthag-par-zes-rab-tu-byed-pa* or *Vaidalya-prakarana*; *Bstan-bece-tzhigs-su-bcad-pa-bsdus-pa* or *Gathasangrahasastra* and *Chos-mnon-pahi-mrdzod-dyi-bcad-pa* or *Abhidham-kosabhasya* by Vasubandhu; *Hdul-ba* or *Vinaya*; work on logic; *Dbu-ma-la-bug-pa* or *Madhyamakavatara* by Candrakirti (Zla-ba-grags-pa); *Byan-chub-sem-s-dpahi-spyod-pa-la-hjug-pa* or *Bodhisattva-caryavatara* by Nagarjuna; *Bzi-brgya-pa* or *Catuhsstaka* by Aryadeva. (p. 109)

6. See section 6 of this chapter. (p. 114)

7. "Rehu-mig" by Sum-pa-mkhan-po, otherwise known as Yeces-dpal-hbyor, who was born in 1703. His life was summarized, and his work translated into English, by Sarat Chandra Das in the JAS of Bengal, Part I, No. II, 1889. The dates given by the translator are one or two years late. See also note 1 in Chapter III of this study for more information of this monastery. (p. 124)

8. With an official title Sde-srid (viceroy) in the Tibetan government he was Dalai V's Phyag-ndsod, "one in whose hands the treasure is." He was known as the best in liberal arts, to be compared with Smin-grol-glin-snags-pa who was the best in Rnin-ma-pa magic, and Hjam-dbyans-bzad-pa, the best in Dge-lugs-pa learning. The three, it was said, hated one another without being able to break the balance in favor of any particular individual. Once Hjam-dbyans-bzad-pa was poisoned by the viceroy and could not walk back from the quarters of the latter. The deities, King of Law (Chos-rgyal or Dharmaraja) and Mahakala, were said to have changed themselves in the human bodies to carry him away. On being placed on a large white rock he vomited and the stain made the rock black. That he did not die of poison was attributed to his practicing the rites for the Fearful Thunderbolt. (p. 129)

9. Or Erdni-ju-nar Transcription of original documents is preserved in the text. (p. 129)

10. Mr. Huang Ming-hsin, who later went to Peking after Hjam-dbyans V's death. (p. 132)

Part Four
Bla-brans — A Dge-lugs-pa Monastery

1. 100 coppers make one silver dollar and 3.6 silver dollars are exchanged for one U.S. dollar. (p. 144)

2. Ignorance, reminiscences, consciousness, name and form, the six senses, contact, sensation, desire, grasping, becoming (desire to be), rebirth, and old age and death. These are universally represented by pictures on the outer frame of a wheel painted on the wall by the side of the gate to the main building of a monastery or temple. The wheel in the clutches of the Lord of Death is called the "Wheel of Life," inside which there are the six forms of life. The center is painted with pictures of snake, pig and bird to represent Anger, Ignorance and Lust respectively. (p. 165)

3. The Tibetan diagnostic procedure is to take with the right hand the male patient's left wrist to feel the pulse and to take with the left hand the female patient's right wrist for the same purpose. (p. 165)

4. Monks usually have large-sized keys, which they often use as weapons in personal trouble among themselves. (p. 190)

5. Also in the early part of Chapter XIII. (p. 191)

6. This information does not agree with that recorded in Chapter IX about the subjects of the Mongol prince. That was supplied by the secretary of the prince, while this by an officer under General Huang Cheng-ching, who travelled as the author's guide. Both are recorded for further verification. (p. 236)

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