

ÖSTERREICHISCHE AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN  
PHILOSOPHISCH-HISTORISCHE KLASSE  
DENKSCHRIFTEN, 256. BAND

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Proceedings of the  
7th Seminar of the International  
Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995

General Editor: Ernst Steinkellner

Volume II

# Tibetan Studies

Edited by

Helmut Krasser, Michael Torsten Much,  
Ernst Steinkellner, Helmut Tauscher

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**TIBETAN STUDIES**

Edited by  
Helmut Krasser, Michael Torsten Much,  
Ernst Steinkellner, Helmut Tauscher

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# LÉON FEER ET LA TIBÉTOLOGIE

par

Bernard Le Calloc'h, Paris

La place de Léon Feer dans l'histoire de la tibétologie européenne est considérable. Elle est pourtant assez mal connue, car peu de travaux lui ont été jusqu'à présent consacrés. L'étude qu'on çà lire – si sommaire soit-elle – vise à réparer une certaine forme d'injustice de la postérité envers un savant qui a beaucoup contribué à une meilleure et plus complète connaissance du monde tibétain.

## Une origine helvétique

Henri Léon Feer naît à Rouen le 22 novembre 1830<sup>1</sup> d'une famille protestante d'origine helvétique, venue naguère du canton d'Argovie à l'époque où la Confédération suisse avait été placée par Napoléon sous une sorte de semi-protectorat. Son nom signifie „passeur“ en dialecte alémanique. Son père Paul meurt alors qu'il n'est encore qu'élève au lycée de Rouen, où il est entré en 1842. C'est sa mère, née Jeanne-Marie Labauche, qui se charge de son éducation selon les préceptes les plus rigoureux du calvinisme.

1842 est dans l'histoire de la tibétologie une date importante. C'est en effet cette année-là que la Société Asiatique de Paris reçoit du diplomate-orientaliste anglais en poste à Katmandou, Bryan Houghton Hodgson, vingt-six ouvrages bouddhiques népalais rédigés en sanscrit, suivis bientôt de soixante-quatre autres, ainsi que la collection du bKa'-'gyur tibétain. Sur ordre d'Eugène Burnouf, secrétaire de la Société, ce trésor d'une inestimable valeur intellectuelle, est placé en dépôt à la Bibliothèque Royale en attendant de pouvoir être convenablement exploité. Burnouf, pour sa part, ne tardera pas à tirer le plus grand profit des ouvrages sanscrits, puisqu'ils lui permettront de rédiger deux des travaux qui ont fait sa célébrité, à savoir son „Introduction à l'histoire du bouddhisme indien“ et „Le lotus de la bonne loi“.

1842 est aussi d'une grande signification dans l'histoire de la tibétologie parce que c'est le 31 janvier de cette année-là que Philippe-Edouard Foucaux inaugure à l'École des Langues Orientales de Paris le premier cours public de tibétain du monde occidental.<sup>2</sup>

Enfin, l'on ne doit pas ignorer non plus que c'est en 1830 que la bibliothèque de l'Institut de France s'enrichit de la collection orientale du baron Schilling von Canstatt, collection qui comprend de nombreux manuscrits tibétains et mongols.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Et non pas le 27, comme l'écrit par erreur Gustave Vapereau en page 569 de son *Dictionnaire universel des contemporains*, édité à Paris chez Hachette en 1893.

<sup>2</sup> Voir notamment, par B. Calloc'h „Philippe-Edouard Foucaux, le premier tibétologue français“, *Bulletin des anciens élèves de l'École des Langues Orientales* d'octobre 1986; „Ph. Ed. Foucaux, first Tibetan teacher in Europe“, *The Tibet Journal*, Dharamsala, Inde, vol. XII, N° 1 (1987); ou encore „Un couple d'indianistes au siècle dernier: les Foucaux“, *Nouvelles de l'Inde* N° 260 (1987).

<sup>3</sup> Paul Lawowitsch Schilling von Canstatt (1786-1837), né à Reval (Tallinn), était un baron balte. En 1830, il accomplit une mission en haute Asie, d'où il ramena une grande quantité de manuscrits et de xylographes mongols, chinois et tibétains.

Malgré le peu de ressources dont dispose sa mère, elle l'envoie à Paris à l'automne 1849 entreprendre, comme il le désire, des études de lettres, mais aussi, pour des raisons plus pratiques, des études de droit. Studieux et appliqué comme il le sera toute sa vie, il obtient en 1852 ses deux licences en lettres et en droit, cependant que, entre temps, sa mère est venue s'installer dans la capitale pour lui faciliter la vie autant qu'elle le peut. Avec cette double licence, il pourrait immédiatement accéder à un emploi, mais il est dès cette époque, alors qu'il n'a que vingt-deux ans, un homme d'étude et de cabinet beaucoup plus qu'un homme d'action. Doué d'une très grande curiosité intellectuelle, il se sent de plus en plus attiré par l'Orient, ou plus exactement par l'orientalisme. C'est pourquoi il s'inscrit à l'Ecole des Langues Orientales pour y suivre les cours de Quatremère, qui y enseigne le persan, et de Foucaux, qui, comme nous l'avons vu, y enseigne le tibétain depuis déjà dix ans. En même temps, il fréquente le Collège de France, où il suit les cours de Théodore Pavie pour le sanscrit et de Jules Mohl pour le persan.

### Élève de Foucaux

Le pionnier des études tibétaines en France a été sans conteste possible, Philippe-Edouard Foucaux. Il avait appris le tibétain, sur le conseil de Burnouf, à partir du dictionnaire et de la grammaire de Csoma de Kőrös, puis il avait sollicité d'Abel Villemain, alors ministre de l'Instruction publique, l'ouverture d'un cours de cette langue dans le cadre de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales. Si surprenant que cela paraisse, sa proposition avait été aussitôt retenue, et il avait été nommé, à titre provisoire et à la condition de renouveler chaque année sa demande, le premier professeur de tibétain de tous les temps. Mais il avait toujours gardé à l'esprit qu'il était d'abord sanscritiste. Il savait que s'il voulait faire carrière dans l'enseignement supérieur il lui fallait continuer de cultiver sa première et véritable spécialité afin de pouvoir prétendre, le jour venu, à la succession de son maître. Les choses n'avaient pas été exactement comme il l'avait imaginé. A la mort d'Eugène Burnouf, en mai 1852, c'est Théodore Pavie qui lui succède comme chargé de cours, et c'est Jules Mohl qui prend son fauteuil de secrétaire de la Société asiatique. Foucaux se retrouve Gros-Jean comme devant, fort dépité, mais non pas découragé. Il ne lui faudra pas moins attendre quinze ans que la démission de Pavie, en complet désaccord avec la politique du Second Empire, lui permette enfin d'obtenir une charge de cours au Collège de France, et encore cinq autres années avant d'être nommé professeur titulaire de la chaire de langue et de littérature sanscrites. Cela lui a du moins laissé largement le temps de former son propre successeur aux Langues Orientales en la personne de Léon Feer.

Tout de suite, Foucaux, qui ne voyait guère passer chez lui que des missionnaires en mal de martyre, avait remarqué cet élève taciturne, timide, d'une assiduité et d'une régularité d'horloge, qui savait maîtriser en peu de temps les idiomes les plus divers et les plus difficiles. Sachant qu'il faudrait un jour passer la main, il décida d'en faire son disciple et quand il sentit le terrain suffisamment solide sous ses pas au Collège de France, il lui promit de lui céder la place quand il occuperait la chaire qu'il briguait.

A l'automne 1863, c'est donc ce qu'il fait et le 14 janvier suivant Léon Feer demande expressément, par lettre adressée à Victor Duruy, ministre de l'Instruction publique, à reprendre le cours que Foucaux vient d'abandonner. Malheureusement, les circonstances ne sont guère favorables. Consulté sur l'opportunité de rouvrir un enseignement si peu fréquenté, l'administrateur de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales, l'helléniste Karl Benedikt Hase, répond qu'il ne connaît pas Feer et qu'il trouve le cours de tibétain fort peu utile. Là-dessus, le directeur de cabinet du ministre demande à ce dernier s'il veut que le cours de tibétain reprenne, et Duruy inscrit en marge: „Oui, s'il (Feer) ne demande pas de traitement“. (V. D.). Ces quelques mots

écrits d'une main distraite sur un coin de feuille pèseront lourd dans la vie personnelle de Léon Feer, mais aussi dans l'histoire de la tibétologie française, comme nous aurons bientôt l'occasion de le voir.

Bien naturellement, Feer était en droit d'espérer continuer l'entreprise courageuse de Foucaux et le désirait ardemment, mais il n'avait pas de fortune et vivait encore, à trente-quatre ans, aux crochets de sa mère. Il avait imaginé qu'on reporterait sur son nom le médiocre traitement dont Foucaux s'était contenté jusque là. Profondément déçu, mais néanmoins soucieux de reprendre le flambeau et de tenter l'impossible, il accepte, par lettre en date du 9 mars 1864, de ne pas être même défrayé: „Il est entendu, écrit-il, que je n'ai à exiger aucune rémunération pour le cours que je me propose de faire“. Le 17 mars, pour que les choses soient claires, le ministre autorise formellement Feer à faire „un cours provisoire et gratuit“ de tibétain et précise qu' „aucune allocation ne sera attachée à cet enseignement“. Et le 7 avril suivant, Léon Feer inaugure officiellement le cours en question par un discours remarquable, qui est une véritable fresque de la connaissance tibétologique à ce moment précis.

S'il a accepté ces conditions léonines, c'est que, en son for intérieur, il nourrit l'espoir de fléchir la réticence ministérielle et d'obtenir bientôt en sa faveur le rétablissement des conditions qui avaient été consenties à Foucaux. Dès le 15 mai, il ne le cache même plus dans son rapport à Victor Duruy, déclarant urgente „la création définitive d'une chaire dont l'utilité devient chaque jour plus évidente“. Hélas, le temps où Abel Villemain s'enthousiasmait pour le Tibet est loin. Son successeur des années impériales ne veut rien entendre. Il refuse de recevoir Mme Feer, repousse les interventions du comte Clary, du général de Chabaud-Latour, que Feer est allé solliciter.<sup>4</sup> Les travaux qu'il publie (Textes tirés du Kandjour, Composition des écritures bouddhiques, Introduction du bouddhisme dans le Kashmir, La légende de Rahu chez les brahmanes et les bouddhistes, etc...) sont sans effet sur l'obstination administrative. En revanche, à la suite de la parution de son „Tableau de la grammaire mongole“, suivi de „L'élévation de Gengis Khan“, puis de la „Lettre d'Argoun Khan à Philippe le Bel“, qui démontrent que ses compétences s'étendent au domaine mongol, le cours qu'il fait aux Langues Orientales est en novembre 1866 transformé en „Cours de tibétain et de mongol“; mais même après cette extension de compétence il ne lui est toujours consenti aucun traitement régulier. Une simple allocation, fort exiguë, lui est octroyée „a titre de dédommagement“. Feer proteste, ce qui est bien peu dans les habitudes de cet homme discret. Le ministre lui répond en lui mettant en main un marché singulier. Il lui conseille d'enseigner aussi... „le cochinchinois“, ce qu'on appellerait de nos jours le vietnamien. Il lui fait remarquer que cela aurait „un but politique et commercial“, ainsi que le prévoit expressément le décret de la Convention instituant l'Ecole des Langues Orientales. Furieux, Feer fait observer qu'en Cochinchine et au Tonkin la langue de civilisation est le chinois, et non pas l'idiome vulgaire dit annamite. Cette proposition qui le déconcerte et vise peut-être surtout à le faire taire, tient à ce que, entre temps, Napoléon III a mis le pied en Indochine et envisage sérieusement de coloniser la région. Aux yeux des politiques, l'utilité du vietnamien est évidemment cent fois plus évidente que celle du tibétain et du mongol.

En 1867, la guerre des nerfs dont il est l'objet reprend de plus belle. Voilà que son nom est porté sur le programme du Collège de France et qu'il se prend à rêver d'un cours sur le bouddhisme de la voie adamantine. Il a abandonné son enseignement aux Langues Orientales. Mais au dernier moment son nom est biffé. Tout est à refaire. „Je me suis acquis des titres pour monter, non pour déchoir“, écrit-il au ministre, et il souligne sa phrase d'un trait rageur.

<sup>4</sup> Tous deux sont membres du Conseil impérial de l'Instruction publique.

Finalement, il retourne bien un peu au Collège de France, mais ce n'est pas dans les conditions glorieuses qu'il espérait. Le nouvel administrateur de l'École, Charles Schefer, a récupéré l'appartement du défunt sinologue Stanislas Julien dans le bâtiment du Collège<sup>5</sup> et en attendant l'installation de son établissement dans son propre immeuble, il y met quelques-uns des cours, dont celui de Léon Feer.

Comme il est à présent bien connu des milieux orientalistes et qu'il appartient à la Société asiatique, il obtient en avril 1868 l'apostille de François Guizot, Jules Mohl, Joseph Garcin de Tassy, Adolphe Rénier et Ernest Renan qui se coalisent pour demander la création d'une nouvelle chaire au Collège de France, chaire qui serait consacrée à la littérature bouddhique des trois véhicules. Au même moment il publie „Le sūtra en 42 articles, textes chinois, tibétain et mongol autographiés ... d'après l'exemplaire polyglotte rapporté par l'abbé Huc“.<sup>6</sup> La création, par ailleurs, cette même année 1868, de l'École pratique des Hautes Etudes de la Sorbonne redonne vigueur à ses espérances. Là non plus, il n'arrivera à rien, alors que plus tard, son élève Jacques Bacot y enseignera à son tour le tibétain et la civilisation bouddhique du Mahāyāna.

La guerre franco-prussienne de 1870 vient encore un peu plus compliquer la situation. Le cours de tibétain et de mongol est supprimé à cause des événements, puis rétabli après la chute de l'Empire. Pendant le siège de Paris (qui dure du 18 septembre 1870 au 28 janvier 1871), il se rend à son cours dans les locaux du Collège de France, comme pour mieux marquer sa volonté de le maintenir coûte que coûte. Mais sa résistance a des limites, d'autant que la mort de sa mère le jette dans le plus grand embarras. Il lui faut, le cœur navré, renoncer à l'enseignement.

### **Employé à la Bibliothèque Nationale**

Comprenant enfin qu'il a fait fausse route et qu'il lui faut à tout prix changer son fusil d'épaule, il se décide à solliciter en janvier 1872 un emploi à la Bibliothèque Nationale. Dès le 26 avril, il est admis à partir du 1-er juillet, mais c'est en qualité d'employé de troisième classe, au traitement dérisoire de 2200 francs par an, traitement qui toutefois sera porté à 2500 francs en 1873. Quand on sait la formidable érudition de Léon Feer et qu'à cette époque il a déjà dépassé largement la quarantaine, on ne peut qu'être désolé de voir si mal récompensés les efforts qu'il a faits depuis plus de vingt ans pour tenter de s'imposer comme le digne successeur de Foucaux et de Csoma de Kőrös. Du moins peut-il maintenant être assuré d'un revenu régulier, si modeste soit-il, et de ne plus vivre dans la perpétuelle angoisse que lui causait le caractère provisoire et aléatoire de l'enseignement qu'il assumait jusque là. Pour cette raison, l'on peut dire que s'ouvre en juillet 1872 une seconde période de sa vie, période où son travail à la Bibliothèque Nationale lui laisse, certes, beaucoup moins de loisirs pour se cultiver et enrichir son savoir, mais où l'assurance du lendemain lui vaut plus de sérénité et de tranquillité d'esprit. En fait, cette seconde période est de beaucoup la plus féconde, car cet homme solitaire, qui ne se mariera jamais et fréquente très peu la société de ses semblables, n'a qu'une passion: l'étude, et singulièrement celle du Tibet. Bien qu'il ne soit jamais allé dans l'Himalaya et qu'il n'ait sans doute jamais songé un seul instant à s'y rendre, il est devenu avec Foucaux et après Csoma de Kőrös, le meilleur connaisseur du monde tibétain de son temps. La somme des travaux qu'il publie, mois après mois, année après année, suffirait à le prouver. Dans l'appartement du 25 rue Monsieur-le-Prince jusqu'en 1880, puis dans celui du 145 boulevard saint Michel jusqu'en 1887,

<sup>5</sup> Stanislas Julien (1799-1873) a été l'administrateur du Collège de France jusqu'à sa mort.

<sup>6</sup> C'est le père lazariste Evariste Huc (1813-1860), missionnaire en Chine, auteur des célèbres *Souvenirs d'un voyage dans la Tartarie et au Tibet*, publiés à Paris en 1852.

enfin dans celui du 6 rue Félicien David, à Auteuil, jusqu'à sa mort, tous trois transformés en un de ces capharnaüms dont les savants solitaires ont le secret, il passe tous ses moments de liberté au milieu de ses livres, de ses notes, et de ses grimoires orientaux, construisant patiemment, comme l'araignée tisse sa toile, une oeuvre imposante qui aurait mérité de faire sa gloire à tout jamais.

Mais Léon Feer ne cherche pas la gloire. Il travaille pour satisfaire cet immense besoin de connaissance qui le possède, indifférent aux modes et aux événements, tout entier adonné à l'étude de l'Extrême Orient, et spécialement de la haute Asie tibéto-mongole. A la Bibliothèque Nationale, il donne pleine satisfaction à ses supérieurs qui apprécient son savoir encyclopédique, mais aussi son affabilité un peu froide, sa disponibilité, son souci de bien faire. Peu à peu il monte les échelons de la hiérarchie et voit avec plaisir son traitement passer à 2800 francs, puis en 1877 à 3000 francs, jusqu'au jour de 1878 –un 11 septembre– où il est élevé au grade d'employé de première classe au traitement de 3200 francs, et surtout jusqu'à ce 10 janvier 1881 où il est nommé bibliothécaire en titre avec 4000 francs de revenu annuel. Ce n'est pas la richesse, mais c'est déjà le confort pour ce quinquagénaire peu exigeant qui n'attend rien des plaisirs matériels et rappelle par son ascétisme celui auquel il doit son intérêt pour le Tibet, le savant voyageur hongrois Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös.

C'est justement l'année où il publie son oeuvre maîtresse, celle qui lui a valu le plus de considération et l'a définitivement classé parmi les pères fondateurs, à savoir son „Analyse du Kandjour d'après Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös“, publiée à Lyon dans les Annales du musée Guimet. Ainsi nous apparaît-elle clairement cette filiation qui, à travers Foucaux, relie Léon Feer au fondateur de la tibétologie européenne.

„Fonctionnaire instruit, assidu, consciencieux“, ainsi que le définit une note confidentielle figurant dans son dossier aux Archives Nationales, il poursuit sans bruit et sans hâte une carrière qui le mènera jusqu'au grade de conservateur-adjoint, ce qui, au regard de ses connaissances intellectuelles, est peu, mais ce qui, somme toute, répond assez bien au personnage effacé qu'il fut jusqu'au bout.

Quand il s'éteint, le 10 mars 1902 à l'âge de 72 ans, il a servi le département des manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale pendant trente ans et il a assumé dans les conditions les plus pénibles l'enseignement du tibétain pendant huit ans. Mais surtout, il a laissé une masse d'études et de livres qui en dit long sur l'entendue de son érudition. Lorsque, au lendemain de sa mort, son exécuteur testamentaire fait l'inventaire de sa documentation, il constate, stupéfait, que Léon Feer pouvait lire vingt-huit langues différentes.

### **Le protestant militant**

Ce court portrait du grand tibétologue français ne serait pas conforme à la vérité si nous omettions de parler brièvement ici de ses activités religieuses. Elevé, comme nous l'avons vu, dans l'esprit du calvinisme genevois pur et dur, il en garda la marque profonde toute sa vie. L'intérêt scientifique qu'il portait tout naturellement au bouddhisme ne diminua jamais la ferveur de ses sentiments. Il n'atténua nullement son ardeur à défendre la tradition hébraïque et biblique héritée des pères de la Réformation. Sur le plan moral, il y puisa la source de son ascétisme, cette austérité, et même cette rigidité que l'on a parfois reprochée aux protestants. C'est un homme de devoir, scrupuleux, intransigeant, qui ne consent jamais à composer. Comme beaucoup de ses coreligionnaires, se souvenant des persécutions dont les Huguenots ont été les victimes à l'époque des rois, il est républicain. Il s'en cache si peu qu'en 1871 il publie un pamphlet de 178 pages intitulé: „République ou Royauté. De la nécessité d'établir le

gouvernement de la France sur la base républicaine“. Cette intrusion du savant orientaliste dans le domaine de la politique prouve assez la force de ses convictions et le désir qu'il éprouve, pour une fois, de sortir de sa réserve en tentant d'influer, si peu que ce soit, sur le cours de l'histoire.

Au demeurant, il ne se contente pas de prendre part au culte chaque dimanche. C'est un fidèle „engagé“, comme on dit de nos jours, un militant de l'église réformée de France, aux activités de laquelle il participe volontiers. Le 15 décembre 1880, par exemple, il signe un appel „Aux fidèles de la paroisse (réformée) de Pentémont“, rue de Grenelle, dans le VII<sup>ème</sup> arrondissement de Paris, avec Henri Bacot, oncle de Jacques Bacot qui sera un jour son continuateur dans le domaine de l'enseignement du tibétain. En 1884, il publie une Biographie de John Wycliffe, ce précurseur anglais de Luther qui fonda le mouvement des „Lollards“, niait la suzeraineté pontificale et prônait le retour au seul enseignement de la Bible.<sup>7</sup>

Conscient de ce qu'il manque aux protestants français un mensuel capable de répandre largement leurs idées tant politiques que religieuses, il fonde en 1896 „L'appel“, dans l'espoir de voir cette tribune un peu improvisée se faire une place durable dans la presse d'opinion. Mais sur ce point il se trompe. Après moins de quatre ans d'une existence chaotique, l'Appel cesse de paraître en 1900, faute de moyens financiers, mais aussi faute d'une audience suffisante.

Tout cela montre assez, en tout cas, que Léon Feer était moins „rat de bibliothèque“ que ne le laisseraient supposer ses travaux savants. Timide et réservé, il n'en était pas moins présent dans le domaine où sa foi religieuse lui faisait un devoir d'agir.

Là encore, il existe un étonnant parallèle entre Feer et Csoma de Kőrös. Ce dernier ne s'était-il pas préparé à devenir pasteur de l'église calviniste de Transylvanie? Si finalement il avait dû renoncer à la carrière ecclésiastique, ce n'était pas par manque de foi, mais parce que son projet de voyage en Asie était incompatible avec l'exercice du pastorat. Le long contact direct qu'il avait eu avec le bouddhisme tibétain dans les monastères himalayens n'avait en rien diminué sa fidélité au message hérité de Calvin. Tout dans son comportement jusqu'à la veille de sa mort démontre qu'il était demeuré pleinement fidèle à la tradition protestante dont il avait puisé la sève au collègue calviniste de Nagyenyed.

Continuateur de Foucaux, mais plus encore de Csoma de Kőrös,<sup>8</sup> Léon Feer a fait faire à la science tibétologique des progrès décisifs. Presque tout ce qu'il a écrit voici plus d'un siècle demeure valable et utile à la recherche contemporaine. Il n'est guère possible de parler du Tibet et de sa civilisation sans évoquer son nom et son oeuvre à un moment ou à un autre. C'est un chaînon indispensable dans la longue histoire de l'orientalisme.

<sup>7</sup> John Wycliffe: 1320-1384. En 1415, sa doctrine est formellement condamnée par le concile de Constance.

<sup>8</sup> Il cite dans ses écrits 228 fois le nom du savant hongrois, et en parle dans dix-neuf études différentes, alors que Foucaux, son continuateur immédiat, ne le cite que 61 fois, soit presque quatre fois moins.



**LISTE DES TRAVAUX DE LEON FEER RELATIFS AU TIBET**

(par ordre chronologique)

- 1864 Le Tibet, le buddhisme et la langue tibétaine  
 1864-1871 Textes tirés du Kandjour, en onze fascicules  
 1865 Introduction du buddhisme dans le Kashmir  
 1865 La légende de Rahu chez les brahmanes et les bouddhistes  
 1866 L'essence de la science transcendante : Prajñā-pāramitāhṛdaya-sūtra  
 1866 Études bouddhiques  
 1868 Le sūtra en 42 articles  
 1870 Réédition des Études bouddhiques  
 1873 Entretien du Buddha et de Brahma sur l'origine des choses  
 1878 Notice sur l'histoire du Népal  
 1881 Analyse du Kandjour par Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös  
 1883 Fragments extraits du Kandjour  
 1886 Articles „Bouddha“ et „Kanum“ dans La Grande Encyclopédie  
 1886 Le Tibet, le pays, le peuple, la religion  
 1889 Étymologie, histoire, orthographe du mot Tibet  
 1898 Karma-çataka, texte tibétain copié sur l'exemplaire du Kandjour de la Bibliothèque Nationale.

LE TIBET

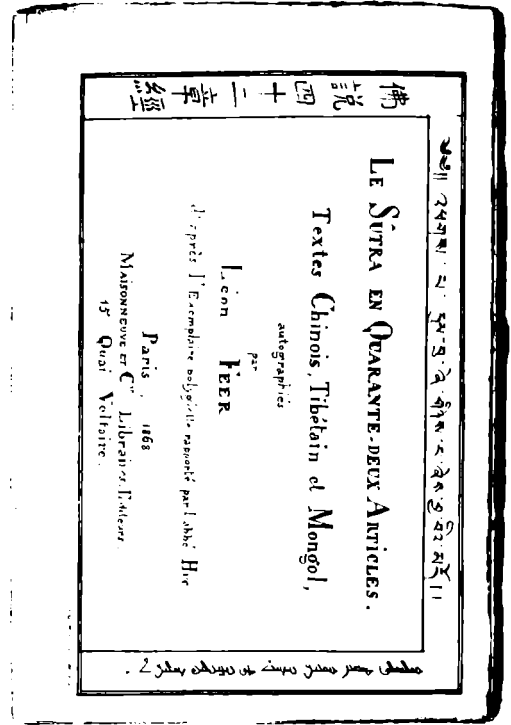
Le Bouddhisme et la langue tibétaine.

DISCOURS D'OUVERTURE DU COURS DE TIBÉTAIN, PRÈS LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE IMPÉRIALE.

Le cours qui s'ouvre en ce moment, malgré quelques différences de programme et une apparence à certains égards nouvelle, est cependant ancien. C'est en 1842 que M. Étienne Foucaux a inauguré parmi nous l'étude de la langue tibétaine. Par un enseignement continué pendant plus de vingt années, par des travaux qui lui ont fait un nom, et qui ont marqué dans la science, notamment par la publication du texte et de la traduction d'une des biographies de Çākya-muni, M. Foucaux n'a pas seulement naturalisé en France l'étude du tibétain; il a, de plus, rendu un service signalé à ces études bouddhiques<sup>1</sup>, qui ont pris dans ces dernières années un si grand développement, et qui préoccupent aujourd'hui, avec juste raison, non-seulement les hommes spéciaux versés dans les études orientales, mais même le public lettré, et les hommes instruits, curieux d'approfondir les mystères de l'esprit humain, d'en suivre la marche, et d'en observer les diverses évolutions.

Aussi ne faut-il point s'étonner de voir l'étude du bouddhisme mêlée à celle du tibétain. Ces deux études sont intimement liées l'une à l'autre. En effet, le Tibet est un des principaux asiles, un des centres

<sup>1</sup> Dans tous les noms sanscrits, tibétains ou autres, que je cite, j'écris toujours ce qui doit se prononcer en. Ainsi Bouddhisme se lit *Bouddhisime*; Kubilai, *Koubilai*; Çākya-muni, *Çākya-mouni*.



ANALYSE

DU KANDJOUR

ARCHIVE DES ÉCRITS SACRÉS DU TIBET

ALEXANDRE CSOMA, de KÉRÉS

REDACTEUR EN CHEF

Traduit de l'anglais et accompagné de diverses additions et remarques

PAR M. LÉON FEÉR

Le vingtième volume du recueil anglo-tibétain intitulé *Annales des sciences*, volume in-4° de 585 pages, imprimé à Calcutta en 1851, renferme quatre articles du fondateur de ces études tibétaines, M. Alexandre Csoma, de Kérés, qui se vint de publier (en 1851) une grammaire et un dictionnaire de la langue à laquelle il se proposait d'unifier le monde savant.

Ces quatre articles sont :

- I. Analyse du *Butan*, pages 11-93. . . . . 53 pages.
  - II. Notes sur la vie de *Çākya*, pages 285-317. . . . . 33 —
  - III. Analyse du *Chou-phyin*, du *Phal-chou*, du *Phou-tseu*, du *Do de*, du *Nyang-tas* et du *Gyut*, pages 593-752. . . . . 160 —
  - IV. Extrait des matières contenues dans le *Butan-Hyoue*, pages 523-585. . . . . 21 —
- Total. . . . . 247 pages.

L'analyse du Kandjour, d'après Csoma de Kérés, parue en 1851 dans le douzième tome des "Annales du musée asiatique", à Lyon.

OFFERT PAR L'AUTEUR

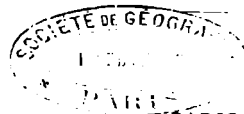
LE TIBET

LE PAYS, LE PEUPLE, LA RELIGION

PAR

LEON FEER

Orné de gravures



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1866

# THE INFLUENCE OF TIBETAN BUDDHISM ON XIXIA

by

Li Fanwen, Ningxia

Xixia (or Hsi-Hsia, 1038-1227) was a feudal separatist local regime established mainly by the Dangxiang-Qiang<sup>1</sup> people – a branch of the Tibetan people<sup>2</sup> – in 1038 with Ningxia as its centre. It was called in Chinese history Xixia or the State of Xia, but it called itself Daxia, the State of Baigao, or the State of Baigao-Daxia, etc.<sup>3</sup> It made Yingqingfu<sup>4</sup> (the present-day Yinchuan of the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region) its capital. Its territory “spread to the end of the Yellow River in the east, reached Yumen Pass in the west, Xiaoguan Pass in the south, and controlled the vast desert in the north.”<sup>5</sup> “It had an area of 20,000 square li under its control.”<sup>6</sup> At its peak, its influences expanded as far as the present-day Xining in Qinghai Province and Hami in Xinjiang, and could make a stand against the dynasties of Song, Liao and Jin. With its might and power, Genghis Khan (1162-1227) could drive straight to Khwarezm (nowadays an area covering Central Asia, Iran and Afghanistan), cross the Caucasus Mountains, get into the Don River valley, occupy the Volga and become known far and wide in Europe and Asia for his military powers,<sup>7</sup> but he was not ever-victorious and unable to carry everything off when

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<sup>1</sup> According to the *Old History of the Tang Dynasty* “the Dangxiang-Qiang people lived in Xizhi in ancient times, they are a branch of the Xiqiang people of the Han Dynasty... They consisted of the Xifen clan, Feiying clan, Wangli clan, Pochao clan, Yeci clan, Fangdang clan, and Miqin clan, etc., and the Tuoba clan is the strongest among them.” The *New History of the Tang Dynasty* says that “in a later age the Tubo launched an invasion of Dangxiang-Qiang. The Tuoba clan, fearing that they would be attacked, asked the Tang Court for permission for them to immigrate into inland... the Tubo troops occupied their place, put the people there under their slavery and then changed the name of the place into Minyag.” Thus Tibetan literature calls Dangxiang “Minyag”. Even after the establishment of the kingdom of Xixia, Xixia was also called “Minyag.” Such was the case in *A Feast for Wise Men (Mkhas-pa'i-dga'-ston)*, *New Red Annals (Deb-dmar-gsar-ma, Rgyal-rabs lde-mig)*, *History of the Treasure Tree of Buddhism (Dpa'-bsam ljon-bzang)*, *Blue Annals (Deb-ther-sngon-po)*, and *Records of Tibetan Royal Lineage (Rgyal-rabs-mams-kyi-byung-tshul-gsal-ba'i-me-long-chos-'byang)*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Juveini: *The History of the World-Conquerors*, pp. 233-6, see fn. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *History of the Song Dynasty* called it “Xia Kingdom”, *History of the Liao Dynasty*, *History of the Jin Dynasty* and *History of the Yuan Dynasty* all call it “Xixia”; *Travel Notes to the West* by Changchun Zhengren called it Hexi (“West of the Yellow River”); Marco Polo called it Tangut. For details see Li Fanwen’s “A Probe into the Origin and Vicissitudes of Xixia Dangxiang People”, in *A Collection of Essays on Xixia Studies*, Ningxia People’s Publishing House, 1983.

<sup>4</sup> The name of Xingqingfu existed only 48 years (1038-1086), then it was changed into Zhongxingfu. Wu Guangchen said in his *Travel notes to the West* that the change of the name took place in 1205, but this could not be proved by historical records. For details see Li Fanwen’s “Query about Xingqingfu, the Capital of Xixia” in *A Collection of Essays of the Society of Chinese Ancient Capitals*. Sanqin Publishing House, 1994.

<sup>5</sup> Wu Guangchen: *On the History of Xixia*, Vol. 12.

<sup>6</sup> “Chapter on the Xia Kingdom” in the *History of the Song Dynasty*, Vol. 485.

<sup>7</sup> Zhou Yiliang and Wu Yujin, *A General History of the World*. People’s Publishing House, 1972, Medieval Part, Vol. 2, pp. 238-239.

conquering Xixia. He had to launch five attacks before Xixia was conquered in 1227.<sup>8</sup>

The State of Xixia had ten emperors, namely, Yuanhao with dynastic title of Jingzong (1038-1048), Liangzha with dynastic title of Yizong (1047-1068), Bingchang with dynastic title of Huizong (1068-1086), Qianshun with dynastic title of Chongzong (1086-1139), Renxiao with dynastic title of Renzong (1139-1193), Chunyou with dynastic title of Huanzong (1193-1206), Anquan with dynastic title of Xiangzong (1206-1211), Zunxu with dynastic title of Shenzong (1211-1223), Dewang with dynastic title of Xianzong (1223-1226), and the last emperor named Xia (1226-1227). The regime lasted 190 years (1038-1227).

If counting from the Xiazhou regime established by Tuoba Sigong, who "had not proclaimed his country a state but ruled the territory," as the *History of the Song Dynasty* says, Xixia lasted 347 years, which was longer than the reign of any other dynasties confronting it successively, such as the Liao<sup>9</sup> (916-1125), Northern Song (960-1127), Jin<sup>10</sup> (1115-1234) and Southern Song (1127-1279), and it lasted even 27 years longer than the total period of the Northern and Southern Song dynasties put together. It is rare in Chinese history for a nationality to hold the state power for such a long time. Nevertheless, there are no records about Xixia in Chinese official history books. There are official history books about the Liao and Jin dynasties; and the official history of the Song Dynasty was voluminous, amounting to 496 volumes. Only Xixia had no records at all, which made it a mysterious kingdom on the Silk Road, but actually Xixia at one time "plundered Tibetan horses in the west and overpowered Huihe (Uygur) soldiers in the north"<sup>11</sup> and controlled the Silk Road in China for a period as long as 200 years (1028-1227).<sup>12</sup>

Dangxiang and Tubo belonged to the same race in terms of their origin. In the 7th century, a slave-owning system was established by Tubo (Tibetans) on the Kham-Tibetan Plateau. The Dangxiang people could not stand it, so they requested the Tang Court for permission to go inland.<sup>13</sup>

They lived in harmony with Tibetans before going inland. Tradition has it that Songtsan Gampo, famous Tubo kings,<sup>14</sup> made Ruyong Zagyai Motsun, daughter of the Minyang (Tibetan

<sup>8</sup> Quoted from Iranian writer Juveini, *The History of the World-Conquerors*, translated into Chinese by He Gaoyi, Inner Mongolia People's Publishing House, 1981, p. 25.

<sup>9</sup> Name of dynasty. Yelu Abaoji, leader of the Qidan people, founded the Kingdom of Qidan in A.D. 916. The state name was changed into Liao in A.D. 947. See *History of the Liao Dynasty*.

<sup>10</sup> The Jin was a regime founded by Aguda, chief of Wanyan tribe of the Nuzhens in 1115. Its capital was Huining (to the south of nowadays Achen city in the province Heilongjiang). It exterminated Liao in 1125 and Northern Song in 1126. So it moved its capital first to Beijing and afterwards to Kaifeng. For details see the *History of the Jin Dynasty*.

<sup>11</sup> Dai Xizhang, *Xixia Chronicles*, Vol. 3, Ningxia People's Publishing House, 1988.

<sup>12</sup> Xixia occupied Hexi Silk Road. Wu Guangchen in his *On the History of Xixia*, Vol. 11, said: "Deming sent his son Yuanhao to attack Huihe and occupied Ganzhou... there were stored 400 thousand hu of grain, the people to the east of Ganzhou benefitted from it. After the reign period of 'Zhenyuan (805 A.D.) began, the Tubos had occupied Ganzhou and they became prosperous and strong. Now Deming occupied it and his reign became more powerful than the Tubos." Ganzhou is modern Zhangye County in the province of Gansu. See the *Historical Documents of the Tubos Discovered at Dunhuang* (revised and enlarged edition), translated and annotated by Wang Yao and Chen Jian, Nationalities publishing House, 1992, p. 135.

<sup>13</sup> "Chapter on Dangxiang", in *New History of the Tang Dynasty*.

<sup>14</sup> "Chapter on Tubo", in *New History of the Tang Dynasty*. Also see *A Brief Account of the Development of Ti-*

for Xixia) king, one of his queens.<sup>15</sup> According to ancient historical records cited by Thukwan Lozang Chokyi Nyima in his *Origin and Development of Various Religious Sects*, the Bon had been adopted to run the state affairs from the first Tubo king Nyatri Tsanpo to the 26th one.<sup>16</sup> The Tubo people kept this belief even after the Dangxiang people went inland, worshipping ghosts, gods and natural things, with witchcraft quite popular.<sup>17</sup>

Tibetan Buddhism (also called Lamaism)<sup>18</sup> is a religion developed in Tibet after Buddhism was brought into it. It exerted a profound and lasting influence upon Xixia. This religion had spread to the Dangxiang (Minyag) area when the Tubo king Songtsan Gampo was in power before the Dangxiang people migrated to inland. The Longthang Gomba Temple was built to suppress the right palm of a female devil in the Kham region and the Yongtso Rabgil Lhaxhang Temple<sup>19</sup> at Minyag Rabgang. Many scholars in Dangxiang areas were sent to Tibet to study Tibetan Buddhism and then returned to spread it in their native land – for example, Tsami Sangyepa, an eminent Minyag monk in the Lower Do-Kham.<sup>20</sup> Another example is Minyagpa Aka Tsalha,<sup>21</sup> who followed Prince Osung Jide Nyima Gong to go to Ngari after the Tubo regime collapsed. So it may be said that Tibetan Buddhism had been already spread among the upper class of Minyag rulers before the Dangxiang people went northward.

In 881 (the first year of Zonghe of the Tang Emperor Xizong's reign), Tuoba Sigong, leader of the Dangxiang people, helped the Tang royal court to suppress a peasant revolt. In recognition of his service, he was made the Duke of Xia<sup>22</sup> and was appointed as the governor-general of Xiazhou by Tang Emperor Xizong, having Xiazhou, Suizhou, Yinzhou and Youzhou – four administrative districts – under his rule. His troops were given the title of “Dingnanjun” (troops that crack down rebellions), and the emperor's surname Li was bestowed on him as well.

Yuanhao proclaimed the founding of Xixia and himself the emperor in 1038. The rulers of Dangxiang worshipped Confucianism and believed in Buddhism all along, which made Tibetan Buddhism play an increasingly important role in the state. This can be seen from the following aspects:

### 1. Tibetan Buddhism regarded as state religion

According to historical records, Yuanhao, the founder of Xixia, “was versed in Buddhism.”<sup>23</sup> Yuanhao embraced Buddhism so devoutly that he proclaimed it the state religion. Buddhism

*betan Buddhism* by Wang Sen, China Social Sciences Publishing House, 1987, pp. 3-5.

<sup>15</sup> *A Feast for Wise Men*, ja scroll, bottom of p. 33, quoted from *New Red Annals*, translated into Chinese by Huang Hao, note 123.

<sup>16</sup> Wang Sen, *A Brief Account of the Development of Tibetan Buddhism*, China Social Sciences Publishing House, 1987, p. 1.

<sup>17</sup> Zhang Yun, “The Influence of Tubo Culture upon Xixia”, *Chinese Tibetology*, No. 2, 1989, p. 119.

<sup>18</sup> Ren Jiyu, *A Dictionary of Religions*, Shanghai Lexicographical Publishing House, 1985, p. 1014.

<sup>19</sup> Pawo Tsula Drengwa, *Feast for Wise Men*, translated into Chinese by Huang Hao, see *Journal of Tibetan Nationality College*, No. 2, 1981.

<sup>20</sup> Huang Hao, “Minyag (Xixia) in Tibetan Historical Records”, *Journal of Qinghai Nationality College*, No. 4, 1985.

<sup>21</sup> *Chronicles of Ladakh*, for details see fn. 19.

<sup>22</sup> Sima Guang, *History as a Mirror* (Zi Zhi Tong Jian), Vol. 254.

<sup>23</sup> “Chapter on the Kingdom of Xia” in *The History of the Song Dynasty*.

was brought to Xixia through two channels – one was from areas inhabited by the Han Chinese, the other was from Tibetan areas. However, Tibetan Buddhism became more and more popular in Xixia and occupied a dominant position there at last.

*The Ranks and Titles of Xixia Officialdom System* stipulated that the State Preceptors and the Virtuous Preceptors were superior to Shumi (military commanders) and Zhongshu (ministers).<sup>24</sup> The latter officials were listed first among the five official ranks in the *Laws and Regulations Revised in the Reign of Emperor Renzong of Xixia*.<sup>25</sup> It is thus clear how high the State Preceptor's position was in Xixia.

“According to Xixia customs, all people under the emperor, must pay respects to the State Preceptors, who have prerogatives over all girls before they are married off.”<sup>26</sup> This custom was handed down to the Yuan Dynasty, as could be seen from *Hexi Ge* (Song of the Land to the West of the Yellow River) by Ma Zuchang, a poet of the time:

“To the west of the Yellow River at the foot of the Helan Mountains,  
Girls of eighteen have their *hair* worn in a bun high above the back of the neck,  
They dyed their dress beautifully with madder,  
And then made themselves wives of Gautama.”<sup>27,28</sup>

The place “at the foot of the Helan Mountains” referred to the location of the capital of Xixia. The custom that a girl could marry a monk came from Tibetan Buddhism. Buddhist disciplines include the following: kill no living being, eat no meat, and do not marry or have children. But the Red Sect of Tibetan Buddhism, including the Sakyapa, permits its monks to marry and have children. Before Tsongkhapa (1357-1419), leader of the Yellow Sect, carried out religious reforms, “it was quite common for a Tibetan monk to have several wives, some even had as many as eight or fifteen. This could be seen everywhere.”<sup>29</sup>

The State Preceptor of the Yuan Dynasty was the No. One leader of the Commission for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs (Xuan-zheng-yuan), but this was not the case in Xixia. The first State Preceptor of the Yuan Dynasty was Phagspa, who was promoted to Imperial Preceptor afterwards.<sup>30</sup> This title also came from Tibet. The candidates for the titles were invited to the imperial court and “given the titles as the State Preceptor, Imperial Preceptor, or other titles and awarded a golden certificate of appointment by the emperor.”<sup>31</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Li Fanwen, “A Textual Research on the Ranks and Titles of Xixia Officialdom System”, *Social Science Front-line*, No. 3, 1991, p. 179.

<sup>25</sup> Chapter 10 of “Laws and Orders on Reform in the Tian Sheng Reign Period.”

<sup>26</sup> Peng Daya, *A Brief Account of Black Tatars* (Hei Da Shi Lue).

<sup>27</sup> Gautama, also known as Shakyamuni, was the founder of Buddhism. In later ages the word Gautama became a synonym for Buddhist monks.

<sup>28</sup> Zhang Yun, “The influence of Tubo Culture on Xixia”, *Chinese Tibetology*, No. 2, 1989.

<sup>29</sup> Zhang Yun, “The influence of Tubo Culture on Xixia”, *Chinese Tibetology*, No. 2, 1989.

<sup>30</sup> Wang Yao, “A Textual Research on the Yuan State Preceptor's Decree Inscribed on a Tablet in the Dalingyan Temple in Changqing, Shandong Province”, *Tibetology Study*, Central Institute for Nationalities Press, 1993, p. 267.

<sup>31</sup> Tsuru Chena, “Tsurpu Monastery and a Brief History of Karmapa”, translated into Chinese and annotated by Ma Limin, *Tibetology Study*, Central Institute for Nationalities Press, 1993, p. 311.

## 2. The position of Tibetan Buddhist sutras in Xixia

That the Tibetan Buddhist sutras were translated into Xixia language and spread far and wide in Xixia constituted an important aspect of the influence exerted on Xixia by the Tibetan Buddhism. The sutras translated directly from Tibetan into Xixia included the following: Mahmayuri Vidyavajini Sutra, Mallika Deva, Aparimitayus Sutra, Mahayana Sutra, Padma Tantra, Holy Boundless Chilicosmos, Sitavana Sutra, and Paramita Punyatara Sutra, etc.<sup>12</sup>

Tibetan Buddhist scriptures were translated from Sanskrit, Chinese and Yutian texts. In the 8th century the Tibetan King Tride Tsutsan (704-755), sent Sangxi and others to go to Chang'an for Buddhist scriptures. After his son Trisong Detsan (755-797) succeeded him, Trisong Detsan sent Basalngang to go to Chang'an again to study Buddhism and invited Chinese monks to Tibet, and he also invited a well-known Indian Buddhist scholar named Santaraksita to Tibet.<sup>13</sup> A translation academy was set up, scriptures were mainly translated from Sanskrit, what were lacked in Sanskrit texts were translated from Chinese and Yutian versions, and a total of over 4,400 works were translated into Tibetan. This formed the framework of Tibetan Tripitaka.<sup>14</sup> But all these were hand-written copies. The Tibetan block-printed scriptures did not come into being until the 13th century.

However, the earliest block-printed edition of Xixia scripture that had an exact date was Ratnamegha Sutra,<sup>15</sup> translated by Emperor Chongzong Qianshun (1086-1139),<sup>16</sup> and revised by his successor Renzong Renxiao (1139-1193). It was over a century earlier than the appearance of Tibetan block-printed scriptures. Why was it so? Because Xixia was so close to the capital city of the Tang and Song dynasties that it was influenced readily by the Han Chinese culture.

According to historical records, Xixia chief Deming presented 70 horses to the Song court in exchange for a set of Buddhist scriptures in 1029 before Xixia Kingdom was founded. Emperor Yizong Liangzha sent men to the Song court to exchange horses for Buddhist scriptures three times (in 1055, 1059, 1065).<sup>17</sup> It was not until Emperor Chongzong Qianshun's reign (1086-1139) that he, on the one hand, exchanged horses for scriptures and, on the other hand, organized scholars to translate them from Tibetan or Chinese into Xixia language and then had the Xixia version printed out through block printing. The convenient geographical advantages made the debut of block printing of Xixia Buddhist scriptures much earlier than that of Tibetan ones.

<sup>12</sup> Tatsuo Nishida: "Sutras in the Xixia Language", translated into Chinese by Pan Shoumin and revised by Huang Runhua, in *History and Geography of Northwest*, No. 1, 1983.

<sup>13</sup> Santaraksita (Tibetan name "Shiwatso" or Khenchen Bodhisattva), was the founder of the Madhyamika School of Mahayana Yoga.

<sup>14</sup> Niu Dashen, "The Academic Value of the Xixia Sutra *Auspicious Tantra*", *Cultural Relics*, No. 4, 1994.

<sup>15</sup> Wang Jingru, "Interpretation and Annotation on Some Forewords on Xixia Scriptures", *Xixia Studies*, No. 1, p. 265. Also see fn. 32.

<sup>16</sup> Qianshun was the fourth Xixia emperor. He ascended the throne in 1086 and died in 1139, having been in power for 54 years. He was given a posthumous title "Renjing Emperor", which means "Emperor of Benevolence and Peacefulness." It was he who translated Ratnamegha Sutra into the Xixia language. Wang Jingru and Nishida mistook "Renjing Emperor" for Emperor Huizong Bingchang. See Li Fanwen, "A Textual Research on the Appellations of Xixia Emperors", *A Collection of Theses on Xixia Studies*, Ningxia People's Publishing House, 1983, pp. 90-92.

<sup>17</sup> Wang Jingru: "Block-printed Tibetan Scripture in Hexi Letters", *Xixia Studies*, No. 1, pp. 12-13.

The first block-printed Tibetan Tripitaka (the Buddhist canon) is called Netang edition.<sup>38</sup> It was engraved by Tashilhunpo Netang Monastery in Tibet but it was lost now. During the Ming and Qing dynasties, Tibetan Tripitakas were engraved at Chamdo in Tibet, Dege in Sichuan, Litang in Yunnan, Kumbum Monastery in Qinghai, Jone in Gansu, and at Beijing and Nanjing, but what we can see today are mostly Beijing and Dege editions. The edition engraved in the Ming Dynasty was rarely handed down.<sup>39</sup>

Something unusual tuned up at last. Archaeologists in Ningxia unearthed a number of Buddhist scriptures in Xixia and Chinese language when they cleared up the ruins of a pagoda at Baisigou in Helan County in 1991. The scriptures are important archaeological finds of this century concerning Xixia. They included a Chinese block-printed edition of *Twelve Metrical Hymns of Meritorious*, a hand-written copy of *Tantric Incantations, Sutra of Samvara, the Deity of the Supreme Yoga Tantras*, a block-printed picture of Vajrayogini, a female tantric deity who represents the female energy of Buddhahood, an album of the pictures of Shakyamuni in bright red, and a long scroll of 5.74 meters long written in Xixia cursive characters and still waiting to be rendered into Chinese. What is most valuable is the rare and precious *Auspicious Tantric Mantras* (see figure 1) consisting of 9 volumes of about 100,000 Xixia characters which were translated from the Tibetan language. It is a tantric scripture. It was printed one and a half century earlier than “the old edition of Netang” and remains the earliest block-printed edition of Tibetan tantric scripture found so far.<sup>40</sup> It is now the only existing copy of the kind throughout the world and its edition in Tibetan writing was lost long ago, therefore it is of great academic value for the study of Tibetan Buddhism.

### 3. The influence of Tibetan Buddhist painting upon Xixia

Painting is a plastic art. Painters create works full of strong artistic appeal and express their ideas by way of composition, mold-making and color. The world-famous paintings like “Good Friday,” “The Virgin and Saint Anna”, and “Mourning for Christ” are all immortal artistic works of charm with the Virgin and Christ as the motif and thereby spread Christianity.

Of the world-renowned frescoes in the Dunhuang grottoes, three grottoes were dug during the reign of Xixia,<sup>41</sup> and they housed invaluable Tibetan Buddhist frescoes. Visitors all gasp in admiration.

Tangkas of the Tibetan Buddhism are artistic works with religious motifs,<sup>42</sup> most of them are figures of the Buddha painted in modern and contemporary times. There are only two sites where tangkas of Middle Ages were found. One is Heishui Town (also called Kara-Khoto or Baishen-Khoto the site is in the present-day Ejin Banner of Inner Mongolia). In China, where in 1908-1909 the Russian explorer P. K. Kozlov uncovered more than three hundred tangkas, which are now housed in the Winter Palace Museum in Petersburg,<sup>43</sup> the other is Helan County,

<sup>38</sup> See fn. 34.

<sup>39</sup> See fn. 34.

<sup>40</sup> See fn. 40.

<sup>41</sup> Lin Luzhi, *History of Xixia*, Datong Printing Company, Hongkong, 1975, p. 323.

<sup>42</sup> Tangka, a Tibetan designation for the religious scroll paintings of Tibetan Buddhism.

<sup>43</sup> Cai Ling, “Called a Great Many Times – Xixia Cultural Relics are Welcomed to the Historical Museum”, *Journal of Taiwan National Historical Museum*, No. 3, Vol. 4, 1994.



where archaeologists in Ningxia unearthed some tangkas in 1991.<sup>44</sup> All these tangkas date from about the 12th century, with characteristics of the Later Tang Dynasty in style,<sup>45</sup> and they were closely related to Tibetan Buddhist tangkas.

Let us take two pictures of “bhichu” (full-ordained monk) for an example. The one found at Heishui (see figure 2) is 38 cm long and 27 cm wide, made of colored glue and cotton cloth. The monk sits cross-legged on a lotus seat, calm and solemn, in bright red kasaya, bald-headed, heavily bearded, with two servants below him, one male, the other female. The picture of “bhichu” (see figure 3) unearthed in Helan County of Ningxia is called the “Picture of the Superior Teacher.” The canvas for the painting is 131.5 cm high and 83.5 cm wide; the size of the picture is 83×62 cm, with Buddhist figures all around. In the centre of the picture the Superior Teacher sits cross-legged on a lotus seat, serious, in red kasaya traced in gold design. His right arm is bare, and he is enhaloed in flames. Altogether 19 shrines were painted around the central figure. There are figures of Buddhas, supreme masters, devas, guardians and bodhisattvas painted around the central figure, and five flying apsaras are at the bottom of the picture. The colors are deep and bright. The picture is obviously different from the picture found at Heishui in terms of content, characters and color. The tangka in Helan has more characteristics of Tibetan Buddhism, especially the Supreme Teacher, who looks completely like a Tibetan or Dangxiang, not an Indian.

The painting of Samvara (Tib. Demchok) unearthed at Heishui (see figure 4) is 98 cm in length and 68 in width. He is embracing his consort Vajravarahi (Tib. Dorje Pagmo). Samvara is represented in his tri-faced form in dark-blue color with three eyes on each of the face. He has twelve arms and holds his consort Vajravarahi in his main arms and holds various instruments in his other hands. He wears skull ornaments and stands on a sun disc trampling his opponent deities. Around him are 38 figures of Samvara.

The painting of Samvara found in Helan County (see figure 5) is 61.3 cm long and 40 cm wide. There is almost no difference between the Samvara found in Helan and that at Heishui except the setting of the background. The former has 38 figures of Samvara around the main figure, while the latter has just 6 figures of Samvara above the main figure and 8 semi-naked men and women below him.

In addition, another painting of Samvara has been excavated in Helan. It is 55 cm long and 38 cm wide. He is represented in his two-armed form embracing his consort Vajravarahi. Unlike the two mentioned before, the Samvara does not have three faces or twelve arms. He is also semi-naked, hanging skull ornaments on the lower part of his body, with his two feet stepping on his opponent deities. There are five figures of Samvara above the main figure and five Bodhisattvas below him (see figure 6).

On the whole, the five Xixia tangkas mentioned above are the same as Tibetan ones in terms of theme, content, layout, color and painting. They are obviously the products of the influence made by Tibetan Buddhism, this reflects the Tibetan Buddhist influence upon Ningxia in one aspect during the period of Xixia reign.<sup>46</sup> Meanwhile, they have important academic value for

<sup>44</sup> “A Brief Report on Clearing Helan Hongfu Pagoda in Helan County, Ningxia” and “A Brief Report on the Survey and Maintenance of Baishikou Twin-pagodas in Helan County, Ningxia”, *Cultural Relics*, 1991, No. 8, pp. 1-27.

<sup>45</sup> Chen Yikai, “An Inquiry into the Xixia Buddhist Art and Culture by Examining the Buddha with Multiple Bodies”, *Journal of Taiwan National Historical Museum*, No. 3, Vol. 4, 1994.

<sup>46</sup> “A Brief Report on the Survey and Maintenance of the Baishikou Double Towers in Helan County, Ningxia”, *Cultural Relics*, 1991, No. 8, p. 24.

the study of the early Tibetan Buddhist arts and doctrine.

The Tibetan King Trisong Detsan sent Bairo Tsana to go to the Big Bodhi Temple in India to study Buddhism in the 8th century. After he came back, Bairo Tsana taught the Diamond Vehicle Dharma and was opposed by the Bon believers, particularly by Tsephongsa, wife of Trisong Detsan. She said,

“The so-called Kapala is actually a man's skull, the so-called Basuta is a man's viscera pulled out from the body; the so-called Zhingche Yangzhi is a man's skin spread out; the so-called Rakta is to sprinkle a man's blood on the offerings; the so-called Mandala (Tib. kylkor) is but a lump of color like the rainbow, the so-called guardians are men wearing ornaments of skulls... These are not religious doctrines but vices brought to Tibet from India.”<sup>47</sup>

What she said sketched out the evil appearance of the Diamond Vehicle, and this is exactly what the ordinary Tibetans hate. However, from the Xixia tangkas of Samvara with ornaments of skulls and stepping on men we can find that esotericism was brought to Xixia secretly from Tibet and was still quite popular in the Yuan Dynasty. The *History of the Yuan Dynasty*, for example, recorded the fact that the cushion of a Buddha statue was made of human skin and that human hearts were used as offerings.<sup>48</sup> It is thus evident that Tibetan esotericism had a far-reaching influence on Xixia and even spread to Mongolia via Xixia.

#### 4. The influence of the Tibetan Buddhist pagoda upon Xixia

The pagoda or Buddhist stupa originated from India. Most pagodas are square or octagonal in shape and are often made of bricks and wood, and sometimes of stone. There are various types of pagodas in China, such as the attic-shaped pagoda (e.g., the pagoda of the Liao Dynasty in Yingxian County of Shanxi Province), the multi-eaved pagoda (e.g. the pagoda of Tianning Temple in Beijing), the Lamaist pagoda and the Diamond Throne pagoda (e.g., the pagoda of Zhenjue Temple in Beijing), the Mausoleum pagoda (e.g., the pagoda of Chan Master Jinzang in Dengfeng County of Henan), etc. All these are well-known pagodas in China. Some of these pagodas are used to house Buddhist bone relics and scriptures.

Pagodas in Xixia were built by monks from the Central Plains and Tibetan areas. According to the historical records found at Dunhuang, Buddhist pagodas were built to keep eminent monks' bone relics and scriptures early in the Tang Dynasty (at the end of the 8th century A.D.) when Shazhou (the old name for Dunhuang) was ruled by Tubo.<sup>49</sup>

According to Tibetan documents, Tibetan eminent monks built a number of monasteries and pagodas in Xixia. Let us take the Tibetan monk Gongpa Rabsal for an example. He was a prestigious lama spreading Buddhism actively in the Gansu Corridor, building many temples and pagodas in order to get rid of evil prejudices. He himself designed the forms of the temples and pagodas and had the pagodas built along the Gansu Corridor on the well-known Silk Road.<sup>50</sup> The color paint he used was all made in Xixia.

<sup>47</sup> See fn. 16, pp. 12-13.

<sup>48</sup> “Biographies”, Vol.92 of *History of the Yuan Dynasty*. Tao Zhongyi, “The Record of Stopping Ploughing in South Village” Vol. 2.

<sup>49</sup> Demiéville, *About Tubo Monks*, translated into Chinese from French by Gen Sen, Gansu People's Publishing House 1984, p. 348.

<sup>50</sup> *Blue Annals (Deb-ther Sngon-po)*, p. 45.

The present-day Fubo pagoda (see figure 7) of the Giant Buddha Temple in Zhangye County, the Lamaist pagoda (see figure 8) in Heishui Town and the Earthen pagoda (see figure 9) in front of the Mogao grottoes in Dunhuang are exactly the same as or similar to the Lamaist pagodas emerged in the inland during the Yuan Dynasty in form or appearance, though it has not been ascertained whether they were built by Gongpa Rabсал.

Yinchuan was the capital of Xixia, and it was called Xingqingfu at that time. To the west of Yinchuan lies Mt. Helan, which was a summer resort of the Xixia rulers and a famous Buddhist scenic spot as well. Many pagodas stood around Xingqingfu and there is still a Xixia Buddhist temple existing in Mt. Helan. According to a New Annual of Ningxia compiled in Jiajing Reign of the Qing Dynasty, "over one hundred ruined temples still existed" in the Ming Dynasty. Wherever there is a temple, there is a pagoda, such as the Pagoda of Hongfu Temple in today's Helan County, the Twin-pagodas at Baishikou, and the Square Pagoda at Baisigou.<sup>51</sup> It is true that "there were many Xixia temples in the mountain tapering with cloud."<sup>52</sup>

The western pagoda of the Twin-Pagodas is one of the typical Tibetan Buddhist pagodas. On its surface are carved twenty-four standing Buddhas, Eighteen Arhats, Sixteen Dharma-Protectors, Eight Reincarnated Boys, Sixteen Bodhisattvas, Seven Treasures, the Eight Auspicious Symbols, tassels with animal designs, as well as designs of the sun and moon and Fire Pearls, etc. All these subject matters are popular in Tibetan Buddhism and they were modelled and arranged in proper order on the pagoda, which is the only case known in China up till now.<sup>53</sup> The main ideas of the Sanskrit words written in red (see figure 10) on the walls inside the western pagoda are as follows:

"A perfect Bodhi will become a Buddha,  
A fine way of freeing oneself will make you free,  
Seeking peace and calmness will bring you tranquillity,  
General liberation will free all from trouble,  
Buddha reveres peace and detachment in the world.  
Depend yourself on Buddha's hand gestures."<sup>54</sup>

It is true as an ancient poet said that "there are many Sanskrit sayings inside old Buddhist temples deep in the remote mountain." There are two Xixia characters among the Sanskrit words, meaning "Supreme Master". This title began to be used when Emperor Renxiao was in power, so the Twin-Pagodas were probably built in 1189. The twin-pagodas are octagonal, multi-eaved, and have thirteen storeys. They were composed of two parts: the body and the top, without the basement terrace.

Due to the influence of Tibetan Buddhism, even the mausoleums of Xixia emperors were constructed in the style of octagonal pavilion-shaped pagodas.<sup>55</sup> They, together with the temples attached to them, were burned down by Mongolian soldiers when Genghis Khan

<sup>51</sup> See Lei Runze, "The Structural Character and Tradition of Ningxia's Tangut Stupas", *Orientalism* April 1996, pp. 55-62, figs. 2, 5, and 8.

<sup>52</sup> Hu Ruli, *New History of Ningxia Compiled in the Reign Period of Hong-zhi in the Ming Dynasty*, Vol. 8.

<sup>53</sup> See fn. 44, p. 25.

<sup>54</sup> This passage was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by Lu Huozhao of the Institute of World Religions under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

<sup>55</sup> Zhong Tao, Li Zhiqing and Li Fanwen, "A Brief Report on the Excavation of No. 8 Mausoleum of Xixia", *Cultural Relics*, No. 8, 1978.

devastated Xixia. There are left only mounds of several decades of meters in height (see figure 11). It is really a pity that the Xixia regime established by a great nation was thus buried deep in the long river of history.

### 5. The Xixia steles in the Tibetan and Chinese languages

There are two Xixia steles surviving to this day in the former Xixia region: one is the "Inspiration Pagoda Stele in Honor of the Occasion of Rebuilding the Protect-the-State Temple" at Wuwei of Gansu Province, the other is the "Royal Stele in Honor of the Occasion of Building the Heishui Bridge at Zhangye. The former was carved in Xixia and Chinese characters, while the latter in Chinese and Tibetan writing.

Why was it carved in Tibetan instead of Xixia writing? Professor Wang Yao, a well-known scholar of Tibetan studies, has made a brilliant exposition of this question. He said that the emperors of Xixia were devout Buddhists. According to Tibetan historical document *A Feast for Wise Men (Mkhas-pa 'i-dga'-ston)*, the Karmapa, head lama of the Karma Kagyu order of the Tibetan Buddhism, served as the teacher of the royal house all along during the Xixia regime and was bestowed the title of State Preceptor. The Karmapa, specialized in teaching tantric doctrine and rituals,<sup>56</sup> found favour with the emperor.

The "Text on Distributing Sutras and Making Vows" printed by the Xixia Emperor Renzong in 1189 said: "The Emperor invited State Preceptor Zonglu, State Preceptor Jingjie, State Preceptor Dabing Xuanmi, Chan masters and monks to go to Dadumin Monastery to hold a Grand Prayer. They offered sacrifice to gods and distributed food to the poor, prayed to Buddhas and chanted sutras and incantations. They chanted Tibetan, Xixia and Chinese scriptures of Great Vehicle, distributed and gave out 150,000 copies of Tibetan and Chinese scriptures..."<sup>57</sup>

Since Tibetan scriptures were chanted to pray for blessings when religious activities were held in the Xixia court, it was quite natural to carve Tibetan writing on steles. In addition, this could make the inscriptions on steles more mysterious and authoritative in the eyes of common people and raise their religious position. It was also a reflection of Tibetan Buddhism in culture.<sup>58</sup>

Xixia put Tibetan and Chinese languages, Tibetan Buddhism and Chinese Buddhism on an equal standing. The Xixia people had close relations with Tibetans in terms of religious belief, customs, national feelings and the like. Tibetan law stipulated: "Only monks can make trips freely and they should be provided with food."<sup>59</sup> So, it was quite convenient for Xixia monks to go to Lhasa to make a pilgrimage to Tibetan monasteries and temples, to acquire scriptures and to study. This is why the Xixia people put more stress on Tibetan Buddhism and why the Tibetan Buddhism exerted a profound influence on Xixia. This was proved by a lot of Tibetan Buddhist scriptures and cultural relics, no matter whether they were excavated by Russians in 1909 or by Ningxia archaeologists in 1991 from the ruins of Xixia.

<sup>56</sup> *A Feast for Wise Men (Mkhas-pa 'i-dga'-ston)*, completed in 1564, with a total 791 pages in 13 chapters. Chapters 8 and 12 give a detail account of the Xixia imperial court appointing Kagyupa lamas as state preceptors.

<sup>57</sup> *Journal of the Beijing Library*, No. 3, Vol. 4, "Special issue on Xixia Characters".

<sup>58</sup> Wang Yao, "A Textual Research on the Heishui Bridge Monument", *Journal of the Central Institute for Nationalities*, No. 1, 1978.

<sup>59</sup> *Zhou Hui: Qingbo History*, Vol. 10. See Sequel to Four Series of Books.

These archaeological findings have special significance for the study of Tibetan Buddhism. It is just because of this that all Tibetologists engaged in Tibetan Buddhism should come to Ningxia – the homeland of Xixia – to visit the place, carry out investigation, and do researches. We extend them a warm welcome, we welcome all of them heartily to come to Yinchuan – the one time capital of Xixia to attend the 1st International Symposium of Xixia Studies in August this year.

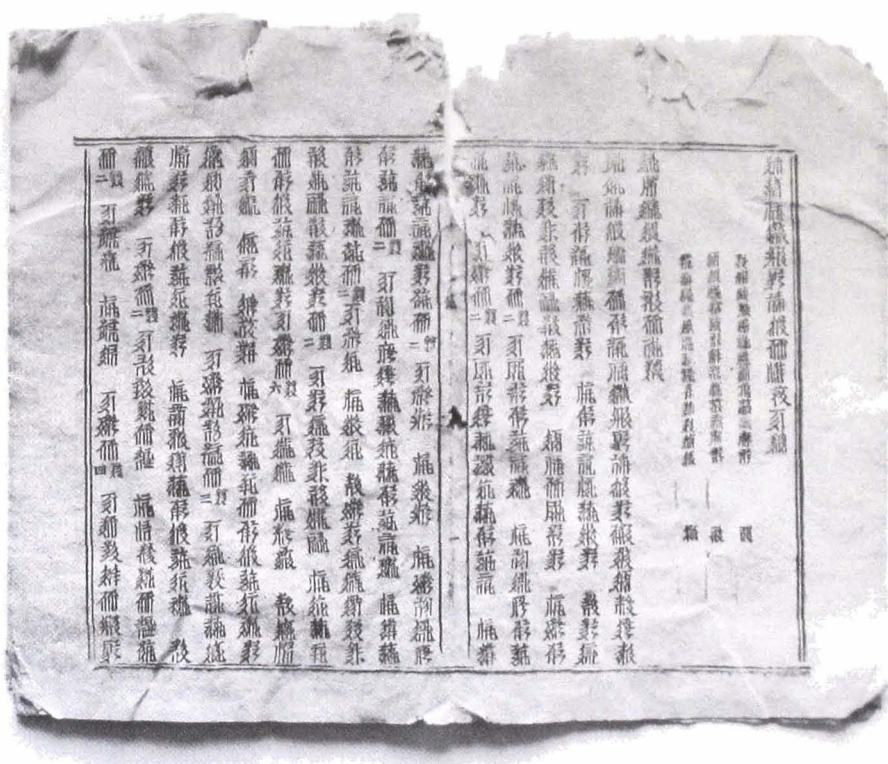


Fig. 1: "Jixiangjianzhi Hekoubenxu" language scripture in Xixia (Helan)

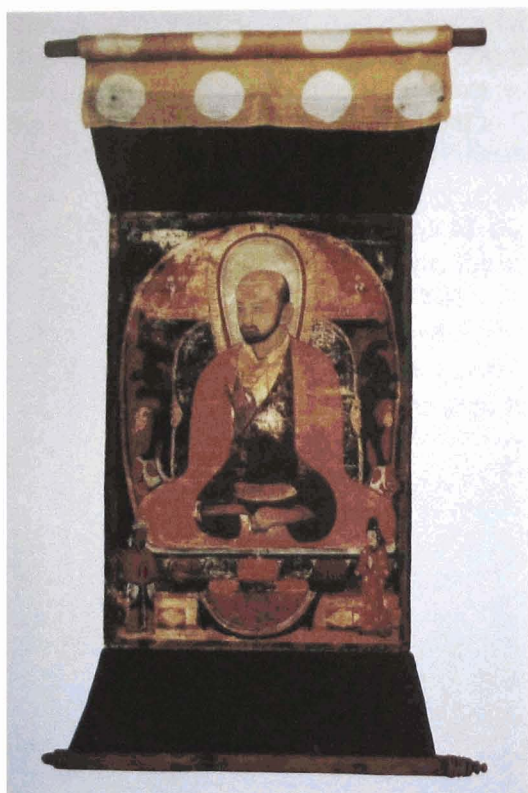


Fig. 2: Xixia "Biqiu" picture (Khara Khoto)

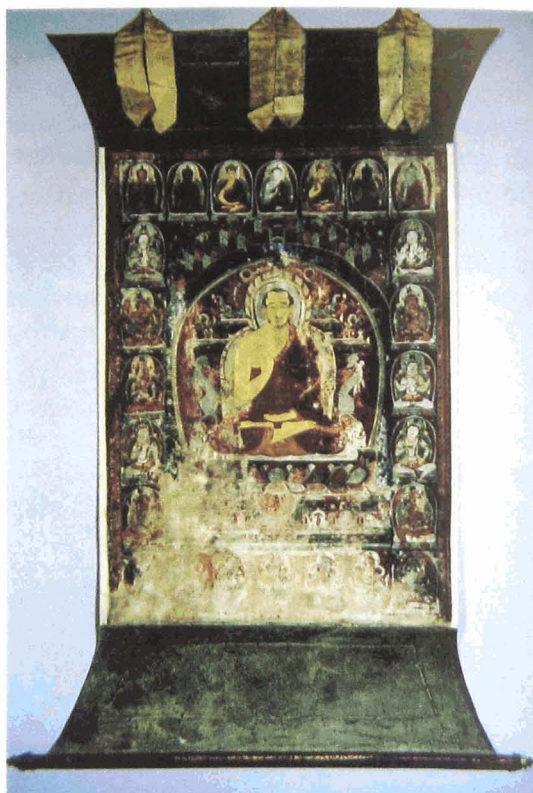


Fig. 3: Xixia "Shangshi" picture (Helan)



Fig. 4: Xixia "Shangle Buddha's Warrior" (Khara Khoto)



Fig. 5: Xixia "Shangle Buddha's Warrior" (Helan)



Fig. 6: Xixia "Shangle Buddha's Warrior with Double Arms" (Helan)

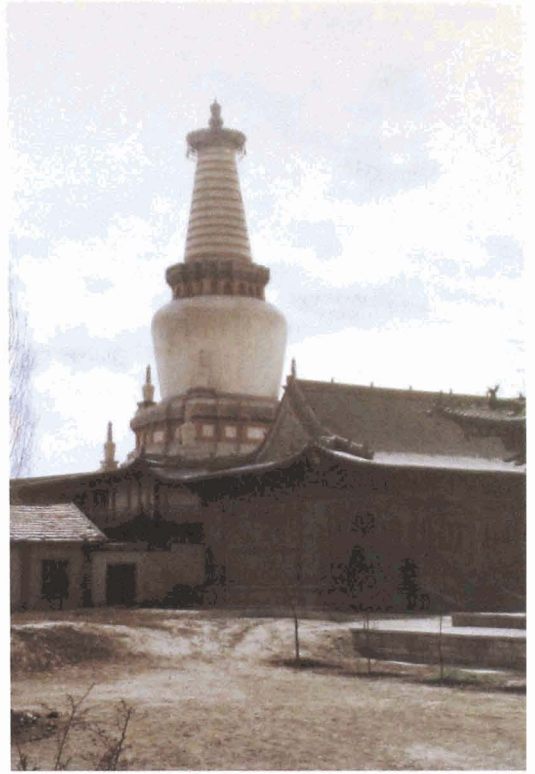


Fig. 7: Xixia Fuben Tower of Great Buddhas



Fig. 8: Site of Xixia Lama Tower in Khara Khoto



Fig. 9: Xixia Earth Tower of Mogao Cave in Dong Huang

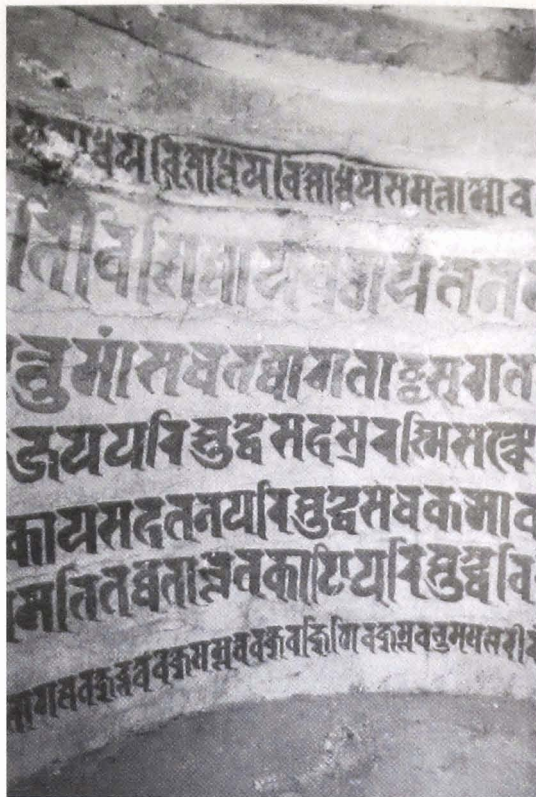


Fig. 10: Red Sanskrit on dome wall of Buddhist Temple in the West Tower of Helan



Fig. 11: Xixia Imperial tombs with tower type construction at the foot of Helan Mountain Site of Mourning Platform



# MERCURY-GILDING IN TRADITIONAL HIMALAYAN AND TIBETAN SCULPTURE

by

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This paper is meant to fill a small gap in the studies of the materials and techniques used in traditional Tibetan and Himalayan sculpture, which have already been the object of two articles of mine published by the British Museum (Lo Bue 1981). In those papers I pointed out that two metals have been traditionally used in Tibetan and Himalayan statuary: copper and brass, that is a copper alloy characterized by the presence of zinc. I also argued that the persistent belief that northern Indian metal images are cast in the alloy known as *aṣṭa-dhātu* (that is copper, tin, lead, antimony, zinc, iron, gold and silver in various proportions) is a literary notion unsupported by the metallurgical analyses carried out on hundreds of specimens.

The presence of some of those elements, however, has been detected in a few copper alloy statues, and among them gold has been found in the percentage of more than 0.01%, which is technically regarded as significant. In those instances gold was obviously added to the alloy as an offering for purely religious reasons. In a similar way gold leaf was occasionally placed beneath the painted surface of Himalayan scroll paintings.<sup>1</sup> For similar reasons, as well as for aesthetic ones, gold has also been traditionally applied on the surface of images, including metal statues.

Three techniques for making metal images have been traditionally used in the Himālayas and in Tibet: repoussé, a method which consists in embossing copper or brass sheets by hammering and which is used in an area stretching from the Nepal Valley<sup>2</sup> to eastern Tibet and north-eastern Tibet; sand-casting, which is particularly popular in eastern and north-eastern Tibet, and which Tibetan artists may have derived from China; and lost-wax casting, which was particularly common in southern, central and western Tibet, and which Tibetan artists learnt from their Newar masters of the Nepal Valley, who in turn inherited that technique from the Indian sculptors of the Gupta, Pāla and Sena periods. All metal images produced with any of these three methods are suitable for gilding.

My British Museum paper dealing with the traditional Himalayan technique of the lost-wax process includes two detailed descriptions of actual castings with their timings as recorded during my fieldwork in the 1970s, but no such detailed description accompanies the section I devoted to gilding in the same publication. Furthermore the witness-account of the fire-gilding process as observed in November 1979 in Lalitpur, Nepal Valley, by Mavis Bimson, of the British Museum Research Laboratory, could not be documented with pictures (Oddy, Bimson

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<sup>1</sup> Bruce-Gardner, Robert H. (1975), "Gold Embedded in Nepalese Mandala Scroll Paintings", *Burlington Magazine* 117/867: 378-381.

<sup>2</sup> The earliest known dated specimen of Newar repoussé sculpture – dated to the equivalent of AD 1004: see for example Pal, Pratapaditya (1974), *The Arts of Nepal*, I, *Sculpture*, Leiden/Köln, Brill: fig. 30, and (1991), *Art of the Himalayas. Treasures from Nepal and Tibet*, New York, Hudson Hills Press: 46-47, No. 10 – proves that by the 10th century that very ancient technique had been brought to perfection by the artists of the Nepal Valley.

and La Niece 1981).<sup>3</sup> I will afford here a detailed account of the whole fire-gilding process as I could observe and record it in Lalitpur in the summer of 1986, providing its timing and illustrating it with pictures.<sup>4</sup>

Fire-gilding or mercury-gilding (less commonly wash- or amalgam-gilding), that is gilding by means of a mixture of mercury and gold, is mentioned by the Tibetan scholar and artist Padma-dkar-po (1526-1592) as being used in Tibet on images made from native copper, brass and other copper alloys during the reigns of Srong-brtsan-sgam-po (ruled c. 581?-641 and 646-649) and Ral-pa-can (ruled c. 817-841).<sup>5</sup> The technical term used by Padma-dkar-po is *tsha-gser*, which literally means "hot gold" as opposed to *grang-gser*, meaning "cold gold" and generally referring to gold paint.<sup>6</sup>

Tibetan historical sources relate how the long exile of the Newar king Narendradeva at Srong-brtsan-sgam-po's court as well as the latter's marriage with a princess from the Nepal Valley were accompanied by a massive presence of Newar artists in Tibet. These masters were called to build and decorate Buddhist temples at Khra-'brug and Ra-sa,<sup>7</sup> and it is conceivable that they taught their Tibetan pupils the gilding techniques besides many other artistic skills. X-ray fluorescence spectrometry has shown that mercury is contained in the gilding of a c. 9th-10th century copper alloy image and of a 10th-11th century brass image from the Nepal Valley (Oddy, Bimson and La Niece 1981: 88, chart) but there is little doubt that Newar artists were acquainted with the fire-gilding technique by at least the 7th century, a period to which have been ascribed a 50.2 cm gilded copper standing Buddha of the Ben Heller Collection in New

<sup>3</sup> Previous to that article fire-gilding had been briefly described by Höfer, Andrés (1970), "Zum Gelbgussverfahren in Nepal", *Archiv für Völkerkunde* XXIV: 184-201, and by Dayab (1977, I: 48-49). On p. 30 of the *Yuandai huasui ji*, a record of the materials used by artists of the Yuan court between 1295 and 1330 at a time when Tibetan Buddhism was protected by the Mongol emperors and the Newar artist Aniko was active in China, mention is made of an image being "adorned with Tibetan liquid gilding" (Karmay Stoddard, Heather, 1975, *Early Sino-Tibetan art*, Warminster, Aris & Phillips: 23), which is perhaps a reference to mercury-gilding: Dayab (1977, I: 49) himself speaks of "liquid gold" when referring to the gold and mercury amalgam used in the fire-gilding process.

<sup>4</sup> Taken by Ms Stella Rigo Righi, whom I thank for her assistance.

<sup>5</sup> For these dates see Sørensen 1994: 411, n. 1420, 588-590, n. 1041. In Padma-dkar-po's text reference is made to the fire-gilding of statues with inlay work (Lo Bue, Erberto F., in press, "Art Styles as Viewed by Padma-dkar-po", in Casey Singer, Jane and Denwood, Philip, eds., *Towards a Definition of Style: The Arts of Tibet*, London, Calmann & King). This combination of materials and techniques is found in Indian statuary, for example in a post-Gupta gilded metal image whose eyes are inlaid with silver (Majumdar, N. G., 1926, "A Gilt-Plated Bronze from Mahastan", *The Modern Review* XL: 425). Gilding is still occasionally associated with inlay work and there are examples of gold and silver inlay in partially gilded 20th century copper statues produced in the Nepal Valley.

<sup>6</sup> On cold-gilding see the exhaustive description by Jackson, David and Janice (1984), *Tibetan Thangka Painting. Methods & Materials*, London, Serindia: 85-87.

<sup>7</sup> On the role played by the Newar queen and by the artists of the Nepal Valley in the construction of the 'Phrul-snang, later known as Jo-khang, at Lhasa see for example Sørensen (1994: 263-6 and 273-74) and Norbu, Thubten Jigme and Turnbull, Colin M. (1972), *Tibet*, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books: 143. An apparently symbolical figure of one thousand Newar artists is mentioned in this connection by a number of Tibetan historical sources (Sørensen 1994: 274, n. 826). Newar sculptors also carved several images of Buddhist deities in the rock at 'Ja'i-mdangs, one image at Zla-ba-tshal, and the images found in the temple of Brag-lha-klu-sbugs, the cave temple perched on the ICags-po-ri (Sørensen 1994: 163, n. 459, 267-270, n. 807, and 273-74; see also Chandra Das, Sarat, 1970 repr., *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, Delhi, Mañjuśrī Publishing House: 152-153). According to another tradition, Srong-brtsan-sgam-po commissioned Khre-ba, a famous Newar craftsman, to make eleven images of Avalokiteśvara of the same size as the king himself (Dayab 1977, I: 36).

York, and a 7.6 cm attendant figure with traces of gilt belonging to the Zimmerman Collection.<sup>8</sup>

The method of mercury-gilding has always been very popular in the Nepal Valley for the gilding of cast or repoussé copper images of deities belonging to the Hindu and Buddhist pantheons, though there is no evidence that all existing copper statues from Nepal were gilded or meant to be gilded, as may be gathered from the four large images cast at different times between the 9th and the 14th century which are still standing at the corners in the courtyard of the Kwā Bāhā monastery (Hiraṇyavarṇa Mahāvihāra), in Lalitpur.<sup>9</sup>

Copper is more suitable to fire-gilding than brass, particularly the leaded brass commonly used by the metalworkers of the Nepal Valley (Lo Bue 1981: 59), but Newar artists managed to apply the mercury-gilding technique to brass images, too, using unleaded copper-and-zinc alloys, since from an early period they must have been acquainted with the impossibility of fire-gilding leaded brass. Tibetans probably learnt also this important technical detail from their Newar masters and applied it, for instance, to a brass image of the Buddha Śākyamuni dated to c. 1500, belonging to the Aschman Collection.<sup>10</sup> The alloy of that image contains in fact only 0.16% lead and 8.40% zinc, the percentage of these two elements having been purposefully kept low in order to avoid adverse behaviour of the alloy when exposing it to heat during the fire-gilding process (cf. Oddy, Bimson and La Niece 1981: 92-94).

Tibetan and Himalayan metal images are not always entirely gilded. Parcel-gilding appears in western Nepalese statuary from at least the 13th century, perhaps less for aesthetic reasons than as an economy measure: the back of the image was left ungilded<sup>11</sup> and was often painted red. This kind of parcel-gilding became very common all over Nepal in subsequent centuries: only the front of the statues, with the exception of the hair, was fire-gilded and polished. Sometimes the main figure was gilded and its accessories were left ungilded.<sup>12</sup>

Parcel-gilding has become a common feature in eastern and north-eastern as well as in Sino-Tibetan brass statuary from at least the 18th century. Usually the naked parts of the figure were left ungilded, while the garments and jewellery were gilded, or vice versa. This applied both to the front and to the back of the statue. An example of parcel-gilt image, cast in a copper alloy called 'dod-li, is illustrated by Brag-g.yab Rin-po-che (Dagyab 1977, II: 54, pl. 77). In connection with the role played by Newar craftsmen in the transmission of metallurgical techniques to Tibetans, it is significant that this alloy, probably containing a very low percentage of zinc, borrowed its name from the 'Dod-'jo-dpal-'khyil (Dagyab 1977, I: 57), the

<sup>8</sup> See Shepherd Slusser, Mary (1975-76), "On the Antiquity of Nepalese Metalcraft", *Archives of Asian Art* 29: 80-82, figs. 1-4, and Pratapaditya 1991: 38, No. 1.

<sup>9</sup> See for example Locke, John K. (1985), *Buddhist Monasteries of Nepal. A Survey of the Bāhās and Bahīs of the Kathmandu Valley*. Kathmandu, Sahayogi Press: 34.

<sup>10</sup> Uhlig, Helmut (ed.) (1979), *Das Bild des Buddha*. Berlin, Safari Verlag: 180 and 183, No. 107.

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, Alsop, Ian (1994), "The Metal Sculpture of the Khasa Malla Kingdom", *Orientalia* 25/6: 62 (fig. 2a), 66 (fig. 7a), 67 (fig. 10), and Khandalavala, Karl (1950), "Some Nepalese and Tibetan Bronzes in the Collection of Mr. R. S. Sethna of Bombay", *Marg* IV/1: 22.

<sup>12</sup> Waldschmidt, Ernst and Rose Leonore (1969, *Nepal, Art Treasures from the Himalayas*, London-Calcutta, Oxford & IBH Publishing Co.: No. 39) and Werner, O. (1972, *Spektralanalytische und Metallurgische Untersuchungen an Indischen Bronzen*, Leiden, Brill: 211, fig. 31), for example, illustrate the 18th-19th century Newar gilded image of a *bodhisattva* seated on an ungilded throne with an ungilded ornamental back and canopy. This statue and all its parts were cast in brass (Werner op. cit.: 184-5, No. 173 a-c).

workshop at the foot of the Potala palace,<sup>13</sup> which – according to information gathered by Veronika Ronge from a Tibetan silversmith in Dharamsala – was originally called sDod-bal-khang ("Newar house of residence") and was renamed when the 13th Dalai Lama (1876-1933) replaced Newar artists with Tibetan ones in his attempt to promote national arts and crafts.<sup>14</sup> Parcel-gilding has been applied to repoussé metal work, too, especially from the 17th century onwards – occasionally in combination with parcel-silvering –, and is still very commonly used in the Nepal Valley, also on domestic and ritual objects meant for Tibetan clients.

In the last thirty-five years, after the Chinese military occupation of Tibet and the opening of the Nepal Valley to Tibetan refugees as well as Western tourists, fire-gilding, also in the form of parcel-gilding, has continued to be carried out on copper and brass statues cast by the lost-wax process and on repoussé copper images. Full mercury-gilding is generally preferred by Tibetan and Newar clients, while parcel mercury-gilding is apparently favoured by Western customers. Since Tibetans, Newars as well as Western collectors, all prefer the warm sheen obtained through the traditional fire-gilding technique, this method continues to be in favour, in spite of the fact that from 1979 electro-plating has also been used for gilding purposes in the Nepal Valley.

With the polishing of the casting, the task of the sculptor is completed: chasing, engraving as well as inlay work are generally carried out by another craftsman, the chaser.<sup>15</sup> A third artisan, the gilder, is entrusted with the task of gilding the statue, an optional operation, as we have already pointed out. Let us now turn to the actual fire-gilding technique as I recorded it on the 9th and 10th August 1986 at Mahābuddha Bāhā, in the artists' quarter of Uku Bāhā,<sup>16</sup> which is in the south-western sector of Lalitpur. The statuette to be gilded, a common manifestation of the *bodhisattva* Mañjuśrī, was cast in copper by the lost-wax process. It had been modelled, as confirmed by the inscription chased at the back of its base, by the sculptor Canda Bhāi Śākya (born c. 1949; then aged thirty-seven or thirty-eight), a pupil of one of the greatest Newar sculptors of the 20th century, Bodhi Rājā Śākya (1920-1992).<sup>17</sup> The statuette had been fashioned after a Tibetan image, in conformity with a tradition – common to the Himālayas, Tibet, Burma and many other countries, Buddhist and not – of copying earlier images.

The operations started at 14.45 on a lower terrace and in the facing room of one of the largest houses and workshops in Lalitpur, belonging to my friend and informant Puśpa Rājā

<sup>13</sup> Sandberg, Graham (1987 repr., *The Exploration of Tibet. History and Particulars*, New Delhi, Cosmo Publications: map at the end) places what he calls "Dodpal" in the eastern section of Zhol, the village at the southern foot of the Potala. In their paper "Inner City of Lhasa 1948-1995 and the Lhasa Historic City Archives Project" (published in vol. 1 of these proceedings), André Alexander and Andrew Brannan place the low building of what they term "s(?)Dod-khang" – which is presently being restored and will soon be occupied again by craftsmen –, just outside the south-western corner wall of Zhol.

<sup>14</sup> Ronge, Veronika (1978), *Das Tibetische Handwerkertum vor 1959*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz: 129. Dr. Ronge has kindly supplied me with an English translation of the corresponding passage: "Before the governing time of the 13th Dalai Lama, the 'dod dpal was a guest-house of the Nepalese (= *sdod bal khañ*, 'where the Nepalese live'). Certainly the building belonged once to the Nepalese, because there were still paintings of deities on the wall in Nepalese style. Since the 13th Dalai Lama wanted the Tibetan craftsmen to progress, he replaced the Nepalese with Tibetans. The name was changed also into 'dod dpal khañ. Approximately forty years ago [c. 1930], most utensils of the silversmiths had Nepalese names."

<sup>15</sup> Copper is softer and relatively easier to chase and engrave than brass, which has a harder but brittle surface.

<sup>16</sup> On this quarter of Lalitpur see Locke 1985: 90-100.

<sup>17</sup> On this artist see Lo Bue, Erberto F. (1978), "Buddhist Himalayan Art in the XXth Century", *Himalayan Culture* 1/1: 30.

Śākya, near the temple of Mahābuddha. First of all the metal surface to be gilded was cleaned thoroughly by means of a brass-wire brush with a solution of sulphuric acid, in which the statuette had been immersed for at least ten minutes (fig. 1).<sup>18</sup> The surface to be gilded was then entirely covered with a mixture of mercury, charcoal and water previously pounded together in an oval stone mortar with a stone pestle. This mixture was spread over the surface of the image with a piece of cotton cloth which the artisan held in his fingers, or else pushed into the more inaccessible parts of the statuette by means of a slender metal rod flattened at both ends (fig. 2).

At 15.00 the artisan started washing away the charcoal from the mixture applying plain water to the surface of the statuette by means of a toothbrush, so as to leave the mercury only. This mercury surface provides a base to which the amalgam will subsequently adhere. The statuette was then rinsed with clean water in a clay pot and its surface took on a bright silvery sheen (fig. 3).

The amalgam of gold and mercury, which had been kept in a porcelain bowl (fig. 4), was ground again<sup>19</sup> in another oval stone mortar with the addition of a little soya sauce, apparently in order to soften the amalgam.<sup>20</sup> The traditional ratio of mercury to gold used by Newar craftsmen to prepare the amalgam for fire-gilding is 4.5 : 1, which is close to the proportion used in Tibet.<sup>21</sup> In the preparation of the amalgam for this statuette – measuring 15.2 × 10.8 × 8.1 cm and weighing 575 grams –, one *tōla* (= 11.6 grams) and 82 *lālās* (100 *lālās* = 1 *tōla*), that is roughly 20 grams of mercury and gold altogether were mixed following the above ratio. At 15.05 the artisan started spreading this amalgam very carefully onto the shining mercury surface of the statuette by means of a metal rod, equalizing its thickness with a brush and also with cotton wool (fig. 5). This operation lasted for almost an hour, until at 16.00 the statue was rinsed again with water by means of a toothbrush. The application of the amalgam conferred a dull appearance to the statuette, which was then placed upon a brick.

At 16.05 a blowlamp was lit (fig. 6), but firing started ten minutes later, when the flame turned at last from orange-red to blue. Kerosene is the fuel, but in the old days the traditional source of the kind of medium-heat required for fire-gilding would have been embers.<sup>22</sup> During the process the artisan evened the thickness of the amalgam with cotton wool, handling the statuette with pliers. Mercury started to evaporate and the surface began to lose its dull appearance. Within five minutes gold showed through the knees of the image. The gilder added more amalgam with the metal rod, spreading it with cotton wool to those parts where gold did not appear,<sup>23</sup> and resumed firing until, at 16.25, all the surface of the statuette glowed with a

<sup>18</sup> The period of immersion is shorter when the solution is heated. In this connection Oddy, Binson and La Niece (1981: 99) mention a very dilute solution of nitric acid. Cf. the traditional cleaning methods described by Dągyab (1977, I: 49; see also II: 51, pl. 68) and Jackson, David and Janice (1976), "A Survey on Tibetan Pigments", *Kailash* IV/3: 284.

<sup>19</sup> According to oral information kindly supplied to me by John Clarke, of the Victoria and Albert Museum, Kham-spa artisans prepare the amalgam one week in advance and stir it every day for better results.

<sup>20</sup> When asked what was traditionally used instead of soya, my host answered: "Soya sauce". Oddy, Binson and La Niece (1981: 99) mention soya sauce also in connection with the mixture of mercury and charcoal.

<sup>21</sup> 4 : 1 according to Dągyab (1977, I: 48).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Jackson, David and Janice 1976: 284, and Dągyab 1977, I: 49.

<sup>23</sup> According to Oddy, Binson and La Niece (1981: 99) the statuette is rubbed with cotton wool "in order to improve the final appearance of the gilding", whereas the gold amalgam is "spread over the surface with a hog's hair-brush".

golden colour. More amalgam was applied again to the less accessible parts of the image, such as the junctions of the petals and leaves of the lotus flower making up its stand, always handling the statuette with pliers. At 16.35 firing was over.

Burnishing was carried out the following day from 12.00. First the statuette was polished by means of brass-wire brushes of various sizes until the gilded surface started shining (fig. 7). Soapy water was used for that purpose and I was told by my informant that in the past iron-wire brushes were used instead of brass-wire ones and that a fruit called "hathang" in Newari would be traditionally employed as an alternative to soap. This probably corresponds to soap-nut, the fruit of *Sapindus* sp.<sup>24</sup> After five minutes of vigorous brushing the blowlamp was lit again and the statuette was heated to drive off any residual mercury. This operation lasted only three minutes, after which the image was cooled in cold water (fig. 8).

At 12.15 the gilder started burnishing the surface of the statuette with two tools: a burnisher made up by an agate set in a hammered copper handle and a brass rod flattened and rounded at both ends, both visible in the kit of tools illustrated in fig. 9. The latter was used only to burnish the most inaccessible parts of the statuette. Tibetan artisans make use of a similar tool, "a long metal needle, similar to a knitting needle" (Dagyab 1977, I: 49.) Plain water was used throughout, probably in order to avoid the striations noticed by Mavis Bimson (Oddy, Bimson and La Niece 1981: 99). Burnishing ended at 13.30, and the gilder took the statuette into another room, where an aluminium pot containing a warm red liquid made from bits of wood had been prepared.

The artisan then noticed that some mercury was still showing through the left hand of the image and lit the blowlamp for a third and last time: the front and back of the image were heated again, and eventually the statuette was immersed in the above mentioned solution. This was obtained from the stems and roots of a plant distributed at 2400 m. in the Himalayan region and referred to as "manu" or "munu" in Newari, which probably corresponds to madder (*Rubia* sp.). Madder (Nep. *majīthō*; *majītō*; Tib. *btsod*, *dmār-btsod*) is a climbing herb with astringent properties grown between 970 m. and 3000 m. in north-eastern Nepal (*Rubia cordifolia*), Sikkim (*Rubia sikkimensis*) and Bhutan both for its officinal properties and for the production of various shades of red, often of a purplish cast, traditionally used for dyeing wool in the Himālayas and Tibet.<sup>25</sup> Finally the statuette was dried with a cotton rag. The face was subsequently cold-gilded and other details painted by a professional painter: the image was thus completed (fig. 10).<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> As identified by the Jodrell Laboratory, Royal Botanic Gardens (Oddy, Bimson and La Niece 1981: 99). *Sapindus mukorossi* Gaertn. (Nep. *riṭhā*) is a handsome tree distributed at 1200 m. in the western Himalayan regions of Nepal, but found also in eastern Nepal. Its fruit, yellow and measuring 18.5 mm, is fleshy and saponaceous (Suwal, P. N., ed., 1970, *Medicinal Plants of Nepal, Bulletin of the Department of Medicinal Plants*, 3: 122). Mavis Bimson witnessed the use of this soap-nut solution only after burnishing.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Denwood, Philip (1978, *The Tibetan Carpet*, Warrminster, Aris and Phillips: 20-21), Suwal P. N. (*Medicinal Plants of Nepal*, op. cit.: 109-110), *mDo-dbus mtho-sgang sman-ris gsal-ba'i me-long* (Beijing, 1979, 2: 232-233), and Parfionovitch, Yuri, Gyurme Dorje and Meyer, Fernand (1992, *Tibetan Medical Paintings*, London, Serindia, I: 27-28 and II: 225-226, No. 39). The roots and other parts of species of this plant are generally used as a source of the red dye alizarin (Oddy, Bimson and La Niece 1981: 99). However, most Indian madder is said to be obtained from *Rubia munjista* (*cordifolia*), which is alleged to contain only the colouring matter purpurin, giving a duller shade than dyes prepared from *Rubia tinctoria* and *Rubia peregrina* – two species formerly grown in Europe and the U.S.A. which contain much more alizarin than purpurin (Denwood, Philip, *The Tibetan Carpet*, op. cit.: 20-21).

<sup>26</sup> It has been published in Lo Bue, Erberto F. (1991), *Tibet: dimora degli dei*. Milano, La Rinascente: 55, fig. 28, where the height is wrongly given as 20 instead of 15.2 cm.

From what has been said above we may infer that very few technological innovations have occurred in the fire-gilding technique used by Himalayan and Tibetan artists to this day. The only striking improvement is the modern use of a blowlamp. In spite of its high health hazard, which entails permanent brain damage, fire-gilding has not been replaced by electro-plating: both clients and artists appear to be strongly committed to traditional aesthetical values and taste. Speaking of Tibetan and Himalayan sculpture in more general terms, one must acknowledge that there have been a few significant innovations in the modelling and casting techniques, but since chasing, engraving, inlay work, as well as fire and cold-gilding are still carried out with traditional techniques, it may be suggested that on the whole Buddhist metal statuary has undergone few technical changes since it was introduced from India into Tibet via the Nepal Valley, and that the Newar artists of Lalitpur are still the custodians of its tradition.

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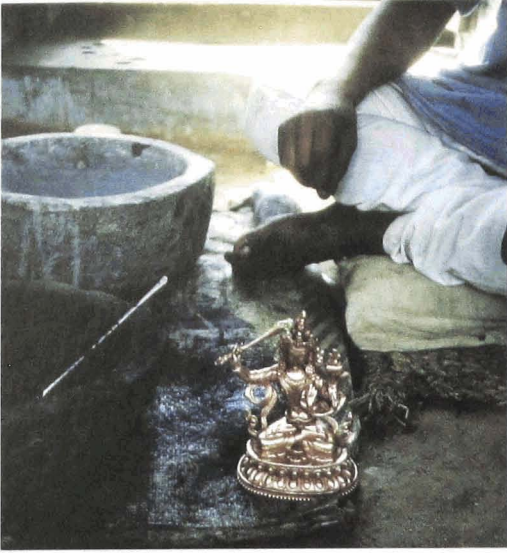


Figure 1

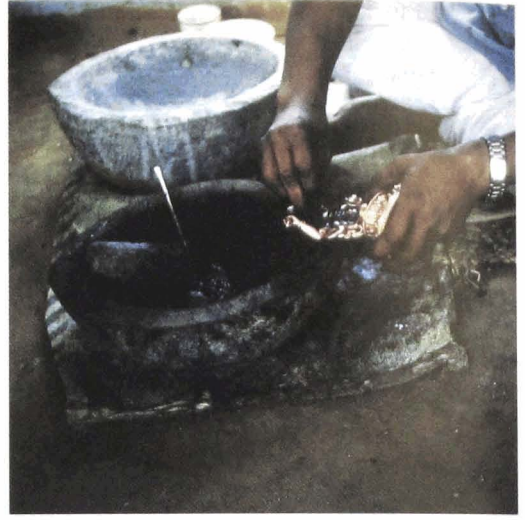


Figure 2



Figure 3



Figure 4



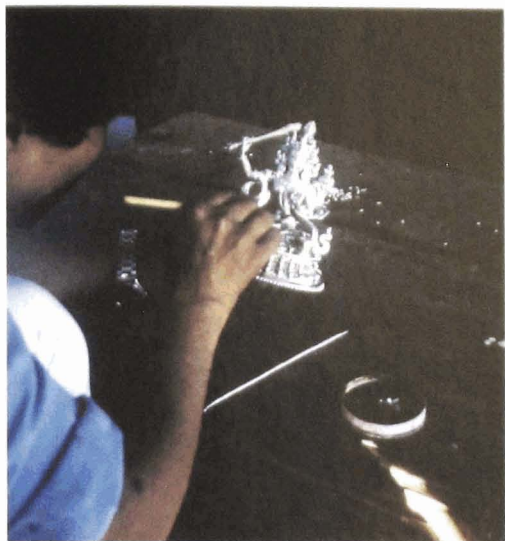


Figure 5

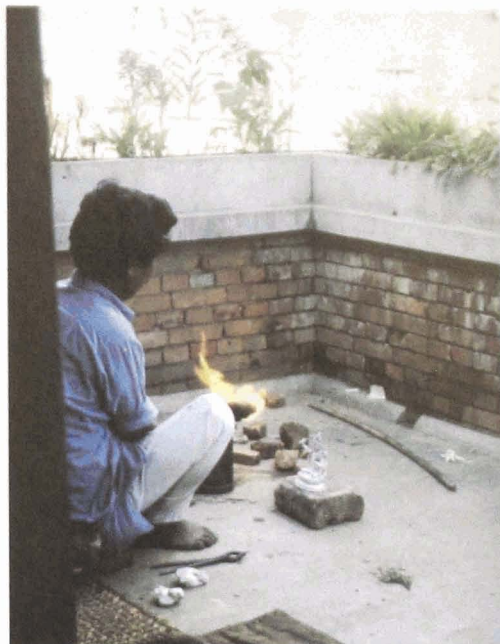


Figure 6



Figure 7



Figure 8

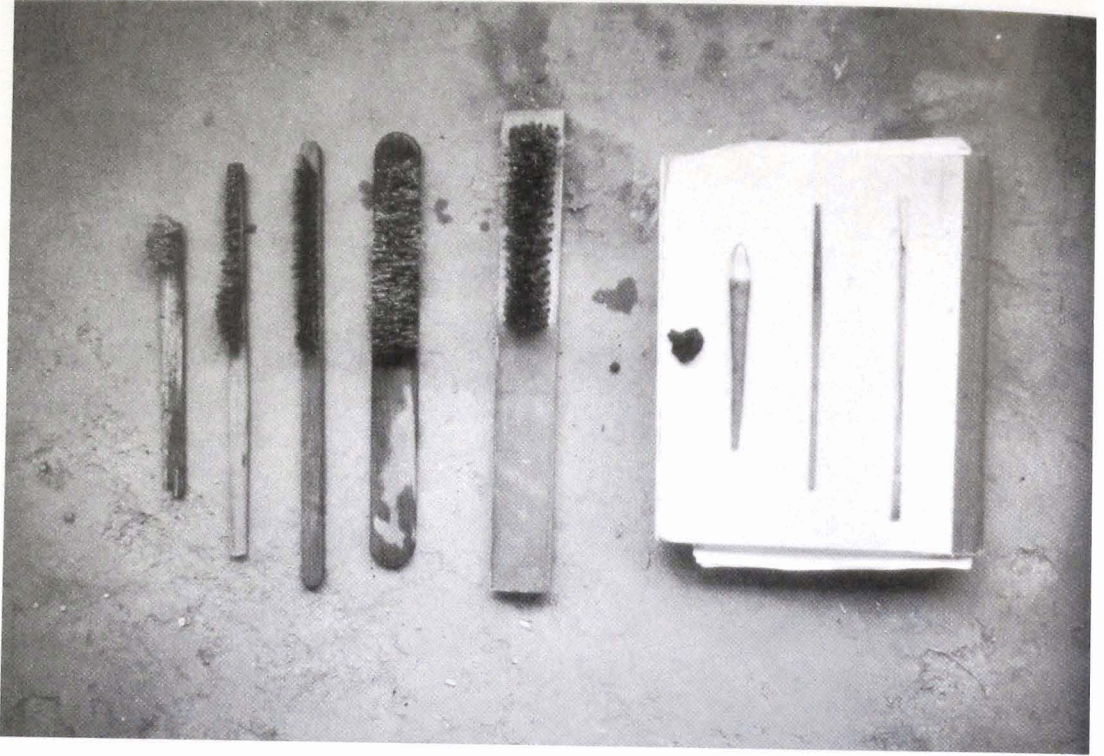


Figure 9



Figure 10

# PSYCHIC SPORTS – A LIVING TRADITION IN CONTEMPORARY TIBET?

by

Andrea Loseries-Leick, Graz

## Introduction

This ethnographical documentation is based on materials collected during a field study in the provinces dBus, Tshang and Kongpo of the Autonomous Province Tibet in the summer of 1994. The research focused on the traditional physical exercises in monastic centres. Some results such as the general monastic views on physical exercises and a documentation with regard to the sports competitions between the *mthu thobs* of Sera and Drepung before 1959 were published elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> The data presented here covers the present day status quo of the different traditions of *rtsa rlung* practices in Tibet, applied in the context of the *gtum mo* yoga for increasing the Inner Heat. They involve different bodily exercises (*lus sbyong*) and Yantras (*'phrul 'khor*), therefore they are here popularly called "psychic sports".<sup>2</sup> However, this presentation excludes the documentation of the "Trance Runners of Zhalu" as the extent of this research material deserves a publication in its own right.

In the course of field studies I visited 29 monasteries covering all five schools of Tibetan Buddhism including Bon. In the form of structured and unstructured interviews I inquired into the number of retreat centres, the number of Yoga practitioners, the names and ages of the Yoga masters (*grub dpon*) and wherever possible recorded demonstrations of their exercises. This concluded in setting up general statistics on the number of monks before 1959, in 1987<sup>3</sup> and in 1994. Concerning the *rtsa rlung* traditions the field study projected that the practitioners of the rNying ma pa mainly rely on the *snying thig*, the Sa skya pa on the *lam 'bras*, the 'Bri gung nuns of gTer sgrom on the rare tradition of *yang zab rdzogs chen* and the Bon po on the transmission of *A khrid*. The research aimed to clarify the question whether the "psychic sports" in contemporary Tibet are still a living tradition.

During the preliminary study in June 1996 I was directly confronted with a major obstacle for methodical research: the Tantric commitment (*dam tshig*) to secrecy. In regard to *rtsa rlung* the secrecy of practice is a main factor for the inner development of yoga, as the 'Bri gung sKyabs mgon Chungtsang Rinpoche commented:<sup>4</sup>

This topic is very secret. Nobody will say that they know anything about it if you ask. In the bKa' rgyud tradition secrecy is very important for personal development. If the practitioner gave information, it would be harmful for him, he may even get crippled. The meditation divinities do not like it and will do some harm.

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<sup>1</sup> Bernhard Günther, Klautzer Günther, Loseries-Leick Andrea (1996): "Traditionssport in Tibet", *Spectrum der Sportwissenschaften, Zeitschrift der österreichischen Sportwissenschaftsgesellschaft (ÖGS)*, Heft 1, 1996.

<sup>2</sup> Compare David-Neel, Alexandra (1967, 1977), *Magic and Mystery in Tibet*. Aylesbury, Abacus, 145ff.

<sup>3</sup> "Snowlion Expedition to Tibet 1987" organised by N. G. Ronge (International Tibet Museum) and the Ethnological Museum Leiden.

<sup>4</sup> Diary LHA 3/6/94.

It is not proper to reveal these teachings in the same way as it is not proper to run about naked in the market. You better ask for *sems khrid*, then you may find some idea.

And Dechen Rinpoche, the *Grub dpon* of Tsurphu monastery also said:<sup>5</sup>

*rtsa rlung* is secret because it is not only physical, there is the spiritual practice behind. On the outside there is nothing to show and if it does, it would harm the practitioner. The yogas are practised in the *grub khang* where nobody except the master has access. Times are not anymore as during Milarepa's lifetime. He could show his skills publicly! It is important to remember that in *rtsa rlung* the body is used for enlightenment!

Thus the commitment of secrecy in regard to the psychic yogas had to be taken to heart. In my further approaches I adopted the advice of Chungtsang Rinpoche by first introducing myself as a practitioner, secondly explaining the research project and pointing at the *rtsa rlung* as its main topic and, finally, emphasising the necessity of demonstrating the actual extent of inner yoga practice in contemporary Tibet. The latter is also of interest to the spiritual head, H. H. the Dalai Lama, in exile, who has recommended this study project by personal letter.<sup>6</sup> This disclosure put me in the position of being cross-examined through all the stages of Vajrayana practice, starting at the preliminaries, followed by the Tantra classes including the respective deity mantras, right up to my personal experiences of Inner Yoga. Sometimes my potential informants checked my meditation position and asked me to demonstrate some exercises. They also questioned me on the intrinsic awareness of Mind as Such. Despite the delicate situation of having mentioned H. H. the Dalai Lama, the masters usually warmed up to the subject and disclosed information up to different degrees, but with great emphasis on the secrecy of the teachings. The result of the interviews are listed below.

However, all informants agreed that the most and greatest practitioners are to be found in Kham. Therefore this study can only be regarded as preliminary until further research in Eastern Tibet completes the actual situation of psychic sports in contemporary Tibet.

### **The practice of psychic sports in the various traditions<sup>7</sup>**

In the bKa' rgyud, dGe lugs and Sa skya schools, which collectively belong to the "new Tantra" tradition, there are four orders of Tantra, whereas in the "old tradition" (*nying ma*) there are six. The highest order of Tantra (*anuttarayoga*) is radically distinct from the three lower orders in its emphasis on the unsurpassable, all-pervading nature of Buddha-energy. In the completion stage (*rdzogs rim*) of *Anuttarayoga* the transformation into the divinity possesses a twofold aspect, one based on form and one on formlessness. The completion stage based on form is the yoga of the channels (*rtsa*), the breath (*rlung*) and the seed (*thig le*). This yoga is generally called *rtsa rlung* and includes several series of physical exercises which help to manipulate the breath and seed in the channels. The completion stage based on formlessness is the meditation

<sup>5</sup> Diary TSU 2/6/94.

<sup>6</sup> Letter from the Office of H. H. the Dalai Lama, Dharamsala, dated 4th August 1994.

<sup>7</sup> The field notes concerning the dGe lugs tradition have not been included here, as they do not encompass particularly the psychic sports. For the interviews made in the main dGe lugs pa monasteries in Central Tibet see reference in n.1.

on the "coincident luminosity and voidness" (*gsal stong zung 'jug*) of natural awareness.<sup>8</sup>

In the **bKa' rgyud** tradition, *rtsa rlung* is practised according to the Six Doctrines of Naropa (*Naro chos drug*) being a vital part of the practice lineages. The famous **Tsurphu** monastery, founded in 1185 by the first Karmapa Dusum Khyenpa (1110-1193) in sTod lung, some fifty miles north-west of Lhasa, has a contingent of 330 monks (before 1959 there were 500). With regard to the actual practice situation, the resident *Grub dpon* Rinpoche commented in a rather evasive manner:<sup>9</sup>

For 800 years the monastery has maintained the traditional retreat of three years. In the past some Yogis chose to meditate longer or for a lifetime. Until the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama there were 108×3 retreat centres in Tsurphu and the surrounding area. In 1959 they were all destroyed. Then, after an interruption of 28 years, reconstruction started in 1987. For the time being there are two retreat houses. In April 1994 seventeen Yogis finished their three year retreat. Furthermore, there are three hermitages, with seventeen Yogis.

During my visit, the cave where the Siddha Sangye Nyengpa had meditated at the time of the Seventh Karmapa (1454-1506) had been occupied for three years by a young nun aged 25. She also acted as the caretaker of the famous meditation cave of the second Karmapa Karma Pakshi (1204-1283). The nun, called Ani Lobsang Dolma, had completed three *phyag chen sngon 'gro* in one year, and 108 *smiyung gnas* practices in seven months. She hoped to practise *rtsa rlung* in the Namshitsog nunnery in Kham, where two *mtshams khang* with twenty nuns were currently in retreat. In Tsurphu her teacher was the *Grub dpon* Dechen Rinpoche whom she was visiting for gradual instructions only once or twice a year. I was lucky to meet her on one of her rare outings after which she took me up to her cave. The *Grub dpon* of Tsurphu, Dechen Rinpoche, was born in 1918 in Kham and came to Tsurphu at the age of 27. Between 1946 and 1949 he completed the traditional three year retreat. Before 1959 he had been the *Grub dpon* of Tsurphu monastery for six years. In 1959 he followed the Sixteenth Karmapa into exile to Sikkim. Later on he spent a considerable time in Byang thang, Ladakh. At the age of 69, H. H. the Sixteenth Karmapa sent him back to Tsurphu to reconstruct the monastery. He was also responsible for the reconstruction of Yangbachen monastery of the Shamarpa<sup>10</sup> and acted there as the *Grub dpon* for the Yogis in retreat. However, since the recent schism with the Sharmapa (1993), Dechen Rinpoche has no longer been called to Yangbachen. At the time, another *Grub dpon* of Tsurphu, Banam Rinpoche, was looking after the retreat centre in Yangbachen.

The 'Bri gung valley in the north-east of Lhasa is still renowned for its number of hermitages and meditation caves. The main retreat centre of the 'Bri gung **bKa' rgyud** order was previously **Yamari** near Yangrigar. It had thirty *mtshams khang* named according to the Tibetan alphabet *ka, kha, ga*, etc. There was no particular meditation master as the practitioners performed their deity meditations and *rtsa rlung* practices not in group sessions of three years, but individually. In the 'Bri gung order the teachings of *rtsa rlung* were given at the monastic

<sup>8</sup> See Karma Thinley (1980), *The History of the Sixteen Karmapas of Tibet*, Boulder, Prajnā Press, 22ff.

<sup>9</sup> Diary TSU 4/9/94

<sup>10</sup> The Tibetan government had seized all monasteries and properties of the Tenth Shamar Tulku, Mipham Chodrup Gyamtso (1738-1780), who was blamed for the outbreak of hostilities with the Nepalese. Since the passing of the Tenth Shamar in 1792 until the late nineteenth century no Sharmapa was formally recognised. From 1792 till 1959 Yangbachen had been taken over by the dGe lugs pa order. Only after 1987 the monastery of Yangbachen was again under the 13th Sharmapa; Douglas, Nik & Meryl White (1976), *Karmapa: The Black Hat Lama of Tibet*. London, Luzac & Co. Ltd, 151; Shakabpa, W. D. (1984), *Tibet, a Political History*. New York, Potala Publications, 153ff.

college of **Yangrigar**, in a sequence of ten days by their head Lamas, the *sKyabs dgon* Chetsang and Chungtsang Rinpoche, in the years of the Dragon and the years of the Monkey. The instructions on Inner Yoga was proceeded by a seven day long series of initiations and the public transmission of *pho ba chen mo*. After that, the lay practitioners, monks and nuns returned to their respective monasteries or homes and practised the instructions received in individual retreats such as Yamari. Since 1956, a year of the Monkey, this tradition has been discontinued. After 1959 Yangrigar monastery and its five-storied palace were completely demolished and till 1992 occupied by a Chinese military camp. Due to the effort of the late Khenpo Argya Thinle Gyaltzen (1925-1995) the reconstruction of Yangrigar and Yamari has started, but now Yamari functions as the college and not as a retreat centre. Till now no college in the traditional way has been reopened, and according to Chungtsang Rinpoche most books have been sent to the recently opened college and school in Dehradun, North India.<sup>11</sup>

'**Bri gung thil** monastery, the main centre of the order founded in 1179 by Jigten Sumgon Rinchen Pal (1143-1217), has been under reconstruction since 1983, mainly due to the effort of the late Bachung Rinpoche (1899-1987).<sup>12</sup> Up to my last visit in September 1995 the '*dus khang*, the *ser khang*, the *chod rten* hall and the new *A phyi lha khang* had been completed. The two hundred monks (500 before 1959) were living in small hermitages around the temple complex covering the entire hill side right up to the famous *rten cha* charnel ground. Since 1993 there have been twenty monks in meditation retreat, before that only four. The spiritual heir of Bachung Rinpoche, the 68 year old Tenzin Nyima who lives in constant retreat, is the main *Grub dpon* for all the monks and nuns of the 'Bri gung order in Central Tibet. Only in the morning between nine and eleven does he receive disciples and visitors. I was allowed to meet the master several times.<sup>13</sup> His retreat hut could be reached by a steep walk of some forty minutes right up the hill above the main temples. During non-visiting hours the door was blocked by three *gtor ma* placed on the threshold. In that case the accompanying monk had to knock softly at the wooden shutter which was opened after some time. Then I was allowed to speak through the small opening to the Yogi; his white hair and beard were dishevelled and the shining eyes behind round glasses blinded by the sunlight. The several interviews manifested as a tough cross-examination and heightened into an essential *sems khrid* for my personal guidance. Like Dechen Rinpoche of Tsurphu he absolutely refused to speak on *rtsa rlung* for my research purposes but he did give the number of practitioners. Out of respect, I did not press him with further questions.

*Grub dpon* Tenzin Nyima teaches according to the 'Bri gung doctrines expounded in the *Inga lden* collection of Jigten Sumgon, but he also trains the nuns of **gTer sgrom**<sup>14</sup> who practise the rare tradition of *yang zab rdzogs chen*. At the time of the field study 115 nuns belonged to the nunnery of gTer sgrom and lived partly with their families, partly in small hermitages in the valley around the small temple and the famous hot springs. Responsible for the reconstruction of the nunnery was the 'Bri gung mKha' 'gro Tenzin Chodron who was living with her consort in the retreat of the "Demon taming cave" (*bdud 'dul phug*) associated with Padmasambhava,

<sup>11</sup> Diary YAN 13/9/94 and LHA 1/6/94.

<sup>12</sup> Diary SNOWLION DRI 10/8/87.

<sup>13</sup> Diary DRI 4/6/94, DRI 20/7/94, DRI 10/9/94, DRI 16/8/95.

<sup>14</sup> gTer sgrom as a pilgrimage place I have discussed elsewhere, see Loseries, Andrea (1994): "Sacred geography and individual in Central Tibet: Terdrum Sanctuary, a Training Path within the Drikung Mandala", *The Tibet Journal*, Vol. XIX, No.4, 1994, 46-58.

situated on the upper part of the "Elephant plateau" (*gLang chen thang*). There are several other caves in the area which are all historically connected with Padmasambhava and Yeshe Tsogyal, such as the *sems nyid phug*, a cave high up in the rocks where Yeshe Tsogyal was said to have found the nature of mind after a serious psychological disturbance. She is actually believed to have gone mad before her retirement in the cave, later on appropriately called "Mind as Such cave". This place is sometimes used for individual retreats, but the lack of water renders it difficult. Also the famous cave called Kiri Yongdzong, the "Assembly Hall of the Dakinis", is used for retreats; in the *mTsho rgyal grub phug* a monk was living in hermitage. According to the 'Bri gung mKha' 'gro only one nun was presently practising the *yang zab rtsa rlung* successfully. The other nuns, she said, were still in their preliminary training or engaged in other meditations. The stages of *yang zab rdzogs chen* practice she explained as follows:<sup>15</sup>

After the fourfold *sngon 'gro* the Guruyoga and *Yi dam* practice which is usually on rDo rje Phag mo follow. Then one stays in the traditional three year retreat, afterwards seven weeks are spent in the dark retreat (*mun mtshams*). For this the *rtam khyil phug* is most suitable. After that follows the seven or two day practice of *A dkar bcud lan*, the *yang zab* practice of "Sucking the Essence of the elements". Only then do the practitioners start with *rtsa rlung*. In this way the *yang zab rdzogs chen* was practised in the old tradition. To keep up the lineage of the *yang zab* is very difficult these days, because these youngsters are not good vessels.

The Khandro repeated saying: "*rNod yag po mi 'dug*" while pouring tea into a faded jute bag till the liquid ran out of the bottom, in order to make her meaning clear.

The material collected on the rNying ma tradition is rather incomplete as I could only visit the three main monasteries of Central Tibet. Only sixty monks (300 before 1959) were presently living in sMin gro gling, founded in 1676 by Tadak Lingpa, under the guidance of one teacher. There was as yet no *grub khang* rebuilt. Before 1959 sMin gro gling mainly functioned as a college, but there was also a small retreat centre with seven to ten monks in retreat. The situation was similar in the *byang gter* dGon pa rDo rje brag where some twenty monks lived there with a mKhen po. In bSam yas which had 108 *grub khang*, 108 *lha khang*, 108 *dur khrod*, 108 *chu mig*, before 1959, there were apparently now<sup>16</sup> some 150 practitioners in individual retreats in the surroundings, performing their different deity meditations mostly according to the *snying thig* tradition. Some were said to practise *rtsa rlung*. Also a few hermits inhabited the famous Padmasambhava caves in the vicinity of rDo rje brag and the caves of Drak Yerpa near Lhasa. It can be assumed that similar to the bKa' rgyud school, the *rtsa rlung* practice of the rNying ma pa is much more active in their hermitages and monasteries in East Tibet.

I managed to obtain more detailed results in *Sa stya* which I visited twice in the company of four expedition members from the University of Graz as well as one Tibetan representative of the Lhasa Sports academy. During our first visit there was a celebration with 'cham dances going on which kept my research fellows busy with questionnaires and filming while I fortunately could arrange during the lunch break to visit by myself the seventy year old mKhen po, gLu grub rGya mtsho, in his residence. I found him in a festive and friendly mood. Over steaming plates of *mog mog* he obviously enjoyed to question me on my motivations and

<sup>15</sup> Diary TER 5/6/94.

<sup>16</sup> Diary SAM 8/9/94.

research purposes. Although he stressed the importance of secrecy, he meant that on account of me having received the necessary initiations and having apparently fulfilled the requirements of *dam tshig*, he would give permission to study their handbooks on yoga and record some exercises performed. A later date was settled for this, as the festivities did not leave enough time for that purpose. He further answered my questions in the following way:<sup>17</sup>

Generally monks do not engage in ordinary sports. But in the *lam 'bras* tradition of the Sa skya the practice of *rtsa rlung* is very important. The respective Guru lineage is as follows: rDo rje Chang – bDag med ma (*i.e.* the *yum of* Hevajra) Virupa – Nagpopa – Gayadhara – Thonmi Sakya Yeshe etc. Mainly three *yi dam* are practised, the *bDe rGyas gSang gsum*, which are Cakrasamvara corresponding to the Mother Tantra of *Anuttarayoga*, Hevajra, here practised as Neutral Tantra, and Guhyasamaja in the Father Tantra. The basis of the Hevajra practice is the realisation of the non-duality (*gnyis med*) of the *yab as thabs* and the *yum as shes rab*. For the practice of the Inner Heat (*gtum mo*) there are listed eighteen *dmigs gang*, twenty *lus sbyong* and 32 *'phrul 'khor*, the nine purification breathings etc. Many of the young monks practise the yogas, but not all of the hundred monks (before 1959 there were 700) who live in the monastery since there are many other duties to be done.

On our return to Sa skya on the appointed day<sup>18</sup> the mKhen po ordered his personal servant, the 28-year old monk bLo gros rgya mtsho, to act as my informant. He reported:

Previously (before 1959) *rtsa rlung* was practised during seven years, nowadays the training lasts only three months and usually starts in the winter, in the first Tibetan month. Till now three such training camps had been organised in Sa skya. Last year (1993) 560 monks from Amdo, Derge etc. gathered for the teaching, among them also about 80 nuns. The *Grub dpon* was a 75-year old master called 'Jam dbangs blo gsel who unfortunately died the same year. It is not sure whether this tradition may continue in the next season, as there is no other *Grub dpon*.

Then the monk showed me their hand-written manual with numerous drawings of the channels and cakras which they had used during the *gtum mo* training (Ill. 1). When I asked him to give me a short demonstration of the exercises for recording it by video he was utterly confused. The mKhen po Rinpoche had to be asked for permission and there was much running up and down the steep staircases before the question was settled. Finally I received permission for the video recording, but with the implication that only persons with initiations are allowed to witness the performance which is to be held behind locked doors. Being unable to handle the technical equipment myself, I could alter the order in so far as two persons of the filming team were allowed to be present, although they did not have the required initiations. It was justified by the fact that they would act "deaf and dumb", not knowing the language and ignoring the secret purpose of the exercises. The group members from Graz consented to the arrangement, but the Tibetan delegate reacted rather furiously at being excluded from such an event. He may have been responsible for a politically motivated complaint to Lhasa about my field work in Sa skya. The reception hall on the first floor in the monastery was chosen as a suitable performance site. The doors were carefully locked, tables were moved and cushions put on the floor. Several young "authorised" monks observed the setting up of the cameras. Then my

<sup>17</sup> Diary SAK 24/8/94.

<sup>18</sup> Diary SAK 27/8/94.



informant called a particular young man whom he pointed out as the best Yogi, and asked him to change his robes for the demonstrations. For the practice of *gtum mo* it is customary to wear a specially tailored short cotton skirt which allows free movement of the body. Even to look at the dress is prohibited to persons without the instruction for the Heat Yoga. Therefore the Yogi, the 25-year old *dGe slong mThu stobs Seng ge*, also requested for the sake of his *dam tshig* that the material recorded should be used exclusively for the proposed limited research purpose and that a copy should be sent to H. H. the Dalai Lama for purifying the negative Karma involved. To this we agreed. As mentioned above the monk had participated in the training the previous winter. Therefore, in August, he excused himself for being a bit out of practice. To refresh his memory his colleagues read out to him the exercises while he performed. They used the directory book *rTsa rlung 'phrul 'khor la brten nas zab lam byang chub sgrub pa'i rim pa bklags chog ma* written by Sa skya Chos rje bSod nams rGyal mtshan<sup>19</sup> out of which the monk performed only the twenty *lus sbyong*. He did not want to show the 32 Yantras, because for this, he said, he needed to visualise beforehand the channels, cakras and *thig le* which he was not willing to do in our presence. However, the whole series of the twenty bodily exercises with the intermediate *'bebs* performed from the standing position was recorded on video<sup>20</sup> and photo (Ill. 2). This was the only opportunity for filming bodily exercises in monasteries during our field studies. Later on, the yogic movements demonstrated in Sa skya were judged by some of my colleagues of the Sports department of Graz to be quite ordinary exercises and they belittled the fuss over secrecy. Therefore, even if given the opportunity, I would certainly not repeat this experiment under the same research conditions.

At a later time of the field study, I was able to move alone, but was still strictly guarded by the Tibetan representative of the Sports Academy of Lhasa. I hoped to study the *rtsa rlung* traditions of the **Bon po** in the remote area of Bachen near Nagchuka, where Rakshi Togden Rinpoche, an 84-year old Bon po master, lived, who is considered to be the most experienced in the diverse yogas. As bLo dpon Tenzin Namdak had kindly given me a letter of introduction for the Togden,<sup>21</sup> I was very eager to go. However, despite my efforts I found no driver willing to undertake the arduous journey at that time of the season. Finally I also had to cancel this trip due to lack of time. Instead I headed for the **Bon ri** in Kongpo, where I rather unexpectedly found a suitable informant. In that region there are two Bon monasteries: Srid rgyal dgon chen, where apparently two Lamas are presently practising *rtsa rlung*, and rGyal ri u rgyan smon gro ling, founded 500 years ago by Mingyur Gyaltsen. Previously, before 1959, some thirty monks lived in that monastery, but now there were only two persons engaged with reconstruction work. It was the younger of the two monks who proved to be an expert informant for the research on "psychic sports". The 24-year old Tenzin Konchog, originally from the East Tibetan province Khyung po, was at that time busy painting the murals in the recently erected *lha khang*. While the second monk, an old man, asserted that he never practised any of the yogas, the young person, after some hesitation, confided that he had taken part in a five month training of *gtum mo* in 1991 at a place called Khyungpo Chompo.<sup>22</sup>

We were 28 students practising under the guidance of the master Bon dbyings rang

<sup>19</sup> In *gSang chen thabs lam nyer mkho mal 'byor snying nor (mi rigs dpe skyan khang)*, dor zhi gdong drug snems blos phyogs bsgrigs byas. Lhasa 1991, 116.

<sup>20</sup> Stockinger/Gmoser 1994, VHS/Pal 20 min.; archive of the Institute of Sport Sciences, University of Graz.

<sup>21</sup> Dated Lhasa, June 9th, 1994.

<sup>22</sup> Diary BON 6/9/94.

sgrol who died then in 1994 at the age of 60 or 65, demonstrating the full attainment of the rainbow body (*mja' lus*). The training took place at the hermitage "White Eagle-liberation on sight" (*khyung dkar mthong grol ri khrod*). We started in the ninth Tibetan month, practising all through the winter till the end of the first month. We were only wearing thin white cotton clothes. First we practised the 26 Yantras of the soft breathing (*'jam rlung 'phrul 'khor*), followed by the 26 Yantras of medium (*bar rlung 'phrul 'khor*) and rough breathing (*drag rlung 'phrul 'khor*). In former times they had to be practised each for hundred days. But we did all three categories in a hundred days. Then there are 82 other Yantra exercises. After that, on two consecutive days we had to dry three times in the morning our white cotton clothes which had been soaked in ice water with the heat of our body. These examinations were followed by a seven day fast during which time we drank only cold water till complete purification. Then we practised *bcud len* for seven days, eating only some white mineral. Finally we celebrated as many *tshogs* Pujas as possible.

In the Bon tradition the *gtum mo* practice involving *rtsa rlung* and yoga belong to the *bsgom lam* from the second Bhumi onwards. On my insistence the informant consented to show me the 26 Yantra exercises with the soft breathing, for the sole reason that I was able to convince him that I already had some idea of the exercises.<sup>23</sup> For that purpose he took me into the *lha khang* in reconstruction and bolted the door. My Tibetan guide however, who had the video ready at hand, had to remain outside. When I pleaded for him being permitted to enter, my young informant who spoke a rather strong dialect, wanted to refuse absolutely any demonstrations for the sake of keeping his *dam tshig*. Only when I promised that I would take the shots myself and that they would be shown to H. H. the Dalai Lama, did he reconsider. Inside the temple, he first opened the text. It was a block print from Khyung po of the *A khrid* series<sup>24</sup> called *rDzogs chen sku gsum rang shar gyi khrid dang bsgrub skor rnams*. The 26 Yantras were listed in the first volume titled *Man ngag rin po che a khrid thun mtshams bcu lna'i dngos gzhi'i yang tig rdzogs pa chen sku gsum ran zhar bzhugs so*. Before starting the exercises he wanted me to read the first instruction. It read:<sup>25</sup>

Ho! Listen, fortunate boy of good family!  
 Look! Look! Look into the A!  
 When looking, do it without seeing!  
 Meditate, meditate, meditate on your own mind.  
 When meditating, the meditator is  
 the Mind as Such without grasping or giving up!  
 This (Mind as Such) is like the sky,  
 whoever realises this  
 is equal to the real Samantabhadra.

<sup>23</sup> In 1977 and 1978 I received from Namkhai Norbu Rinpoche teachings on the Bon Yantra Yoga belonging to the *A khrid* series.

<sup>24</sup> On the *A khrid* system of meditation which goes back to rMe'u dgongs mdzog ri khrod chen po (1038-1096) see Kvaerne, Per (1973), "Bönpo Studies. The *A khrid* System of Meditation", *Kailash* 1/1, 19-50; 1/4, 247-332.

<sup>25</sup> HUNG: *nyon cig skal ldan rigs kyi bu | lto shig lto shig A: la lto | bltas pa'i dus na mthong dang bral | sgoms shig sgoms shig rang sems sgoms | bsgoms pa'i dus na bsgom bya shig | spang blang bral pa'i sems nid 'di | nam mkha' lta bu sus itogs pa | kun du bzang po dngos dang mnyam | nga ni gsang ba 'dus pa ste | deng nas bdag gi thugs sras so ||*

I am the Secret Assembly and you are  
from now on the son of my heart!

While demonstrating the position of the Vajra (III. 3) and the first seven exercises called *stod sbyang bdun*, he asked me to practise them along with him. The complete series of 26 Yantras are: the first exercise called *mda' 'phen* imitates the shooting of an arrow, 2. *skad pa rdo rgyur* (like lifting a big rock), 3. *rkyal pa kyal 'jug* (like swimming), 4. *bya rgod gshogs rda* (like shaking wings), 5. *sug bsgrad*, 6. *ral bsgyur*, 7. *sgo ril*, 8. *rgye krung mthi bang*, 9. *pra phud ma*, 10. *ro rmad*, 11. *bzhi 'phra ma*, 12. *rgyal mo dar thags*, 13. *thig le stobs skyad*, 14. *zhag pa ma*, 15. *bu chung 'rtsa 'chang*, 16. *mgo sgyangs*, 17. *rkang sgyangs*, 18. *lag sgyangs*, 19. *sdod sgyangs*, 20. *smad sgyangs*, 21. *zhe sdad gyad kyi tho rtig*, 22. *gti mug ye shes skar gang*, 23. *nga rgyal 'khor lo bzhi brel*, 24. *'dod chags sgya mdun zur skrug*, 25. *'phrag dog dar lce gyen drug*, 26. *bying rgod stag mo 'chang stobs*. Thus the exercises imitate natural activities of daily life and also traditional sports such as arrow shooting and stone lifting. He did not want to show any Yantras other than the first seven for fear of risking his *dam tshig* as they involve concentration on the *thig le*. Finally he taught me the prayer which went along with the practice. It says:<sup>26</sup>

"HUNG! In this appearance which is the Buddha Mandala  
so-called hindrances do not exist.  
Still the (six) kinds (of) ignorant (beings)  
while making the mistake of grasping duality  
all sink into the depths of desire.  
SVO A PHAT PHAT! The Nirmanakaya of appearance  
being creative potentiality (*rtsal*)  
takes refuge in the infinitude of the Natural State (*rang rig*)."

### Final remarks and conclusion

On viewing the data it is obvious that a study focused on the actual practice situation of secret transmission teachings such as the Inner Yoga is met with reservation. Moreover a question arises, with a subject of this kind, as to the risks of violating the basic law of academic ethics, a scholar's responsibility. Although the means employed here was thoroughly within the conventional ethnography, the unusual theme demanded that both the informants and the scholar go beyond the context of the ethnological experiment into the very personal area of their differing commitments. To keep or break the *dam tshig* of secrecy is of no relevance to science, but of greatest importance to the practitioner for his spiritual progress. The value of keeping the commitment cannot be treasured enough. From the point of view of Vajrayana, the breaking of it has fatal consequences. Therefore I feel personally responsible that the video material recorded in Sa skya shall not be misused. Yet, this study was an important part of the general research project on Traditional Sports in Tibet.<sup>27</sup> And there was a pressure for positive

<sup>26</sup> *rDzogs pa chen po sku gsum rang shar las / sngon 'gro rje kyi tshig bzhad thugs rjes myur gzigs bzhugs // Hung: 'di snang rgyal ba'i dkyil 'khor la / bgegs shes bya ba ma mchis kyang / ma rtogs gnyis 'dzin 'phrul pa'i rigs / thams cad gdod ma'i klong du dungs / bsvo a phat: phat: rtsal snang sprul pa'i sku / rang rig klong du skyabs su mchi //* For the translation of the terms *rtsal* and *rang rig*, see Tenzin Namdak (1991): *Bonpo Dzogchen Teachings. Dzogchen Teachings from the Retreats in Austria, England, Holland and America*. Transcribed and edited by Vajranatha. Freehold and Amsterdam, Bonpo Translation Project.

<sup>27</sup> Organised by the Institute for Sport Sciences and financed by the Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung, Austria.

results. Furthermore, I argue that there is justification for having done this research in that similar experiments have been carried out in exile previously, with permission of H. H. the Dalai Lama.<sup>28</sup> As it was the first study of this kind ventured in Tibet, it should be also of interest to the spiritual Tibetan communities in exile. Although the results are preliminary, they certainly may serve as a basis for further research. And I do not doubt that a research on the status quo of "psychic sports" in contemporary Tibet since 1981, could give a positive impulse for keeping up the practice of Inner Yoga in Tibet, despite the general growing tendency towards materialism.

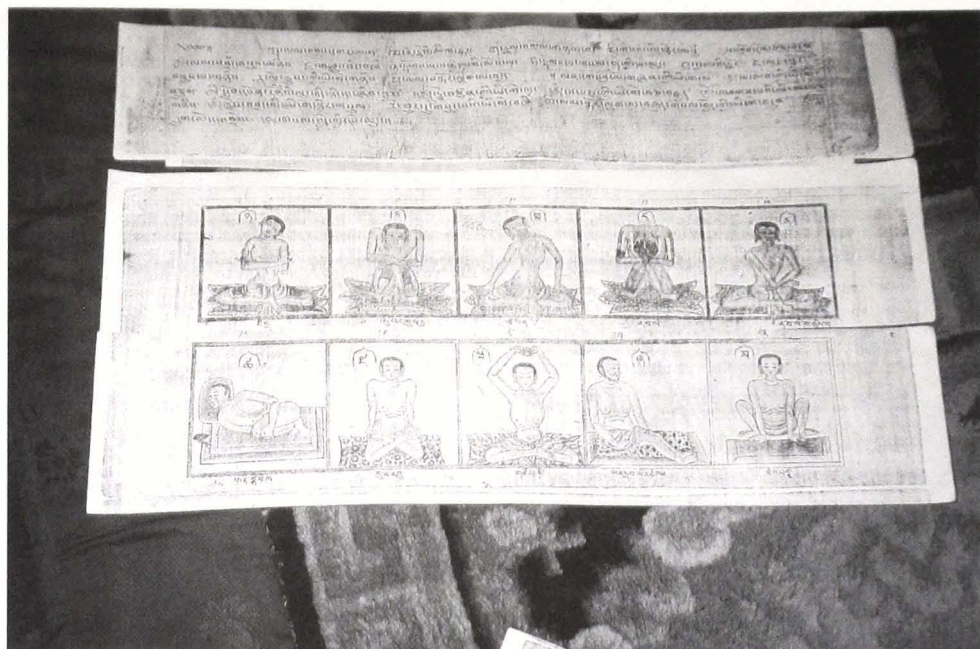
In summing up these results, it can be concluded that generally "psychic sports" in contemporary Tibet are not as intensively practised as before 1959. The reasons for this are the long prohibition of spiritual practice by the Chinese government, which was only relaxed after 1981. Consequently, the current reconstruction activities in the monasteries are taking up most of the time. Furthermore, the political policy of the so-called free practice of religion is not to be trusted; this is proved by the large number of spies in the monasteries. Another great obstacle is that one entire generation of properly trained teachers is totally missing, while the remaining old masters are starting to die out without having had the time to train successors. Despite the tradition becoming shallower, it is rather surprising to hear about the increase of Yogis in the retreat centres, the large training camps organised in Sa skya and the quality of instruction in the Bon po hermitages of Kham, where as recently as 1994 the meditation master demonstrated the miracle of attaining the rainbow body. Nevertheless, I regard this particular study to be only a very fragmentary contribution unless further field studies are done in the numerous monasteries and retreat centres of Kham. There the distance to Chinese-dominated Lhasa seems to encourage stronger emphasis on the fabled "psychic sports" as part of the ancient cultural heritage of Tibet. Whether the tradition of *gtum mo* retreats will increase in the future or not, the Venerable Dechen Rinpoche of Tsurphu commented:<sup>29</sup>

I have no supernatural perception (*mngon shes*) about that matter, just confidence. In the same way as there is limitless confidence in the capacity for buddhahood in all of us.

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<sup>28</sup> Thurman, Robert (1991), *Mind Science*. Boston, Wisdom Publications.

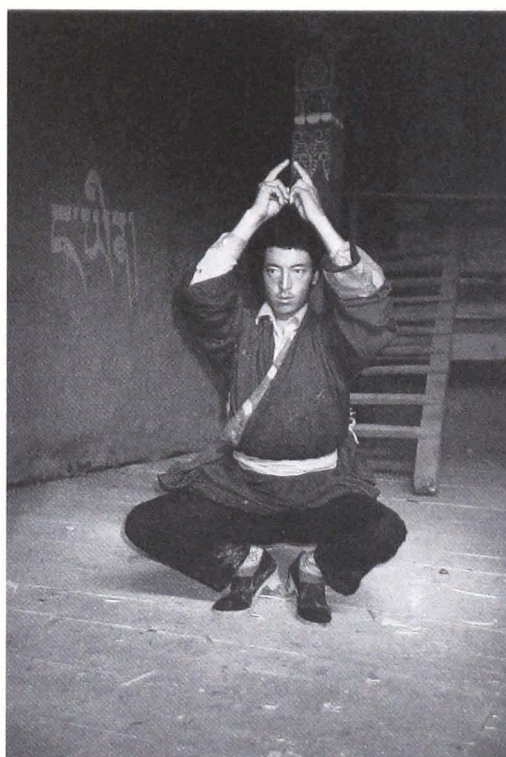
<sup>29</sup> Diary TSU 4/9/94.



1. The manual text for the Yoga practice at Sa skya



2. The Yogic performance at Sa skya



3. The Bon po Yogi in the Vajra position of A khrid

all photos: Loseries-Leick 1994



# MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK IN EXILE AN EXPLORATORY ANALYSIS OF THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE TIBETAN REFUGEE COMMUNITY

by

Jan Magnusson, Lund

## **Introduction**

During the first half of the 1990's the Tibetan exile government<sup>1</sup> has become more and more pre-occupied with efforts to democratize the refugee community. Making the community work in a democratic way and the organization of democratic institutions are strategic moves in the struggle with China over the future Tibet. The efforts include institution building, sometimes in practice, sometimes only in blue-print, political organization and education of refugees and public debate over what the democratic values are. But what sort of political system do the democratizers mean when they speak about democracy and how ready are the refugees to make such a system work in the exile community?

In an attempt to find some answers to these questions I went to Dharamsala in India, where the exile government resides and where many of the refugees live. To probe the ideas behind the democratization I interviewed a number of key-informants in community politics and administration. I was also interested in the impact of the ideas among the ordinary refugees. Difficulties in finding reliable demographic data and a reliable register led me to embark on a series of improvised steps to find a manageable population for an exploratory survey of third sector activity and attitudes about democracy in the community. The surveyed population turned out to be TCV in Upper Dharamsala.

I want to start with a discussion of the ideas behind the democratization and a description of the few Tibetan political parties that have existed. Then I will go on with an account of my search for a population and the methodological problems surrounding it. This is followed by an account and analysis of the TCV survey and some conclusions about the impact of democratization and the possibilities for democracy to work in this population.

## **Democratization in exile**

The term *democracy* can be widely defined as a political system based on an active and central role by the people in political life and political decision-making. Establishing a democracy involves a process of transforming a non-democratic political system into a democratic political system. The transformation of the system is a process of democratization in which the people is given the power to control government.

The efforts to democratize the Tibetan refugee community have been going on more or less since the flight from Tibet in 1959 but have intensified in the 1990's. The starting point for the discussion in this paper is the spring of 1990, when the XIV Dalai Lama dissolved the

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<sup>1</sup> In this paper I will be using the concept "exile government" as a somewhat clumsy aggregate of the *Kashag*, the ATPD, the administration and the XIV Dalai Lama.

Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies (ATPD). The implementation of some democratic reforms have of course been constrained since the Tibetans are a refugee community in India and thus subject to Indian law and administration.

It has been suggested that it has been a *democracy from above*.<sup>2</sup> Several of my informants in the exile government described the democratization as something that had been *imposed* on the community by the Dalai Lama. Many of them discussed their participation in the process as a duty rather than as an opportunity. Apart from Tibetan Youth Congress' draught for the new National Democratic Party of Tibet (which also carries the signs of duty) the informants did not mention any other particular non-governmental initiative.

The contestation over policy and political competition for power through general elections are weak in the refugee community. In its current form the political system gives little scope for democratic political representation and accountability although it is now showing signs of breaking up. But political participation is not confined to these institutions. Non-institutional activity and organizational membership in the third sector can also be a form of political participation. It is this kind of participation and its connection to the democratization I want to investigate in this paper.

### Liberal democracy

The goal of the exile-Tibetan democratizers is to establish a liberal democracy. The liberal theory of democracy stresses the importance of wide-spread political participation on the part of the individuals. The ideas were developed by European writers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau and John Stuart Mill. When we speak about contemporary political systems as liberal democracies we usually mean systems based on parliamentary institutions coupled with a free market economic system. More specifically we are speaking about a representative multi-party system where the adult population has the right to vote at various levels where collective decisions are taken.

The politicians and administrators I interviewed Dharamsala agreed that they are working towards a liberal democracy of this definition. Some of them especially stressed the importance of the benefits of a welfare state. Indeed, one of the exile government's consultants is the *Friedrich Naumann Stiftung*, a German foundation with the purpose to promote liberal politics. The foundation is currently involved in more than 80 similar projects around the world.<sup>3</sup> The *Friedrich Naumann Stiftung* has supported the democratization schemes financially, arranged workshops in refugee settlements and educated cadres of youth etc.

In 1992 the XIV Dalai Lama put forth a set of guidelines for a future Tibet (The XIV Dalai Lama [1992], "Guidelines for future Tibet's polity and the basic features of its constitution", in *Tibetan Bulletin* Sept.-Dec., 8-12). The guidelines introduced the concept *true democracy*. In the text it is described as a multi-party, parliamentary system and a division between legislative, executive and judiciary power, inspired by human rights and the Buddhist principles of compassion, justice and equality.

At first glance it looks like an adaption of the 1963 constitution to a Western model and values but in my interviews I found that the political leadership was also searching for liberal ideas in Buddhist philosophy and Tibetan and Indian history. When asked to elaborate on this,

<sup>2</sup> See for instance Edin, M. (1992), *Transition to Democracy in Exile. A Study of the Tibetan Government's Strategy for Self Determination*. MFS Field Study No 16. Uppsala, Dept. of Government.

<sup>3</sup> For a description of the foundation and its work see *Jahresbericht 1993*. Königswinter, Friedrich Naumann Stiftung.



one of my informants argued as follows:

*At the time of Buddha's birth there were already various kinds of democratic political systems in India, like republics and semi-democratic princely states. These parliamentary systems were sophisticated and the Dharma never interfered with them. On the contrary, Buddhist teaching was beneficial to them. Buddhism teaches individual freedom, equality of all beings and the rule of law. These are the basics of democracy, too. If these values are respected and internalized a democracy is complete. Buddhism also makes truth and non-violence indispensable. Thus, if it is observed, any kind of rule is democratic. Philosophically, Buddhism holds that everything is interdependent. The government is thus dependent on the people and vice versa which negates a centre of power.*

Geoffrey Samuel's (Samuel, G. [1993], *Civilized Shamans*. Washington, Smithsonian Institution Press) work supports the idea that it would be misleading to argue that the ideas behind the Tibetan democracy only can be traced to the European enlightenment. There seem to be many similarities between the liberal theory of democracy and the political culture of historical Tibet. The structure of government was conditional. Samuel (1993: 152) argues that Tibetans appear to treat social relationships as contractual or constitutional rather than as an expression of a divinely ordained hierarchy. There was a tendency to avoid the concentration of power to a single person (according to Samuel this explains the appointment of one lay and one monastic person to state offices).

It is a question of shared responsibility, or as Ellingson (quoted in Samuel 1993: 153) puts it: *...explicit systems for deconcentration and distribution of authority among mutually counterbalancing, functionally-defined offices*. It certainly looks like as if the Tibetan political culture shared some of the essential features of liberal democracy; it was limited, constitutional and pluralistic.

### Political parties

One important feature of the evolving democratic political system in exile that was often brought up by my key-informants was the multi-party system. The Tibetan community in exile and historical Tibet have only experienced a few political parties or party-like groups (perhaps because Tibet only recently became a centralized state in the modern sense). Before the recently formed National Democratic Party of Tibet (NDPT), 1994, there have been two political party-like groups in the refugee community. The first was the very small and shortlived Tibetan Communist Party (TCP) formed by the late K. Dhondup and some of his friends. The other group was the National Democratic Party (NDP) founded by Jamyang Norbu as a reaction against the TCP and as a platform to fight the exile government's Chinese policy at the time. Norbu is now one of the directors of the *Amnye Machen* Institute in Dharamsala. Some exile Tibetans might also say that *Chushigangdruk* has developed into a kind of political party for the *Khampas*. In addition the Tibetan Youth Congress (TYC) has often served the function of a political opposition party to the government in the refugee community's political life.

During the life of the XIII Dalai Lama there were two political groups on the Lhasa scene.<sup>4</sup> *Drong Drak Magar* was founded by the XIII Dalai Lama's personal secretary Kunphela in the

<sup>4</sup> For accounts of Tibetan political history see Dhondup, K. (1986), *The Water-Bird and Other Years. A History of the 13th Dalai Lama and After*. New Delhi, Rangwang. Goldstein, M. C. (1993), *A History of Modern Tibet, 1913-1951*. New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal. Shakabpa, W. D. (1984), *Tibet. A Political History*. New York, Potala.

early 1930's. Kunphela's control over the access to the Dalai Lama's person made him powerful in political life. *Drong Drak Magar* – the Garrison of the Better Families – was Kunphela's power base in the stormy power struggle in Lhasa after the death of the XIII Dalai Lama but it can hardly be called a political party.

Kunphela's main rival was Lungshar who had forced his way up through the bureaucracy to become both minister of finance and commander-in-chief. Lungshar had become interested in Western political ideas during a visit to England 1912-1914. In 1934 he formed a political party called *Kyichog Kunthun* (Harmonious Union). Lungshar secretly recruited many Tibetan intellectuals to his party. The party wanted to transform Tibet into a kind of republic and eventually handed over a petition to the government suggesting administrative reforms.

In the late 1940's a group of Tibetans living in exile in India started the Tibetan Improvement Party (TIP). The party's program was to liberate Tibet from the *existing tyrannical government* and to reconstruct the Tibetan government and society (Goldstein 1993: 450) in a revolutionary way. TIP was involved with the Chinese *Koumintang* and the founder of the party, Pandatsang Ragpa, held a position as a Chinese government representative in India. TIP had very few Tibetan supporters and after a few years of activity the party dissolved when the Government of India deported Ragpa to China.

Today *Kyishog Kunthun* and TIP would be labelled as anti-system parties. They were both formed in opposition to the government. But none of them had the durable organization at a local level a political party needs to survive in the long run. Nor did they seem to strive for popular support.<sup>5</sup> They represented only a small and reform-minded intellectual élite. Maybe it is more appropriate to call them *reform clubs*. The same thing is probably true about Dhondup's and Norbu's exile parties.

Let us take a closer look at the nature of the new NDPT. In contrast to the reform clubs, the NDPT was not organized in opposition to the government but to be a part of its democratization scheme. The preparation for NDPT started when the Dalai Lama requested the Tibetan refugees to participate in the democratization process. The draughting committee that was set up by TYC did not envisage a party that would represent a particular group, region or (reform) interest. Instead it had a *Pan-Tibetan*, all inclusive, party in mind.

The formers of the TNPD did not share a particular ideology, although at the first party convention the chairman of the draughting committee argued that democracy was an ideology as good as any. In contrast to established member organizations, a political party is usually characterized by its leadership's will to win and hold the power, not just to influence it (Wiener & La Palombara 1966). In my interviews with TNPD's leadership it expressed a will to enter general elections and alter the present quota system but stressed that the party's main objective was not to replace the present government. TNPD's mission was to help preparing a political system for free Tibet. Perhaps NDPT is better understood as a means for the government to forge alliances with different actors and facilitates the implementation of democratic ideas in the community. The party has indeed brought together reform-minded actors from both the government, the third sector and business.

### Globalization of political models

Up to this point my discussion has treated the refugee community as a more or less closed

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<sup>5</sup> For the features of a political party: see *Political Parties and Political Development*. Wiener, M. & La Palombara, J. (eds.), Princeton 1966, Princeton University Press.

system. This enabled me to see some of the features of the internal democratization process. In reality, the refugees are not only subjected to the political schemes of the exile government. There is a continuous flow of political influence from the environment, both the Indian as well as the global.

The Indian influence from Gandhi, Nehru and the Indian Congress Party is well known. Gandhi's ideas of non-violence have had a profound influence on the exile government's choice of strategy toward China and Nehru's role as Dalai Lama's political teacher has been described elsewhere. The Indian Youth Congress served as the organizational model for the Tibetan Youth Congress.

Today Dharamsala is part of the global flow of information. The refugees are not only receivers, the flow runs both ways. The exile has led to a globalization of Tibetan culture. Some researchers, for instance Nowak (Nowak, M. [1984], *Tibetan Refugees: Youth and the New Generation of Meaning*. New Jersey, Rutgers University Press), have noted that the exile youth, through its secular education and contacts with contemporary Indian and Western culture, have developed a partly separate discourse about its own society.

Others, like for example Madsen (Madsen, S. T. [1993], "Globalization, De-mystification and Schism in Tibetan Buddhism", in *Economic and Political Weekly* 1993-07-23, 1926-1928), have suggested that the globalization of Tibetan Buddhism and its interaction with other, non-Tibetan cultures is de-mystifying its doctrines and institutions and thus actualizes internal weaknesses which opens a door of possible reform (which may or may not be utilized). Madsen uses the Karmapa controversy and its international ramifications as a case in point.

The flow of information and the interaction are sources of continuous change, not only in political discourse, but in all aspects of society. When the community's political system is globalized, comparisons with other political systems are inevitable. Weaknesses may be revealed, new political ideas and new or synthesized models may be introduced. This *creolization* of political discourse (to use a concept from social anthropology) brings a continuous flow of incitements for various political models, reforms and counter powers.

### **The impact of the democratization**

To find out more about the impact of democracy in the refugee community I set out to make a survey among the Tibetan refugees in Dharamsala. One of my key-informants in the exile government had told me that the ordinary refugee would not be able to tell the difference between democracy and dictatorship. By this he meant that in his view most refugees were democrats because the leadership had told them to be so. Was his judgement correct? How developed was the political culture in Dharamsala? Was it enough to make democracy work?

A similar question has been addressed by Putnam (Putnam, R. D. [1992], *Making Democracy Work. Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton, Princeton University Press). In his investigation of the regional differences in the development of the Italian democracy Putnam found that there is a connection between the social activities in the third sector and how well democracy works. The more social activity in the region's third sector, the better the Italian democracy worked. Putnam calls the fuel of this process *the social capital*. It appears and multiplies through the repeated interaction between people who participate in social activities, mainly in the third sector's network of organizations and associations. The social capital builds up the basic foundation for mutual trust in society. It tracks the individual as a kind of credit that facilitates the cooperation between people in areas that can be different from the area where it originally appeared. It exists in the relationship between the individuals, not as part of

the individual.

The primary purpose of the social activity in the third sector is to bring people together, create bonds and mutual trust between them and thereby influence society as a whole. If Putnam's theory holds true for any kind of society we can hypothesize that if there is a lot of social activity in the refugee community's third sector, the community has the capacity to make democracy work. Thus, I wanted my survey to explore the population's non-institutional activity and organizational membership in the third sector.

I also wanted to test the population's attitudes to a democratic political system. For this purpose I wanted to include questions about political parties and a multi-party system as a part of the refugee community's and the future Tibet's democracy.

I did not use voting as an indicator of political participation. Voting is the most commonly used indicator of popular participation in Western democracies but the participation rate in the refugee community's election of the 11th assembly was in reality only 15 percent.<sup>6</sup> Considering the high level of non-institutional street-activity in Dharamsala, for instance the numerous marches and meetings, one would expect a much higher rate. The reasons for the low rate was perhaps the complicated voting process (registration, preliminaries etc), the election coinciding with the sweater selling season, the knowledge that the number of cast ballots would not alter the set quotas anyway or simply a gap between the refugees and their politicians.<sup>7</sup>

### Looking for a population

My next step was to find a register for the Tibetan refugee population in Dharamsala that included some demographic data. My intention was to make a stratified random sample. This plan proved to be too ambitious.

The Tibetan Administration's Planning Council collects demographic data about the exile community in India. The latest collection took place in 1993. The data was collected by the local welfare offices, who were given a 24 page format (Settlement Plan Format) plus a special questionnaire for large Tibetan monasteries where different kinds of demographic data and infrastructural needs of the area (such as water taps, latrines etc.) were to be noted down. The formats were meant to provide information for the central planning process. To cross-check the reliability of the Planning Council's data I contacted the Welfare Office in MacLeod Ganj. I wanted to find out more about how the data had been collected.

At the time of the completion of the format the office had been understaffed. One employee had spent about 15 minutes/day during a month working with the format, but estimated that he would have needed about four months of full-time work to do so accurately. Being short of time, he had briefly spoken to different camp leaders in the area to find out about the infrastructural needs in the camps. As for the demographic data it was a desk-job where he had made *reasonable estimates* (drawing on his 3 years of experience in office and data from the previous five year plan). The completed format contains several internal contradictions. The

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<sup>6</sup> Source: Calculated on figures supplied to the author by the Central Tibetan Administration's Election Committee 1994.

<sup>7</sup> Delek Hospital's survey (completed after my fieldwork) seems to suggest this: "In expressing some of these problems in the survey, the population implied that they would like the powers-that-be to take note of their concerns. It appears that many Tibetans in Dharamsala believe that they are cut-off from the power structure of decision-making, and thus have a feeling of frustration at not being able to make any difference" (Delek Hospital [1994], *Medical and Social Survey of the Tibetan Community of Dharamsala, H. P., India*, p. 44).

Dharamsala area is particularly difficult to survey since it is a *scattered community* (as compared to a *settlement* that keeps records with the Central Tibetan Administration). Many of its inhabitants are petty businessmen that are often away. The Welfare Office had had no feedback from the Planning Council on the format.

The Welfare Office employee had mentioned that he got his health data from the nearby Tibetan *Delek* Hospital. At the time of my fieldwork the hospital was in the process of making a demographic survey of the Dharamsala area but the data were not yet available.<sup>8</sup>

Then I thought about using the Tibetan Freedom Movement's (TFM) records of alien permits and voluntary contributions to the community. These records contains certain demographic data. It seemed reasonable that most of the Dharamsala area's refugees would be registered by the local TFM sub office. Unfortunately the sub office had recently started to reorganize its records from scratch. It meant that the refugees of the area were in the process of being re-recorded as they turned up to renew permits and, as it were at the time of my fieldwork, the records were therefore incomplete. TFM has not yet been used as a source for demographic data, although it may be a good idea in the future.

By this time it was clear to me that my investigation would have to take on a more exploratory character. Being unable to find a usable register of the Dharamsala population I directed my search to institutions that might encompass a cross-section of it. Tibetan Children's Village in Upper Dharamsala looked like a reasonable alternative. It had the advantage of being a known and well delineated population, stratified in sex and age, but had the disadvantage of representing only two general occupational categories: staff and students. The TCV population has a much higher level of education than the Dharamsala area as a whole, which predicts a higher level of political awareness.

There has been Chinese allegations that TCV is used by the exile government for political education of the refugee youth. If the allegations are true or not is not under investigation here. The questions of the survey were directed to explore activities outside the school curriculum. When I asked a class of 11th graders they told me that politics were never discussed in the classroom although many of them seemed up to date with current political events in the community. When questioned about this the students said they had read it in the newspapers.

After a discussion with the school management I decided to go ahead with the idea despite the biases. Even though the Welfare Office's demographic data were problematic, it represented an informed guess and in an attempt to balance the skewness of the population a little I decided to use it to create a selection matrix stratified by sex and age and then apply it to the TCV population. I would make a stratified random sample of 100 respondents according to the matrix and administer a questionnaire to them.

According to the MacLeod Ganj Welfare Office's format about half of the refugees in the area were female and half of them were male.<sup>9</sup> The distribution is shown in Table 1:

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<sup>8</sup> See note 7. I later got access to the survey results. It was originally intended to be a census but because of various problems with the implementation the surveyers estimated that they were only able to reach about 75% of the population. Thus the data given have no statistical validity. Still, my impression is that Delek's demographics are more reliable than the Planning Council's.

<sup>9</sup> Delek Hospital's (1994 p. 5) count was Male 53%, Female 47%.

Table 1. Age and sex distribution among Tibetan refugees in the Dharamsala area 1993 in percentages.

Age	Male	Female	Total
6-17	10	10	20
18-25	10	10	20
26-32	13	13	26
33-59	11	16	27
60+	4	3	7
Total	48	52	100

Percentages have been rounded off. Source: Settlement Plan Format, The Welfare Office, MacLeod Ganj.

### Finding a population: Tibetan Children's Village

In 1960 fifty-one malnourished Tibetan children from road construction camps in Jammu arrived to Dharamsala.<sup>10</sup> After some time the children moved into a house rented by the Indian government and the Nursery for Tibetan Refugee Children was established. More and more children began to arrive to Dharamsala and with the help of foreign aid organization, the nursery grew bigger and educational facilities were starting to develop. In 1971 the Tibetan Children's Village was registered as a non-profit organization under the *Indian Societies Act*. Today there are branch villages around India and in Nepal.

The TCV has teaching facilities from the lowest level through secondary school and vocational training. Admissions are based on economic need. The student is usually recommended by a settlement or welfare officer. 75 percent of the available seats every year are reserved for orphans, impoverished and new arrivals from Tibet, 10 percent are reserved for children of exile administration employees (whose wages are comparatively small) and the rest for children whose parents can afford to pay full expenses. The financial support generally comes from NGOs and private donations. There is a sponsorship program where a child has a personal sponsor donating \$ 360/year.

The TCV school in Upper Dharamsala is tucked away on its own grounds high on a hillside. According to the Admission Office the school had 2,159 students and 367 staff 1994-08-31. The sex distribution of the TCV population is shown in Table 2:

Table 2. Sex distribution of staff and students in TCV, Dharamsala Cantt. 1994-08-31 in percentages.

	Male	Female
Staff	42	58
Students	57	43

Percentages have been rounded off. Source: TCV Admission Office, Dharamsala Cantt.

Compared to the Welfare Office's data, where the proportions were close to 50/50, the TCV staff is tilted toward a female edge while the students are tilted toward a male edge. The staff's assignments can be roughly divided into three sub-categories (Table 3):

Table 3. TCV staff according to assignment in percentages 1994-08-31.

Office/administration	16
Teaching	38
Service	46

Percentages have been rounded off. Source: TCV Administration Office, Dharamsala Cantt.

<sup>10</sup> The history of TCV is based on *Tibetan Children's Village, Dharamsala 1960-1990*. Dharamsala, Tibetan Children's Village.

### **Plan of action**

My plan of action was to ask a class of students to help me with the distribution and collection of questionnaires. TCV kindly let me collaborate with a class (about 40 students) of 11th graders. First we did a workshop on surveys and survey techniques together. Then the students formed two-member teams that distributed and collected the questionnaires. Every questionnaire was marked with the sex and age group of the respondent and it was left to the team to find a person within TCV who matched the profile. The method was in practice similar to a postal survey with the student teams serving as mailmen and randomizers. The collection of questionnaires was interrupted after two weeks. Out of 100 distributed questionnaires 90 were returned.

Several objections can be made to my stratified selection, choice of population and plan of action. For instance, if the students made the actual selection of respondents and the stratification matrix was based on demographic data about the whole Dharamsala area anyway, why didn't I let the students cover the whole area?

I have three major reasons for this. Firstly, keeping the survey within the TCV organization at least kept inference that would otherwise be unknown under control. Secondly, it was only a small exploratory survey and it had to be practically manageable for me. Thirdly, the students could not roam around freely in the area.

It can also be objected that a questionnaire only records self-reported data and that there may be a difference between what a respondent reports about his or her activities and the real activities. To this objection I am guilty as charged. To validate self-reported data the researcher needs to systematically compare it with direct observations, which I have not done. This is an important limit to the interpretation of data.

Finally, the fact that TCV is a third sector organization in itself might have had a confusing effect on the respondent but when I pre-tested the questionnaire this aspect was not called to my attention.

### **The results**

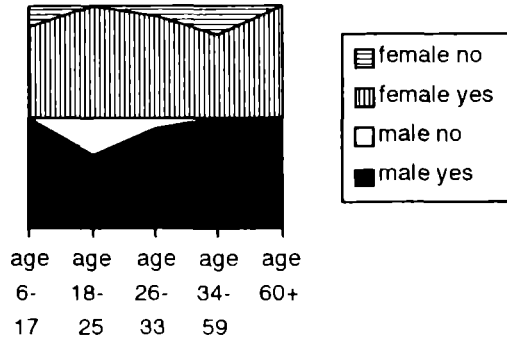
The drop-out rate was ten percent. The majority of it was concentrated in the largest age group, 26-32 year olds, and evenly distributed between the sexes. Together with the drop-out for 33-59 year old males it accounts for 90 percent of the total drop out.

The purpose here is only to explore the TCV-population's third sector activities and some of the population's attitudes about democracy. The selection of respondents is small and I will therefore generally present the results in proportions rather than in exact values. The assumptions I have made about the Tibetan democracy and used to test the respondents' attitudes were derived from my discussions with key-informants in the political life of the community and from texts produced by members of the community.

### **Activity in the third sector**

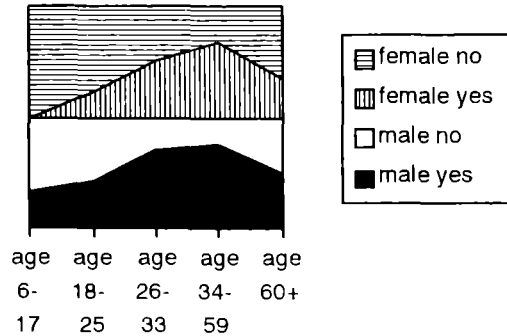
One of the major questions that I wanted to explore was the respondents' non-institutional activity in the community's third sector. According to Putnam's theory a high activity is a basic condition for a working democracy. When asked if they had participated in a protest march, a political meeting or signed a petition, 87 percent of the respondents indicated that they had. Checking for sex and age female respondents who were now 6-17 and 34-59 years of age and male respondents who were now 18-25 year old had been less active than the others (Graph 1).

Graph 1. "Did you ever take part in a protest march, attend a political meeting or sign a petition?"



The respondent was asked to state if he or she was a member of a third sector organization. A little less than half of the respondents reported that they were (Yes: 46%, No: 54%). Men were more often members than women. Respondents in the 26-59 year old groups were more often members than respondents in the 6-25 year old groups (Graph 2).

Graph 2. "Are you a member of a voluntary organization?"



The respondents who indicated that they were members were asked to check what kind of organization they were members of. About a quarter of the respondents indicated that they were members of an organization for social work. Then followed membership in political organizations and cultural organizations. Membership in religious organizations was comparatively low. About one out of ten were members of more than one organization. Also, a quarter of the respondents indicated that they were members of an organization that was not included in the alternatives. Members of this category were mostly 6-25 year old men. The responses are too systematic to be a plain misunderstanding. In complementary fieldwork I have had indications that they might imply membership in a school club.

Respondents between 26-59 years of age were more often members in third sector organizations than other age groups. In contrast to the other age groups, the 26-59 year olds indicated membership in at least one of the given alternatives (cultural, religious, political, social work or other). In contrast, 6-25 and 60+ year olds were not members of religious or social work organizations at all. Half of the 26-32 year olds indicated that they were members of a cultural organization (Table 8).



Table 8. Type of organization distributed by age group (rounded percentages).

	6-17	18-25	26-32	33-59	60+
Cultural	17	0	50	17	17
Religious	0	0	67	33	0
Political	0	29	29	29	14
Social work	0	0	30	70	0
Other	10	40	10	30	10

The respondents who were members of organizations were most often men with the exception of organizations for social work where the members more often were women (Table 9).

Table 9. Type of organization distributed by sex (rounded off percentages).

	Cultural	Religious	Political	Social work	Other
Male	83	67	71	20	70
Female	17	33	29	80	30

### Attitudes to democracy

The other major question I wanted to explore with the survey was the population's attitudes to a democratic political system. After reviewing my interviews with the key-informants I formulated eight statements about democracy and political parties in connection with the refugee community and future Tibet and included them in the questionnaire. The respondents were asked to either agree or disagree with the statements.

I separately presented the statements both in a positive and a negative form to be able to control the internal consistency. An agreement with a specific positive statement ought to match a disagreement with a specific negative statement and *vice versa*. The attitudes were measured in four dimensions, each of which included a pair of matching positive/negative statements. A double-agreement or a double-disagreement in a particular dimension was considered as an inconsistency.

The consistency test was rather simple and there is a possibility that the respondents saw through it and manipulated the researcher.

The four dimensions were based on attitudes about political parties that had been brought up by my key-informants:

1. The first dimension explored attitudes about the linkage between democracy and political parties. Are political parties necessary in the democratic political system? The matching statements of this dimension were: "Political parties are a necessary part of a democratic political system"/"We can have a democracy without political parties".
2. The second dimension explored attitudes towards the role of political parties as a political opposition to the government. Does democratic government need the competition of political parties to function? The matching statements of this dimension were: "A political party is a necessary opposition to ATPD and the *Kashag*"/"The *Kashag*'s and ATPD's work and policies are already satisfactory".
3. The third dimension explored attitudes toward the role of political parties in the Tibetan independence struggle. Do the Tibetans need political parties to gain independence? The matching statements of this dimension were: "A political party is a necessary preparation for independent Tibet"/"Tibet can become independent without political parties".

4. The fourth dimension explored attitudes towards a political party's role as an instrument for popular participation in a democratic political system. Does the organized conflict of a multi-party system integrate or threaten the community? The matching statements of this dimension were: "A political party can increase popular participation in politics"/"A political party will only split the people and cause conflicts".

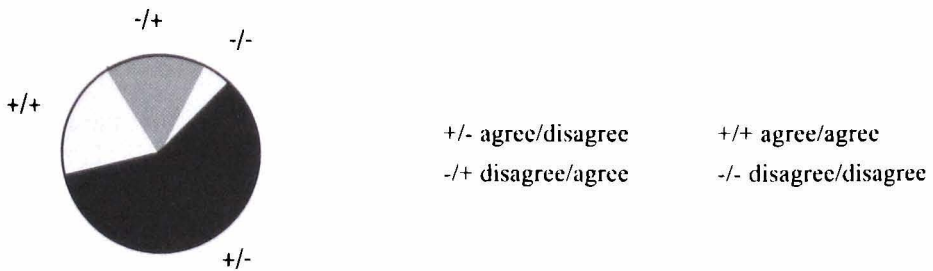
The internal consistency was significant in all four dimensions, indicating that the respondents generally showed a consistent attitude toward democracy and political parties (as defined by the statements).

Looking at the four dimensions separately the attitudes were most consistent in the first dimension. All the inconsistent responses in this dimension double-agreed with the matching statements. The attitudes were a little less consistent in the third dimension. Like in the first dimension the inconsistent responses double-agreed with the matching statements. The attitudes were still less consistent in the second dimension. In this instance the respondents who gave inconsistent answers both double-agreed and double-disagreed. The least consistent attitudes were found in the fourth dimension where all except one inconsistent response double-agreed with the matching statements.

The overall internal consistency of the four dimensions is shown in Graph 3. About three quarters of the respondents were consistent in their attitudes and the double-agreeing respondents accounted for most of the fourth quarter. About eight out of ten respondents with consistent attitudes agreed with the positive statement and disagreed with the matching negative statement, indicating a pro-political party and pro-democratic attitude.

Graph 3. Summary of consistency test of attitudes.

Hypothesis: An agreement should be matched with a disagreement (+/-) or *vice versa* (-/+).



I admit that the dimension are a bit weak. It cannot be ruled out that a double-agreement (or double-disagreement) can be considered as consistent. It depends, for instance, on the respondent's interpretation of the word *necessary* (here: a necessary condition). The statements assume that the inclusion of a necessary condition rules out other possibilities. On the other hand, I did not intend the statements to be clear cut. They were to be open to some interpretation to stimulate the respondents to reason with themselves. As it turned out the internal consistency of the answers was significant, anyway.

### **Other variables**

Considering the biases in my method and data I do not want to go too far in my analysis like, for instance, tracking individuals through the data or perform multivariate analyses. So far I have stuck to a dual-variable classification (sex and age). When I checked the outcome in non-institutional activity, membership in organizations and attitudes toward political parties against other background variables like marital status, family size, occupation and educational level these variables were not significant. It implies that the activities and attitudes were stable across these variables, for instance, that the respondents' level of education did not matter. I find this hard to believe and I will return to this in the conclusion.

### **Conclusion**

In this final section of my paper I want to follow up on my purpose by discussing the impact of democracy in an exploratory way. I will try to stick to what has been recorded by my own investigation. The state of things may of course be the result of many other influences. This basic problem hampers any kind of impact analysis, at least in the social sciences. My exploration is simply one section surface of the studied object that may be contested, discarded, added to or used as a complement in the understanding of the political developments in the Tibetan refugee community.

What kind of impact has the democratization made in the TCV population? The recorded level of non-institutional activity in the third sector is high compared to any other population in the world. Perhaps this is an expression of a public culture fostered by the struggle to regain independence pervading the entire community. The frequent non-institutional activities in the community have been a way to draw attention to the Tibetan issue (they are seldom directed against the exile government). The female students in TCV had not engaged in non-governmental activities as much as the male students. The female staff between 34-59 years of age and the young male adults (18-25) had also engaged a little less than other groups. Among the women in TCV the students and the younger staff were more active than their older sisters. I have no explanation to why 18-25 years old men have engaged less than other men in non-institutional activity.

About half of the respondents were members of a third sector organization. Men were more often members than women. The organizational membership increases after school and decreases after retirement. The TCV students were more seldom members than the staff. The young respondents had not joined the organizations until after secondary school, not forgetting that a fifth of them indicated that they had already participated in a protest march, a political meeting or signed a petition before that. The change from no membership at all in political organizations in the 6-17 year old age group to a 29 percent membership in the 18-25 year old age group and the consistency of the membership until retirement indicates that the population become politically organized after they have turned 18 and that those who become organized stay organized until they get old. The TCV staff and students were most often members of organizations for social work, politics and culture. Women were generally members of the social work organizations while men generally were members of political and cultural organizations. There was thus a division of labour between the sexes reflecting stereotypical gender roles in the third sector.

The democracy is just starting to implement in the TCV population. The discourse of a Tibetan democracy was familiar to the respondents. Though democratic values may be part of the

Tibetan cultural heritage, political parties are still an unfamiliar device even for the presumably more than average aware TCV population.

The population was generally consistent in its attitudes toward democracy and political parties but there were some inconsistencies that suggest that certain aspects are understood less. Most of the respondents were consistent about the coupling of democracy and political parties but less consistent about the role of political parties in the democracy. In the view of some respondents the community needed political parties but democratic government can just as well function without them. This view probably reflects that political parties still are seen as government controlled instruments for implementing democracy (a policy of democracy). Other implications are that if a band of political parties were to be *let loose* by the government they would create havoc in the community. The TCV-population was also less consistent about the need for political parties in the preparations for a future Tibet. The inconsistent attitudes of some respondents indicate that they are not sure about how a blue-print for a democracy is connected to the future, as the democratizers argue. The TCV-population was least consistent about the competitive dimension of political parties in the democracy. The rationality of political conflict, institutionalized in a multi-party system, was less understood. This suggests that conflict of interests was seen a bit like a *necessary evil* of the democracy.

To summarize the suggestions: The TCV-population knows that democracy and political parties should go together but there is also a tendency to think that the Tibetans can do just as well without the political parties. This confirms the idea that it is a *democracy from above*. To this extent my informant was right in suggesting that the ordinary exile Tibetan does not yet understand the difference between democracy and dictatorship. Another implication of the inconsistencies is that political parties are not primarily seen as representatives of the respondent's interest but representatives of the exile government's interests. To this extent my informant was also right in suggesting that the refugees were democrats because the leadership had told them to be democrats. The conclusions are supported by my failure to differentiate in the data by using other background variables than age and sex. The remarkable stability over variables is unlikely to reflect the real situation but suggests a bias of *political correctness* in the answers. Nevertheless, if the high levels of non-institutional activity and organizational membership in the third sector reflect the real situation and Putnam's hypothesis of the social capital holds true, the democratization at least has plenty of social capital to draw on to make democracy work in the TCV-population.

# TIBETAN 'DUPLICATE' MONASTERIES

by

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I am going to deal with the offshoots in India of the so-called 'four continents', focusing on three 'colleges' belonging to Drepung. I shall sketch their historical context, outline their institutional setting, inquire into some of the intriguing aspects of their transplant, echo the opinion of some of their representatives on challenges they have to cope with and draw attention to their vital role in forging the Tibetan language into an adequate tool of thinking and communication on the globalising international scene.

## Basics

In current rough estimates, there are 100 000 Tibetan political refugees in the world. To put it in another way, at least 17% of the Tibetan people live abroad in political exile. The bulk, *i.e.* about 85 000 of them are in India, the rest has settled mainly in Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim. Switzerland has taken 2 500 but the other European countries less than 600 each, some just a handful. The US accepted 1 000 last year. Canada is probably also hosting as many as that.

Most of this population left their homeland between 1959-62, in the wake of uprisings crushed by China, who had been occupying Tibet as part of their People's Republic since 1951. It is characterized, *pari passu*, by the survival of much of the established theocratic authority embodied by the more than 5 000 lamas who escaped across the southern borders. It is seldom realised, however, that the proportion of monks among those who fled was almost four times lower than had been typical back at home (roughly 5% compared to 20%) and 94% of the high incarnate lamas stayed behind. (Only about 100 left, out of 1 500. [Saklani 1984: 154]). In their great majority, the escapees were valley farmers, nomadic mountain shepherds and middlemen.

## Institutional distribution

Some of the uprooted lamas have given up their monastic allegiances. Quite a few, however, joined existing Mahayana establishments in the Himalayas and the majority built more than one hundred *gömpas* at new locations. The meeting held by the leaders of the Tibetan diaspora under the presidency of the Dalai Lama in 1966 at Bodh Gaya broke with the non-denominational adjustment policy of the earlier 60s exemplified by the *Lama Ashram* at Buxa, Jalpaiguri district, W.B. It decided that each of the four main lamaistic orders should have its own religious centres in India. As a result, the Sakyapas erected their monastery at Rajpur, Dehra Dun district, U.P., with Sakya Trizin Rimpoche at their head, the Kagyüpa Gyalwa Karmapa Rimpoche constructed Rumtek in Sikkim, and Dudjom Rimpoche established his Nyingmapa monastery at Kalimpong, W.B. The Gelugpas situated their main monasteries in Karnataka and at Dharamsala – MacLeod Ganj, H.P. At the latter, their top dignitary (the Dalai Lama), his family, cabinet (*Kashag*) and administrators and other prominent religious, civil and military personalities, had taken up their headquarters as early as 1960 (Saklani 1984: 40). Gelugpas set up their most important *gömpas* mainly around Hunsur-Bylakuppe and Hubli-Mundgod in Mysore, Karnataka State. Beside approximately 15 monasteries in the Dharamsala area, at present there are also clusters of them around Bir and Mandi, H.P. and the area of Dehra Dun, with

strong Kagyü, Nyingma, Sakya, Gelug and Bön components, respectively. The best known hermitages can be found close to Mandi. The Information Office (IO), Central Tibetan Secretariat at Dharamsala, listed 145 monasteries (including nunneries), of which 104 in India, 22 in Nepal, 10 in Bhutan and 3 in Sikkim, the exact location of six I could not determine. Their distribution by sect was the following: Gelug: 54, Nyingma: 40, Kagyü: 36, Sakya: 12, Bön: 3 (1981: 241-51). The trend can be summarized by one word: mushrooming.

The major seats of higher religious learning and education comprise the Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok, Sikkim (1958), the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives (1971) and the Buddhist School of Dialectics (1973) at Dharamsala, the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies (1976; independent status from Varanasi Sanskrit University obtained in 1977 at Sarnath/Varanasi, U.P. [IO 1981: 218-23]). On lower levels of complexity, *A whole chain of substantially secularized Tibetan schools on modern pedagogic lines have come up in all the refugee settlements. Even though the lamas still figure on the school boards, the educational contents are patterned on the model of 'general schools'* (Saklani 1984: 157). Secular education is thus dissociated from introduction to sacred lores.

### **Selected clusters of 'replicas'**

Several of the monasteries erected in India by Tibetan refugees bear the names of famous Tibetan *gömpas* some of which were heavily damaged or destroyed during the Chinese 'cultural revolution', while some others escaped vandalism. The most conspicuous examples are the derived units of the 'four continents', *i.e.*, Gaden, Drepung, Sera and Tashi Lhunpo in Mysore province. Among the original establishments of these Gelugpa offshoots, the first, founded in 1409, was turned into ruins. Drepung and Sera, constituted in 1416 and 1419, respectively, were also destroyed, at least in the sense that their monks were chased away. Tashi Lhunpo (1447) is another case in point. Saklani (1984: 150, 161) refers to the houses involved in Karnataka State as replicas of the original ones, set up *with the aim of rallying and rehabilitating the scattered monks and their followers from the sacred* primary institutions. The photograph supplied by her on Gaden shows a rather small, one-storey structure on apparently flat land. How justified are under such circumstances the postulate of copies and reproductions and the concomitant use of identical names?

L. A. Waddell produced an inventory of major lamaistic sites without spelling out their mystic significances, yet stressing their gigantic scales, ostentatious treasures, colourful feasts and big crowds, implying auspiciousness of striking landscape and a lot of attributed mystic power and accumulated merit carried by artefacts and relics. In the same period of time F. Grenard described the feudal pattern of organisation and internal strife, the political sway, the wealth, the manifold sources of income and the multiple functions of Tibetan monasteries. These two authors, writing at the end of the last century, are neither quite reliable, nor totally unbiased, but their studies are classics (Waddell, L.A. [1899], *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*. New Delhi, AES [reprint 1991]; Grenard, F. [?], *Tibet – the country and its inhabitants*. New Delhi, Cosmo [reprint 1974]). More recently, Prof Harjeet Singh has set out to chart the features involved in a Ladakhi context and architect Romi Khosla has demonstrated their effects on architecture.

### **The four models involved**

Khosla (1979: 87) labelled the category concerned fortress-like hill-top type attested from 1400 onwards. He characterized them as conglomerates presenting *helter-skelter arrangements of structures and images which do not relate to any unified concept* and undergo continual addi-

tions and removals of structures which make impossible to date any of their parts. Singh 1976 views their kind as community centres of religious authority entitled to tributes, holding lands and capitalizing on them by either free and hired labour or crop-sharing arrangements. Beside providing ritualistic, cultural, educational and information services and carrying out medical, astrological and judicial functions, they diversified their activities into trade and barter, money-lending, mortgaging and rent-collecting.

### **Coping with change**

It is obvious that for their monasteries in their new Indian environment, the Tibetan refugees can ill afford estates elevated above the level of common settlements *commanding a panoramic view of the country side, so that the faithful, from far and wide, can have a look at the cynosure of their religious reference as well as contributing to the aesthetic pleasure*. Access must be facilitated, breaking with the *difficult and tortuous approach... [that] symbolises the path to the attainment of religious virtue* (Singh 1976: 358). They set up their convents at places where they had obtained land and / or where they could form self-subsistent communities willing to provide support and ready to interact. The scales, economic weight, cultural and art assets, political clout, social prestige, intellectual status are naturally reduced, and this is likely to affect religious potentials as well.

Within the Gelugpa network, Gaden seems to involve 12 establishments in exile. In Karnataka, the three 'continents' stemming from Ü have only two 'colleges' each: Drepung unites Gomang and Loling, Gaden comprises Shartse and Changtse and Sera is subdivided into Jey and Med. In the case of the first, for instance, this compares with seven back in Tibet. Yet the number of houses and monks is still consequential. Thus, Gomang and Loling contain, respectively, 16 and 22 houses or hostels with 800 and 1 000 members, or more. They derive their income from the sale of handicrafts and from agricultural work done, rather unprecedentedly, by the monks. Those who do not busy themselves in the fields, follow the traditionally set timetable of duties, which starts at 5-6 in the morning and ends by 10-11 in the evening.

Apart from Gomang and Loling in Karnataka, Drepung has a third monastery of the *choi-de* type with thirty monks or so (more than half of whom are away though) grouped in a single house in the Tibetan Refugee Camp of Majnu-ka Tilla at the northern outskirts of Delhi. It had grown out of a garbage area squatted by Tibetan refugees who had lived in tents in interaction with the Ladakh Buddha Vihara market and transit post near by. The tents had been progressively replaced by houses (of wood, plastic materials, brick and concrete) and the first among them had been converted into a monastery, which had taken the Yamantaka name of Ngakpa and whose Assembly Hall was inaugurated around 1975-76. It had been flanked by a Nyingmapa monastery which has been subsequently taken over by Gelugpa monks of whom only two or three linger on at the present. It is claimed that all this development has been legalised against payment. In 1982, Ngakpa opened a Tantric Monastery School attended by monks and by lay pupils of 14-17, for learning philosophy, tantra, English and Tibetan. Their acceptance of students not attached to the monastery in any way is not common elsewhere. Neither the monastery, nor its school seem to have sponsors and must therefore be maintained with haphazard finance, not shying from expedients.

### **Two patterns**

The Gelugpa tulkus from Kham interviewed at MacLeod Ganj consistently discounted the loss of spiritual energies entailed by leaving the historical centres of their orders. They emphasized instead the suffering that befell the Tibetan refugees confronted collectively by hardships, dis-

ruptions and uncertainties. If they had more time, they could have pointed out in the history of Buddhism the seminal role of acharya migration, imitations of existing or legendary institutional models and the fertile transplant of schools.

My informant from Drepung Gomang, Thuptan Sherap concurred with them. He had been patiently working his way up the 16 classes of religious training and believed in the priority of philosophy and meditation over any other considerations. He also stressed the addition of English, science and religions other than Mahayana Buddhism to the traditional curriculum. I had met him by accident in the computerized reference unit of the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives and followed him through the crowd of western scholars, students, lobbyists and tourists outside, to the Namgyal Monastery where he was taking a one year course in ecology. It appeared natural to him under the Indian climate to wear neat terry cotton or cotton garments instead of the traditional thick wool sort and to sustain the mind with good nutritious food made up by rice, dahl, eggs and fruits rather than tsampa. I forgot to ask him about what he thought of his hosts' efficient PR in the rich industrialized part of the world through public shows demonstrating the creation of sand mandalas and the preparation of sacramental cakes.

The options which I could observe in Ngakpa seemed to contrast with these rational, modernistic approaches. There young Ngawang Tulku explained to me that he started to specialize in worship healing as practiced in Burma and expected to return to that country soon. His choice was dictated by the need to earn a living and was not motivated by any special interest in that kind of medicine or by a love for Burma. He was not the only one to adopt such a strategy for survival, one of my respondents at MacLeod Ganj, Khamtrul Rimpoche, for instance, did the same.

The two paths of adjustment indicated seem to show two fundamental trends. Number one, learning, meditation, teaching-practical action of a religious nature. Number two, international interaction through religious cooperation and cultural events. Western technical and financial assistance provides significant, sometimes vital, boosts. It does not spread, however, to all those who would deserve it.

### **Vital cultural role**

All the institutions reviewed benefit for their size and drive from a flow of boys (children to young men) who are arriving from Tibet in considerable numbers. Their training in Tibetan under programs including the natural sciences, economics and sociology on levels attained in the West, or at least usual in India, maintains and upgrades for modern use the native tongue when no teaching whatever is allowed in the monasteries in Tibet, a country where education in secondary schools and universities is still carried out in Chinese.

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# A FIRST SURVEY OF TIBETAN HIPPOLOGY AND HIPPIATRY

by

Petra Maurer, Kathmandu

Tibetan hippology and hippiatry have so far received little attention in Tibetan studies. The most important contribution on this topic has been made by Anne-Marie Blondeau.<sup>1</sup> Her Indo-Tibetan work not only gives an overview of the Indian tradition but deals with the oldest Tibetan sources, found in Dunhuang. In addition, she translated the available parts of the so-called Bacot xylograph, reprinted by Tharchin in the year 1934 in Kalimpong. As this reprint was incomplete, the missing folios have been translated into German by H. Uebach and J. Panglung of the Commission for Central Asian Studies of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences in Munich.<sup>2</sup>

In general, the Dunhuang manuscripts contain discourses on both hippology and hippiatry, except the Bacot xylograph, which deals only with veterinary medicine. It is noteworthy that this text, unlike those from Dunhuang, is profusely illustrated with drawings meant to clarify either the symptom or the treatment of the disease.

In recent years further manuscripts concerning Tibetan hippology and hippiatry have been found in Mustang district in western Nepal. So far I have been able to examine the following manuscripts:

I. A book in the possession of 'Jigs med señ ge dpal 'bar, king of Mustang. It was photographed by N. Gutschow and contains three titles:

1. *rTa śad (rin chen) 'phreñ ba las rta bcos (khyad par) can bźugs so* (From an Explanation of the Horse, (called) the Precious Garland, the Extraordinary Medical Treatment of the Horse)
2. *rTa 'bum 'thoñ khol rta nad (thams cad) 'joñs pa'i sman mdo bźugs so* (A Medical Treatise to Overcome All Diseases of the Horse, Which Liberates All Horses [by mere] Sight)
3. *rTa spyad ñi ma 'i sgron ma bźugs so* (The Treatment of the Horse, [called] Lamp of the Sun)

II. The texts owned by the veterinarian mTshams pa ñag dbañ. These were photographed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP). All manuscripts are incomplete.

1. no title<sup>3</sup>

2. *rTa yi spu rigs rtags dañ sman dpyad thor bu źugs so*<sup>4</sup> (Characteristics of Horsehair together with Several Medical Treatments)

3. *rTa chos nor bus 'phreñ ba bźugs so*<sup>5</sup> (The Medical Treatment of the Horse, [called] Garland of Jewels)

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<sup>1</sup> Anne-Marie Blondeau (1972), *Matériaux pour l'étude de l'hippologie et de l'hippiatrie tibétaines (à partir des manuscrits de Touen-houang)*. Genève, Librairie Droz. (Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie de la IVe Section de l'École pratique des Hautes Études. II. Hautes Études Orientales 2).

<sup>2</sup> Marcellus Kunz (1992), *Ein pferdekundlicher und pferdeheilkundlicher Text aus Tibet*. Diss. med. vet. München.

<sup>3</sup> Reel nos. 203/25 and 203/27.

<sup>4</sup> Reel no. 203/26.

<sup>5</sup> Reel no. 203/28.

III. A manuscript in the possession of a certain Sras po 'jigs med of Jharkot. It was also photographed by the NGMPP<sup>6</sup> and contains the title *rTa bcos zab mo bze bya bzugs so* (The Profound Medical Treatment of the Horse)

IV. A book owned by dPal mgon po, prince of Jharkot, photographed by D. Schuh, includes the titles:

1. *rTa bum mthon' khol rta nad thams cad 'jom ba'i sman mdo* (A Medical Treatise to Overcome All Diseases of the Horse, Which Liberates All Horses [by mere] Sight)
2. *Cog ro rje'u khye'u chuñ gi rta dpyad gsal ba'i sgron me* (The Medical Treatment of the Horse, (compiled by) *Cog ro rje'u khye'u chuñ*, [called] the Bright Lamp)

With the exception of the texts owned by mTshams pa ñag dbañ all the manuscripts have been bound into books, and all of them are a combination of several titles from different authors. The titles mentioned here do not reflect the works in their entirety because not all of them bear a title. As none of these sources contains a colophon, the questions of date of composition and authorship are difficult to answer.

Concerning the dates it is only possible to say that the Dunhuang documents translated by Blondeau are the oldest written records we have on Tibetan hippiatry and hippology. The manuscripts from Mustang are of later origin, but judging by their content (to be discussed later), especially the sections about hippiatry, they obviously derive from the oldest known sources.

### Summary of contents

As with the texts of Dunhuang, the two main subjects of all these manuscripts are hippology and hippiatry. Minor space is devoted to topics such as pharmacology, divination and magical practices for horse races.

Since hippology and hippiatry form the largest part of the contents, these topics will be treated in more detail.

### I. Hippology

The sections concerning hippology describe different types of horses as defined by their physiological characteristics. Comparisons with other animals or parts of animals are used to illustrate these external descriptions. The manuscript in the possession of dPal mgon po contains the most detailed information about the physiology of horses. It gives 72 types of horses grouped into four categories corresponding to the four elements: *'dab chags*, *gcan gzan*, *ri dwags* and *phyugs*. A statement about what precisely this categorisation is based on is not yet possible. But these four main types are also found in the *rTa yi dpyad la gnas dañ rigs dañ ni ño bo'i sgo nas dbye ba rnam pa gsum* in the British Museum. Blondeau has already studied this text and gives a short summary of its contents.<sup>7</sup>

Another analysis, which is very similar in all the manuscripts, yields five, and sometimes six, main types of horses according to the assignment to the five elements: *'do ba*, *gyi liñ (gyer liñ)*, *(r)gyam siñ*, *ron bu (ron ñu, bu ron)*, *bya rdo (bya sdo, jag to)* and *mu men (mu gyen, mu*

<sup>6</sup> Reel no. 91/1.

<sup>7</sup> Blondeau 1972: 155. But there are only three types (*bya rigs*, *gcan rigs*, *ri dwags rigs*) named.

*khen*).<sup>8</sup> Obviously, either the physiological characteristics or the origin of the horses<sup>9</sup> determines the classification. But as the assignment of these types to the elements differs in the various manuscripts, in this case too an exact interpretation of these categories cannot be given at the present stage of research.

## II. Hippiatry

All the sources contain one or more passages about the treatment of horses, and in particular one section illustrated with drawings which is comparable not only to the Bacot xylograph but almost identical in all the manuscripts. To me it therefore seems quite evident that they rely either on each other or on a common source. The only exception is the manuscript owned by 'Jigs med señ ge dpal 'bar, the King of Mustang. There the illustrated passage is much more detailed than in the other manuscripts. This indicates that either this passage is based on a different source or that the author added several descriptions of diseases and methods of healing.

At present I can only state that, except for the last mentioned manuscript, there must be a close connection between the Bacot xylograph, which certainly reflects the old tradition, and the manuscripts from Mustang. The diseases described, as well as the treatments and applied medicines, are the same in almost every source. This means that the available manuscripts have kept alive a continuous written record of veterinary medicine.

This conclusion leads to the question of the practical application of tradition. In the years 1993–1995 I had the chance to study several months with mTshams pa ñag dbañ, a Tibetan veterinarian and doctor living in Dhumba, a small village in Mustang district in the west of Nepal. In this remote high mountain area the almost complete lack of modern technical equipment makes ownership of beasts of burden necessary for the planting of fields, for the transport of goods and for the delivery of food. For these purposes horses, mules, cows, sheep and goats are still kept in large numbers. Medical care for man and animal is quite difficult to obtain and is still based on the traditional Tibetan medical system. Modern Western medicine has hardly penetrated this part of the world.

With the exception of mTshams pa ñag dbañ, most of the veterinarians are illiterate and practise according to the oral knowledge they have traditionally received from an experienced veterinarian, usually their fathers. This phenomenon can be found in the history of the Occident as well as of the Orient: veterinary medicine is based primarily on practical knowledge. The veterinarian learns his subject by oral tradition and experience, whereas the doctor of human medicine is a scholar, trained not only in practice but also in theory. Knowledge of veterinary medicine is first of all empirical knowledge, collected by agricultural and farming practitioners, and the methods of treatment have in most cases been orally transmitted. The manuscript texts were written by other professional groups, such as philosophers<sup>10</sup> or authors on agriculture.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Blondeau 1972: 157f. In the *rta dpyad* the distinction is made according to the nature of the horse.

<sup>9</sup> The dictionaries provide arguments for a possible classification according to the origin of a horse. H[einrich] A[ugust] Jäschke (1881), *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*. London, repr. 1987, p. 279: "do ba l. sbst. *Sch.* [i.e. relying on I. J. Schmidt (1841), *Tibetisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*. St. Petersburg]: a breed of fine horses." Sarat Chandra Das (1902): *A Tibetan-English Dictionary with Sanskrit Synonyms*, Calcutta, repr. Delhi 1985, p. 235: "*gyi liñ* name of a good breed of horses from Amdo where there are twelve different breeds, *gyi liñ* and *gnam sa* being the best among them", *op. cit.*, p. 689: "do chuñ a good breed of pony, prob. those imported from Amdo".

<sup>10</sup> Aristotle for example wrote a short chapter on hippiatry in his famous *Historia Animalium*.

<sup>11</sup> The twelve-volume edition *De re rustica*, written by the farmer L. Junius Moderatus Columella (d. c. 60. A.D.)

This means that there is not only a written but also an oral tradition. But the methods of healing according to the oral tradition are simpler; for instance, the drugs known and used by veterinarians have fewer ingredients than the drugs described in the texts. If and, in the event, how this oral tradition is connected with the written tradition cannot yet be established.

In principle, veterinary medicine and human medicine use the same pharmaceutical treatments. We find only two basic differences:

1. In human medicine the description of diseases and therapeutic methods are more differentiated than in veterinary medicine, where the causes of diseases are not dealt with at all.

2. Medication for illness in human medicine is more varied. The medicaments given contain a wider variety of ingredients according to the causes diagnosed. For this reason a direct comparison between medication in human and veterinary medicine cannot be made.

The following therapeutic methods of treatment are to be distinguished:

### 1. Pharmaceutical therapy

The application of drugs is the most commonly used method of healing. The majority of pharmaceutical medication is prepared from plants.<sup>12</sup> Minerals, substances of animal origin and medications of the so-called *Dreckapotheke* are also used. *Dreckapotheke* remedies include urine (principally of young boys), faeces of animals and water which has been used to wash the inside of shoes.<sup>13</sup>

Concerning the plants it is very difficult if not impossible to identify them completely. In the Himālayas, the same name is often used for different plants which do not even belong to the same botanical family. According to Lobsang Tenpa, a physician in Chabahil/Kathmandu, particular plants are quite often disease-specific. This means that the name of a plant alone may not suffice; the medical practitioner has to know which particular plant is used for which illness.

A further impediment is the poor orthography of the manuscripts, which quite often leads to various possibilities for the interpretation of the plant names. With regard to the use of remedies three different forms can be distinguished:

#### 1.1. Oral administration of a single remedy or of a mixture

For this purpose, the ingredients are first pulverised, then either boiled with water or mixed with a base (*smān rta*) of *chañ*, water, molasses or butter, and the remedy is given to the horse.

#### 1.2. External application for wounds or swellings

With the required components and oil, and in some cases urine, an ointment is prepared and put

deals in volumes six to nine with the care, feeding, breeding and diseases of the domestic animals at that time. See Angela von den Driesch (1989), *Geschichte der Tiermedizin, 5000 Jahre Tierheilkunde*. München, p. 26f.

<sup>12</sup> The most commonly applied plant is *a ru ra* (*Terminalia chebula*). According to a legend, it is along with *ba ru ra* (*Terminalia bellerica*) and *skyu ru ra* (*Phyllanthus emblica*) one of the first medicinal plants. The seed of the plant *a ru rnam rgyal* (in the shape of a head of a horse) is said to have been brought down to earth from the realm of the gods. Sown for the first time in Bodhgayā it developed into five different varieties. See Lobsang Dolma Khangkar (1990), *Journey into the Mystery of Tibetan Medicine. Based on the Lectures of Dr. Dolma*. New Delhi, Yarlung Publ., 29ff.

<sup>13</sup> This fact indicates a close connection with Chinese veterinary medicine, where one finds remedies from the *Dreckapotheke*, for instance water in which dirty socks have been washed. See Angela von den Driesch and Herbert Franke (1992), "Niu-ching ta-ch'üan. Ein alchinesisches Buch über die tierärztliche Behandlung von Rinderkrankheiten", in *Monumenta Serica* 40, p. 133.

on the diseased part of the body. Wounds have first to be cleaned and, if necessary, stitched up. Another form of treatment is the application of usually hot compresses (*dugs*).

### 1.3. Fumigation

For the fumigation of inflamed parts of the body, the plants are not pulverised but chopped up coarsely and mixed. Besides medicinal plants, preparations from the *Dreckapotheke*, for instance an old sole of a shoe, are also used. To ensure that the smoke reaches the mouth and nose or the wounded part, the horse is partly or entirely covered with a blanket.

### 2. Bloodletting (*gtar ba*)

In the West as in the East, this treatment has long been a very common method for healing any kind of illness. Under the assumption that a disease is always connected with a disturbed "digestion" of blood, and thus causes a weariness of the whole body, bloodletting was recommended for the treatment of nearly every disease<sup>14</sup>.

In Tibetan veterinary medicine too bloodletting seems to be regarded as an effective procedure to cure any disease. In general, it is carried out on a vein near the diseased organ or on the jugular vein (*rtse chun*).

### 3. Moxibustion (*me btsa'*) and cauterisation (*me tshugs*)

These two procedures of Chinese origin are very similar treatments. They are based on the idea that the disturbed flow of energy in the meridians can be countered by these procedures. The moxa, a cone prepared from different plants, is burnt down directly on the skin, particularly on acupuncture points (*gsaŋ gnas*).

In the case of cauterisation, a special heated sharp needle is used instead of the cone. According to mTshams pa ŋag dbaŋ, in veterinary medicine this treatment still is a frequently practised form of therapy and prophylactic. During my stay in Dhumba in 1993 some horses of the neighbouring villages had an infection of the throat, and I had the opportunity to observe the therapy being applied. mTshams pa ŋag dbaŋ could not give an exact diagnosis of the disease, but as a prophylactic he burnt his own horse and all the sick horses with an iron. The burn points were behind each ear, on the right and left side of the bridge of the nostrils and on one particular point on the external side of the upper lip. As none of the horses showed any reaction during the treatment, it was obviously painless. The healer said, furthermore, that he used cauterisation quite regularly as a prophylactic.

### 4. Minor surgery

Another form of therapy is minor surgery for external tumors, ulcers or particular swellings. In general, this kind of operation serves to get pus flowing and is carried out with a *gtsag bu*, a small lancet for piercing the tumor. Another form of operation is the trepanation of the frontal sinus or the nasal cavity in order to treat *dkrad thom*, the name of a certain head ailment. I was unable to identify the specific disease exactly, but according to Prof. von den Driesch of the Institute for Palaeoanatomy Munich University, the method of treatment suggests a catarrh or sinusitis. This procedure is even now a common form of treatment for inflammation of the nasal cavity or the upper respiratory tract, having come into fashion in Europe during the 18th century. It is noteworthy that this therapy is explained as trepanation of the braincase or

<sup>14</sup> W. Rieck (1971), "Die Blutentziehung in der anonymen Einleitung der *Mulomedicina Chironis*", in *Et Multum et Multa. Beiträge zur Literatur, Geschichte und Kultur der Jagd. Festgabe für Kurt Lindner zum 27. November 1971*, Sigrid Schwenk, Gunnar Tilander, and Carl Arnold Willemsen (eds.), Berlin / New York, de Gruyter, p. 307-312.

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neurocranium. As such an operation can be performed on the head of a human but, owing to its anatomy, not on the head of a horse, it seems evident that this description derives from human medicine.

## 5. Further therapies

5.1. Sprinkling with water is used to activate the circulation of blood and to cure heart diseases. Sprinkling with cold water is one of the oldest forms of therapy and is mentioned for the first time in the papyrus of Kahun in Egypt, a document about veterinary medicine dating to the 19th century B.C.<sup>15</sup>

5.2. Making a circling motion with fire serves to heal wounds. Fire has a disinfecting and purifying effect.

5.3. The curing of "similar with similar" is a *modus operandi* reminiscent of homoeopathy, but in my estimation it seems to rely more on magical than on homoeopathic practices. To cure the bite of a dog, for example, the burnt hair of the dog should be added to a mixture of drugs. To heal the bite of a water-rat (*chu byi*) the bitten part has to be scratched with the carcass of a rat.

In one section of the manuscript owned by Sras po 'jigs med, descriptions of human illnesses and healing methods can also be found. The cure for nosebleeds, for instance, consists of a mixture of heated blood with water taken orally.

These ideas are not specifically Tibetan, but are also found in the so-called *Roßarzneibücher* of the German veterinary literature from the 17th century A.D.

5.4. Even the use of magic spells and rituals as a form of therapy is described in the Tibetan veterinary books, and in the German ones as well. Tibetan rituals include, for example, the holding of a mirror to the forehead of the horse and the binding of a red silk ribbon around the forehead, a treatment which is supposed to cure any kind of disease which appears suddenly.

## Conclusion

1. The first conclusion has already been mentioned: the manuscripts represent a continuous written record about Tibetan hippology and hippiatry. We also find an oral tradition, in the Orient as well as in the Occident.

2. The development of veterinary medicine in general is closely connected with the use of beasts of burden. Hippiatry came about with the increasing importance of the horse, which, through its deployment in warfare, acquired an outstanding position among domestic animals.

3. The therapeutic methods of treatment in veterinary medicine are guided by the concepts of human medicine.

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<sup>15</sup> Von den Driesch 1989: 16f.



# WERE THE GSAR-MA-PA POLEMICISTS JUSTIFIED IN REJECTING SOME RNYING-MA-PA TANTRAS?<sup>1</sup>

by

Robert Mayer, Lampeter

Both extant versions of a famous circular (*'byam-yig*) written by the eleventh century polemicist Khug-pa Lhas-btsas (a contemporary of the rNying-ma-pa sage Rong-zom-pa and of Atiśa), mention in his list of allegedly fraudulent scriptures a rNying-ma-pa tantra called the *Phur-pa bcu-gnyis*. Khug-pa Lhas-btsas derides this tantra as a composition of the great rNying-ma-pa siddha sNubs Sangs-rgyas ye-shes (traditionally dated 832-943), thus denying it to be a genuine translation from a Sanskrit original.<sup>2</sup> In the mid-13th century, Chag lo-tsa-ba, a colleague and contemporary of Sa-pan, also condemned a *Phur-pa bcu-gnyis* in his polemical letter (*springs-yig*), denouncing it vaguely as a composition by a rNying-ma-pa figure such as "So, Zur, or sNubs", even though he declared other Kīlaya tantras (presumably those used by the Sa-skyapa) to be genuine.<sup>3</sup> Still later, the circular of another important polemicist, 'Bri-gung dpal-'dzin (circa 1400), followed Khug-pa Lhas-btsas in specifically attributing the composition of the *Phur-pa bcu-gnyis* to the person of sNubs Sangs-rgyas ye-shes.<sup>4</sup> However, not all anti-rNying-ma polemicists specifically attacked such a text: Pho-brang Zhi-ba 'od's *bka'-shog* of 1094 listed twenty Vajrakīlaya<sup>5</sup> tantras by name that Zhi-ba 'od believed to be Tibetan

<sup>1</sup> Thanks to the British Academy and the Colyer-Fergusson Trust, whose generosity enabled me to deliver this paper at the 7th Seminar of the IATS in Schloß Seggau, Graz, Austria.

<sup>2</sup> Dudjom Rinpoche relates that Rong-zom-pa later defeated Khug-pa Lhas-btsas in debate, converting him into his disciple (*Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism*, London 1991: 708). The versions of the *'byam-yig* are preserved in Kunsang Topgyel and Mani Dorji 1979: 18-25, and in Sog-bzlog-pa 1975: 475-485: *de* [i.e. Sangs-rgyas rin-po-che] *byas pa 'i chos sku 'i rgyud rdo rje thod / gsung gi rgyud rta mchog rol pa / thugs kyi rgyud pundi ri ka yang zer / [23] ran tra mi rgyud dang / yon tan rin chen skul ba 'i rgyud dang / phrin las kyi rgyud kamma khra le dang / phur pa ki la ya bcu gnyis kiyis rgyud dang ma mo 'dus pa 'i rgyud dang / bdud rtsi nag po brgyad pa 'i rgyud dang / de mams sgrub lung rgyud lnga zer ro //* and: *yang snubs sangs rgyas ye shes rin po ches kī lā ya bcu gnyis kyi rgyud bitsams so // de la biten nas bod mams kyi chos log dri ma can bsam gyis mi khyab pa byas so // de dag thams cad rgya gar ne med cing / pandi ta mang po la dris pas / chos nor pa yin gsung /*. Thanks to Dan Martin for this reference.

<sup>3</sup> The passages are (Kunsang Tobgyel and Mani Dorji 1979: 6-7): *de 'i nang nas lha rdo rje gzhon nus gsang snyags ki la ya 'i chos bitsams 'dug pa yang dag pa yin / yang sgrub pa che [sde?] brgyad 'dus pa gsum ni rdo rje 'chang gi phyag na rdo rje la bstan te / li byi nas brgyud do // gu ru padma 'i thugs dam yin te / bod phyir ston bya bas rgyud nas yod pa ni chos ma nor ba yin no // de mams dang mi mthun par byas nas bod rgan mams kiyis dpag tu med pa [7] cig bitsam ste / so zur snubs gsum gyi khongs su rgyal po zhugs te / phyi rol pa 'i gzhung lugs dang / nang pa 'i sgrub thabs gong 'og dang / jig rten pa 'i dregs byed mams kyi rgyud bon po 'i gzhung lugs mams bsres nas ming chos dang mthun par btags nas / kī la ya bcu gnyis bya ba la sogs pa phur rgyud dpag tu med pa bitsams / de la biten nas dpag tu med pa byung ste / padma 'byung gnas yang le shod du bsdad pa la rgya gar nas mi bdun gyis thig tshad bskur byung ba de yin zer nas rdzun byas te 'di mams la yang dag cig kyang med do //*. Thanks to Dan Martin for this reference.

<sup>4</sup> *mnga' bdag dpal 'khor btsan gyi dus // snub ban sangs rgyas ye shes byung // kha thun la sogs gshin rje 'i gshed // rta mgrin padma dbang chen dang // ma mo srid pa rgyud lung dang // kī lā ya ni bcu gnyis pa // de sogs sgrub lugs rgyud brgyad dang // kha skong gyi ni rgyud drug dang // de bzhin rgyud kyi rgyal po drug // sgrub pa 'i man ngag mtha' yas byas //* (Sog-bzlog-pa 1975: 277). Thanks to Dan Martin for this reference.

<sup>5</sup> Uncertainty over the name of the deity has arisen with Western scholarly involvement. Although tradition has, from the Dunhuang documents until now, consistently understood the deity's Sanskrit name to be Vajrakīlaya, modern

compositions, but the title *Phur-pa bcu-gnyis* is not mentioned.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, the attacks upon this text are typical of those launched against many other rNying-ma-pa tantras, and can be taken as a useful test case in evaluating traditional criticisms of the rNying-ma-pa tantras as a whole. The question I am addressing here is, were the critics of the rNying-ma-pa justified in this specific instance? Having text-critically edited and translated a text of this name from the rNying-ma'i rgyud-'bum (henceforth NGB), I have tried to find out.

The first task was to consider if I was reading the same text as that attacked by the polemicists. The situation is complicated by the existence of several Kīlaya tantras with similar names. The NGB redactions typically concentrate their Vajrakīlaya scriptures together within the fifth section of the Mahāyoga division (*phur-pa phrin-las skor*, or *phrin-las phur-pa'i skor*), where most editions have two different tantras that include the words *phur-pa bcu-gnyis* in their titles. However, the text I selected was not one of these counted among the many other Phur-pa scriptures, but rather the *Phur-pa bcu-gnyis-kyi rgyud ces-bya-ba theg-pa chen-po'i mdo'* (henceforth PCN), chosen to stand apart in a quite separate area of the NGB, as one of the crucial Eighteen Root Tantras of Mahāyoga (*tantra sde bco-brgyad*), within which, according to all the extant editions, the PCN counts as one of the "Five tantras of the explanations of sādhana practice" (*sgrub-pa'i lag-len ston-pa'i rgyud-sde lnga*). This suggests the PCN as the most significant text with *phur-pa bcu-gnyis* in its title, although there remain many uncertainties as to

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authors have (in perhaps Saidian "Orientalist" fashion) deemed this a mistake; they argue that Tibetans, trying to reconstruct the Sanskrit name from introductory homages, erroneously gave the dative form (Vajrakīlaya) in place of a "correct" nominative, Vajrakīla. I am not yet convinced by this argument. Firstly, the Tibetans normally render the name as Vajrakīlaya, not as the dative form Vajrakīlaya (I sampled over two hundred instances of the name in a wide range of texts, and found less than 15% of them rendered the name in the dative form). Secondly, even such a figure as Sa-pan, an excellent Sanskritist one of whose primary concerns was to root out all Tibetan-originated distortions of the Indic heritage, as far as we can see consistently rendered the name as Vajrakīlaya. Likewise, in all my readings from the Sa-skya bka'-'bum, I have only encountered the form Vajrakīlaya, never Vajrakīla. It is true that we only preserve these works of Sa-pan and Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan in xylographs or mss. produced many centuries after their time, so more modern ideas of the orthography might have intervened. Nevertheless, I suspect that had Sa-pan really preferred the reading Vajrakīla, at least some small trace of this would have survived into later times, yet as far as I can see at this moment, no such trace can be found.

Regrettably but predictably, Tibetan scholars have now begun to defer uncritically to the more dominant Western tradition, and, in English-language publications at least, have begun to call the deity by the "corrected" name of Vajrakīla. Yet it is possible that the traditional form Vajrakīlaya could in fact have been used in the original Indic sources. As Alexis Sanderson has suggested to me, "Vajrakīlaya" could have come from the second person singular active, causative imperative, of the verb *Kīl* (= kīlaya). Indigenous grammar (Pāṇini Dhātupāṭha 1.557) gives to *Kīl* the meaning of *bandha*, i.e. "to bind", while Monier-Williams (285) gives the meanings "to bind, fasten, stake, pin". Hence the form kīlaya could mean "you cause to bind!" etc., or "bind!" etc. This, taken from mantras urging "bind", or "may you cause to bind", might have come to be treated as a noun; and the noun might then have become deified; hence Kīlaya might have started out as a deified imperative, comparable to the deified vocative in the name Hevajra, and, according to Sanderson, not unheard of in other instances.

Interestingly, Kongtrul broadly agrees with this. He writes: *kī la ya'i sgra ni 'debs par byed pa ste* "The utterance kīlaya [means] 'to cause to strike', [or 'he causes to strike', or even 'he strikes']" (*dPal rdo-rje phur-pa rtsa-ba'i rgyud-kyi dum-bu'i 'grel-pa snying-po bsdus-pa dpal chen dgyes-pa'i zhal-lung zhes-bya-ba*: 65). Hence Kongtrul agrees with the causative nature of the word, even if not specifying an imperative. Because of this, and because Vajrakīlaya could be the correct Indic form, I am giving tradition the benefit of the doubt, and will retain the "uncorrected" name Vajrakīlaya until more convincing evidence is forthcoming. (Thanks to Pieter Verhagen for his advice on this note.)

<sup>6</sup> S. Karmay, "An Open Letter by Pho-brang Zhi-ba-'od to the Buddhists in Tibet", *Tibet Journal* V/3, 1980: 15.

<sup>7</sup> [1] sDe-dge xylograph NGB vol Pa, 176r-251v; [2] Kathmandu Ms. NGB vol Ma, 37r-129v; [3] mTshams-brag Ms. NGB (reproduced by the National Library of Bhutan, Delhi 1981), vol Dza, 393r-507r (or Western pages 785-1013); [4] reprint of the gTing-skyes dgon-pa byang Ms. NGB (commissioned by Khyentse Rinpoche, Thimpu, 1973), vol Dza, 1r-100r (or Western pages 1-199); [5] Wadell Ms. NGB (India Office Library, London) vol Dza, 1r-91r.

the origins of the NGB's doxographical structures.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, I felt the PCN to be a suitable test case: even if I cannot be sure it is the same text the polemicists criticised, its internal evidence on its own indicated it as a useful paradigm case for assessing the debates on the NGB's origins.

After translating the PCN, I found that extremely few of its contents appeared Tibetan in origin. Within its approximately 100 folios, I found only two items supposed by some Tibetologists as indigenous to Tibet: a fleeting mention of the *'go-ba'i lha* in Ch.9,<sup>9</sup> and a complex arrow sorcery in Ch.21.<sup>10</sup> Yet until we know much more about Indian tantrism, it appears rash to jump to the premature conclusion that these are *indubitably* non-Indic. If they are indigenous, the PCN's versions of them show a Buddhist overcoding so thorough as to render them virtually indistinguishable from Indic tantric materials, making them difficult to employ as evidence of Tibetan composition.

However, again in Ch.21, I found further evidence of possibly Tibetan materials as follows: two of the mantras (for the *māṭṣ'* power-substances) contain apparently non-Indic words with no meaning in Tibetan, as well as other clearly meaningful ordinary Tibetan words. One of the mantras goes: *o trig nan, rorupa tita nan, trig nan, rakmo yakmo trig nan, samaya snying-rtsa-la bhyo* (i.e. *samaya* "to the heart vein!" *bhyo*). The other mantra contains syllables such as *thums* and *rbad*. Such mantras, widespread in rNying-ma-pa tantrism, have long been a target of traditional polemics. Sog-bzlog-pa cites 'Bri-gung dpal-'dzin's denunciation of such rNying-ma-pa mantras, including the *trig* and *rbad* elements found above (Sog-bzlog-pa 1975).<sup>11</sup> Unfortu-

<sup>8</sup> We do not know if the PCN has always had such an exalted position, since the definitive history of these doxographical categories still remains to be written; and although I am aware of the available research, there is no space to discuss it here.

<sup>9</sup> The passage reads as follows: "It is important to [first] separate out the protective deities within the body (*'go-ba'i lha*) [of the victim]. Then suppress and beset [those evil elements] that are unable to flee. Appropriate their occult force and magical power, and render their limbs incapable of fighting back; strike [them] with the kila of vajra wrath!" / *'go ba'i lha dang dbral ba gces // 'bros kyis mi thar gnan gzir bya // mthu dang idzu 'phrul phrogs pa dang // yan lag 'khu mi nus par bya // rdo rje drag po'i phur pas gdab //*

<sup>10</sup> Stan Mumford observed a broadly similar ritual (*mda'-rgyab*) performed in contemporary Gyasumdo (S. Mumford, *Himalayan Dialogue*, Madison, 1989: 123-124), and agreed with Tucci's analysis that such arrow-shooting rituals were pre-Buddhist rites incorporated into the Buddhist scheme (G. Tucci, *Tibetan Folk Songs from Gyantse and Western Tibet*, Ascona, 1966). The Arrow-sorcery rite of the PCN is called "The Kila Projectiles of Powerful Substances", and is described as follows: Within a square enclosure of one cubit, a triangle is constructed with very precise dimensions. It is smeared with the five nectars, and blackened with cemetery charcoal. Precise details of its complex adornment with representations of skulls, vajras, and wheels are given. In particular, an eight-spoked wheel is drawn around the outside. On the appropriate places within this construction, and on the appropriate spokes of this wheel, stand arrows of specified dimensions, fletched with the feathers of specified birds (owl, crow, etc.), and tipped with heads of specified materials (barberry wood, etc.). These represent the Ten Wrathful Deities (Yamāntaka, Vijaya, etc.). Ten further small kilakas of poisonous and harmful woods are also used to represent the "Son" or "Material Kilas". These small kilakas are placed around the periphery at specific points. Then bali offerings are made to the *māṭṣ* and *dākiṇis* in appropriate skull vessels, with all the appropriate numbers of segments and other marks. A copper kila is used to summon the enemy into a *liṅga*, which is placed within a triangle within a six-sectioned skull. White mustard, black mustard, and other specific powerful magical substances used for destruction are housed in a seven-sectioned skull. Then, with the appropriate visualisation, mantras and liturgies of Vajrakīlaya, one bombards the *liṅga* with the power-substances. After signs of summoning have arisen, the power substances, empowered with the mantras, are poured into a magic horn. Then all the goddesses who perform the activities of killing are invoked with a vajra staff, offered balis, and urged to do their task. Then, visualising it to be in a tantric cemetery, one shoots at the *liṅga* within the skull with arrows shot from a barberry-wood bow, and also bombards it with the power substances. By this method, killing is effected.

<sup>11</sup> The passages are as follows: 302.3 *yang / khyed kyī thog ma'i mtshan tsam las // skad dod nor bas rang 'tshang*

nately, I cannot analyze this complex traditional debate here. We still know far too little about the way Sanskrit mantras were transcribed at the time when Vajrakīlaya texts first entered Tibet, nor have I yet studied the relevant traditional discussions. From my current limited understanding, Ch.21's mysterious mantras might be the mantras of goddesses "converted" in Tibet and then assimilated to Indic categories, or else Tibetan-composed mantras used for Indic goddesses. The mantras might also have once been more recognisably Indic, but become so transformed in transmission that their originals were already irrevocably obscured by the time the rNying-ma-pa tantras were codified. It is interesting that in the rNying-ma-pa tradition, even unequivocally Indic deities such as Ekajaṭā can be given both types of problematic mantra, *i.e.* the meaningless apparently non-Indic syllables, and the ordinary Tibetan language elements. The words *snying-ritsa*, for example, are very widely used. Possibly they were translations from Sanskrit employed in the place of transliterations. More specifically, there is a famous "Razor-Mantra" used in most Vajrakīlaya sādhanas, which, because of its centrality in the eyes of the tradition, has a higher likelihood of being Indic in origin. This contains many of the elements from the first mantra I have cited above. All in all, the evidence of Tibetan origins from these mantras is still not conclusive.

Other evidence in Ch.19, the *mantroddhāra* (*sngags btu-ba*), might more strongly suggest a Tibetan *reformulation* of Indic materials. Here, following the standard Indic convention, mantras are reduced to a code mainly by the ascription of fixed numbers to each series (*varga*) and letter of the Sanskrit alphabet, although other simple designations are also employed for important tantric syllables. To illustrate, the series ka kha ga gha ṅa is called "the first", the series ca cha ja jha ṅa is called "the second", and so on; thus the letter ka is indicated by the statement "the first of the first", while the letter ṅa is indicated by the statement "the fifth of the second". Likewise, the tantrically significant syllable *om̐* is described as "Vairocana". This system efficiently protects exact spellings and pronunciations from scribal distortion over long periods.<sup>12</sup>

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*bstan || phal cher sngags btu'i skabs na nor || sngags dang sgra bshad phal cher nor || dang por 'bus pas 'bu da ya || bar du dar bas dar ma la || tha mar sangs pas sang gha ya || 'di 'dra'i sgra bshad rgyud du bris || ca cha ja dang zha za 'a || 'di drug rgya gar skad du bsres || gsal byed brtsegs pa re re la || dbyangs yig gnyis gsum bzhi yi brgyan ||; 304.1 yang | rbad rbud kham shag ro myags chums || thod phreng stsal dang gro bo lod || e myags a rṅubs mug shag dun || bam ril dun thibs trig trig khram || her shog nir shog rgyug breng breng || rnal ma rnal te sod la rṅams || badzra zhang zhung ma la sogs || sngags la 'chal gtam brgya stong bsres ||; 305.4 yang | om nyid bzhi mu kha le kro ti shwa ri bha ga sam bhar ya || bde klongs 'dus 'dus snying sha yu ti ni hūm dzah dzah | 'di ltar khyed kyī sngags 'ga' zhig || rgya skad bod skad phyed bsres la || chos skad bon skad 'dres pa'i gzungs || bzhad gad gnas 'gyur shin tu mang ||*  
Thanks to Dan Martin for sending them to me.

<sup>12</sup> To give an example of the workings of a *mantroddhāra*, here are two samples from the PCN's Ch.19, with the decoded letter I have worked out shown after each line in italics:

Firstly comes Vairocana, (*om̐*)

Followed by the third of the sixth (*la*)

With the complete ornament of emptiness, (*ṃ*)

Followed by the two [syllables] hūm and laṃ; (*hūṃ laṃ*)

Then follows the last of the seventh, (*s*)

Adorned with the first of the fourth; (*ta*)

Then the last of the fifth is given, (*m*)

Followed by the third of the fifth; (*ba*)

After that comes the last of the third, (*ṅ*)

Ornamented by the third vowel; (*i*)

This mantra is the "Penetration Mantra".

(*i.e.* this decodes into the mantra: *om̐ laṃ hūṃ laṃ stambāṇi*)

First comes Vairocana, (*om̐*)

Followed by the first letter which lies at the head of the nine series, (*a*)

But when the PCN's *mantroddhāra* is decoded, its mantras resemble often highly corrupted versions of what one must surmise to be a very early *phonetic* system for rendering Sanskrit, a scenario found also in Dunhuang mss (Verhagen 1993: 336; Mayer & Cantwell 1994). They resemble neither the consistent and correct phonetics one might expect of a direct translation (made in a scholarly context) from Sanskrit even in the very early period, nor later systematic Tibetan *transliterations*. Hence they have apparent mispronunciations, inconsistencies and lacunae that sometimes render them virtually unintelligible even to a first-class Sanskritist specialising in Buddhist mantras. Their spellings and pronunciations seem to clearly reveal a hand more Tibetan than Indic. Text-critical analysis reveals that although transmissional error can account for some of these, nevertheless most of the irregular readings seem to result from the initial encodement of Sanskritically incorrect mantras.<sup>13</sup> Nor is this *mantroddhāra* exceptional: as we have seen above, 'Bri-gung dpal-'dzin acidly commented that "in general, the [rNying-ma-pa] *mantroddhāra* chapters contain errors" (*phal cher sngags btu'i skabs na nor*) (Sog-bzlog-pa *op.cit.*). Clearly, they have been controversial for as long as the mantras themselves. As far as I know, this is in marked contrast to texts of proven Indic origin.<sup>14</sup>

The most likely explanation to my mind is that the *mantroddhāra* of the PCN was composed in Tibet. It might have used as a basis an earlier (perhaps not very legible?) Tibetan manuscript with the mantras spelled out in a somewhat corrupted version of a possibly more phonetic early

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Followed by the letter coming fourth in the fifth. (*bh*)

Ornamented by the eleventh vowel. (*e*)

After which comes the second of the seventh. (*ṣa*)

And then the first of the sixth. (*ya*)

After a pause, this is repeated, (*x2*)

And with *hūṃ* and *phaṭ* coming at the end. (*hūṃ phaṭ*)

This mantra is called "The Calling Down Essence".

(*i.e. this decodes into the mantra: oṃ abheṣaya abheṣaya hūṃ phaṭ*)

<sup>13</sup> Here are 18 typical examples of mantras decoded from my critical edition of the PCN's Ch.19, presented in italics, with the probable correct Sanskrit juxtaposed: [1] *parabhaddha*, for: paraṃ vidhvamsaya (?); [2] *ciṇḍha ciṇḍha bajra hūṃ phaṭ*, for: chindha chindha vajra hūṃ phaṭ; [3] *biṇḍha biṇḍha bajra hūṃ phaṭ*, for: bhinda bhinda vajra hūṃ phaṭ; [4] *ghriṇha ghriṇha bajra hūṃ phaṭ*, for: gr̥ṇa gr̥ṇa vajra hūṃ phaṭ; [5] *hahṇa hahṇa bajra hūṃ phaṭ*, for: hana hana vajra hūṃ phaṭ; [6] *bhamḍha bhamḍha bajra hūṃ phaṭ* for: bandha bandha vajra hūṃ phaṭ; [7] *hasayara hrīḍana hūṃ phaṭ*, for: hrāsaya hrāsaya hrīḥ daṇḍa hūṃ phaṭ; [8] *śrī kri āṇaya hūṃ phaṭ* for: śighraṃ āṇaya hūṃ phaṭ; [9] *hahṇa hahṇa bajra hūṃ phaṭ* for: hana hana vajra hūṃ phaṭ; [10] *katakaye bhijaye acindhe aparacetai marasana purmartanya hūṃ phaṭ*, for: kaṭaṅkaṭe jaye vijaye ajite aparājite mārasenapramardiniye [or -pramardani] hūṃ phaṭ; [11] *hūṃ mama paṣakurūmastamphakare idhaṅtai mamakamarṣīkaṅkare svāhā*, for: hūṃ mama pāpakarmastambhakarī idam te mam karma śrīkaṅkāli svāhā; or, possibly, following PCN Ch. 13: hūṃ mama vaṣaṅ kuru matijñanaṅ kara idante mama karma śighraṅ kara svāhā; [12] *oṃ thaṭadanaṅ ghroṭa hūṃ phaṭ*, for: oṃ tathāsanaṅ krodhāya hūṃ phaṭ; [13] *oṃ bajra aghuṣṭha*, for: oṃ vajrāṅkuṣā; [14] *oṃ bajra rba ṇa rba ṇa bhya hūṃ phaṭ*, for: oṃ vajra...bhyo hūṃ phaṭ (the form *rbaṅ* is one of the mysterious rNying-ma-pa mantras unknown to Sanskritists. However, a *klog-thabs* text by the more recent figure of dNgul-chu dbyangs-can grub-pa'i rdo-rje (1809-1887), seems to quite consistently transcribe Sanskrit *bha* as *rba*; hence *rba na rba na* might derive from Sanskrit *bhana bhana*. See dNgul-chu dbyangs-can grub-pa'i rdo-rje's *sNgags mkho che ba 'ga' zhig klog 'don bya tshul bshad pa legs sbyar smra ba'i nyin byed*, ed. Lobsang Rabjee, New Delhi, 1966: 4-5); [15] *oṃ bajra kroṭa yaḡṣa kha kha ha ha hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ*, for: oṃ vajrakrodhayakṣa kha kha ha ha hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ; [16] *oṃ bajra kroṭaya paca paca bhūtvand maya jhaṭilamṇapodharaṇa ūcsmakrotaya hūṃ phaṭ*, for: oṃ vajrakrodhāya paca paca vidhvamsaya (?) jaṭilāmbhodharaṇa ucchuṣmakrodhāya hūṃ phaṭ; [17] *jaḥ huṃ baṃ ho ehi bhagaban bhitaracara yakṣa bajra bhyo bhyo rulu rulu hūṃ*, for: jaḥ hūṃ vaiṃ ho ehi bhagavan vīra (?) yakṣa vajra bhyo bhyo rulu rulu hūṃ; [18] *oṃ prāṭica hūṃ*, for: oṃ prāṭiccha hūṃ. Thanks to Alexis Sanderson for his help in establishing the probable correct Sanskrit forms.

<sup>14</sup> The *mantroddhāra* of the Tibetan translation of the *Hevajra-tantra* (II.ix.14-37) renders completely correct mantras, its only irregularity being the substitution of the letter *b* for *v*, *i.e.* in giving *bajra* for *vajra*; but this was a widely recognised concession to pronunciation already permitted in Sanskrit texts. Likewise, in other Sanskrit mss both Śaiva and Buddhist, *mantroddhāras* do not yield incorrect mantras in the same way as the PCN.

rendering of Sanskrit mantras, which might have been current before the rationalised transliteration system of later classical Tibetan had become established (Verhagen 1993: 337). Traditional sources believe that a revision of the the conventions of translation (*skad-gsar-bcad*) took place in Ral-pa-can's reign (815-838), but it is uncertain that this signalled the beginning of transliteration as opposed to phonetics; even the Dunhuang fragments of the *Sgra-byor bam-po gnyis-pa*, one of the crucial *skad-gsar-bcad* documents, has irregular renderings of Sanskrit. The *skad-gsar-bcad* thus seems most probably to refer only to a standardization of Tibetan orthography and translation idiom, and not to a reform or standardization of the transliteration of Sanskrit.<sup>15</sup> It is thus possible that a source text for the *mantroddhāra* of the PCN might have been written either before or after any such literary reforms.

In either case, from what we can see of these early phonetic renderings of mantras, Tibetan spelling was evidently used to represent what was heard, not what had been written in Sanskrit. Since different individuals inevitably pronounced, heard, and represented the mantras differently, the results could, if conditions were less than ideal, easily become unsystematic and haphazard, very much like the phonetics used for liturgical purposes in some contemporary Western "dharma centres". However, it is also possible that major scholarly centres, even in the very earliest period, might well have reproduced mantras in a fashion which, while phonetic, was also comparatively accurate and systematic; those texts that rendered mantras with inconsistent and haphazard phonetics may not have been written down by the most accomplished scribes. Be that as it may, examples of quite haphazard early phonetics still survive, notably among the Dunhuang documents, where the same mantra can be phoneticised in several different ways in the same text, and they seem in their irregularity to resemble the mantras reconstituted from the PCN *mantroddhāra* quite closely. For example, within a single short Dunhuang manuscript on Vajrakīlaya (Mayer & Cantwell 1994), the Sanskrit syllable *hūṃ* is variously rendered by hum, by huṃ, or by hung, while *phaṭ* is rendered variously as phad, pat, and phat. Compare the *mantroddhāra* of the PCN, in which the Sanskrit syllables *hana hana* are sometimes rendered as hahṇa hahṇa, and sometimes as hana hana; *bandha bandha* are sometimes rendered as bhamḍha bhamḍha, and sometimes as bandha bandha; while *krodhāya* is rendered variously as ghroṭa, krotaya, and kroṭaya.

An alternative possibility is that the PCN's Ch.19 and the other irregular rNying-ma-pa *mantroddhāras* might be direct translations from Sanskrit, but made according to the early policy of privileging semantics or target audience needs (*don-bsgyur*) above lexicality or text autonomy (*sgra-bsgyur*), a "cultural" rather than literal style of translation. Hence the mantras might have been deliberately re-encoded following the then current phonetic system. Instead of the conclusion that a pre-existing Old Tibetan-style transcription of Sanskrit mantras was at some *later* point encoded in Tibet, one could also hypothesize that if an original Sanskrit Ch.19 already had the mantras encoded in a very similar manner, it is possible that the Tibetan translator[s] set up their "transformation/translation" (*bsgyur*) to accord with their system of phonetic (*not* transliterated) representations of the mantras. Hence one could argue that the entire chapter as we have it reflects an all-at-once translation (and not, as previously suggested, a two-stage process), using a philosophy of "cultural" translation different from that adopted in the

<sup>15</sup> Even the Ta-pho fragment, thought to date from Rin-chen bzang-po's time, still have irregular, possibly phonetic renderings. Conversely, R. Vitali (*Early Temples of Central Tibet*, London, 1990: 23) briefly mentions a passage from an edition of the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* published in Lhasa in 1988, which apparently asserts that there was a revision of the rendering of Sanskrit mantras at this time. Thanks to Pieter Verhagen for informing me of these issues surrounding the *skad-gsar-bcad*.

*gsar-ma* period.<sup>16</sup>

This is possible, but problematic. Would translators want to rewrite a Sanskrit *mantroddhāra* into a phonetic rendering for Tibetans, but then do so in an inconsistent fashion with mispronunciations and bizarre spellings? Moreover, the very rationale of the *mantroddhāra* convention demands an exact fidelity to the source language, not the target language. Even though early translators favoured *don-bsgyur* above *sgra-bsgyur*,<sup>17</sup> in this special case of mantric science surely they had to be as lexical as possible: here it is crucial to preserve the gurus' sacred pronunciation, not to indulge the future students' dialect, or stumbling Sanskrit diction. It was precisely to meet such problems that Tibetans developed the genre of *klog-thabs*, or "[mantra] pronunciation manuals" (Verhagen 1993: 325). It is also significant that many Tibetan translators were also competent in Indic vernaculars, while native Indian paṇḍits were also active translators in Tibet, and in some instances, the *lingua franca* used by the translational teams might have been Indic vernaculars rather than Tibetan.<sup>18</sup> So the idea of an all-at-once translation faces the problem of mispronunciations that look Tibetan, and orthography with grammatical impossibilities, hyper-corrections and inconsistencies unlikely from those capable in Indic languages; the anusvāras, visargas and misplaced retroflexions suggest desultory Sanskrit far more than deliberate phonetics.

But later Tibetan visionaries did not necessarily pronounce or spell Indic languages correctly. Hence it is more likely that the *mantroddhāra* was composed on the basis of a later, corrupted Tibetan phonetic transcription, or (perhaps less likely) the utterances of a Tibetan guru, rather than a Sanskrit original. This latter hypothesis will be weakened if we discover indubitably Indic texts that repeat the pattern of the PCN, and strengthened if we find other *mantroddhāras* that are both from the early period and Sanskritically correct.<sup>19</sup> The sheer number and bulk of the NGB's Vajrakīlaya tantras also argues that at least some of them might have been compiled in Tibet, even if on the basis of Indic raw materials, while others might be more entirely Indic. It seems to me that the spellings of the mantras in the *mantroddhāra* provide strong evidence that Ch.19 was composed outside India. I sought a second opinion from Alexis Sanderson, a specialist in tantric literature in Sanskrit. He replied:

"I agree with you entirely. The spellings of the Mantras in the *mantroddhāra* prove conclusively that it was composed outside India by someone familiar with the Indian Tantric *mantroddhāra* convention, but applying it to a text of the Mantras that no Indian could have written, approved, or, in some cases, even recognized. It seems hardly probable that the *mantroddhāra* text is Indian in origin but rewritten

<sup>16</sup> This interpretation was suggested by Dan Martin; personal communication, April 1, 1995.

<sup>17</sup> The differences between the early and later translators on the relative merits of *don-bsgyur* and *sgra-bsgyur* should not be exaggerated, or seen as a black-and-white opposition in which the early translators unconditionally favoured *don-bsgyur*, and the later translators unconditionally favoured *sgra-bsgyur*. On the contrary, it was always a matter of finding a balance between the two, cf. the remarks on *sgra-* and *don-bsgyur* in the introductory section of the *Sgra-sbyor bam-po gnyis-pa* (ed. Ishikawa 1990: 2): *skad rkyang pa bshad mi 'tshal ba sgra bzhin du bsgyur bar rigs pa mams kyang sgra btsan par byis te ming du btags / skad kha cig don bzhin du gdags par rigs pa mams kyang don btsan par byis te ming du btags nas* /. Cf. N. Simonsson, *Indo-tibetische Studien*. Uppsala 1957: 245-246. Thanks to Pieter Verhagen for this data.

<sup>18</sup> P. C. Verhagen, *A history of Sanskrit grammatical literature in Tibet. Volume 1: Transmission of the Canonical Literature*. Leiden, (Handbuch der Orientalistik, Zweite Abteilung, Indien 8), 1994: 47-48.

<sup>19</sup> In particular, I hope to look for *mantroddhāras* to study among the Five Major Tantras of Mahāyoga (*Buddha-samāyoga*, *Candraguhyatilaka*, *Guhyasamāja*, *Śrī-paramādyā*, *Karmamālā*), some of which are known to be of certain Indic origins, and compare them with other Mahāyoga scriptures of less certain origin.

have interacted: after some initial resistance, the more successful visionary revelations of the shamanic Buddhists are taken up by some of the clerical current, which employs doxographical strategies to recode such fresh revelations as the utterances of the historical Buddha. As Dumont pointed out (echoing the insights of Weber), a basic feature of Indian religion is that the many innovations of the individual ascetic visionaries outside the world become domesticated by the schools of clerical scholars within the world. Here, in pursuit of respectability, new Buddhist revelation becomes reconstrued as ancient tradition, the word of the historical Buddha.

Because the terms of the debate on closed and open canons is so universal in Buddhism, I feel we must reject the auras of marginality and irrelevance that, conditioned by an overly parochial approach, have distorted some perceptions of the NGB. On the contrary, I envisage the PCN as a paradigm case, in which to observe such tensions and conversations on canonicity entirely typical of Buddhism from its inception. Clearly, it is important that we look at the composition of Tibetan tantric texts like the PCN in the context of how Buddhist tantras in general have been composed, in India and elsewhere. Here, I can look at only a few key perspectives.

In Lévi-Straussian terms, the PCN, like most other Vajrayāna scriptures, can be seen as the product of a process of *bricolage*, or the manipulation of persisting cultural materials to create new cultural reconstructions. More specifically, in Geoffrey Samuel's terminology, one can see key parts of the PCN as arisen out of predominantly shamanic mediatory processes, *i.e.* the recourse to higher states of consciousness to reconcile conflicting cultural forces. The PCN reveals two distinct historical strata of shamanic mediatory activity of this sort, one older and Indic, and one less old and explicitly associated with Nepal and Tibet. The Indic level is expressed in the Śiva-taming narrative, the famous origin or charter myth of Buddhist *kāpālika* Tantrism, which explains (or "comments upon", cf. Geertz) the Buddhist adaptation of Śaiva Tantrism, by portraying Śiva as a converted demon-devotee of the Buddhas. Such "demon devotees" form a key and arguably unique motif in Indian religious thought: as Alf Hillebeitel has remarked, "their mythologies are shaped by a theology of *bhakti*, or devotion, in which the gods repeatedly convert their demon adversaries – sometimes by defeating them, but more often by killing them (implying the principle of reincarnation) – into their devotees".<sup>22</sup> Thus the gods slay the demons, but instantly revive them to reincarnate as devotees, who bring with them to the service of the gods their erstwhile demonic forces and entourages. In Mahāyoga scriptures such as the PCN, Maheśvara/Rudra is represented as the demonic originator of an evil *kāpālika* cult, who is killed and tamed by the Buddhas, thereby bringing to the service of Buddhism the entire panoply of a transformed, Buddhist-congruent Vajra-*kāpālika* Tantrism. Thus, according to the long, important and detailed taming narrative of the PCN's Ch.7, in the context of which so many of the core verses of the Vajrakīlaya tradition are enunciated, it is explicitly from this taming of Śaivism that the Indian tantric materials making up the vast bulk of its contents derive. Here, then, we have a frank admission of Śaiva-Buddhist intertextuality: the vertical, diachronic Buddhist exclusivity envisaged by clerical Buddhism is at once undermined by horizontal, synchronous links, dangerously extending outside the fold of Buddhism *per se*.

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But the frank acceptance of such stratagems as *local historical* events nevertheless incorporated into *scripture*, highlights a key disagreement between Tibetan clerical and shamanic understandings of canonicity. The more shamanic rNying-ma-pa see no problem in admitting a specific local historical event into a scripture purportedly uttered in its entirety by the primordial Buddha Samantabhadra and collated by the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi. For them, the source of all scripture is in the "Fourth Time" beyond past, present and future; both the text received from Nālandā and the additions made to it by Padmasambhava at Yang-le-shod are equally expressions of the same unlimited Samantabhadra speaking from the same timeless reality; both are equally descended to earth through the Three Transmissions, the Mind Transmission of the Buddhas, the Symbolic Transmission of the Vidyādhara, and the Heard Transmission of the Yogins. From the Tibetan clerical point of view, this is highly suspect. Valid tantras were uttered by the historical Buddha (in transcendent form) at a unique historical moment, and certainly could not be added to once uttered. In their view, such additions are by definition apocrypha, and the inclusion of the verses alluding to Yang-le-shod in themselves must condemn the PCN as apocryphal.

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to give the mispronunciations, omissions, corruptions, etc. of a Tibetan living tradition" (Personal communication, A. Sanderson, Jan. 26, 1995).

If I am correct in my hypothesis, one might speculate that a source manuscript from which the *mantroddhāra* was constructed might have been very old, maybe discovered like a *gter-ma*, suffused with the sanctity of authentic relics of Padmasambhava's time. But transcriptional standardisation took effect slowly, so it could also have been later.

If, as I suggest, the PCN was not in its entirety a direct translation from Sanskrit, should we then conclude that the polemicists were justified in condemning it as an apocryphal forgery? That all depends on whether or not we are to accept their criteria of canonicity which demands a closed canon, rather than the contrasting rNying-ma-pa criteria of canonicity, which demands an open canon and ongoing revelation. Both criteria have an equally long and well respected background in Indian Buddhism (Mayer 1994). Moreover, the issue of canonicity per se raises above all the issues of power relations between competing ideologies: from one viewpoint, it could be said that the criteria for declaring anything to be a "canon", such as the Bible or the Koran, have been largely historically or socially accidental; in this sense canonicity is not an empirical issue that can be self-evidently established one way or the other; it is a purely ideological issue. As such, on purely theoretical grounds alone, both and neither side must always end up as equally meriting the victory in any dispute over canonicity (although in the real world the more powerful party can always impose itself by force). So, rather than take sides in such a necessarily circular dispute, it is more fruitful simply to examine each side's viewpoint. But to achieve this, and to really understand the controversies surrounding the rNying-ma-pa tantras, we must also contextualise the debate much more broadly, and examine the historical processes by which the greater part of *all* Buddhist scriptures, in India as elsewhere, have begun their existence as "apocrypha" and only later been established as "canonical".

I feel it is best to approach this discussion from the broadest of theoretical perspectives. Geoffrey Samuel has analyzed the history of Buddhism as the interaction of what he terms its shamanic and clerical modal currents.<sup>20</sup> Samuel sees the interaction of these two currents as providing an underlying tension that shapes the development of Buddhism throughout its history. He writes, "the tension is between the visionary and yogic side of Buddhism, with its recurrent struggle to recreate and maintain the shamanic vision, and the clerical and scholarly side, with its orientation towards the development of the Buddhist community as part of the wider hierarchical social order" (Samuel 1993: 373). My suggestion is that within Buddhist *scriptural* history, these find expression in contrasting notions of canonicity: while the shamanic current has nearly always conceived of an open canon and the ongoing revelation of new scripture, the clerical current has nearly always conceived of a closed canon, and seeks merely to codify the inherited body of scripture. In India, this tension manifested in the diametrically

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<sup>20</sup> Samuel's initial formulation of the contrast between shamanic and clerical currents in Tibetan Buddhism, which in many respects resembles Weber's categories of charismatic and traditional modes of religious authority, or Weber's conceptions of "prophets" and "priests", can be summarised as follows. Shamanic Buddhism works in terms of a direct relationship with an alternative mode of reality, often a tantric deity, evoked to achieve enlightenment, which is perceived as a potentiality present within all individuals. The alternative reality can also be invoked to bring about desired effects within this mode of reality, such as health etc. The primary mode is analogy and metaphor. The typical figure is the tantric lama who undergoes prolonged retreat to gain shamanic power, to use on behalf of others. The textual base comprises the rNying-ma-pa and gSar-ma-pa tantric corpora, and the gTer-ma. Clerical Buddhism shares with shamanic Buddhism the goal of ultimate enlightenment. It dismisses as irrelevant all saṃsāric activities other than avoiding evil and doing good. Its primary mode is scholarship, philosophical analysis, and monastic discipline. Its typical figure is the scholar-monk, studying texts and debating philosophy. Its textual base comprises the Vinaya, the Sūtras, and the Śāstras (condensed from Samuel 1993: 9-10).

opposed scriptural policies of the shamanic early Mahāyānists and the more clerical mainstream Buddhists, and later, of the by then scholastic, clerical Mahāyānists and the shamanic, visionary Vajrayānists. In Ceylon, it was resolved by the victory of the conservative clerical Mahāvihāra backed by King Parakkamabāhu, over the more shamanic Mahāyānist monks of Abhayagiri. In China, it culminated in the strict clerical bibliographic controls upon the previously flourishing shamanic revelation of new Buddhist sūtras that followed the accession of Liang Wu-ti.<sup>21</sup> In Tibet, however, this conflict still persists in the unresolved debates on canonicity between the predominantly shamanic rNying-ma-pa who support ongoing revelation, and their more clerical critics who favour a closed canon. From a global perspective, the evidence clearly suggests that a surprisingly universal set of terms seems to have characterised the debate on canonicity throughout Buddhist history. There is no space here to go into historical details for each Buddhist cultural region, but I have summarised these continuities as follows: [1] in each missionised Buddhist region, initially, the canonical collections were *de facto* open, following the Indian model, where fresh scriptural revelation never ceased; [2] subsequent attempts to close the canon inevitably involved political factors, in the sense that successful canonical closure, as opposed to the mere aspiration for canonical closure, depended on state intervention, or effective repression. [3] Furthermore, throughout the Buddhist world, at most times in its history: some favoured canonical closure, typically in terms of the notions that "only scriptures uttered by the historical Buddha are authentic", or "only Indic scriptures are authentic", or both; [4] some favoured canonical openness, typically in terms of the notions that "whatever is well said is the word of the Tathāgata", or that previously undistributed teachings by the historical Buddha were still coming to light, or both; [5] under pressure, new revelations freely claimed to be uttered by the historical Buddha or translated from Indic originals; this was seen as an essential *upāya* to help those blind to the Buddha's limitless nature have faith in the true dharma; most Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna scriptures, and even the Theravāda Abhidhamma, transparently employ such *upāya*; [6] whether produced in India, China or Tibet, new scriptural revelation tended to show a constant pattern of relationship to its environment: it typically added to the received corpora by reformulating received passages of scripture to more precisely suit contemporaneous and local needs; this could include the introduction of previously extraneous categories, if subordinated and adapted to received Buddhist ones; [7] new scriptural revelation often showed significant intertextuality with surrounding Hindu, Taoist and Bon-po traditions.

These topics imply two quite contrasting ideas of the Buddha, his dharma, and hence of canonicity. On the one hand are those who privilege the shamanic current. Their main inspiration is to emulate the Buddha's realisation of wisdom, and their immediate orientation is to the absolute bodhicitta: they see the Buddha as all-pervading, and hence they value his immanent expression in fresh scriptural revelation. On the other hand are those who privilege the clerical current. Their main inspiration seems to be to emulate the Buddha's compassionate deeds in preaching dharma and establishing the śāsana within society, and their immediate orientation is to the relative bodhicitta; they see the Buddha as having manifested at a specific historical moment, and hence they value the exegesis of his teachings as passed down by tradition, while remaining sceptical of fresh revelations attributed to present-day encounters with the Buddhas. In the context of canonicity, there seems to have been a typical way in which these two streams

<sup>21</sup> It is interesting that scriptural revelation in China and India alike seemed to have employed the very same methods as those used by the rNying-ma-pa in Tibet. Important early descriptions of these occur in an early Mahāyāna scripture, the *Pratyutpanna-Buddha-Saṃmukhāvasthita-Samādhi-Sūtra*, and are known to the rNying-ma-pa as the Pure Vision (*dag-srang*) and Treasure (*gter-ma*) systems (Mayer 1994).

have interacted: after some initial resistance, the more successful visionary revelations of the shamanic Buddhists are taken up by some of the clerical current, which employs doxographical strategies to recode such fresh revelations as the utterances of the historical Buddha. As Dumont pointed out (echoing the insights of Weber), a basic feature of Indian religion is that the many innovations of the individual ascetic visionaries outside the world become domesticated by the schools of clerical scholars within the world. Here, in pursuit of respectability, new Buddhist revelation becomes reconstrued as ancient tradition, the word of the historical Buddha.

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In conclusion, I want to explore a further hypothesis regarding the origins of the rNying-ma tantras. On reflection, it seems to me that the anomalous form of the PCN's *mantroddhāra* must owe as much (if not more) to deliberate choice than to ignorance. To write a *mantroddhāra* at all requires a precise knowledge of the Sanskrit alphabet, and this one also uses sandhi and learned terms like *nāmakāya* and *padakāya*. Thus, even if its compilers predated transliterational standardisation, it is implausible that they did not recognise the irregularity of the phonetics represented in their work. Had they seriously intended to present the *mantroddhāra* as Sanskritically respectable, they surely would have had to change its form into corrected Sanskrit, an operation that seems to have been within their capacities. Likewise, the various redactors down the centuries knew all too well that the *mantroddhāra* was evidence of Tibetan origins for their critics, and could easily have made discreet changes. Yet, on the contrary, the sDe-dge edition actually has a marginal note, explaining that while the *mantroddhāra* still looks like it requires further scrutiny, it *must* be left as it is!<sup>24</sup> While all five extant editions correctly spell the same mantras in other chapters, no editor ever ventured to correct Ch.19, which still retains its idiosyncrasies intact, undisguised and seemingly unashamed evidence of the partially Tibetan origins of this scripture, whether this be re-interpreted (perhaps through secondary elaborations of belief) as legitimate hyper-translation, or (perhaps through over-zealous clerical spleen) as fraudulent composition. Again, as with the mysterious rNying-ma-pa mantras discussed above, we are confronted with the predominantly shamanic attitudes of the promoters of these texts, and their seemingly deliberate gestures towards what Peter Wilson has termed "reputation" in contrast to "respectability".<sup>25</sup> The opportunity to efface the non-Sanskritic or Tibetan elements of Chs.19 and 21 for more clerical respectability apparently concerned the rNying-ma-pa lineage-holders less than the preservation intact of very old (if irregular) mantras with a reputation for power.

Left to their own devices, free from state curbs, Mahāyāna and Tantric Buddhism have always countenanced or even encouraged ongoing revelation (Mayer 1994). So my hypothesis is that initially, texts like the PCN never claimed direct translation from Sanskrit for *all* of their verses. Rather, they incorporated revealed addenda produced anonymously and unashamedly by early Tibetan siddhas emulating their Indian rôle models, who also revealed new scripture (the systematised *gter-ma* system might represent a later institutionalisation of this creative process within Tibet). Until political factors intervened, I feel we can assume that Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna scriptural materials were constantly revealed throughout Buddhist Central Asia and Tibet, just as they were in India at all times, and in China before Liang Wu-ti. Only later, impelled by clerical and political pressures such as those expressed by the polemicists discussed above, did the Tibetan re-redactions and revelations now included among the NGB begin to do what all Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna scriptures had invariably done before them: deny-

<sup>24</sup> "Although in the following *mantroddhāra*, much [further] analysis could still be done, it should be left unchanged": *sngags btu 'di la dpyad bya mang yang sor bzhang bya*. Pieter Verhagen has analysed the phrase *sor-bzhag*; it occurs in an early Tibetan grammatical treatise, the *Sgra'i nram-par dbye-ba bstan-pa* (Peking Bstan-'gyur: mdo-'grel, vol. NGO 63v7-64r2). In this instance, where the mantra *om maṇi-padme hūṃ* is being discussed, *sor-bzhag* is used to describe how the word *padma* is the same word in Tibetan as in Sanskrit, and so remains unchanged (*sor-bzhag*) in translation. Verhagen also cites the entry in dGe-bshes Chos-kyi grags-pa's Tibetan dictionary, *Brda-dag ming-tshig gsal-ba* (Chinese translation, Peking, 1975: 917): "*gzhan du ma sgyur bar rang ngo bor gso bar bzhang pa*": "to establish (*bzhag-pa*) (something), preserving (*gso-bar*) the thing itself (*rang*) in identical (form) (*ngo-bor*) without altering (*ma-sgyur-bar*) (it) into another (form) (*gzhan-du*)." (P. C. Verhagen, "The Mantra 'Om maṇi-padme hūṃ' in an Early Tibetan Grammatical Treatise", *JLABS* 13/2, 135 and 137 n.12).

<sup>25</sup> Peter Wilson, *Crab Antics: The Social Anthropology of English-Speaking Negro Societies of the Caribbean*. New Haven, 1973.

ing their true shamanic origins in mystical revelation and what Lévi-Strauss has called *bricolage*, they sought through doxography new clerically acceptable identities as scriptures wholly passed down by transmission. Yet the lack of effective repression in politically decentralised Tibet meant that the clerical project of a normative, global Buddhism remained uncompleted, and hence there could persist a quite distinctive ambivalence and irony in rNying-ma-pa claims to respectable Sanskrit provenance. Thus, writing as an editor of the NGB, and with a form of words (*sor-bzhag*) highly reminiscent of the marginal note to the *mantroddhāra* of the sDe-dge PCN, 'Jigs-med gling-pa felt free to explain in his account of the controversial rNying-ma-pa mantras and *mantroddhāras*, that they had not all come from Sanskrit sources in the first place! Their original languages were often unknown, including Prākṛits, Apabhraṃśa, Paiśāca, barbarian and secret symbolic languages. Unrectifiable without knowing these intrinsically unknowable tongues, they were best left uncorrected.<sup>26</sup> It seems to me that in the interplay of clerical and shamanic currents in rNying-ma-pa tantrism, we can see in microcosm the history of all Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna scriptures throughout Buddhist history; for all such scriptures demonstrate a similar pressure that specifically seeks to deny their actual shamanic origins, in favour of a new assumed clerical identity. In this sense, a text like the PCN is a paradigm case of Buddhist scriptural history, not a marginal, exotic irrelevance.

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<sup>26</sup> From his NGB dkar-chag in: *The Collected Works of Kun-mkhyen 'Jigs-med gling-pa*, Gangtok, Sonam T. Kazi, 1972, vol.3, 428-429. Also in Thimpu NGB (1973), vol.34, 572 (?): *yi ge pa'i slad skyon dang / zhu dag mkhan gyis dpyod tshul nor ba dang / bri nor byung bas shin tu brtag dka' ba mang du mchis pa rnam las po ti gnyis gsum tsam ma gtogs phal cher rang nyid kyi mig lam du dong bas 'byin 'jug gang shes byas / sngags mams ni sngags btu la sogs pa dang tshad mas 'gal bar shes ba rnam bcos shing / cis kyang the tshom dang bral bar ma nus pa dag // bi ga tsi dang / a wa bhram sha dang / pra kri ta'i skad dang / brda skad shin tu gsang ba dang / kla klo skad la sogs pa yod par shes nas bcos su mi btub pa rnam phyi mo dang mthun pa tsam rgyu mtshan du byas nas sor bzhag pa nyid nyes dmigs chung ba'i gnas su byas te /*. Thanks to Dan Martin for sending me this passage.

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# RECONSTITUTING THE SELF IN A TIBETAN TRADITION: MODELS OF DEATH AND THE PRACTICE OF MOURNING IN THE HIMALAYAS

by

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Tibetan Buddhism provides for its adherents not just a set of practices and discrete beliefs, but a pervasive vision of life that orders and makes sense of experience. Death is one of the powerful mysteries of human existence and is a focus of attention in Buddhism, as it underlines the transience of all phenomena and the inevitability of loss. In this essay, I will examine the way in which a Tibetan Buddhist people inhabiting the southern foothills of the Himalayas conceive of the religious meaning of death. Then I will go on to show how the mourning patterns that channel emotion in their society enact or replicate religious conceptions, embodying abstract principles and rendering them vivid and compelling.

Here I wish to address the salience of death for the Gurungs of Nepal, a people who practice Tibetan Buddhism and are believed to have migrated from Tibet to Nepal many centuries ago, and to explore the interconnections between inner experience and religious and cultural worldviews (see D'Andrade 1984, Obeyesekere 1981). My interest is in the way in which religious and cultural understandings influence the interpretation of experience, and in the way in which prescribed strategies for coping with grief channel emotion in such a way that accepted systems of meaning are made more convincing.

In the Gurung village where I conducted research, in the foothills of the Annapurna mountains, the event of death was an intense focus of attention. When someone was dying, the room would fill with people: kin and co-villagers would crowd around to watch the ailing person die. Deaths and the circumstances surrounding them were frequent topics of conversation, and mortuary rituals were the premier ceremonial events of village life.

The symbolic value of death is highly elaborated in Gurung society. Death is not hidden from view. When someone dies, people of the village come all night to the house where the corpse is laid uncovered next to the hearth. In the morning, the corpse is placed in a wooden chair in the courtyard, dressed in its finest clothes. Villagers gather in the courtyard to accompany the corpse down the mountain, in the same manner that people leaving on a journey are seen off. The corpse is then carried down the mountain to the river, led by a lama, a Buddhist priest who beats a drum that echoes through the gorge, letting those in neighboring villages know a death has occurred. At the river, most of the procession of people who have followed the body and the priests to the cremation site return, and the corpse is stripped and burned as the lama recites prayers.

Since most Gurungs have observed the process of dying and seen an openly displayed corpse, the physical reality of death has an immediacy, even for children. Adults and children both discuss the events of a death in vivid detail, recounting how the bones of a victim of fire were charred, how the body of an old woman wobbled when she fell over and died. It is my assertion, developed from examination of Gurung childrearing practices, beliefs about the person, and especially, concepts about death, that while attention to death expresses a Buddhist

sense of impermanence, it serves most strongly to underline the bonds of community in Gurung society.

For Gurungs, death is conceived in Buddhist terms as the dissolution of elements that make up the body so that the earth element returns to earth, fire to fire, air to air, and water returns to water. There are parallels and contrasts, however, with textual Tibetan Buddhist concepts of the after death experience in the *bardo*. It is believed by Gurungs that the soul or *plah* must be directed by priests, with the help of the community, to the land of the ancestors. The period immediately after death is thought to be extremely painful for the deceased, who does not yet realize it is dead. Descriptions of this period epitomize the Gurung fear of being cut loose from the web of interdependence: The spirit, thinking itself alive, greets its kinfolk and friends, but no one replies. It sees people eating, but no one offers it anything. It sits at its place, and speaks to family members, but no one acknowledges its presence. Distraught, the spirit wanders through the village, crying out and rattling doors. Gurungs describe the spirit's sense of utter aloneness and anguish with great vividness, and when particularly outraged by the selfish or uncooperative behavior of another, Gurungs will say, "When he dies, he will be all alone with no one to help him." It is help in the form of the mortuary ritual that releases the spirit from this painful state.

The scenario of death is one of being isolated, alone, and bewildered, unable to evoke a response from anyone. While the major mortuary ritual, the *pae*, is not performed until forty-nine days after death, a minor ritual, called the *shimmy kae*, or "corpse meal" takes place on the third morning after death. This ritual relieves the spirit of its initial confusion and misery.

In it, a member of each household in the village comes to the house of the deceased, bringing offerings of food. Some of these are burned so that the deceased can take in their essence, and the rest are distributed to the children who are present. The lama chants from the sacred text as villagers stand around. The priests maintain that in the reading of the text, the spirit is informed that he or she has died. Thus the lack of response of the community to its presence and its needs becomes understandable to the spirit.

While the *shimmy kae* is said to orient the spirit to the fact of death, it is only through the performance of a more elaborate mortuary ritual, called the *pae*, that the spirit of the deceased is believed to be able to reach the land of the ancestors and so is freed from the state of fear, loneliness, and misery that it suffers wandering in limbo. Through the *pae*, the spirit is reinstated in a community.

The primary images associated with death have to do with dissolution, isolation, and vulnerability. These are elaborated and emphasized in the performance of the *pae*. The *pae* is the major ceremonial event for Gurungs. It embodies and reflects essential themes in Gurung society, relating to the importance of belonging and social embeddedness, and the necessity of submerging individual desires in the face of social demands.

The *pae* lasts for three days and two nights. It is a public event, and often over a hundred people participate. Kinfolk and co-villagers are required to participate, but many other people come because it is an exciting social event. The ritual itself is conducted by both Buddhist lamas and the *paju* shamans of the pre-Buddhist Gurung religion (see also Mumford 1989), but secular activities, like the offering of hospitality, are important to the success of the ceremony. The *pae* includes revelry as well as mourning, and a good and effective *pae* involves extremes of both joy and sorrow, being characterized by the phrase "*bele sedgi, bele crodgi*," which translates as, "danced with fervor, wept with fervor." The *pae* involves a gathering together of community and kin, the summoning of the spirit by priests, and its embodiment in an effigy for

the duration of the ritual. The effigy, called the *plah*, is believed not merely to represent the spirit, also called the *plah*, but to render it present and substantial. The deceased is thought actually to be these in the *plah*, and this evokes an intense emotional response on the part of the mourners. Bereaved women express love, grief, and anger to the *plah*. It is presented with gifts of favorite food and drinks. Most of the activity of the *pae* takes place around it, and at climactic points in the ritual (sunset on both evenings), the *plah* is surrounded by a flood of people: bereaved women who cling to it and weep, priests chanting sacred texts, spectators who spill out of the courtyard of the house and even climb onto the rooftop to watch, men dressed as demons who make ribald remarks to the crowd. Throughout the night young people sing, dance, and flirt. During the *pae*, the household of the deceased becomes a focus of human activity with the *plah* at the centre.

At the end of the ceremony, a canopy covering the courtyard is pulled back, the son shoots an arrow to indicate the direction of the Land of the Dead, and the spirit is sent off to the afterworld. The weeping of the bereaved women, the chanting of the priests, and the ribald antics of the men dressed as demons reach a crescendo. The *plah* is carried to a plateau below the village. A procession of kin and friends follow, in the same manner that the corpse is escorted out of the village for cremation. Most of the crowd stays behind, and disperses. At the plateau, the *plah* is dismantled and abandoned, male mourners have their heads shaved while the bereaved women braid their hair, and then friends and relatives return to the village. The group that gathered to honor the deceased dissolves, the effigy that has embodied the spirit is taken apart, and the ceremony is ended.

As in Buddhist conceptions about the aggregation of elements in the body and their dispersal at death, we can see the metaphor of coalescence and dissolution as central in Gurung beliefs about the body and soul. In death, the body is believed to dissolve into its constituent parts. This metaphor is enacted at the *pae*. Community members and kin coalesce around the *plah*, and when the ceremony ends they disperse, and the effigy that had been assembled to embody the soul is dismantled.

However, there is a critical difference in the interpretation of the implications of death. Rather than orienting the individual toward salvation, among Gurungs the immediacy of death and the drama surrounding it are used to remind people of the fragility of life and their need for one another. From childhood, death and community are juxtaposed and contrasted. Small unruly children are disciplined by being put outside in the dark, the door to the house being closed behind them, with the command "Die!" The child very quickly becomes frantic, and is then readmitted and comforted. In Gurung society, the message that social embeddedness protects the individual from disintegration and aloneness is repeated in a variety of ways.

What I wish to explore now is the set of Gurung beliefs about the volatile nature of the self, which resonate with Buddhist concepts, and the relation of these to cultural ideology and mourning practices. The Gurungs recognize a tension between social demands for conformity and the needs and desires of the individual. These are well articulated in Gurung concepts of the person, which I have discussed at length elsewhere (McHugh 1989). Most important for my purpose here is the concept of the *plah*. In Gurung belief, the body, an aggregate of elements, is made alive by the presence of a number of souls, or *plah* (nine for men and seven for women). The *plah*, like the Western idea of the soul, is considered essential to life, although the individual is neither aware of nor able to control it. Beliefs about the *plah* convey a sense of the fragility of the person. *Plah* can easily fly out of the body and if all the *plah* are lost, the body's elements are no longer held together and the person will die. If some *plah* are lost, illness results. The *plah* can be lost through such ordinary events as stumbling or being startled,

through illness or witch attack, or, most importantly for our purposes through the experience of intense emotion.

Social attention may restore lost *plah*. If a person slips on a path, others will respond by laying their hands on the person's head and shoulders, saying "*shah, shah*" to protect the victim of this minor shock from *plah* loss. Larger events, like illness or the emotional trauma of bereavement, require the tying of a yellow string (*rupa*) around the neck of the person, again while saying "*shah, shah*." A gift of cloth might also be offered.

The idea that the *plah* are easily lost reflects a notion of the person as composed of elements that might fall apart without others helping to hold it together. The idea of the *plah* emphasizes the interdependence of individuals and the vulnerability of the isolated person. In describing processes that necessitate mutual dependency, the concept of the *plah* powerfully supports an ideology of cooperation and sharing.

The idea of the *plah* also expresses a fear of disintegration pervasive among Gurungs. According to Gurung beliefs about the person, the integrity of the self is not secure; the individual's own boundaries are periodically in need of shoring up by others. Such beliefs can be seen as congruent in some ways with Buddhist conceptions of a contingent rather than essential self, but are played out in very different terms, producing anxiety, and social and cultural means of resolving that anxiety. This can be seen most clearly in practices of grieving among Gurungs.

At critical periods of mourning, immediately after the death and during mortuary rituals, the bereaved individuals are enveloped by kin and community. One can recognize the bereaved, as they have been bestowed with numerous *rupa* to prevent the soul loss that intense emotion might cause. However, grief does not erupt only within the confines of ritual occasions. Outside ritual contexts, grief may be experienced as even more threatening since protection from the ill effects of strong emotion is not built into the situation.

While Gurung conventions for expressing grief outside a ritual context are not explicitly defined, there is a pattern that I found to be clear and consistent. I discovered this pattern to the expression of grief when I returned in 1978 to the village in which I had conducted fieldwork, after an absence of three years. During my initial two years of fieldwork, I had been very close to the headman's wife, who had adopted me and taken responsibility for turning me into a decent moral being by Gurung standards. On my return I learned that she had died six months before. Many people mentioned that seeing me reminded them of her and produced a fresh upwelling of grief. Soon after my arrival, I was walking with her two closest friends, when one of them began to talk of how we had traveled this way so many times with my adoptive mother. She recounted, in a sad but calm voice, details about her personality, the things she did with each of us, how we would never be able to enjoy her company again, how she had died too young. Soon everyone was sobbing. Tears trickled down the narrator's face as she watched the others weep, then she began saying "*Tadgi, tadgi, a crod,*" ("enough, enough, don't cry") and caused the others to regain their composure. I saw this pattern repeated many times. Sometimes the narrator would remain more composed. Often, once the listener had begun sobbing the narrator would join in, weeping without restraint, but after a time it would always be the narrator who reestablished composure with the conventional "enough, enough, don't cry."

Grief seems to be released here through eliciting the feeling in the other and then participating in their sorrow. It can be seen as an orchestration of dependent co-arising in emotional terms in which the ambiguity of self boundaries implied in ideas about the *plah* is more deeply and directly experienced. The grief that one feels is elicited through a narrative, so

the speaker maintains control, allowing the other to experience catharsis while the narrator modulates the flow of emotion, in effect providing boundaries for the other. The narrator may also participate emotional release of the other. Thus the channeling of emotion that Westerners typically think of as an individual matter<sup>1</sup> can be seen as shared among Gurungs, so that grief is expressed in symbiotic relation with others.

A central question in examining cultural meaning systems or religious worldviews is: How do they come to be convincing and compelling to individuals? Or on a deeper level, how do they become an integral part of the way individuals experience themselves and the world? We can see in the Gurung case a powerful redundancy (see Bateson 1972) in socialization practices, concepts of self and person, and ritual enactments, of the message that embeddedness and belonging are of primary importance for the individual, a cultural ideology that encourages people to conform to the highly valued ethos of sharing. Gurung styles of being also recapitulate in these various spheres the Buddhist doctrine of dependent co-arising, by underlining the ultimate interdependence of phenomena, though ideas of interdependence are used to orient people to community rather than salvation. We can see in the culturally shaped expression of grief among Gurungs a situation in which cultural and religious ideas are enacted and in experience are made integral to the self.

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<sup>1</sup> Psychoanalysts, however, perceive otherwise in describing processes among Western patients like projective identification which similarly involves translocation of emotion and the blurring of self boundaries (see Grotstein 1981, Greenberg and Mitchell 1983).



# TSOŃ KHA PA'S ANALYSIS OF SELF-COGNITION (*SVASAMVEDANA*) AND MĀDHYAMIKA PHILOSOPHY

by

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## I. Tsoñ kha pa's classification of the Mādhyamika schools

Here I would like to focus on Tsoñ kha pa's analysis of self-cognition to understand the philosophical difference between Candrakīrti (c. 600-650) representing Prāsaṅgika and Śāntarakṣita (c.725-786) representing Yogācāra-mādhyamika. In his *dGoñ pa rab gsal* (GR) and *Drañ ñes legs bśad sñiñ po* (LÑ), Tsoñ kha pa (1357-1419) points out as one of the characteristics of Prāsaṅgika philosophy that self-cognition is not admitted conventionally, let alone ultimately.

[Prāsaṅgika has] a specific philosophy that denies self-cognition (*rañ rig*). (GR 226,11; P125b)

Self cognition is denied [by Candrakīrti] conventionally as well as ultimately (*don dam du ma zad tha sñad du yañ*). (GR 290,13; P161b)

[Prāsaṅgika] does not admit self-cognition (*rañ rig*) conventionally (*tha sñad du*). This eventually means that the possibility that self-cognition can be established by its own character (*rañ gi mtshan ñid kyis*) is denied. (LÑ 177,14-16)

This is identical with Tsoñ kha pa's opinion that (Candrakīrti or Prāsaṅgika) does not admit even conventionally (*tha sñad du*) a thing which is established by its own character (*rañ gi mtshan ñid kyis*). (LRCM 616,3-4; 616,20-617,1; 620,16-621,4)

On the other hand, Tsoñ kha pa states that Śāntarakṣita establishes self-cognition conventionally. (LÑ 123,16-17)

In the *ITa ba'i khyad par* of Ye śes sde (c. 9th century), Śāntarakṣita is said to belong to the Yogācāra-mādhyamika (rNal 'byor spyod pa'i dbu ma). Its philosophy is as follows:

[Śāntarakṣita's philosophy] is conventionally (*kun rdzob du*) identical with the Vijñānavādin's. When cognition takes an object, the object is attributed to cognition itself and has a connection with it. Therefore the object can be perceived by self-cognition (*rañ gi rig pa*). (Tkh P252b6-7)

Ye śes sde, who is prior to Tsoñ kha pa, points out self-cognition as a characteristic of the philosophy of Śāntarakṣita and gives it the name of Yogācāra-mādhyamika. Tsoñ kha pa seems to distinguish clearly between Candrakīrti's and Śāntarakṣita's views of self-cognition.

In reference to Bhāvaviveka (c. 500-570), Tsoñ kha pa indicates according to *Tarkajvālā V* 20 that Bhāvaviveka does not accept the theory of self-cognition. (GR 283,2; P157b)

dKon mchog 'jigs med dbaṅ po (1728-1791) in his *Grub mtha' rnam bśag rin chen phreñ po* (GTRCP) adopts more widely Tsoñ kha pa's method of distinguishing the philosophies of Buddhist schools such as the Vaibhāṣika, the Sautrāntika, the Vijñānavādin, and the Mādhyamika. According to him, the Yogācāra-svātantrika-mādhyamika school, which is represented by Śāntarakṣita asserts self-cognition. On the other hand the Sautrāntika-svātantrika-mādhyamika school, represented by Bhāvaviveka, and the Prāsaṅgika school, represented by

Candrakīrti and Śāntideva, do not assert self-cognition.<sup>1</sup> Therefore Tsoñ kha pa and his followers use the difference between a positive attitude and a negative attitude toward self-cognition as a criterion to distinguish among Indian Mādhyamika schools.

Though Tsoñ kha pa does not always criticise Śāntarakṣita's view of self-cognition, he states that Prāsaṅgika does not admit self-cognition conventionally, thereby indirectly criticising Śāntarakṣita's position.

## II. A debate about self-cognition among Dignāga, Kumāriila, and Dharmakīrti

If Tsoñ kha pa's understanding is correct, Candrakīrti's view would contradict Śāntarakṣita's. The difference between them becomes evident in their evaluation of Kumāriila, a Mimāṃsaka, who criticised Dignāga's theory of self-cognition. These facts can be traced back to Indian texts.

It is well known that the theory of self-cognition was established by Dignāga (c. 480-540) and Dharmakīrti (c. 600-660). Dharmakīrti inherited Dignāga's theory and discussed it in more detail. Moreover, he criticised Kumāriila.<sup>2</sup>

When Tsoñ kha pa critically examines the theory of self-cognition, he basically follows the method of Candrakīrti, who criticises Dignāga's theory of self-cognition. When Tsoñ kha pa examines Dharmakīrti's theory of self-cognition, he employs a method different from Candrakīrti's, which does not refer to Dharmakīrti's. In this case Dignāga's theory of self-cognition can be grasped in his *Pramāṇasaṃuccaya* (PS) k. 10, according to which Dignāga does not differentiate among the object of cognition (*prameya*), the means of cognition (*pramāṇa*) and its result (*pramāṇa-phala*) as three factors of cognition:

Whatever the form in which it [viz. a cognition] appears, that [form] is [recognised as] the object of cognition (*prameya*). The means of cognition (*pramāṇa*) and [the cognition which is] its result (*phala*) are respectively the form of the subject [in the cognition] and the cognition cognising itself. Therefore, these three [factors of cognition] are not separate from one another.<sup>3</sup>

Dignāga thinks they are identical. This is his theory of self-cognition. According to Dignāga a distinction such as that between the object of cognition and the subject is involved in conceptual construction (*kalpanā*). Self-cognition is free from that conceptual construction. Therefore it can be perception (*pratyakṣa*).<sup>4</sup>

In his *Ślokavārttika* (ŚV) IV 74-75, Kumāriila objects to this theory of non-distinction between *pramāṇa* and *pramāṇa-phala*. He cites the instance of cutting down a tree with an axe. The instrument, the axe, is distinct from the resulting cutting down (*chidā*) of the tree. The distinction between instrument and result is thus universally accepted.<sup>5</sup> In this way, Kumāriila

<sup>1</sup> GTRCP p. 97 IV 4.1.13, p. 104 IV 4.2.312. Geshe lhundrup Sopa and Jeffrey Hopkins (1976), *Practice and Theory of Tibetan Buddhism*, p.123, 137.

<sup>2</sup> Tosaki 1979: 13,18-20. Dr. Tosaki places the period of Kumāriila's activity between Dignāga and Dharmakīrti.

<sup>3</sup> Hattori 1968: 29.

<sup>4</sup> Hattori, "Dignāga's Theory of Knowledge (II)", *The Journal of Philosophical Studies (The Tetsugaku Kenkyū)* No. 463, p. 36.

<sup>5</sup> Hattori 1968: 99,1.57.



relies on the idea of a distinction between *pramāṇa* and its *phala* that is quite different from Dignāga's.

Dignāga thinks that self-cognition does not depend on the substratum of that distinction, while Kumārila thinks that it does. This discussion reflects Candrakīrti's criticism of self-cognition in his *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* (MAvBh) ad *Madhyamakāvatāra* (MAv) VI 76.<sup>6</sup> Candrakīrti's opinion is the same as Kumārila's.

### III. Kumārila's influence on Candrakīrti and Śāntarakṣita

Tsoṅ kha pa does not seem to notice Kumārila's influence on Candrakīrti. Candrakīrti states thus:

The means of action (*kāraṇa* = *pramāṇa*), the object of action (*karman* = *prameya*), and the result of action (*kriyā* = *phala*) are not identical. For example the means of cutting, a tree (*i.e.* the object of cutting), and the result of cutting are not identical. For this reason it cannot be cognised by itself because self-cognition (*rañ rig pa, svasaṃvedana*) is untenable. (MAvBh ad MAv VI 76, p. 172,13-17)<sup>7</sup>

Thus Candrakīrti seems to employ Kumārila's criticism when he criticises Dignāga's theory of self-cognition. This is also true in the *Prasannapadā* (PrasP 64,14-65,1) where, in order to show the difference between the instrument and its result, Candrakīrti states that there is no function of an axe (*chidi*) without the result of cutting.

Needless to say Tsoṅ kha pa follows Candrakīrti's criticism of self-cognition. Tsoṅ kha pa states thus:

If others (Yogācāras and Sautrāntikas) make the statement that the means of cognition (*tshad ma, pramāṇa*) is established by itself because it is insufficient for *pramāṇa* to be established only by the object of cognition (*gzal, prameya*), *pramāṇa* would be established without relying on *prameya*. If so, existences would be established without relying on other things, namely cause and condition. To negate that idea it is said reasonably that a *pramāṇa* is established only by *prameya*. (GR 294,13-18; P164a)

Tsoṅ kha pa following Candrakīrti, thinks that *pramāṇa* and *prameya* should not regarded as inseparable and that they are distinguished from each other, or rather mutually dependent (*phan tshun bltos pa, parasparāpekṣā*). (PrasP 75,10-13; GR 294,18-295,1; P164b) For this reason they do not admit self-cognition.

Śāntarakṣita, on the other hand, takes a position quite different from Candrakīrti's. He states in his *Madhyamakālaṅkārikā* (MAK) 17 (= TS 2000):

Self-cognition should not be recognised in the relation of the means of action and the result of action (*bya dañ byed pa'i dños, kriyākāraḥ bhāva*) on the grounds that there are no three factors (*viz. kāraṇa* = *pramāṇa*, *karman* = *prameya*, and *kriyā* = *phala*) in a single one [cognition].

Śāntarakṣita, like Dignāga and Dharmakīrti, believes that the three factors of cognition (*prameya, pramāṇa* and *phala*) are not separate from one another. He attributes specific quality to self-cognition that is not based on the relation of the cognised, the cogniser, and the

<sup>6</sup> Cf. fn. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. fn. 5.

cognition or the produced, the producer, and the production (*Madhyamakālamkāravṛtti*, MAV ad MAK 17).<sup>8</sup> He also thinks that this kind of distinction is imaginary (TS 1346). This opinion of Śāntarakṣita's can be considered a criticism of Kumāriḥa's criticism of self-cognition. As a result it can also imply a criticism of Candrakīrti's criticism of self-cognition, which is the same as Kumāriḥa's. In fact in TS 1344, Śāntarakṣita quotes Kumāriḥa's ŚV IV 75, and he criticises it in TS 1345, following Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇavārttika (PV) III 315:

The relation of *sādhana* (= *pramāṇa*) and *sādhya* (= *phala*) is to be understood as that of the determiner and the determined (*vyavasthāpyavyavasthāpakabhāva*), but not as the relation of the producer and the produced (*janyajanakabhāva*).<sup>9</sup>

Moreover, in his TS 1346 Śāntarakṣita gives the example of a bow to answer Kumāriḥa's criticism of Dignāga's theory of self-cognition to the effect that if the three factors of cognition are not separate from one another this theory contradicts common experience. According to Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla it does not contradict common experience because the one and same bow is imaginably spoken of in various ways, e. g. as agent (*kartṛtva*: the bow pierces), as instrument (he pierces with the bow), and as "ablativ" (the arrow shot from the bow pierces). This answer is adopted by Vidyākaraśānti (c. 11th century).<sup>10</sup>

Kumāriḥa's criticism that Dignāga's theory contradicts common experience is also accepted by Candrakīrti. This point appears to show that Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla accept the idea of self-cognition as a conventional truth, while Candrakīrti does not. In short according to Kumāriḥa, the object of cognition (*grāhya*) and the subject (*grāhaka*) should be separated from each other. (Cf. ŚV IV 83-85 = TS 2070-2072)

On the other hand Śāntarakṣita, who is against Kumāriḥa, does not distinguish between the object of cognition and the subject (cf. TS 2073, PV III 353, 428, PVin I 55). Thus Śāntarakṣita adopts the idea of self-cognition and admits the causal relation between self-cognition and recollection (*smṛti*) while Kumāriḥa does not.

Candrakīrti does not admit even at conventional level the causal relation between self-cognition and recollection (MAV 73-75). In his BCA, IX 16-26, Śāntideva (c. 650-700) also rejects the relation, as does Candrakīrti. Tsoṅ kha pa likewise rejects it and thinks that a recollection (*dran pa, smṛti*) arises from perception (*myoṅ ba, anubhava*). (GR 290:14-15, P162a)

#### IV. Self-cognition and two truths (*satyadvaya*): a criticism of Dharmakīrti

Śāntarakṣita clearly accepts a positive idea of self-cognition in his MAK 16-18 as if he were a proponent of the Vijñānavādin school. Śāntarakṣita states in his MAK 16 (= TS 1999): Self-cognition is sentient and thus different from insentient matter.

Prajñākaramati (c. 950-1030) criticises this as follows: A sentient self-cognition is also non-substantial in the ultimate sense.<sup>11</sup>

Śāntarakṣita states in his MAK 18 (= TS 2001): A cognition is characterized by the fact that

<sup>8</sup> Cf. fn. 9.

<sup>9</sup> Hattori 1968: 99-100, n.1.57; Tosaki 1979: 18-19, 408.

<sup>10</sup> Tsop [285],6-15 ← TS Pañjikā (ad TS 1346) of Kamalaśīla.

<sup>11</sup> BCAP 190,21-22, MAK 17 (= TS 2000) is cited above.

it is cognised through itself (*bodha*).<sup>12</sup> Thus Śāntarakṣita's idea of self-cognition is quite different from Candrakīrti's and Śāntideva's. This is also supported by Prajñākaramati's refutation of the theory of self-cognition which mainly follows Candrakīrti's and Śāntideva's. In the *Bodhicaryāvatāra-pañjikā* (BCAP), Prajñākaramati quotes Śāntarakṣita's MAK 16 (= TS 1999) and MAK 17 (= TS 2000) and refutes Śāntarakṣita's view of self-cognition both conventionally and ultimately. According to Prajñākaramati, Śāntarakṣita's view contradicts the commonly accepted distinction between action and agent. In the ultimate sense, self-cognition is untenable (BCAP, 190:5-191:6). Thus Prajñākaramati criticised Śāntarakṣita's view and followed Candrakīrti's and Śāntideva's criticism of self-cognition, which comprises the Prāsaṅgika tradition.

It should be examined in detail whether Śāntideva actually belongs to the Prāsaṅgika tradition or not. But as far as the evaluation of self-cognition is concerned his statement is very close to Candrakīrti's.

In his MAV ad MAK 91, Śāntarakṣita also states that self-cognition is involved in conventional truth because it cannot stand examination from the viewpoint of the negation of one and many. This means that Śāntarakṣita criticises the theory of self-cognition from the viewpoint of the negation of the one and many, which is an ultimate point of view in his MAK 46-51.

On close examination, ultimately, Kamalaśīla in his *Madhyamakāloka* (Māl) too criticises the theory of self-cognition: A proponent who asserts that this world consists only of consciousness recognises that all knowledge ultimately is self-cognition (*rañ rig pa*) because it does not take a true external object. He also recognises that all knowledge is manifested in various kinds of images (*ākāra*) such as colour-form by the force of the maturation of latent impressions (*vāsanā*) which have been perverted since the beginningless past. Therefore they recognise that knowledge does not have a single nature.<sup>13</sup>

Prior to these criticisms Jñānagarbha has already expressed his criticism of Dharmakīrti's theory of self-cognition in his *Satyadvayavibhaṅga-kārikā* (SDK) 6.<sup>14</sup> This criticism is based on close examination from the point of view of ultimate truth. It is adopted by Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla. On the other hand they adopt the theory of self-cognition when they negate the external object and establish conventional truth.

Śāntarakṣita's statement on self-cognition especially is considered by Vidyākaraśānti<sup>15</sup> and Mokṣākaragupta (c. 1050-1202)<sup>16</sup> as that of a proponent of self-cognition as if he were a representative the Vijñānavāda school.

Thus Śāntarakṣita's and his disciple Kamalaśīla's views of self-cognition are different from those of Candrakīrti, Śāntideva, Prajñākaramati, and Tsoñ kha pa, who belong to the Prāsaṅgika tradition.

Historically speaking Śāntideva, prior to Jñānagarbha and Śāntarakṣita, seems to criticise Dharmakīrti's theory of self-cognition:

<sup>12</sup> Prajñākaramati (BCAP 191,1-2) criticises this idea thus: By what cognition can it be certified?

<sup>13</sup> Māl D217a6-b1, P240b3-6.

<sup>14</sup> Moriyama, S. (1993), "Jñānagarbha's and Śāntarakṣita's Criticism of Svasamvedana", in *Studies in Buddhism and Buddhist Civilization (Bukkyō Bunka Kenkyū)* 38.

<sup>15</sup> Tsop [283]17-22.

<sup>16</sup> Kajiyama 1989: 48, (101), (102).

Śāntideva in his BCA IX 19 takes up Dharmakīrti's theory of self-cognition according to which the colour blue appears in [perception] by itself like a lighted torch as opposed to a crystal.<sup>17</sup> Then he criticises it in his BCA IX 20, asserting that the colour blue does not come out by itself. Moreover he takes up Dharmakīrti's theory and criticises it in his BCA IX 25-26.

According to Dharmakīrti,<sup>18</sup> the yogins do not feel happy or miserable when supersensuously they intuit the pleasure and pain in other persons which is a basal cause (*ālambanapratyaya*). Therefore a feeling of happiness or misery is perceived by itself. This is the character of self-cognition. On the other hand Śāntideva criticises this theory: The jar which is perceived by the use of a magical ointment as a basal cause (*ālambanapratyaya*) is not that ointment itself. Therefore the theory of self-cognition untenable. Moreover he criticises Dharmakīrti's theory according to which if there is no self-cognition we cannot recognise objects.<sup>19</sup>

In this sense among the Mādhyamika Śāntideva is the first one to criticise the theory of Dharmakīrti.<sup>20</sup> He never adopts the theory of self-cognition, following Candrakīrti. Śāntarakṣita, on the other hand, adopts the theory of self-cognition when he critically examines his opponent's idea, while Candrakīrti does not.

### Conclusion

Here we can confirm two facts: Śāntarakṣita accepts self-cognition as a conventional truth. Those classified as members of the Prāsaṅgika school, on the other hand, including Candrakīrti, Śāntideva, Prajñākaramati, and Tsoñ kha pa reject it as a conventional truth and as an ultimate truth as well. Therefore it can be said for certain that the difference between Candrakīrti, representing the Prāsaṅgika school, and Śāntarakṣita, representing the Yogācāra-mādhyamika school rests on their evaluation of self-cognition.

In this sense, Tsoñ kha pa's analysis of the difference between Candrakīrti's and Śāntarakṣita's evaluation of self-cognition is accurate and reliable. He uses this philosophical difference within the Mādhyamika school as a benchmark to distinguish between the Prāsaṅgika school and the Yogācāra-mādhyamika school, as does Ye śes sde. dKon mchog 'jigs med dbaṅ po also adopts the same method as Tsoñ kha pa.

However Tsoñ kha pa does not seem to notice that Kumāriḷa's refutation of self-cognition of Dignāga's reflects Candrakīrti's. And he does not directly criticise Dharmakīrti's and Śāntarakṣita's positions, which refute Kumāriḷa's. It is Prajñākaramati who criticises Śāntarakṣita who in effect had criticised Candrakīrti. There is no historical description of the debates over self-cognition in Tsoñ kha pa's works.

Dignāga established a theory of self-cognition. Kumāriḷa proposed an objection to it. Candrakīrti adopted Kumāriḷa's objection to Dignāga's theory when he critically examined the Vijñānavāda school's philosophical position. Dharmakīrti answered Kumāriḷa's objection when he received Dignāga's theory and tried to develop the theory of self-cognition.

<sup>17</sup> PV III 327- 329; Tosaki 1979: 10-13.

<sup>18</sup> PV III 458-459; Tosaki 1979: 140- 142.

<sup>19</sup> PV III 426- 428; Tosaki 1979: 106-110.

<sup>20</sup> Moriyama, S. (1996): "Śāntideva's and Prajñākaramati's Criticism of Self-Cognition", *Journal of the Faculty of Letters*, Bukkyō University, 80.

Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla, following Dharmakīrti, also tried to refute Kumāriḷa's theory when they examined the question of external objects and established conventional truth, applying the theory of self-cognition.

As far as the Mādhyamika tradition is concerned: Śāntideva adopted Candrakīrti's criticism of self-cognition when he critically examined this theory, and Prajñākaramati commented on Śāntideva. Essentially their positions are very similar. Tsoñ kha pa adopts their positions. On the other hand Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla's ideas on self-cognition are quite different from those of the Prāsaṅgika school. Tsoñ kha pa recognised this difference between the Prāsaṅgika school and the Yogācāra-mādhyamika school and used it to differentiate them as mentioned above. His concern lies mainly in that difference. He pays little attention, however, to the influence the debates among Dignāga, Kumāriḷa, and Dharmakīrti exerted on the Mādhyamika Tradition.

Tsoñ kha pa tried to distinguish the Mādhyamika tradition, which includes the Prāsaṅgika school, the Yogācāra-mādhyamika school, and Bhāvaviveka, analysing respective valuations of self-cognition, which is basic to Vijñānavāda's philosophy. This can be certified as correct through an examination of the Indian Mādhyamika textbooks themselves.

## ABBREVIATIONS

BCA: Śāntideva, *Bodhicāryāvatāra*. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts No.12.

BCAP: Prajñākaramati, *Bodhicāryāvatārapañjikā*; cf. BCA.

GR: Tsoñ kha pa, *dGoñ pa rab gsal*. Varanasi 1973.

GTRCP: dKon mchog 'jigs med dbañ po. *Grub mtha' mam bzag rin chen phreñ ba*. Ed. K. Mimaki (1977).

Hattori (1968): *Dignāga on Perception*.

Kajiyama, Y. (1989): "An Introduction to Buddhist Philosophy. An annotated translation of the Tarkabhāṣā of Mokṣākaragupta", in *Studies in Buddhist Philosophy*.

LÑ: Tsoñ kha pa, *Drañ nes legs bśad sniñ po*. Varanasi 1973.

LRCM: Tsoñ kha pa, *Lam rim chen mo*. 1985.

MAv, MAVb: Candrakīrti, *Madhyamakāvatāra*, *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya*. Publié par Louis de la Vallée Poussin, Meicho-fukyū-kai 1977.

MAK: Śāntarakṣita, *Madhyamakālaṅkāra*. Ed. M. Ichigō (1985).

Māl: Kamalaśīla, *Madhyamakāloka*. D. No. 3887.

PrasP: Candrakīrti, *Prasannāpadā*. Ed. Louis de la Vallée Poussin.

PS: Dignāga, *Pramāṇasamuccaya*.

PV: Dharmakīrti, *Pramāṇavārttika*.

SDK: Jñānagarbha, *Satyadvayavibhaṅgakārikā*, D. No. 3881, 3882.

ŚV: Kumāriḷa, *Ślokavārttika*.

TKh: Ye śes sde, *ITa ba'i khyad par*, P. No.5847.

Tosaki (1979): *Bukkyō Ninshikiron no Kenkyū* (Iokan).

TS: Śāntarakṣita, *Tattvasaṅgraha*. Ed. S. D. Shastri.

Tsop: Vidyākaraśānti, *Tarkasopāna*, in *Minor Buddhist Texts*. Ed. G. Tucci.



# GUṆAMATI'S VERSION OF THE PSĀVN

by

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In this paper, I should like to briefly analyse a contradiction between the Vasubandhu's commentary on the Pratītyasamutpādasūtra and its subcommentary by Guṇamati. At the same time, I wish to explain, in short, Guṇamati's so-called 'forced' way of interpreting it. These two texts remain, in complete form, only in Tibetan translations. As far as I examine the words in their Tibetan renderings, this inconsistency, in my opinion, does not result from the difference of the interpretations of the same term given by both of them. Rather, it seems to be due to some words missing or some variants of canonical terms originally being in the sūtra transmitted, under the same title, to them respectively. In this problematic connection, I would also like to refer to the āgama tradition of formulas on birth (*jāti*) and death (*maraṇa*).

The Pratītyasamutpādādivibhaṅganirdeśa nāma sūtra (Tohoku Catalog No.211, Otani Catalog No.877; hereafter PSĀVN) was known at least to Hsüan Tsang (602?-664) under the elliptical title Pratītyasamutpādasūtra. It explains the twelfold chain of dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) from the two points of view, that is, *ādi* of the *pratītyasamutpāda* and *vibhaṅga* of the *pratītyasamutpāda*. The former *ādi* is, as the sūtra itself says, the basic formula: "If the one exists, then the other exists; from this origination, that originates" (*asmīn satīdam bhavati; asyotpādād idam utpadyate*). The latter *vibhaṅga* means the individual formula to account for each constituent of the twelve-membered chain of cause and effect.

The oldest material that can be confirmed as a sūtra in Buddhist literature is the inscription of the Sanskrit PSĀVN discovered at Nālandā. This is reported by Dr. Chakravarti<sup>1</sup> and ascribed to about the sixth century. This text is edited by Prof. N. Aiyaswami Sastri<sup>2</sup> and afterwards, also by Dr. P. L. Vaidya.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, there exists the sūtra which Hsüan Tsang translated under the title of *Pratītyasamutpādasūtra* (Taisho No.124) in the year 661 (according to K'ai yuan che kiao lou). As a matter of fact, among some versions of the PSĀVN, as far as we have known up to the present, this Chinese version translated by Hsüan Tsang is most near to the original Sanskrit one of the PSĀVN unearthed at Nālandā in terms of terminology. We could be here allowed to thus imagine; it may be that the Pratītyasamutpādasūtra of which Hsüan Tsang could have taken possession during his stay at Nālandā, was a Sanskrit PSĀVN which had been transmitted to a Buddhist University at Nālandā and retained by some Buddhist school in the form of its original version.

In this connection, it must be noticeable that the sūtra called PSĀVN persistently declares the Buddhist doctrine *pratītyasamutpāda* on the base of *ādi*: "If the one exists, then the other exists; from this origination, that originates," namely each member, beginning with 'ignorance' (*avidyā*) and ending with 'old age and death' (*jarā-maraṇa*), arises from a just prior member conditioned on the chain of cause and effect. In this sūtra, therefore, a negative formation of this chain, namely the *nirodha*-portion, is not stated at all. This *nirodha*-portion means that, by

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<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphia Indica* 21 (1931-32), 197-199.

<sup>2</sup> *Āryaśālistamba sūtra*, Madras Adyar Library 1950, 21-24.

<sup>3</sup> *Mahāyāna-Sūtra-Saṃgraha*, Darbhanga 1961 (BBS No.17-1), 117-118.

eliminating *avidyā*, the *saṃskārās* are eliminated etc. As an *āgama* which elucidates the *pratītyasamutpāda* in such a methodical manner, we can point out the Chinese Saṃyukta-āgama (hereafter SĀ) sūtra No.298. The Sanskrit material corresponding to this SĀ No.298 is the Nidānasamyukta (ed. by Tripāṭhī) § 16 *ādi*, which was discovered in Central Asia. However, Pāli-Parallel (Saṃyutta-Nikāya 12.1-2, *desanā* and *vibhaṅga*) has no term *ādi* and hence expounds a negative formation too.

Let us now turn to the Tibetan version of the PSĀVN. In the first half of the ninth century (probably before the compilation of the catalog lDan/lHan dkar ma), the PSĀVN is rendered into Tibetan and nowadays preserved in Kanjur of Tibetan Tripiṭaka. According to this Tibetan version of Kanjur, the place where this sūtra was preached, as in the original Sanskrit version and the Chinese version, is the garden (*ārāma*) of Anāthapiṇḍada in Śrāvastī (compared with this situation, the sermon-place stated in the SĀ sūtra No.298 is quite different and is shown to be a village named Kammāsad(h)mma in the Land of Kuru). But it does not give any description about the audience, on which point it differs from both the Sanskrit and Chinese versions. However, since these three versions agree as to how to explain *ādi* and *vibhaṅga*, it is likely that they are all founded on a same tradition traceable to the original PSĀVN.

The Tibetan version of Kanjur is rendered by a Tibetan monk *Źu chen gyi lo tsā ba Nam mkha'*. In addition to it, he translates not only the Pratītyasamutpāda(-ādi-vibhaṅga-nirdeśa-) vyākhyā which is Vasubandhu's commentary on the PSĀVN (hereafter PSVy), but also its subcommentary of Guṇamati (hereafter PSVyṭ). In the PSVy, the PSĀVN, upon which Vasubandhu comments, has the same terms for the explanation of *ādi* and each *vibhaṅga* as the Tibetan version of Kanjur. In the case of the PSVyṭ, the full quotation adduced from the PSĀVN is made at first (see ex. Table I, II © -[S]), and then, at the beginning of the subcommentary on each *vibhaṅga*, the quotation of respective *vibhaṅga*, which is an individual portion as each formulas of twelve members, is done once again (see ex. Table I, II - © [P]).

Interestingly enough, although Tibetan words of the terms seen in their respective partial quotations coincide with those of the Kanjur's version, yet they disagree partly with those of the full quotation. Considering the very fact that PSVy, PSVyṭ and PSĀVN in Kanjur are all translated by the same person Nam mkha', we can get a clue to a solution: While translating the PSVyṭ, Nam mkha' always compares it with his own rendering of the PSĀVN and moreover quotes each formula not from the version fully quoted by Guṇamati but directly from the version of Kanjur; because Guṇamati's version of the PSĀVN includes some variants different from the PSĀVN upon which Vasubandhu comments. And the version Guṇamati himself had seen, was left only as the full quotation in the PSVyṭ. At any rate, it seems to me that such variants or omissions of words in each sūtra with the same title cause much perplexity not only to the translator but also to even the subcommentator Guṇamati; because it is the case, as for Guṇamati himself, that there had already been a discrepancy between the sūtra (PSĀVN), as a text of the commentary (PSVy) upon which he was going to comment, and the sūtra he directly saw (or learned by ear).

When we compare the terms of formulas in Guṇamati's version, one by one, with those of the version of Kanjur, just as it is obvious from an edition of the PSĀVN by Prof. de Jong,<sup>4</sup> we can find, not only that the terms of *jarā*-formula are considerably different, but that (I) there is one term missing in Guṇamati's version for the *jāti*-formula (see Table I, in ©) and (II) the term *cyavanatā*, one of the terms of the *marāṇa*-formula, is substituted for *cyavana* (see Table II, in ©). Here, I will make a brief investigation only into the subcommentary on the *jāti*- and

<sup>4</sup> *Buddhist Studies* by J. W. de Jong, G. Schopen (ed.), Berkeley 1979, 246 f.



*marāṇa*-formulas of Guṇamati's version, in comparison with the PSVy of Vasubandhu.

### (I) Vasubandhu's commentary on the first half of *jāti*-formula

*ji ltar 'phañs pa bzin du miñ dañ gzugs la sogs pa mtha' tshor ba la thug pa'i bar gi dños po 'byuñ ba' ni 'skye ba' yin te / de'i tshe sems can gyi ris skal ba 'dra ba der skyes pa'i phyir ro / skyes nas ni miñ dañ gzugs yoñs su rdzogs pa ni 'śin tu skye ba' yin no // miñ dañ gzugs kun tu rdzogs pa dbañ po ma tshañ ba med pa'i gnas skabs su 'gro ba ni 'phos pa' o<sup>3</sup> // <sup>2</sup> 'phos nas skye mched drug ma'i mñal nas byuñ ste yul la dmigs par mñon du phyogs pas 'zug pa ni mñon par 'byuñ ba' yin te / mñal gyi sgo nas 'byuñ ba yin no // <sup>2</sup> btsas phyin chad 'dug pa ni rab tu byuñ ba' yin no // [PSVy D.48a5-7, P.55a8-b3.]*

N.B. Words (<sup>①</sup> - <sup>⑤</sup>) in bold type are terms of the PSĀVN; words in italic type portions which Guṇamati quotes and comments on.

<sup>1</sup> *dños po 'byuñ ba* PSVy : *dañ po byuñ ba* PSVyṬ

<sup>2-2</sup> PSVyṬ D.199b2, P.240b8: *mñal gyi sgo nas 'byuñ ba yin no žes bya ba de ni / yul la dmigs par mñon du phyogs par 'zug pa žes bya ba yin te /*

Among ten explanatory terms for *jāti*, this first half part is considered, by Vasubandhu, as conditional divisions of birth including not only four specific conditions in the womb but also the state after birth. This seems to be why there is the fifth item *prādurbhāva*. Therefore, for Vasubandhu, *jāti* means, in this context, the process from the first moment of birth where *nāma-rūpa* as proto-embryo with *pañca-skandhas* is projected by *karman* of previous existences, up to ending with feeling (*vedanā*) in the environmental world. On the contrary, Guṇamati's version has originally four items. As the fourth item *abhinirvṛtti* is a quasi-synonym of the fifth in the meaning of emergence from the womb, he does not take up the term *abhinirvṛtti* in his PSVyṬ.

### (II) Two portions of *marāṇa*-formula

Vasubandhu takes the items the first up to the sixth as the death which completes the span of life, and gives an interpretation to them as follows. And my tentative translation below is based on the Sanskrit fragments we can acquire from the Arthaviniścayasūtranibandhana.

(1) What is death (*marāṇa*)? To this, ten quasi-synonyms (*paryāya*) are in detail recited: *teṣāṃ teṣāṃ sattvānāṃ tasmāt tasmāt sattvanikāyāt cyutiḥ cyavanatā* etc. In this connection, [at first,] *cyuti*<sup>①</sup> means the separating (*viyoga*) from the existent class of living beings, since one whose state is of death falls off. He remains fallen off. The quality (*bhāva*) of [death, which is] such that one being in that state falls down[, ] is *cyavanatā*<sup>②</sup> [, namely falling off].

*'chi ba ga že na / sems can gañ yin pa de dañ de dag sems can gyi ris de dañ de dag nas 'phos pa dañ 'pho ba ñid dañ žes bya ba rgyas par mam grags bcu 'byuñ ba yin no // de la 'phos pa' ni sems can gyi ris de dañ bral ba'o // 'phos pa ñid ni 'chi ba'i gnas skabs te / gañ žig 'pho ba de 'pho ba yin la / de'i dños po ni 'pho ba ñid de 'pho ba'i gnas skabs gañ yin pa'o // [PSVy D.50a2-3, P.57b3-5.]*

Cf. Sanskrit material: *marāṇaṃ katamad iti / yā cyutiḥ cyavanateti vistareṇa daśaparyāyāḥ / tatra yasmāt sattvanikāyāc cyavate tannikāyasabhāgaviyogaḥ cyutiḥ / marāṇavastho hi cyavate / sa cyavanah / tadbhāvaś cyavanatā<sup>②</sup> yadavasthaś cyavate /<sup>⑤</sup>*

<sup>5</sup> *Arthaviniścayasūtranibandhana*, N.H. Samtani (ed.), 154, 1-3. Mr Y. Honjō translates this commentary into Japanese (Kyoto 1989, private issue). I referred to its rendering in order to comprehend the content of these passages.

(2) It is so declared [in the sūtra]: *āyuso hāñi*<sup>⑤</sup> *ūṣmaṇo hāñi*<sup>⑥</sup> etc. Both of them (the span of life and the body temperature) are the causes of durability (*sthiti-hetu*). It is indicated that it is because [the *skandha*-stream] which has been predisposed by previous [*karman*] (*pūrvākṣipta*) and the nourishment (*āhāra*) for securing [it] are both exhausted. Another sūtra (?) tells us, about the securing, that the duration of living beings is the duration of nourishment or of the same kind. In the form of two *padas* [*āyuso hāñi, ūṣmaṇo hāñi*], it is shown to be *cyuti* and *cyavanatā*. In this way, anyhow, such a *cyuti* (which means the completion of life) and then such a *cyavanatā* (which stands for the disappearance of the bodily temperature) gradually come to the living beings that have completed the span of life. Both of them are stated as death (*maraṇa*). [Cf. PSVy D.50a4-5, P.57b6-8.]

Cp. PSVyṬ D.205b1-3, P.248a8-b2: *tshig gñis gñis kyis 'phos pa dan 'pho ba ñid yin par bstan to zes bya ba ni ji skad bstan pa'i tshig gñis gñis kyis | 'phos pa<sup>①</sup> dan 'pho ba ñid<sup>②</sup> bstan pa ste | žigs pa<sup>③</sup> dan nañ ñams pa<sup>④</sup> zes bya ba'i tshig 'di gñis kyis ni gzugs kyī lus las miñ gi tshogs 'bral ba dan | de las kyañ dbañ po gzugs can rnam s rgyun chad par gyur na 'phos pa<sup>①</sup> yin te | skal ba 'dra ba de dan bral ba'i phyir ro || 'pho ba ñid<sup>②</sup> kyañ tshe ñams pa<sup>③</sup> dan | drod yal ba<sup>④</sup> zes bya ba'i tshig 'di gñis kyis bstan te | 'di gñis kyis de yoñs su ñams par 'gyur ba'i gnas skabs ni 'pho ba ñid ces bya 'o ||*

Although we are sure that the translation (1) analyses the two terms *cyuti* and *cyavanatā* so lucidly, to read only the Tibetan rendering cannot lead us to realize so. It is, I think, because the Tibetan translator overlooked two points: He takes the compound '*maraṇāvastha*' not as 'one whose state is of death' but as 'the state of death'. Consequently, he regards the term itself as the explanation for *cyavanatā*. And, in spite of the fact that the word *cyavana* is clearly an adjective in view of the declension of the masculine, he understands it to be a noun. However, perhaps, the cause of mistranslation cannot be limited to that degree. The reason is that, if Guṇamati's subcommentary on this part had been more useful, the Tibetan translator could have correctly rendered it. The subcommentary of Guṇamati on which he should rely, on the contrary, is of no value for reference here at all. Then, the point of this paper is just to show that it was because of some variants in the sūtra itself that he could not rightly render it into Tibetan.

In Guṇamati's version, *cyavana* is substituted for the item ② *cyavanatā*. In his view, therefore, the translation (1) must be surely the explanation of *cyuti* and *cyavana*, and there is no doubt that both *cyuti* and *cyavana* are action nouns. If we put ourselves in his place to read the PSVy, we will find, strangely enough, that Vasubandhu gave only one comment on the term *cyavana* that he remains fallen off. If so, the item ② might be formally not elucidated as a noun. Then, Guṇamati interpolates the neuter noun *cyavana* into the account for *cyavanatā*, which seems to him as if Vasubandhu arbitrarily put it forward, and appropriates the explanatory passage of *cyuti* to it. And he modifies the meaning of '*maraṇāvastha*', and after all considers the whole passage to be such a content that it is said [in the PSVy] that *cyavanatā* is the state (*avasthā*) of *maraṇa*, which means that living beings are in the state of *cyavana*.

Still more, Guṇamati's subcommentary on the translation (2) also develops by itself to diverge considerably from the Vasubandhu's own intention. Vasubandhu emphasizes here, as translated above, that the items both ⑤ and ⑥ in the sūtra are suitable for the explanation of

Cf. PSVyṬ D.205a4-5, P.248a1-2: *de la 'phos pa ni sems can gyi ris de dan bral ba'o zes bya ba ni 'di ltar sems can gyi ris nas 'phos ste | skal ba 'bra dan 'bral ba zes bya ba'i tha tshig go || 'phos pa ñid ni 'chi ba'i gnas skabs te zes bya ba ni 'pho ba'i skabs gañ yin pa'o zes 'chad par 'gyur ba'o ||*

death, which is exceedingly important for him. It is because Vasubandhu might have known that there are two kinds of *āgama* among some *āgamas* transmitting the *marāṇa*-formula, as seen in the appended table: one is only for the item ⑤ and the other only for the item ⑥. It would have been more convenient, in explanation of the importance of the items ⑤ and ⑥, that Vasubandhu made each of them correspond to *cyuti* and *cyavanatā*. So does it seem to me. On the contrary, Guṇamati understands this part as the context emphasizing that not only *cyuti* but also *cyavanatā* applies rightly to the account for death. Since for him the item *cyavanatā* is not in the sūtra, he reads this part of the PSVy as if Vasubandhu reinforced the point that *cyavanatā* also is appropriate as an item of quasi-synonyms of death. In this connection, Guṇamati peruses this part of the PSVy to try to classify all the items, up to here, of quasi-synonyms for death into two sorts: either *cyuti* (= *cyavana*) or *cyavanatā*. He draws, then, a conclusion that *cyavana* is indicative of ③ and ④, but *cyavanatā* of ⑤ and ⑥.

From the fact stated above, we can surely point out that the version of the PSĀVN known to Guṇamati has indeed variants, which cannot be of mere differences of words in Tibetan translations. And it is very interesting that we could grasp that these variants, which show just some infinitesimal differences externally, cause a most troublesome situation in the process of writing a subcommentary. For Guṇamati, the PSĀVN does not exist except Guṇamati's own version, and he might have believed that the sūtra which Vasubandhu, mentor of his mind, annotated, must be Guṇamati's version. Putting myself in his place, I am profoundly touched by his cordial interpretation after his having thought it over, especially in the subcommentary on *marāṇa* above mentioned.

By the way, while Guṇamati has been, until now, regarded as a direct disciple of Vasubandhu, we cannot choose but say that such a hypothesis might be somewhat doubtful, since there are some variants in the sūtra known to him and remain some traces which might show the predicament that, in order to write a subcommentary, he could not ask any contradictory points direct to Vasubandhu himself. So, we can also assume that Guṇamati might have been rather distant from Vasubandhu, in generation as well as in the sense of problem.

Then, to which school does it belong, the version of the PSĀVN transmitted by Guṇamati? (See the appended Tables I, II.)

There exists indeed such an *āgama* in which the first half portion of *jāti*-formula consists not of five terms but of four terms as in Guṇamati's version (ex. Table I ⑤ SĀ). But we cannot determine from the Chinese literatures whether or not *cyavana* is substituted for *cyavanatā* in the *marāṇa*-formula. The Buddhist school transmitting Guṇamati's version, regrettably, cannot be settled from the materials so far as I have known until now. Further studies will be required.

Table I *jāti*-formula

①	DN II, 305.6-9/MN III, 249.14-17/MN I, 50.5-8/SN II, 3.6-9  『舍利弗阿毘曇論』 T. 28, 552.c18-20/612a13-14	<i>jāti</i> <sup>1</sup>  生 <sup>1</sup>	<i>sañjāti</i> <sup>2</sup>  重生 <sup>2</sup>	<i>okkanti</i> <sup>3</sup>  增長/ 住胎 <sup>3</sup>	<i>abhinibbatti</i> <sup>4</sup>  生/ 出胎得生 <sup>4</sup>	
②	MĀ No.31, T. I, 467c2-4 (=No.29, 462c5-7)	生則生 <sup>1</sup> 、出則出 <sup>2</sup> 、成則成 <sup>3</sup> 、				
③	FĀ T. II, 797c11-13	等具<根> <sup>1</sup> 、出處<胎> <sup>2</sup> 、受諸有 <sup>3</sup> 、				
④	DhSk 62.2-5 ed. by S. Dietz  〔Cp. 『法蘊足論』 tr.by 玄奘, T. 26, 480a19-20/ 512c12-13, 513a28-29〕	<i>jāti</i> <sup>1</sup>  諸生 <sup>1</sup>	<i>sañjāti</i> <sup>2</sup>  等生 <sup>2</sup>	<i>avakrānti</i> <sup>3</sup>  趣入 <sup>3</sup>	<i>abhinirvṛtti</i> <sup>4</sup>  出現 <sup>4</sup>	<i>prādur- bhāva</i> <sup>5</sup>
⑤	SĀ T. II, 85b11-13	一生 <sup>1</sup>	超越 <sup>2</sup>	和合 <sup>3</sup>	出生 <sup>4</sup>	
	NidSa 162.7-13 ed. by C. Tripāḥī	<i>jāti</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>sañjāti</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>avakrānti</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>abhinirvṛtti</i> <sup>4</sup>	<i>prādur- bhāva</i> <sup>5</sup>
	PSAVN 118.8-10 ed. by P.L. Vaidya	<i>jāti</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>sañjāti</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>avakrānti</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>abhinirvṛtti</i> <sup>4</sup>	<i>prādur- bhāva</i> <sup>5</sup>
	PSAVN in bKa' gyur: De Jong (1974) §14	<i>skye ba</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>sin tu skye ba</i> <sup>2</sup>	'pho ba <sup>3</sup>	<i>mñon par ba</i> <sup>4</sup>	<i>rab tu 'byuñ ba</i> <sup>5</sup>
	PSAVN transmitted by Günamati: [S] P.Chi81b7- 82a1/[P] P.Chi239a1-3	<i>skye ba</i> <sup>1</sup> / <i>skye ba</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>sin tu skye ba</i> <sup>2</sup> / <i>sin tu skye ba</i> <sup>2</sup>	'pho ba <sup>3</sup> / 'pho ba <sup>3</sup>	/ <i>mñon par 'byuñ ba</i> <sup>4</sup>	<i>rab tu 'byuñ ba</i> <sup>5</sup> / <i>rab tu skyes pa</i> <sup>5</sup>
⑥	PSAVN transmitted by Śama- lhadeva: Mejor (1991) §14	<i>skye zin yan dag par skye ba</i> <sup>1, 2</sup>		'jug pa <sup>3</sup>	<i>mñon par grub pa</i> <sup>4</sup>	<i>rab tu 'byuñ ba</i> <sup>5</sup>
	『緣起經』 tr.by 玄奘 T. II, 547c23-26	生 <sup>1</sup>	等生 <sup>2</sup>	趣 <sup>3</sup>	起 <sup>4</sup>	出現 <sup>5</sup>
	Y 209.6-16 ed. by V. Bhattacharya Ye tr. 慧 T. 30, 323c5-13	<i>jāti</i> <sup>1</sup>  生 <sup>1</sup>	<i>sañjāti</i> <sup>2</sup>  等生 <sup>2</sup>	<i>avakrānti</i> <sup>3</sup>  趣 <sup>3</sup>	<i>abhinirvṛti</i> <sup>4</sup>  起 <sup>4</sup>	<i>prādur- bhāva</i> <sup>5</sup>  出現 <sup>5</sup>
	PSVy P.55a2-56a4, D.47b7-48b6 Cf. AVSN 147.10-150.4	<i>jāti</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>sañjāti</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>avakrānti</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>abhinirvṛti</i> <sup>4</sup>	<i>prādur- bhāva</i> <sup>5</sup>

<i>khandhānaṃ pātubhāvo</i> <sup>6</sup>		<i>āyatanaṃ pañilābho</i> <sup>6</sup>		
陰得 / 陰具 <sup>6</sup>		諸入衆和合 <sup>6</sup>		
興起五陰 <sup>4</sup>				已得命根 <sup>5</sup>
得五陰 <sup>4</sup>		受諸入 <sup>5</sup>		
<i>skandha-pratīlābha</i> <sup>6</sup>	<i>dhātu-pratīlābha</i> <sup>7</sup>	<i>āyatana-pratīlābha</i> <sup>8</sup>	<i>jīvitendriyasya prādurbhāva</i> <sup>9</sup>	
蘊得 <sup>6</sup>	界得 <sup>7</sup>	處得 <sup>8</sup>	諸蘊生 <sup>9</sup> 命根起 <sup>9</sup>	
得陰 <sup>5</sup>	得界 <sup>6</sup>	得入處 <sup>7</sup>	得命根 <sup>8</sup>	
<i>skandha-pratīlābha</i> <sup>6</sup>	<i>dhātu-pratīlābha</i> <sup>7</sup>	<i>āyatana-pratīlābha</i> <sup>8</sup>	<i>jīvitendriyasya prādurbhāva</i> <sup>9</sup>	
<i>skandha-pratīlāmbha</i> <sup>6</sup>	<i>dhātu-pratīlāmbha</i> <sup>7</sup>	<i>āyatana-pratīlāmbha</i> <sup>8</sup>	<i>skandhānām abhinirvṛtti</i> <sup>9</sup>	<i>jīvitendriyasya prādurbhāva</i> <sup>10</sup>
<i>phuñ po so sor thob pa</i> <sup>6</sup>	<i>khams so sor thob pa</i> <sup>7</sup>	<i>skye mched so sor thob pa</i> <sup>8</sup>	<i>phuñ po rnam mñon par grub pa</i> <sup>9</sup>	<i>srog gi dbaṅ po rab tu skyes pa</i> <sup>10</sup>
<i>phuñ po so sor thob pa</i> <sup>6</sup> / <i>phuñ po so sor thob pa</i> <sup>6</sup>	<i>khams so sor thob pa</i> <sup>7</sup> / <i>khams so sor thob pa</i> <sup>7</sup>	<i>skye mched so sor thob pa</i> <sup>8</sup> / <i>skye mched so sor thob pa</i> <sup>8</sup>	<i>phuñ po rnam mñon par grub pa</i> <sup>9</sup> / <i>phuñ po rnam mñon par grub pa</i> <sup>9</sup>	<i>srog gi dbaṅ po rab tu skyes pa</i> <sup>10</sup> / <i>srog gi dbaṅ po rab tu skyes pa</i> <sup>10</sup>
<i>phuñ po thob ciñ khams dañ skye mched thob</i> <sup>6, 7, 8</sup>			<i>phuñ po mñon par grub ciñ dbaṅ po dañ groñ mñon par rab tu byuñ ba</i> <sup>9, 10, 11</sup>	
蘊得 <sup>6</sup>	界得 <sup>7</sup>	處得 <sup>8</sup>	諸蘊生起 <sup>9</sup>	命根出現 <sup>10</sup>
<i>skandha-pratīlābha</i> <sup>6</sup>	<i>dhātu-pratīlāmbha</i> <sup>7</sup>	<i>āyatana-pratīlāmbha</i> <sup>8</sup>	<i>skandhābhinirvṛtti</i> <sup>9</sup>	<i>jīvitendriya-prādurbhāva</i> <sup>10</sup>
蘊得 <sup>6</sup>	界得 <sup>7</sup>	處得 <sup>8</sup>	諸蘊生起 <sup>9</sup>	命根出現 <sup>10</sup>
<i>skandha-pratīlāmbha</i> <sup>6</sup>	<i>dhātu-pratīlāmbha</i> <sup>7</sup>	<i>āyatana-pratīlāmbha</i> <sup>8</sup>	<i>skandhānām abhinirvṛtti</i> <sup>9</sup>	<i>jīvitendriyasya prādurbhāva</i> <sup>10</sup>

Table II *marāṇa*-formula

①	DN II, 305.14-18/MN III, 249.22-26/MN I, 49.23-26/SN II, 2.30 3.4	<i>cuti</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>cavanatā</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>bheda</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>antara-dhāna</i> <sup>4</sup>		
	『舍利弗阿毘曇論』 T. 28, 552.c24-25/612a20-21	終 <sup>1</sup>	沒 <sup>2</sup>	變滅/此除變異 <sup>7</sup>	離衆/衆別離 <sup>8</sup>		
②	MA No.31, T. I, 468a5-7 (-No.29, 462b14-16)	命終 <sup>1</sup>	無常 <sup>2</sup>	散滅 <sup>4</sup>	死喪 <sup>3</sup>	壽盡 <sup>5</sup>	
	『阿毘曇八德度論』 T. 26, 780c14-15	命終 <sup>1</sup>	當命終 <sup>2</sup>	退不現 <sup>3</sup>	喪沒 <sup>4</sup>	壽失 <sup>5</sup>	
③	EA T. II, 797c15-17	展轉受形 <sup>1</sup>	無常變易 <sup>3</sup>	五親分張 <sup>4</sup>			身體無溫 <sup>2</sup>
④	DhSk 68.14-69.2 ed. by S. Dietz	<i>cyuti</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>cyavanatā</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>bheda</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>antar-hāni</i> <sup>4</sup>	<i>āyuṣo hāni</i> <sup>7</sup>	<i>ūsmāno hāni</i> <sup>8</sup>
	[Cp. 『法蘊足論』 tr. 玄奘 T.26, 480b17-18/513b3 5]	移 <sup>1</sup>	轉 <sup>2</sup>	壞 <sup>3</sup>	沒 <sup>4</sup>	壽煖[識]滅 <sup>7, 8</sup>	
⑤	SA T. II, 85b16-18	還 <sup>2</sup>	移 <sup>3</sup>	身壞 <sup>4</sup>	沒 <sup>1</sup>	壽盡 <sup>5</sup>	火離 <sup>6</sup>
	NidSa 163.11-18 ed. by C. Tripāḥī	<i>cyuti</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>cyavanatā</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>bheda</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>antar-hāni</i> <sup>4</sup>	<i>āyuṣo hāni</i> <sup>5</sup>	<i>usmaṇo hāni</i> <sup>6</sup>
	『發智論』/『阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論』 tr. 玄奘 T. 26, 926b11-12/T. 27, 199a23-24	移 <sup>1</sup>	轉 <sup>2</sup>	壞 <sup>3</sup>	沒 <sup>4</sup>	捨壽煖/ 捨壽煖 <sup>5, 6</sup>	
⑥	PSAVN 118.15-17 ed. by Vaidya	<i>cyuti</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>cyavana</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>bheda</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>antar-hāni</i> <sup>4</sup>	<i>āyuṣo hāni</i> <sup>5</sup>	<i>ūsmāno hāni</i> <sup>6</sup>
	PSAVN in bKa' 'gyur: De Jong (1974) §16	' <i>phos pa</i> <sup>1</sup>	' <i>pho ba</i> <i>ñid</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>zig pa</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>nañ ñam pa</i> <sup>4</sup>	<i>tshe ñams pa</i>	<i>drod yal ba</i> <sup>6</sup>
	PSAVN transmitted by Guṇamati: [S] P.Chi82a3-4 / [P] P.Chi247b8 248a1	' <i>chi ba</i> <sup>1</sup> /' <i>phos pa</i> <sup>1</sup>	' <i>phos ba</i> <sup>2</sup> /' <i>pho ba</i> <i>ñid</i> <sup>2</sup>	' <i>jig pa</i> <sup>3</sup> /' <i>zigs pa</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>nañ ñam pa</i> <sup>4</sup> /' <i>nañ ñams pa</i>	<i>tshe ñams pa</i> /' <i>tshe ñams pa</i>	<i>drod yal ba</i> <sup>6</sup> <i>drod ñams pa</i> <sup>6</sup>
	PSAVN transmitted by Śama-thadeva: Mejer (1991) §16	' <i>chi 'pho</i> <sup>1, 2</sup>		' <i>jig la nub</i> <sup>3, 4</sup>		<i>tshe dañ</i> <i>drod ñams</i> <sup>5, 6</sup>	
	『緣起經』 玄奘 T. II, 548a2-3	終 <sup>1</sup>	盡 <sup>2</sup>	壞 <sup>3</sup>	沒 <sup>4</sup>	捨壽 <sup>5</sup>	捨煖 <sup>6</sup>
	Y 211.9-15 ed. by V. Bhattacharya	<i>cyuti</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>cyavanatā</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>bheda</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>antar-hāni</i> <sup>4</sup>	<i>āyuṣo hāni</i> <sup>5</sup>	<i>ūsmāno hāni</i> <sup>6</sup>
	Yc tr. 玄奘 T.30, 324a7-13	終 <sup>1</sup>	盡 <sup>2</sup>	壞 <sup>3</sup>	沒 <sup>4</sup>	捨壽 <sup>5</sup>	捨煖 <sup>6</sup>
	PSVy P.57b3-58a3, D.50a2-7 Cf. AVSN 154.1-156.1	<i>cyuti</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>cyavanatā</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>bheda</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>antar-hāni</i> <sup>4</sup>	<i>āyuṣo hāni</i> <sup>5</sup>	<i>ūsmāno hāni</i> <sup>6</sup>

	<i>kiṃdhānaṃ bheda'</i>	<i>ka ekārasa nikkhepa'</i>	<i>maccu- marana'</i>	<i>kālakriyā'</i>		
	除壞 <sup>b</sup>	捨身 <sup>a</sup>	死/死盡 <sup>c</sup>	時過 <sup>d</sup>		
命根閉塞 <sup>e</sup>	破壞 <sup>a</sup>					
命根閉 <sup>e</sup>	捨除 <sup>a</sup>					
命根斷壞 <sup>a</sup>	捨五除身 <sup>b</sup>					
<i>jīvitendriya- syoparodha'</i> <sup>o</sup>	<i>skandhānaṃ nikṣepa'</i>				<i>sammoṣa</i>	<i>parihāni'</i>
命根不轉 <sup>a</sup>	諸蘊破壞 <sup>10</sup>			天喪殞逝 <sup>11</sup>	退失 <sup>6</sup>	別離 <sup>6</sup> ]
命滅 <sup>e</sup>	捨除 <sup>a</sup>			時到 <sup>o</sup>		
<i>jīvitasya nirodha'</i>	<i>skandhānaṃ nikṣepaṇa'</i>		<i>marana'</i>	<i>kālakriyā'</i> <sup>10</sup>		
命根滅 <sup>e</sup>	棄諸蘊 <sup>a</sup>			身殞喪 <sup>a</sup>		
<i>jīvitendriyasya nirodha'</i>	<i>skandhānaṃ nikṣepa'</i>		<i>marana'</i>	<i>kālakriyā'</i> <sup>10</sup>		
<i>srog gi dbaṅ po 'gags pa'</i>	<i>phuṅ po rnam 'dor ba'</i>		<i>śi ba'</i>	<i>dus byed pa'</i> <sup>10</sup>		
<i>srog gi dbaṅ po 'gags pa'</i> / <i>srog gi dbaṅ po 'gags pa'</i>	<i>phuṅ po rnam 'dor ba'</i> / <i>phuṅ po rnam 'dor ba'</i>		<i>śi ba'</i> / <i>'chi ba'</i>	<i>dus byed pa'</i> <sup>10</sup> / <i>'du byed pa'</i> <sup>10</sup>		
	<i>phuṅ po 'phos śiṅ dbaṅ po rnam 'gags'</i> <sup>a</sup>			<i>śi žiṅ dus byed par 'gyur ba'</i> <sup>o 10</sup>		
命根謝滅 <sup>e</sup>	棄捨諸蘊 <sup>a</sup>		死 <sup>o</sup>	時運盡 <sup>10</sup>		
	<i>skandhānaṃ nikṣepo jīvitendriyasya nirodha'</i> <sup>o</sup> 棄捨諸蘊、命根謝滅 <sup>7 a</sup>		<i>marana'</i> 死 <sup>o</sup>	<i>kālakriyā'</i> <sup>10</sup> 時運盡 <sup>10</sup>		
<i>jīvitendriyasya nirodha'</i>	<i>skandhānaṃ nikṣepa'</i>		<i>marana'</i>	<i>kālakriyā'</i> <sup>10</sup>		

### ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TABLES

AVSN	<i>Arthavinīścayasūtranibandhana</i> . N. H. Samtani (ed.), Patna 1971.
DhSk	<i>Fragments des Dharmaskandha</i> . S. Dietz (ed.), Göttingen 1984.
NidSa	<i>Fünfundzwanzig Sūtras des Nidānasamyukta</i> . C. Tripāthī (ed.), Berlin 1962.
PSĀVN	Pratītyasamutpādādivibhaṅganirdeśa(-sūtra)
PSVy	Pratītyasamutpāda(-adi-vibhaṅga-nirdeśa-)vyākhyā
Y	<i>Yogācārabhūmiḥ</i> . V. Bhattacharya (ed.), Calcutta 1957.
De Jong (1974)	“A Propos du Nidānasamyukta”, repr. in <i>Buddhist Studies by J. W. de Jong</i> , G. Schopen (ed.), Berkeley 1979, p.246 f.
Mejor (1991)	<i>Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa and the Commentaries Preserved in the Tanjur</i> , Stuttgart 1991, pp. 70-73.



# ON *BODHICITTABHĀVANĀ* IN THE ESOTERIC BUDDHIST TRADITION

by

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In the middle of the 8th century, there sprouted out many treaties on *bodhicittabhāvanā* among Indian Buddhists. This tendency may have been influenced and inspired chiefly by the Mahāvairocanābhisambodhivikrutiādhiṣṭhānasūtra.

These *bodhicittabhāvanā*-treatises are composed in order to meditate on one's own mind (*svacitta*) that is equal to *bodhi* (*dharmadhātu*). During the meditation, a practitioner gradually elevates/deepens the state of meditation from the realistic viewpoint to the idealistic one, and then let himself realize his own nature of mind, i.e. *śūnyatā*/*tathatā*.

The movement to build the systematic procedure (*krama*) of meditation corresponds to the growth of integration of the four Buddhist philosophical systems, as three Bhāvanākramas of Kamalaśīla represent. These kinds of *bhāvanākrama* are systematized by interpreting some verses in later Buddhist *tantras* such as Guhyasamājantra II, XV 135 etc. There exist various types of *krama* according to the different philosophical traditions. Ratnākaraśānti interprets these verses from the standpoint of Nirākāravijñānavāda, whereas the followers of Ārya-tradition and Lakṣmī interpret them from the viewpoint of Mādhyamika.

I would like to present a sketch of the growth/sophistication/various philosophical interpretations of these *bodhicittabhāvanākramas* with an essay to trace their influence in the Tibetan Esoteric Buddhist Traditions.

## I. *bodhicittabhāvanā* as *svacittapratyavekṣā*

I.1. In the first chapter of the Mahāvairocanābhisambodhisūtra (MA), it is declared:<sup>1</sup>

Guhyakādhipati, then, what is the enlightenment (*bodhi*)? That is to know one's own mind in its originally true nature. That is the highest enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksambodhi*).

Now the enlightenment is nothing but the real nature of one's own mind, pure as the space (*ākāśa*), that is free from *grāhyagrāhakabhāva*; in other words, that is the true nature of everything (*sarvadharma*). The mind is pure in its original nature (*praktīprabhāvara*).

Then the yogic practice to meditate on one's own mind (*svacittapratyavekṣā*) comes to be a principal concern of the practitioner who has evoked his mind toward the enlightenment.

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<sup>1</sup> Tibetan Version of Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi (藏文大日經) ed. Y. Hattori, Hannou 1931, p.9ff.: *gsaṅ ba pa'i bdag po, de la byaṅ chub gaṅ ṅe na, raṅ gi sems yaṅ dag par ji lta ba bzin yoṅs su śes pa ste, de yaṅ bla na med pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i byaṅ chub po. gsaṅ ba pa'i bdag po, de la ni chos rdul itsam yaṅ med ciṅ mi dmigs so. de ci'i phyir ṅe na, byaṅ chub de ni nam mkha'i mtshan űid de, de la byaṅ chub par byed pa yaṅ med la, byaṅ chub par bya ba yaṅ 'ga' yaṅ med do. de ci'i phyir ṅe na, byaṅ chub la mtshan űid med pa'i phyir te, gsaṅ ba pa'i bdag po, chos thams cad kyaṅ mtshan űid med pa ni 'di lta ste nam mkha'i mtshan űid do.*

*de nas yaṅ bcom ldan 'das la phyag na rdo rjes 'di skad ces gsol to. bcom ldan 'das thams cad 'khyen pa űid ni gaṅ nas yoṅs su btsal bar bgyi, gaṅ gis ni byaṅ chub mñon par rdzogs par 'tshoṅ rgya bar bgyi. bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa, gsaṅ ba pa'i bdag po, byaṅ chub daṅ thams cad mkhen pa űid ni raṅ gi sems las yoṅs su btsal bar bya'o. de ci'i phyir ṅe na, sems de ni raṅ bzin gyis yoṅs su dag pa yin te...*

I.21. Indeed, in the early Prajñāpāramitāsūtras the idea of "originally pure nature of mind" is advocated with reference to *bodhicitta*, and *animittatva/nirvikalpatva* of *bodhicitta* is clearly proclaimed.<sup>2</sup>

I.22. We can also search for another origin of *bodhicittabhāvanā* where the mystical power of *cittotpāda* was stated. In the Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra the dynamic function of *bodhicitta* is mentioned typically by Muktakaśreṣṭhin by the word *svacittādhiṣṭhāna*, which means: everything which happens on the way to Buddhahood depends on the bodhisattva's own mind.<sup>3</sup>

I.23. The term "one's own mind" (*svacitta*) found in the esoteric Buddhist literatures may be traced back in its origin to such concepts of the early Mahāyānasūtras, and may recur its changing phases up to the concepts of *samantabhadracitta* and *khavajra*.<sup>4</sup>

I.3. We should examine a chapter called Bodhicitta in the Mahāyānajātakacitta[bhūmi]bhāvanāsūtra (大乗本生心地觀經) in order to follow the trail.<sup>5</sup>

I.31. In the text, *svacitta* or *bodhicitta* is regarded as a moon disk(/sphere), the word of practitioner is in unison with *mantradhāraṇī*, his body represents a posture of the Buddha. Thus, through these three kinds of practices, he merges/enters into the realm of the Buddha(s). This practice is called "the meditation to realize the Buddhahood through observing one's own *bodhicitta*" (觀菩提心成仏三昧).

## II. *bodhicittabhāvanākrama*

As mentioned above, *svacittapratyavekṣā* came to be systematized as *bodhicittabhāvanā*. Then, the later Buddhist philosophers produced many treatises on *bodhicittabhāvanā*. The most eminent ones of this genre of literature are the three Bhāvanākramas of Kamalaśīla, as the title of the Chinese version of the first Bhāvanākrama, "Treatise on Bodhicitta" (廣釋菩提心論, Bodhicittaṭīkā?),<sup>6</sup> indicates.

<sup>2</sup> Aṣṭasahasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra, ed. P. L. Vaidya, BST, Darganga 1960, p.3: *punar aparāṇ bhagavan bodhisattvena mahāsattvena prajñāpāramitāyāṃ caratā prajñāpāramitāyāṃ bhavayatā, evaṃ śīkṣitavyaṃ yathā 'sau śīkṣya-māṇas tenāpi bodhicittena na manyeta. tathā hi tac cittam acittaṃ prakṛtiḥ cittaṣya prabhāsvarā.*

<sup>3</sup> H. Izumi, *The GANḌAVYŪHA SUTRA critically edited*. Part I, Kyōto 1949, pp.82,83. Cf. Nainai, "On Svacittādhiṣṭhāna in the Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra", *JIBS* XLIII-2, 1995.

<sup>4</sup> On *samantabhadracitta*, confer Sarvatathāgatatatvasaṃgraha (ed. K. Horiuchi, Kōyasan 1983) p.27f. On *khavajra*, confer Guhyasamāja XV 135 etc.

<sup>5</sup> Taishō, vol.3, p.328bc: 一時薄伽梵。為諸衆生宣說觀心妙法門已。告文殊師利菩薩訶薩言。大善男子。我為衆生已說心地。復言說發菩提心入陀羅尼。令諸有情發阿耨多羅三藐三菩提心速得妙果。爾時文殊師利菩薩曰。世尊。心無形相亦無住處。凡夫行者最初發心。依何等處觀何等相。佛言。善男子。夫所觀菩提心相。猶如清淨月滿月輪。於胸臆上明朗而住。若欲速得不退轉者。在阿蘭若及空寂室。端身正念。結前如來金剛縛印。冥目觀察臆中明月。作是思惟。是滿月輪五十由旬無垢明淨內外澄徹最極清涼。月即是心。心即是月。塵翳無染妄想不生。能令衆生身清淨。大菩提心堅固不退結此手印持念觀察大菩提心微妙章句。一切菩薩最初發心清淨真言。菴善地室多牟致破邪翳 (om bodhicittam utpādayāmi).

此陀羅尼具大威德。能令行者不退轉。未來現在一切菩薩。在於因地初發心時。悉皆專念持此真言。人不退地速得正覺。善男子。時彼行者端身正念。都不動搖。繫心月輪成熟觀察。是名菩薩觀菩提心成仏三昧。若有凡夫修此觀者。所起五逆四重十惡及一闍提。如是等罪皆消滅。即獲五種三昧門。

<sup>6</sup> Taishō No.1664, vol.32, pp. 563ff.

II.1. We must notice the fact that this type of treatise is called *krama* or systematic procedure.

The *krama* here conveys these three implications at once:

- i) The stages in the progress of *bodhicaryā*.
- ii) The procedure of meditation.
- iii) The various steps that lead to philosophical development.

II.11. These are systematically advocated in MA. Further, this tendency is, in fact, motivated under the influence of MA.<sup>7</sup>

II.2. As Buddhaguhya mentions,<sup>8</sup> the following two types of *bodhicitta* are certainly taken into consideration in MA.

- i) The mind(intention) aiming at *bodhi* (*bodhaye citta*).
- ii) The mind of which nature is equal to *bodhi* (*bodhisvabhāvaccita*).

II.21. These two types of *bodhicitta*,<sup>9</sup> in the later Buddhist tradition, are practiced as *sāmvṛtti-bodhicittabhāvanā* and as *paramāṛthabodhicittabhāvanā*.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> We can see further more close relation between these *bhāvanās* and MA. These *bhāvanā* treatises quote equally some texts from MA. Kamalaśīla cites "Tripada section" (三句法門) in his *Bhāvanākramas* (I, II) (Tōhoku 3915, 3916) and composites these works using the idea as their core. In the *Yogabhāvanāpaṭha* (Tōhoku 3909) of Jñānagarbha, texts on the idea of triple minds (三心) and the one of "knowing true nature of one's own mind" (如實知自心) are cited and interpreted. In the *Bodhicittavivarāṇa* (菩提心觀釋) (see fn.41), the *Bodhicittavivarāṇa* (菩提心離相論) (see fn.41), and the *Caturapramāṇāṭikā* (Tōhoku 3914) some texts from the first chapter of MA are cited and commented on. The quotations in the 金剛頂瑜伽中發阿耨多羅三藐三菩提心論 (Taishō No. 1665) from MA are well known.

<sup>8</sup> Vairocanaḥśaṣṭhikrutiādhīṣṭānamahātantrabhāṣya, ed. Y. Miyasaka, ACTA INDOLOGICA VII, Narita 1995, p.87 (Tōhoku No.2663, 271b): *de la byañ chub kyi sems la rnam pa gñis te, byañ chub kyi phyir sems (pa) dañ, byañ chub kyi rañ bzin gyi sems so. byañ chub kyi phyir sems pa ni simon pa dañ 'jug pa'i sems dag kyañ yin mod kyi skabs 'dir sa dañ po'i byañ chub kyi sems la bya ste, sa dañ po'i sems de mñon par byañ chub pa'i sñiñ por sbyor ba'i phyir ro. byañ chub kyi rañ bzin gyi sems kyañ 'di lta ste, sa dañ po'i byañ chub kyi sems de ni chos thams cad mñam pa ñid du rtogs pa'i rañ bzin yin pas mñon par byañ chub pa'i sems dañ rañ bzin gcig pa'i phyir ro.*

<sup>9</sup> These two *bodhicittas* are already found in the treatises of the early Vijñaptimātravādins. In the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*, these two types of *bodhicitta* are counted: i) *sāmvṛttika* (*samādānasāṅketikacittotpāda*) and ii) *paramāṛthika* (that has three sub-categories). Cf. *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*. Ed. Bagchi, BSS No.13, Darbhaga 1970, p.16:

*mītrabalād hetubalān mūlabalāc chrutabalāc chubhābhyāsāt /  
adṛḥhadṛḥhodaya uktaś cittotpādaḥ parākhyānāt //IV-7//  
sūpāsitasāṃbuddhe susāṃbhrtajñānapuṇyasāṃbhāre /  
dharmeṣu nirvikalpajñānaprasavāt paramatāsya //IV-8//*

<sup>10</sup> We can find these two types of *bhāvanās* in Kamalaśīla's *Bhāvanāyogavatāra* (Tōhoku No. 3918) which is a brief summarization of his second *Bhāvanākrama*:

It is necessary to cause a mind to spiritual awakening. It [*bodhicitta*] can be categorized into these two types: *sāmvṛttika* and *paramāṛthika*. Of which, *sāmvṛttika*[*bodhicitta*] is the vow (*praṇidhāna*) that one wishes to become Buddha aiming to cause infinite sentient beings to be delivered from disaster ... *paramāṛthika*[*bodhicitta*] is not indicated by words, not stained by defilements, not limited, having no fictitious verbalization, not movable, leaving from every manifestation and non-manifestation. (*de bas na byañ chub tu sems bskyed dgos te, de la yañ gñis te, kun rdzob dañ, don dam pa'o. de la kun rdzob ni tshad med pas sems can sdug bsñal las dgrol bar dam bcas te, de dag la phan pa'i phyir bdag sañs rgyas su gyur cig sñam du dañ po sems pa skyed pa'o. de yañ tshog bzin du gzan las nod par bya'o. don dam pa byañ chub kyi sems ni brjod du med pa, dri ma med pa, mtha' med pa, sbros pa med pa, gyo ba med pa, snañ ba dañ mi snañ ba thams cad dañ bral ba'o.*)

II.23. In this context, the word *saṃvṛṭtibodhicitta* means *praṇidhānacitta* and the word *pāramārthikabodhicitta* means *bodhinimittacitta* or *bodhisvabhāvacitta* in the first stage of the ten Bodhisattvabhūmis.<sup>11</sup>

II.3. So we can say that the *pāramārthikabodhicittabhāvanā* is the yogic practice in *nirvedhabhāgīya* stage to attain the *nirvikalpajñāna* i.e., the first direct cognition of the Dharmadhātu.

II.31. As this evidence suggests, the theory of Yogācāravijñaptimātravāda is a foundation for this *bodhicittabhāvanākrama*. All *dharmas* are nothing but the manifestation of one's own mind. Then the *svacittapratyavekṣā* comes to mean the examination of all *dharmas* which are represented in his mind.<sup>12</sup> Thus, the doctrine of *vijñaptimātratā* is necessarily integrated into the yogic procedure as the basis of the *bodhicittabhāvanākrama*. And the yogic practice in *nirvedhabhāgīya* stage is required to be integrated into the systematic procedure of *bodhicittabhāvanā* too.<sup>13</sup>

### III. Formalization of the Bodhicittagāthā and its Interpretations

#### III.1. Formalization of the Bodhicittagāthā

III.10. These *bodhicittabhāvanās* come to be systematized by interpreting already existing verses, such as Laṅkāvatāra X 256-258, as being done by Kamalaśīla,<sup>14</sup> or Guhyasamāja XV 135 by Ratnākaraśānti.<sup>15</sup> Besides these already existing verses, there is a verse which is newly composed in order to interpret for the *bodhicittabhāvanākrama* and to define *paramārthabodhicitta*. Now we should trace the formalizing process of the verse.<sup>16</sup>

III.101. This kind of *krama* actually appears for the first time in Jñānagarbha's *bodhicittabhāvanākrama* called Yogabhāvanāpaṭha. He says:<sup>17</sup>

This definition is a rather deviated version of the definition of the Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra mentioned above. It seems to have more close connection to the Guhyasamāja tradition. The twofold *bodhicittabhāvanā* among later Buddhist treatises is represented by the works of Aśvaghōṣa (Tōhoku 3911 *Saṃvṛṭtibodhicittabhāvanopadeśavarṇasamgraha* & Tōhoku 3912 *Paramārthabodhicittabhāvanākramavarṇasamgraha*), and the *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* ascribed to Nāgārjuna.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Candrakīrti, *Madhyamakāvātāra* I.4cd-5. Ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin, *BB* IX, St.Petersbourg 1907.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Bhāvanākrama* (Tōhoku No. 3919, 48af.), also the rNal 'byor pa'i rtogs pa'i bgegs sel (Ötani No.5449):

*gsum pa gañ la [bsgom] ze na rañ gi sems ll ji bzin ma bcos ye nas rnam dag ciñ ll  
sprog bral yod med rtog chad mtha' spoñs pa ll de lag yañ ba med par rtag tu gnas ll4ll*

<sup>13</sup> It may have been after Kamalaśīla when the *bhāvanākrama* was connected with the practice in the *nirvedhabhāgīya* stage and was interpreted from the viewpoint of the early Yogācāravijñaptimātravāda.

<sup>14</sup> *Bhāvanākrama*. Ed. G.Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts Part II*, SOR IX-2, Roma 1958, pp.211-218.

<sup>15</sup> Tōhoku No.4538 *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa*, 156a4ff.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Ch.M. Namai (1970), "A Study on the Bodhicittagāthā", *The Mikkyo Bunka* 91, pp.24ff.

<sup>17</sup> *Yogabhāvanāpaṭha*, Tōhoku No.3909, 4a4f: 'gro ba sdug bsñal mañ pos gzir te gti mug gis mdoñs pa sñiñ rje bskyad nas, bdag gis kyañ thams cad mkhyen pa'i go 'phañ 'bras bu dañ bcas pa thob par byas la, 'gro ba rnam kyañ go 'phañ de ñid la dgod par bya'o zes bla na med pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i byañ chub tu smon gdab bo. de nas byañ chub kyi mtshan ñid kyi sems rnam par ma byañ ba skyed par mi bya'o. 'di ltar byañ chub ni rañ gi sems las btsal bar bya'o, zes 'byuñ ba'i phyir thog mar rañ gi sems kho nar brtag par bya'o. de la rañ gi sems ni luñ las gsuñs pa'i tshig lña po.

*dāos po thams cad dañ bral ba dañ, phuñ po dañ khams dañ skye mched dañ gzuñ ba dañ 'dzin pa rnam par spañs pa dañ, chos bdag med pa mñam pa ñid dañ, rañ gi sems bzod ma nas ma skyes pa dañ, stoñ pa ñid kyi ño bo*

I will obtain the state of omniscience as a result [of this *paṇḍhana*] and will cause sentient beings to elevate to the state of omniscience. Thus, one should make a vow for *anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi*. Now, *bodhinimittacitta* should not be regarded as *beśmitcā*. In the (Mahāvairocanaśābhisambodhi)sūtra it is said as follows: "The state of Enlightenment should be searched for in one's own mind. So, one should examine one's own mind, at first.

Then, these five stages of *svacittapratyavekṣā* are stated.

Here, one's own mind (*svacitta*) should be understood through these five stages/words (*pada*) stated in the holy text.

1. *sarvabhāvavivagataṃ* (dhos po thams cad dan bral ba)

2. *skandhadhātāvāyatāmagrāhākavajjītan* (phuṅ po dan khams dan skye mched dan gzun ba dan 'dzin pa nam par spans pa)

3. *dharmānāṛtāmyasamatāyā* (chos bdag med pa mñam pa nid)

4. *svacittam ādyanutpādani* (ran gi sems bzod ma nas ma skyes pa)

5. *śūnyatāsvabhāvam* (ston pa nid kyī no bo nid)

III.11. These "five stages" mean the "five stages of developing mind" mentioned in the *sādhana* literatures which belong to MA tradition.

III.12. The first chapter of MA may be the earliest text in which the idea of the five stages is promoted most clearly. This idea is treated in the "Purification of Bodhicitta section" (淨菩提心段), in the "Trikaipa section" (三劫段), and in the "Six-Fearless-Ease (Śadaśvāsa) section" (六無畏段).<sup>19</sup> However, the idea is not yet systematized in a verse in this chapter.

III.12.1. First of all, in the "Purification of Bodhicitta section", it is proclaimed that one's own mind is originally illuminating without any defilement avoiding every *vikalpa*. Then the non-difference between mind, space (*ākāśa*), and *bodhi* is stated to show that the mind is originally

*bid dag tu khon du chud par bya'o.*

*de la dnos po thams cad dan bral ba zes bya ba ni mu stegs can khral bas sgro brags pa bdag la sogz pa rtag pa'i dhos po dan bral ba zes bya ba'i don gan yin pa'o.*

*phuṅ po dan khams dan skye mched dan bzun ba dan 'dzin pa nam par spods pa zes bya ba ni nan thos la sogz pa'i tshul gyis kun tu brtags pa'i no bo yod pa dan, med pa'i ran bzin yons su spans te, rdul phra mo tshogs pa nid dzin pa mte la sogz pa'i skye mched drug dan, gzun ba gzugs la sogz pa'i yul drug dan bral ba zes bya ba'i don gan yin pa ste, rdul phra rab sun phyān ba'i phyir ro.*

*de nid kyī phyir tshig gsum po chos bdag med pa mñam pa bid ces bya ba gsums pa yin te, nam par śes pa tsam kyī tshul la jug par bya ba'i phyir ro.*

*de'i phyir tshig dzi po ran gi sems gzud ma nas ma skyes pa zes bya ba gsums pa yin te, de bas na de ni ren cin bral par 'byun ba yin pa'i phyir sgyu ma la bu yin no. gan sig brten nas mi skye zin ran gi no bo nid las nams par mi 'gyur ba de ni don dam pa'i ran bzin zes bya'o. de'i phyir ran bzin med pas ran gi mems gzod ma nas ma skyes pa zes bya'o. ren cin bral par 'byun ba'i no bo nid du kun rdzob tu yod pa'i phyir sgyu ma dan 'dra ba ni mi dag go.*

*de bas na don dam par ston pa bid kyī no bo bid ces ba'i tshig lha pa gsums pa yin no. ji'lar kun rdzob tu brtags pa dan, gzun ba dan 'dzin pa'i mshan nid kyī chos nams ni don dam par bdag med pa yin te, gzod ma nas ma skyes pa'i phyir ro....*

<sup>18</sup> See fn. 1.

<sup>19</sup> R. Tajima, *Etude sur le Mahāvairocanaśūtra*, Paris 1936, pp. 94-110; A. Wayman, *The Enlightenment of Vairocana*, Delhi 1992, pp.294ff.

pure when it transcends everything (*sarvadharma*).<sup>20</sup> We can say that this description has the same meaning as the verse which defines the original reality of one's own mind. Indeed, the words listed up here, such as "every being" (*sarvabhāva*), *vedanā/saṃjñā ... vijñāna* (= five aggregates, *pañcaskandha*), twelve *āyatanas*, eighteen *dhātus*, *grāhya/grāhaka* are represented in the same sense as the verse (*sarvabhāvavigataṃ skandhadhātuvāyatanagrāhyagrāhakavarjitaṃ*). However, another character of the verse cannot yet be seen here.

III.122. Another character appears in the next "Trikalpa section" and "Six-Fearless-Ease section". In the "Trikalpa section", the developing mind-stages of bodhisattvas are dealt with, after bodhisattvas having come over the hundred sixty states of mind to reach the enlightened mind of the first *bodhisattvabhūmi* (*prathamabhūmibodhicitta*). They are shown as follows:

- i) Only the five aggregates exist, there cannot be any *ātman*.
- ii) If one abandons the attachment for the five aggregates, he will be liberated from *skandhas*, *āyatanas*, *dhātus*, *grāhyagrāhaka*, and will realize the absolute calm of the true nature of *dharma*s (*dharmatā*).
- iii) For the one who practices Great Vehicle knowing the non-existence of the external object, will realize the non-self of *dharma*s (*dhamanirātmatā*).
- iv) By denying the non-self of *dharma*s also, one realizes his own mind being not produced primordially (*ādyanutpāda*).
- v) For the bodhisattvas who advance the way of *bodhicaryā* through the discipline of *mantra* and perfect the wisdom of voidness, the mind that is completely void of its own nature (極無自性心) will appear.

These stages correspond to the ones described in the verse. The third to the sixth stages which are represented in the "Six-Fearless-Ease section" also correspond to the above five stages more or less.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Op.cit.* p.30ff.: *sañ ba pa'i bdag po, de la 'jig rten las 'das pa'i sems la gnas pa rnam la yañ phuñ po dag la yod do sñam pa'i blo ñe bar skye'o, 'am phuñ po dag la 'dod chags dañ bral bar bskyed pa de'i tsho lbu ba dañ, chu'i chu bur dañ, sgyu ma dañ, smig rgyu dañ mtsuñs par 'jig pas rnam par grol bar 'gyur te, 'di lta ste, phuñ po dañ, khams dañ, skye mched dañ, gzuñ ba dañ, 'dzin pa rnam par spañs pa, chos ñid kyi rañ gi ño por zi ba'i dbyiñs rtogs par 'gyur ro. gsañ ba'i bdag po, 'jig rten las 'das pa'i sems phyin ci log dañ, phyin ci ma log pa'i sems kyi khyad par bgyad dañ 'brel ba, las dañ ñon moñs pa'i dra ba dañ bral ba 'di ni, rnal 'byor pa dag bskal pa gcig gis 'da' bar byed do. gsañ ba pa'i bdag po, gzan yañ theg pa chen pos bgrod pa gzan gyi dring mi 'jog pa rnam la chos la bdag med pa'i sems skye'o. de ci'i phyir ze na, 'di ltar (187a) de dag sñon spyad pa spyod ciñ phuñ po'i gnas rnam par 'jig pa na ngo bo ñid yoñs su šes pa'i phyir sgyu ma dañ, smig rgyu dañ, gzugs bsñan dañ, brag ca dañ, mgal me'i 'khor lo dañ, dri za'i groñ khyer lta bu'i 'du šes skyes so. gsañ ba pa'i bdag po, de'i phyir de dag gi sems kyi dbañ du byas pas chos la bdag med pa ñid kyañ spañ bar bya ste, rañ gi sems ni, gzod ma nas ma skyes pa'o, de ci'i phyir ze na, gsañ ba pa'i bdag po, ño bo ñid yoñs su šes pa'i phyir sems la sñon gyi mtha' dañ, phyi ma'i mtha' mi dmigs te, rnal 'byor pa dag 'di yañ bskal pa gñis kyis 'da' bar byed do. gsañ ba pa'i bdag po, gzan yañ byañ chub sems dpa' gsañ sñags kyi sgo nas byañ chub sems dpa'i spyad pa spyod pa bskal pa bye ba khrig khrig brgya stoñ dpag tu med par bsod nams dañ ye šes kyis tsogs dpag tu med pa bsags pa rnam la šes rab dañ thabs dpag tu med pa yoñs su bzung ba, lha dañ lha ma yin du bcas pa'i 'jig rten gyis phyag byas pa, ñan thos dañ, rañ sañs rgyas thams cad kyi sa las yañ dag par 'das pa, brgya byin dañ, tsañs pa'i dbañ po dañ, ñe dbañ la sogs pas phyag byas pa, 'di lta ste, stoñ pa ñid kyi ño bo ñid rdzas med pa, (187b) mtshan ñid med pa, mtshan ma med pa, spros pa thams cad las 'das pa, nam mkha' ltar dpag tu med pa, chos thams cad kyi go skabs su gyur pa, 'dus byas dañ 'dus ma byas kyi khams dañ bral ba, las dañ bya ba med pa, mig dañ, rna ba dañ, sna dañ, lce dañ, lus dañ, yid dañ bral ba šin tu ño bo ñid med pa'i sems skye ste. gsañ ba pa'i bdag po, 'di ni, byang chub kyi sems dañ po zes rgyal ba rnam kyis gsuñs so.*

<sup>21</sup> The six kinds of fearless-eases are:

1. the fearless ease by good action.

III.1221. Thus, in these sections of "Trikalpa section" and "Six-Fearless-Ease section", we can find a source of the second character of the verse i.e. the representation of the developing mind stages, which are necessarily correlated with the philosophical developing steps.

III.1222. In these two sections, it is not intended to define the original state of one's own mind i.e. *bodhi[svabhāva]citta*, but to advocate the developing stages of practitioner. However, the idea that it needs three aeons (*asaṃkhyakalpa*) to attain the Buddhahood is reinterpreted from the viewpoint of attaining the Buddhahood instantly within this present existence. A practitioner who goes through the gate of Mantrayāna can reach the Buddhahood immediately, by interpreting the procedure of three aeons (*tri[asaṃkhyakalpa]*) practice as passing through the triple layers of conceptual cognition (*trivikalpa*), as Śubhakarasiṃha (善無畏) and Yi-Hing (一行) stated in their commentary on MA (大日經疏).<sup>22</sup> Therefore, the stages that lead to the first enlightened mind (*prathamabodhicitta*) exceeding (an) aeon(/s) are assumed to be the steps (*krama*) to illuminate his own originally pure mind by demolishing defilements through actual yoga. Consequently, the *krama* of *bodhicaryā* to reach the *bodhi[svabhāva]citta* is equal to the *krama* of introspective yoga.

III.123. In this way, we can assume the process of formalization of the verse, through uniting the two characters, i.e. the one which defines the originally pure nature of one's own mind, and the one which systematizes the procedure of practice lasting three aeons, or in another interpretation, the yogic procedure for coming over three layers of conceptual obsessions.

III.1231. This assumption can be supported by a text from the additional chapter of MA called *Tathāgatasaṃbhavamahāmaṇḍalādhiṣṭhāna* which is preserved only in the Tibetan version.

Here, the idea of the "Purification of Bodhicitta section" and the one of the "Trikalpa section" are connected with each other and represented in more sophisticated style. At this point the idea of the *bodhicittabhāvanākrama* is formalized into a verse for the first time in the textual development of MA.

III.1232. In the additional chapter of MA "Japavidhi" which is also preserved only in the Ti-

2. the fearless ease by corporal real self.

3. the fearless ease by non-self viewing own body as aggregated (*skandha*).

4. the fearless ease by *dharma* rejecting *skandhas*.

5. the fearless ease by *dharmanairātmya* negating *dhammas* and

6. the fearless ease by the sameness of own nature of all *dhammas*, realizing the voidness and their own nature of having no own nature of *skandha*, *āyatana*, *dhātu*; *grāhya-grāhaka*; *ātman-jīva*; *dharma*'s nonproduction, and the knowledge of voidness arises.

*Op.cit.* p. 36f.: *gsaṅ ba pa'i bdag po, de la nam byis pa so so'i skye bo dag mi dge ba'i las spaṅs te dge ba'i las byed pa de'i tse dge bas dbugs phyin pa yin no.*

*'am bdag gi de kho na ṅid yaṅ dag pa ji lta ba bzin du rab tu śes pa de'i tshe bdag la brten nas dbugs phyin pa yin no.*

*'am phuṅ po daṅ, khams daṅ, skye mched thams cad daṅ, gzuṅ ba daṅ, 'dzin pa daṅ, bdag daṅ, stog la sogs pa daṅ, chos daṅ mi skye ba dag kyaṅ stoṅ pa ṅid kyi ṅo bo ṅid du yaṅ ṅo bo ṅid med do, zes stoṅ ba'i ye śes skyes pa de'i tshe chos thams cad kyi ṅo bo ṅid mṅam pa ṅid kyi dbugs phyin pa yin no.*

*'am phuṅ po rnamis spaṅs nas chos kyi dmigs pa la gnas pa de'i tshe chos kyi dbugs phyin pa yin no.*

*'am chos rnamis spaṅs nas mi skye ba la gnas pa de'i tshe chos la bdag med pas dbugs phyin pa yin no.*

*'am phuṅ po daṅ, khams daṅ, skye mched thams cad daṅ, gzuṅ ba daṅ, 'dzin pa daṅ, bdag daṅ, stog la sogs pa daṅ, chos daṅ mi skye ba dag kyaṅ stoṅ pa ṅid kyi ṅo bo ṅid du yaṅ ṅo bo ṅid med do, zes stoṅ ba'i ye śes skyes pa de'i tshe chos thams cad kyi ṅo bo ṅid mṅam pa ṅid kyi dbugs phyin pa yin no.*

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Taishō No.1796, vol.39, p.600c: 梵云劫二義。一者時分、二者妄執...若一生成度此三妄執、即一生成仏、何論時分耶。

betan version,<sup>23</sup> we can see a further developed form.<sup>24</sup>

In the chapter, this verse is not used for *bodhicittabhāvanā* but introduced to be chanted twice or three times during an esoteric Buddhist practice.

III.1233. Thus, when we examine MA and related *sādhanā* texts, we can find these changing phases of the verse, systematization, formalization, adoption in the practical ritual, and even estimation as *mantra*.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> *Op.cit.*: *de bzin gsegs pa 'byuñ ba zes bya ba'i dkyil 'khor chen po byin kyis rlob pa pp.582-585: gsañ ba pa'i bdag po de la byañ chub gañ ze na, byañ chub ni nam mkha'i mtshan ñid do. nam mkha' la yañ gzugs med, bstan med, gzuñ du med pa'o. byañ chub kyi mtshan ñid gañ yin pa sems kyi mtshan ñid kyañ de yin no. gsañ ba pa'i bdag po de lta bas na sems dañ nam mkha' dañ byañ chub 'di dag ni gñis su med do.*

*de la chos rnam mñam pa ñid du rtogs pa chos kyi dbyiñs khoñ du chud pa gañ yin pa de ni bla na med pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i byañ chub yin no. de la skye ba'i tshul dañ dmigs pa'i tshul gyis sems skye ba gañ yin pa de ni gsañ ba pa'i bdag po byañ chub kyi sems zes bya'o.*

*gsañ ba pa'i bdag po gzan yañ byañ chub sems dpa' gnas kyi gzi lñas byañ chub mñon par rtogs par gyur te, lña gañ ze na, gsañ ba pa'i bdag po 'di la byañ chub sems dpa rnam dños po thams cad dañ bral bar mñon par rtogs par 'gyur ro. kha cig ni phuñ po dañ, khams dañ, skye mched dañ, gzuñ ba dañ, 'dzin pa rnam par spañs pa stoñ pa sgyu ma lta bur mñon par rtogs par 'gyur ro. kha cig ni chos la dmigs pas so. gsañ ba pa'i bdag po 'on kyañ byañ chub sems dpa gsañ sñags kyi sgo nas byañ chub sems dpa'i spyad pa spyod pas 'di ltar dños po thams cad dañ bral ba phuñ po dañ, khams dañ, skye mche dañ, gzuñ ba dañ, 'dzin pa rnam par spañs pa, chos bdag med pa mñam pa ñid kyi rañ gi sems thog ma nas ma skyes pa stoñ pa ñid kyi ño bo ñid du rtogs par bya'o. gsañ ba pa'i bdag po de la dños po thams cad dañ bral ba zes bya ba 'di ni de bñin gsegs pa 'di la bdag gam sems can nam, skye ba'i sed las skyes pa yod pa ma yin gyi, phuñ po dañ, khams dañ, skye mched tsañ du zod ses 'jig rten pa'i lam yon su spañs par bstan pa yin no. phuñ po dañ, khams dañ, skye mched dañ, 'dzin pa rnam par spañs pa zes bya ba ni ñan thos kyi lam mñon par rtogs pa yon su ses pa'i sgo nas byañ chub sems dpa' rnam kyi tñeg pa chen po mñon par rtogs pa rnam par g'ag pa yin no. chos bdag med pa mñam pa ñid kyis ni byañ chub sems dpa' gsañ sñags kyi sgo nas byañ chub sems dpa'i spyad pa spyod pa rnam rañ gi sems thog ma nas ma skyes par mthoñ zin stoñ pa ñid kyi ño bo ñid rdzes med la mtshan ñid med par mñon par rtogs par 'gyur ro. gsañ ba pa'i bdag po 'di lta bas na byañ chub sems dpa' gnas med pa sgrib pa med pa spros pa thams cad dañ bral ba'i sems bskyed par bya'o.*

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*: *bzlas bijod kyi cho ga pp. 502f.: de nas byañ chub kyi sems bskyed par bya'o. sañs rgyas dañ byañ chub sems dpa' thams cad bdag la dgon su gsol, bdag miñ 'di zes bgyi bo dus 'di nas bzuñ ste nam byañ chub kyi sñiñ po la mchis kyi bar du, dños po thams cad dañ bral ba phuñ po dañ, khams dañ, skye mched dañ, gzuñ ba dañ 'dzin pa rnam par spañs pa chos bdag med pa mñam pa'i pbyir rañ gi sems thog ma nas ma skye pa stoñ pa ñid kyi ño bo ñid du ji lta ji ltar sañs rgyas beom ldan 'das rnam dañ, byañ chub sems dpa' de rnam kyis byañ chub tu sems bskyed pa de bzin du bdag gis kyañ sems bskye do. de ltar lan gñis de ltar lan gsum du bya'o.*

<sup>25</sup> In reference to several *pūjāvidhis* and *sādhanās* which belong to the MA tradition preserved in Tibetan and Chinese versions, we can put the developing phases of the verse into a chronological order.

Although there are some exceptions, this verse is adopted in the various *sādhanās* and *pūjāvidhis* at the forth of the "Nine means" (九方便) as the so-called "Means of *bodhicitta* emission" (發菩提心方便).

The verse had not been mentioned at the part of "Means of *bodhicitta* emission" in these *sādhanās*; Taishō Nos. 850, 851, 852, 852 (another version), 853, 860, etc.

However, at the period of composition of the 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經 卷7 (No.848), the verse introduced to these *sādhanās*; the 大毘盧遮那佛說略念誦經 (No.849), the 大毘盧遮那成佛 ... 廣大成就瑜伽 (No.853), the Tibetan version of the Mahāvairocanābhīṣambodhisambaddhatantrapūjāvidhi (Tōhoku No.2664) and the Vairocanasādhanaṇpāyikā (Tōhoku No.2665), etc.

Then it should be noticed the circumstances that this verse came to be adopted in the 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經 卷7 by Śubhakarasiṃha. The 大日經持誦次第儀軌 (Taishō No.860) is assumed as another version of this 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經 卷7 from the same original. We cannot find the verse in the section of "Means of *bodhicitta* emission" of the former, but in the latter this verse was introduced as "adding phrase to increase the merit" (增加句) being said to be chanted in Sanskrit like as *mantras*.



III.13. These changing phases are suggesting the process that the verse was adopted into the actual esoteric practice and took dominating position.

III.131. In the *Guhyasamājantra* (GS) Chapter II called *Bodhicittapaṭala*, the verse was preached by Vairocana as one of the answers by the Five Buddhas for a quest about *bodhicitta*.<sup>26</sup>

*sarvabhāvavigataṃ skandhadhātvyātanagrāhyagrāhakavarjitaṃ /  
dharmanairātmyasamatayā svacittam ādyanuṭpannaṃ śūnyatāsvabhāvam //*

III.132. We can find the original Sanskrit *gāthā*<sup>27</sup> for the first time here.

III.1321. Under the flourishing of GS, this verse was also adopted in many *sādhanā* texts such as the *Pañcakrama*<sup>28</sup> etc., having close connection with the *paramārthabodhicittabhāvanā*, and caused the later Buddhists to compose more *bodhicittabhāvanākrama* treatises than during the earlier period when the influence of MA had been dominant. Evidently, this verse played a very important role in the forth *abhiśeka* ritual or the *abhiśeka* of *paramārthabodhicitta* in the tradition of GS.<sup>29</sup> Whereas the verse played also an important role in the *Bodhicittotpāda*vidhi (発菩提心戒儀軌) and the Meditation of *Caturapramāṇacitta* (四無量心觀) in the tradition of Chinese and Japanese Esoteric Buddhism,<sup>30</sup> even today in Japan, not under the influence of GS but that of MA, and *Sarvathāgatattvasaṃgraha*.

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Should this addition be ascribed to Śubhakarasiṃha, or had it been already adopted in the original text? It is difficult to decide it at present, without clarifying the route of original text of "volume 7" which was used by Śubhakarasiṃha.

And also in fact in the Tibetan version of *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhisambaddhatanrapūjāvidhi* the verse is transliterated and ordered to be chanted in Sanskrit, and in the Tibetan version of *Vairocanasādhanopāyikā* the verse is treated as to be chanted three times. At the time when Śubhakarasiṃha had learned MA in India, the verse might have been introduced for additional chanting like as *mantras* at the part of "Means of *bodhicitta* emission" where had not been originally any verse. Because only this part has the additional chanting verse.

Furthermore posterity, in the period of Chinese translation of the *Sarvathāgatattvasaṃgraha* and the belonging *sādhanās*, when the *mantra* (*oṃ bodhicitam utpādayāmi*) is chanted, this *gāthā* is also chanted.

<sup>26</sup> Y. Matsunaga, *The Guhyasamājantra, – A New Critical Edition –*, Osaka 1978, p.10. On the process of the adoption of this verse from the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhisambaddhatanrapūjāvidhi*, the 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經 卷7 through the *Māyājātantra* into the Chap. II of *Guhyasamāja*, see *ibid.*, Introduction, XXVII.

<sup>27</sup> Ratnakaraśānti (Ōtani 2714, 271b2: *diṃs po thams cad ces bya ba la sogs pa la tshigs su bcad pa*), and Lakṣmī (Ōtani 2705,503b5: *don dam pa'i byan chub kyi sems ston par byed pa'i tshigs su bcad pa*) mention the phrases as "verse", and almost of the Tibetan version of texts relating to GS translate the verse as 11 syllable 4 lines style. However, we cannot identify this verse as to any traditional metrical style (*chaṇḍas*).

<sup>28</sup> *Pañcakrama*, ed. K. Minaki & T. Tomabechi, *Bibliotheca Codicum Asiaticorum* 8, Tōkyō 1994, pp. 26, 47.

<sup>29</sup> The verse is highly estimated especially in the Ārya-tradition of GS. In the *Pañcakrama*, Nāgārjuna quotes the verse twice. Once in second Chapter (v.66, this chapter is ascribed to Śākya-mitra), and once in forth Chapter (v.35). In the former case, the verse is mentioned as a *gāthā*, and in the later case, this is used as the chanting verse in the fourth initiation ritual (*abhiśeka*), i.e. *abhiśeka* of *paramārthabodhicitta*.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Taishō Nos. 866 (vol.18, 236c), 868 (do., 273c), 885 (do., 472b), 915 (do., 941a), 923 (vol. 19, 28b), 930 (do., 72a), 973 (do., 371a), 1031 (vol.20, 5c), 1056 (do., 73a), 1066 (do., 128b), 1072 (do., 156c), 1092 (do., 235b, 299b, 312a), 1098 (do., 433a, 438b), 1196 (do., 681c), 1175 (do., 518c), etc.

### III.2. Various Interpretations.

III.21. This systematic procedure of introspective meditation (*bodhicittabhāvanākrama*) also corresponds to the development of the philosophical systems.

III.211. Kamalaśīla systematizes these *yogabhūmis* in relation to the steps of philosophical development of yogin, using three verses from the Laṅkāvatāra (X 256-258).<sup>31</sup>

III.212. Ratnākaraśānti reinterpreted the same verses and a verse from GS (XV 135) in the last section of his Prajñāpāramitopadeśa.<sup>32</sup> Prof. Wayman regards these "four stages of yoga" of Ratnākaraśānti as the yoga of *nirvedhabhāgiya* in *adhimukticaryābhūmi* leading to the enlightenment at the first *bodhisattvabhūmi* calling "lesser four yoga *bhūmi*".<sup>33</sup> He interprets them from the viewpoint of Nirākāravijñānavāda.<sup>34</sup>

III.2122. Ratnākaraśānti interprets the same verse (GS XV 135) in an esoteric context too, in his commentary on GS called Kusumāñjaliguhyasamājanibandha.<sup>35</sup> He interprets the verse which was preached by Vairocana in GS II also in the same commentary,<sup>36</sup> as following:

<sup>31</sup> Y. Kajiyama (1978), "Later Mādhyamika on Epistemology and Meditation", in *Mahāyāna Buddhist Meditation*, ed. M. Kiyota, Honolulu.

<sup>32</sup> Sh. Katsura (1976), "A Synopsis of Prajñāpāramitopadeśa", *JIBS XXV-1*, p. 484; A. Wayman, *Yoga of Guhyasamājantra*. Delhi 1977, pp.335-336. Prajñāpāramitābhāvanopadeśa (Tōhoku 4078) describes the four stages precisely. That are summarized as following:

- i) *yāvadbhāvīkacittamātrāmbana-yogabhūmi*.
- ii) *yathāvadbhāvīkacittamātrāmbana-yogabhūmi*.
- iii) *yathāvadbhāvikasarvadharmatathāmbana-yogabhūmi*.
- iv) *anāmbana-yogabhūmi*.

<sup>33</sup> A. Wayman, *op.cit.*, pp.332-339,361f. Kamalaśīla had interpreted the verses of Laṅkāvatāra X 256-258 setting the yoga as the yoga of *nirvedhabhāgiya*. Under this influence Ratnākaraśānti had interpreted the verses from the Nirākāravijñānavāda and adopted the "four yoga *bhūmi*" to his interpretation of GS XV135 citing Mahāyānasūtrā-laṅkāra XIV 23-26 where four steps of yoga: *ālokalabdha-*, *viḍdhāloka-*, *tattvārthaikadeśapraviṣṭa-*, and *ānantarya-samādhi* are counted. The procedure of yoga (*krama*) had been explained in the tradition of MA as five stages. But, the commentators of GS interpret it as four steps, connecting them with the procedure of *nirvedhabhāgiya* stages promoted in the early Yogācāravijñānavāda school. In the tradition of MA, we cannot find this association of the verse to the systematic procedure of Yogācāravijñānavāda.

<sup>34</sup> Sh. Katsura (1976), *op.cit.* p.484.

<sup>35</sup> Ch. Namai (1991), "Ratnākaraśānti on Guhyasamājantra XV 135", *Esoteric Buddhist Studies* 23.

In the Guhyasamāja XV, after some *samādhi* practices had been preached, it is said that the practitioner meets buddhas/bodhisattvas in his dream as a result of the practice. By examining the dream, the aspects of the *siddhi* are analyzed philosophically. Then this verse is preached as *svapnavicāraṇasamayahṛdaya*.

*svacittaṃ cittanidhyaptaṃ sarvadharmāḥ pratiṣṭhitāḥ |  
khavajrasthā hy amī dharmā na dharmā na ca dharmatā ||* (ed. Matsunaga, *op.cit.*, p.83)

<sup>36</sup> Kusumāñjaliguhyasamājanibandha, Ōtani No.2714, 271b2ff.: *dāos po thams cad ces bya ba la sogs pa la tshigs so bad pa 'di ni tkañ pa (pada) drug pa ste, yi ge bdun (sarvabhāvavigataṃ) dañ bdun (skandhadhātāvāyātana-) dañ bigyad (grāhyagrāhakavarjitam) dañ dgu (dharmanairātmyasamatayā) dañ brgad (svacittam ādyanutpannam) dañ drug (śūnyatāsvabhāvam) gi tshig dag go.*

*dāos po thams cad ces bya ba ni phyi rol gyi snags kyi lha rnam so. bral ba ni mi ldan pa'o.*

*bstan pa 'di'i ñe bar bsad pa ni phuñ po śes bya ba la sogs pa yin te, phuñ po ni sañs rgyas lña rnam so. khami ni sbyan ma la sogs pa lña'o. skye mched ni bcug ñis te, sa'i sñin po la sogs pa rnam dañ gzugs rdo tje ma la sogs pa rnam so. mdor bsdu na gzuñ ba ni bzugs kyi phuñ po'o. 'dzin pa ni tshor ba'i phuñ po la sogs pa'o. rnam par spañs pa ni rañ rig pa tsam gyis phyir te phuñ po la sogs pa de rnam rañ gi sems yin pas so. gñis kyi ston pa 'di la yod pas*

- i-1) In this stage, a practitioner will abandon every existence (*bhāva*) which is interpreted as the gods and goddess (*devatā*) of *mantras* chanted by heretics.
- i-2) And, he will abandon every aggregate, i.e., *skandha* (that means the five meditative Buddhas), *dhātu* (= the five Vidyayoginī, Locanā etc.), and *āyatana* (twelve *devatās* such as Kṣiṭigarbha, Rūpavajra etc.).
- ii) The cognized (*grāhya*, *rūpa*) and the cognizer (*vedanā...vijñāna*) are [nothing but the manifestation of *svasaṃvedanā*].
- iii-1) Then, the five aggregates [*skandha / dhātu / āyatana* that are the five Buddhas and the members of *maṇḍala*, i.e. *dharmas*] appearing as the cognized and the cognizer are equally without *svabhāva*, and nothing but the representation of his own mind.
- iii-2) His own mind, where these things appear without character of *grāhya-grāhaka*, is empty.
- vi) Because of the nature of emptiness, it is unborn primordially.

This procedure systematized the four stages into the esoteric Buddhist practice.<sup>37</sup> Evidently the interpretation is the same as the philosophical interpretation of GS XV.135 in the Prajñā-pāramitopadeśa mentioned above. Here, the final phrase of the *bodhicittagāthā* "*śūnyatā-svabhāvam*" is interpreted from the point of Nirākāravijñānavāda as admitting the existence of "*śūnyatā(svabhāva)jñānamātra*". This is not the interpretation given by the Mādhyamikas who deny the existence of *vijñāna* as *paramārthasayta*. These characteristic features of the interpretation may suggest the position of Ratnākaraśānti in the lineage of GS tradition.<sup>38</sup>

III.22. Bu ston, when he mentions the works of Nāgārjuna, founder of the Ārya-tradition of GS, counts the Bodhicittavivarāṇa as the third work.<sup>39</sup> According to Smṛtijñānakīrti, the founder of the Smṛti-tradition of GS and the commentator on the Bodhicittavivarāṇa, this treatise is ascribed also to Nāgārjuna.<sup>40</sup> Even though these reports are not so reliable, the Bodhicittavivarāṇa is a highly estimated *bodhicittabhāvanākrama* in the Ārya-tradition.

III.221. Anyway, the Bodhicittavivarāṇa<sup>41</sup> deals with the verse as main theme and interprets it from the view point of Mādhyamikas.<sup>42</sup>

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*na stoṅ pa űid kyi raṅ bṛin te stoṅ ba űid kyi na gdod ma űid nas ma skyes pa ste. skyes nas 'gog pa ma yin pas gdod nas skye ba med pa űid do. chos bdag med par mṅam űid pa űes chos rnamis ni gzuṅ ba daṅ 'dzin pa rnamis so. de rnamis med pa ni bdag med pa ste dus gsum mṅam pa űid do.*

<sup>37</sup> Ch. Namai (1991), Ratnākaraśānti on Guhyasamājantra XV 135, pp.65ff.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> E. Obermiller, *History of Buddhism, Chos-Hbyuṅ by Bu-ston*, Heidelberg 1931, p.126. He categorized this treatise as a theoretical treatise on *paramārthabodhicitta* preached by Vairocana Buddha in GS II.

<sup>40</sup> Bodhicittavivarāṇaṭīkā, Tōhoku No.1829, 117b.

<sup>41</sup> As late Prof. S. Sakai discussed (Bodaishin-kanjyaku to Bodaishin-risouron ni tsuite, [On the Bodhicittabhāvanā and the Bodhicittavivarāṇa], *The Mikkyo Bunka* 4, 1948), there are two categories of *bodhicittabhāvanākrama* treatises that were composed interpreting the *bodhicittagāthā*. The one is ascribed to Nāgārjuna called Bodhicittabhāvanā, the other is ascribed to Kamalaśīla. The former has three versions, namely 菩提心離相論 (Taishō No.1661), Bodhicittavivarāṇa (Tōhoku 1800) and Bodhicittavivarāṇa (Ōtani No.5470, not listed in Tōhoku). The later has also three, namely 菩提心觀釋 (Taishō No.1663), Bodhicittabhāvanā (Tōhoku 3913) and Bodhicittavivarāṇa (Tōhoku 1801). However this work may not have been composed by Kamalaśīla himself. These two are edited and translated into Hindi by Gyalsten Namdal, *Bodhicittavivarāṇa of Ācārya Nāgārjuna and Bodhicitta-*

III.222. Some modern scholars variously treated this treatise.<sup>43</sup> However, we should at least notice the following:

- 1) This treatise is composed in order to be used as a *bodhicittabhāvanākrama*, mainly depending on and interpreting the *bodhicittagāthā* which was composed in the tradition of MA. In fact, we can find some indirect quotations from MA in the Bodhicittavivaraṇa.
- 2) The systematic procedure of meditation described in this treatise could not be invented without the movement of integration of the four main Buddhist philosophical systems as having been done in the Yogacāramādhyamika circle.

III.23. Thus, as theoretical background, the Bodhicittavivaraṇa has a dominating position in this genre of literature, whereas the verse had been recognized as a definition of *paramārtha-bodhicitta* and adopted as a key of the forth *abhiśeka* in the Ārya-tradition.

III.231. And without the influence of the debate between the Nirākāravijñānavādins, the Sākāravijñānavādins, and the Mādhyamikas concerning the original nature of one's own mind (*svacitta/bodhicitta*), the variety of interpretations of the verse by these later Buddhist philosophers would not have occurred.

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*Bhāvanā of Ācārya Kamalaśīla*, Varanasi 1991.

<sup>42</sup> Lakṣmī (Ōtani No.2705, Pañcakramaṭīkākrāmārthaprakāśikā, 503b3ff.) and most followers of the Ārya-tradition of GS interpreted the verse from the standpoint of the Mādhyamikas.

<sup>43</sup> Ch. Namai (1970), "Bodhaishinge ni kansuru ichi-kōsatsu" (A Study on the Bodhicittagāthā), *The Mikkyo Bunka* 91; D.S. Ruegg, *The Literature of the Madhyamaka School of Philosophy in India*, Wiesbaden 1981, pp.104f.; Chr. Lindtner (1982), *NAGARJUNIANA*, p.180ff.; C. Dragonetti (1986), "On Śuddhamati's Pratītyasamutpādahrdaya-kārikā", *WZKS* XXX, pp.115ff.; Ch. Yoshimizu (1988), "Nāgārjuna saku Bodhicittavivaraṇa ni tuite" (On the Bodhicittavivaraṇa by Nāgārjuna), *JIBS* XXXVI-2.

# LADAKH'S RELATIONS WITH OTHER HIMALAYAN KINGDOMS

by

Nawang Tsering Shakspo, Leh

The appearance of Padmasambhava in the 8th century A.D. produced a dramatic flowering in politics, religion and culture in Tibet, as well as in other Himalayan kingdoms, including Ladakh; and the spiritual as well as the bodily effect on the land by Padmasambhava helped these countries to develop a common cultural identity. Ladakh itself first emerged as an independent kingdom in the 9th century with the assumption of the Ladakhi throne by dPal-gyi-mgon, a direct descendant of the first Tibetan king, Gnya-khri-btsan-po; and the successors of King dPal-gyi-mgon, who ruled over Ladakh for more than one thousand years without a break, gave the Ladakhi kings an honoured place among the rulers of the Himalayan kingdoms.

Links with Tibet grew steadily as Ladakh looked to the east for spiritual guidance, and recent studies have shed new light on this; but Lhasa was not the only influence, and the region was open to many other influences. Ladakh, lying on the cross-roads of Central Asian trade, provided a meeting place for traders from Yarkand and Kashgar in Central Asia to the north, from Punjab in the plains of India to the south, from Kashmir to the west, as well as from Tibet to the east. A good number of today's Muslim Arghuns of Ladakh are the descendants of Muslim traders from Yarkand and Kashgar.<sup>1</sup>

Other visitors were Muslim pilgrims from Central Asia to Mecca, and Hindu pilgrims to Mount Kailash, who would pass through Ladakh. Whilst staying there, they would spend some days resting and acclimatising themselves, and would propagate their religious doctrines. Hindu pilgrims, particularly the sages (Yogins), would preach their doctrine amongst the Buddhist Ladakhis, an exchange which resulted in the emergence of a new cult popularly known as Baba-Swami.<sup>2</sup> Baba-Swami did not, however, emerge as a separate religion, although its impact is still visible in certain cultural and religious observances of both the Buddhist and Muslim Ladakhis.

One particularly interesting form of relations between Ladakh and the rest of the Himalaya is that concerning various matrimonial alliances between the royal family of Ladakh, and the royal families of other kingdoms. The first and foremost marriage of this kind occurred as early as the 15th century when King 'Jam-dbyangs-rnam-rgyal married with the only daughter of Ali Mir, the chief of Skardo. This union resulted in the birth of the most famous Ladakhi king, Seng-ge-rnam-rgyal, who in his life time ventured to invade Tibet to gain political supremacy in Western Tibet.

King Seng-ge-rnam-rgyal was an ardent supporter of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-rgyud-pa order. He appointed Lama Stag-tshang-ras-pa as the foremost teacher and formed an alliance with the bKa'-rgyud-pas of Bhutan to undermine the influence of the dGe-lugs-pa government of Central Tibet. To build this alliance with the Bhutanese, the Ladakhi king granted a number of

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<sup>1</sup> Nawang Tsering Shakspo (1993), *An Insight into Ladakh*. Leh.

<sup>2</sup> Nawang Tsering (1985), "A Survey of the Spread of Buddhadharma in Ladakh", in *Soundings in Tibetan Civilization, Proceedings of the 1982 IATS Seminar held at Columbia University*. Aziz and Kapstein (eds), Delhi, Manohar 1985.

villages near to Mount Kailash to Zhabs-drung-ngag-dbang-rnam-rgyal (1594-1651), the first 'Brug-pa bKa-rgyud-pa Lama ruler of Bhutan.<sup>3</sup> In Ladakh, the bKa-rgyud-pa sect flourished under state patronage, and the state also checked the religious activities of the Central Tibetan government, headed by the 6th Dalai Lama; however, the threat to the state by Muslims from the northern border was a source of permanent concern for successive Ladakhi kings.

Among the kings of the rNam-rgyal dynasty, Nyi-ma-rnam-rgyal (1680-1720) figures prominently as a man of high diplomacy. It appears that Nyi-ma-rnam-rgyal, like Seng-ge-rnam-rgyal, kept close contact with the rulers of eastern Himalayan kingdoms, including Bhutan, and Mustang in Nepal; and an important chapter was added when the king's daughter Nor-azin-dbang-mo married a prince of Mustang. When she went to Mustang from Ladakh, she was escorted by the king's minister dPa-wo-tshul-krims-rdo-rje, who not only attended to her comforts on the journey, but who also later helped the kingdom of Mustang to solve border disputes with nearby states.<sup>4</sup> Worried that Princess Nor-azin-dbang-mo would feel homesick, the king sent with the marriage party a team of Ladakhi musicians with their instruments the 'daman' and 'surna', and these later found a permanent place in Mustang popular culture.

Relations were now developed between Ladakh and Mustang. King bDe-skyong-rnam-rgyal (1720-1740), the brother of the newly married princess, also married a princess of Mustang Nyi-zla-dbang-mo.<sup>5</sup> The Yub-jhur head-dress, presently inherited and worn by successive Ladakhi queens at weddings and other social and cultural functions, was brought to Ladakh by Queen Nyi-zla-dbang-mo, who herself had inherited the head-dress through the female line in Mustang. It is of a peculiar trapezoid shape, made of coral and pearls; historically, this type of head-dress was first worn by the Chinese queen of Srong-btsan-sgam-po in 650 A.D.<sup>6</sup>

The marriage of King bDe-skyong-rnam-rgyal with Nyi-zla-dbang-mo has a special place in the cultural and religious history of Ladakh, and it resulted in the birth of the crown prince Sa-skyong-rnam-rgyal. However, it did not last for long: the queen had to seek a divorce, and she returned to Mustang. She did not stay there for long, but travelled further, as far as Central Tibet, where she gave birth to the Panchen Rinpoche dPal-ldan-ye-shes (1734-1780).<sup>7</sup> Folk songs telling of this queen's marriage and her subsequent divorce are still sung up to this day.

Another important matrimonial alliance with the Ladakhi kingdom involved Princess Rigs-'dzin-dbang-mo of the royal family of Matto, who married the crown prince of Spiti; interesting songs are sung about this queen's marriage, and the subsequent harsh life she had in Spiti.

The latest in this series of marriages was that of King Kun-bzang-rnam-rgyal (1926-1974), to bDe-skyid-dbang-mo, the present queen of Ladakh, who comes from Khangsar, a noble family of Lahaul.

Recently an interesting document, dating from 1911, came to light in the Government archives in Jammu. It records the request of the Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim to the Government

<sup>3</sup> Tashi Rabgias (1984), *Mar-yul la-dwags kyi snon-rabs kun-gsal-me-lon, or The History of Ladakh Called the Mirror which Illuminates All*. Leh.

<sup>4</sup> Tashi Rabgias, *op.cit.*; Petech L. (1977) *The kingdom of Ladakh c. 950-1842 A. D.* Serie Orientale Roma LI, ISMEO, Roma.

<sup>5</sup> Yoseb Gergan (1976), *Bla-dwags-rgyal-rabs Chi-med-gter*. Leh.

<sup>6</sup> From the Stok Palace Museum, Leh.

<sup>7</sup> Tashi Rabgias, *op.cit.*

of India for a marriage with a Ladakhi lady belonging to a respectable family. The document, based on eight letters and spread over eleven pages, reveals the importance given by the Government of India to the request of the Maharaj Kumar.

It appears that to meet this request the Government of India worked through the Dewan, the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir state, who wrote personal and confidential letters to the Wazir Wazarat in Ladakh. The contents of the first letter in the series reads as follows:

[Note: the spelling, punctuation, etc., in all the following documents are as in the originals]

From: Chief Minister  
Jammu and Kashmir State

To: S. Hashmat Ullah  
Wazir Wazarat  
Ladakh

Srinagar 8th June 1911

Dear Sir,

Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim having expressed his desire to the Govt. of India in regard to his intention to marry a Buddhist lady of some respectable family from Ladakh, the Govt. of India have asked the Resident to arrange through the Darbar to find out some suitable match for the Maharaj Kumar.

The Maharaj Kumar is of 34 years of age and is a devoted Buddhist, and wishes to marry a grown up Buddhist lady, if possible an English knowing one.

I shall be glad if you will please make confidential inquiries about the proposed match from Ladakh, Zanskar, Purik etc. and let me know full particulars about the respectability of the parents, age, etc. of the girl. If possible a photograph of the girl may be obtained and supplied. The inquiries should be conducted in such a manner that the parents of the girl may not come to know about the matter till it is finally settled. Please see that the inquiries are made as secretly as possible, and your reply should reach me before the end of this month.

The matter may please be treated strictly confidential.

Yours Sincerely

Dewan  
Chief Minister  
J&K State

Through the letter it seems that at the time of the inquiry the Maharaj Kumar was already 34 years old, but his identity is not mentioned. On this point I have tried to study a bit of the history of the Sikkimese dynasty, and my available sources say that the Maharaj Kumar in 1911 was Srid-skyong-sprul-ku, an incarnate, who was educated in Oxford, and who ascended to the Sikkimese throne in the year 1914.

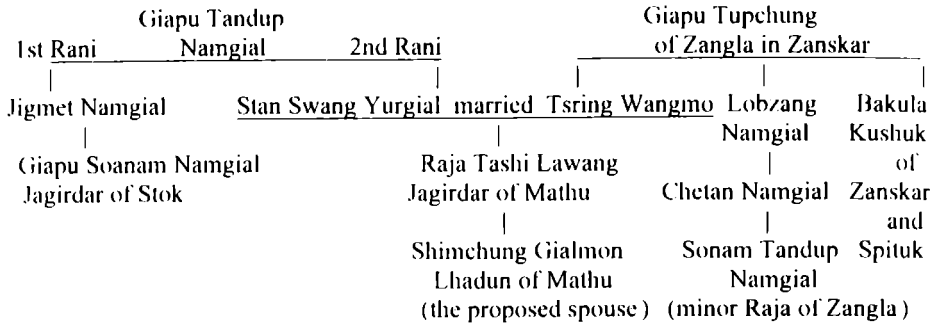
Upon receiving this letter, S. Hashmat Ullah, the Wazir Wazarat, carried out a detailed study of the family situations of the noble families of Central Ladakh, Purig and Zanskar. The findings of the Wazir are recorded in confidential D. O. letter No. 427, Kargil, dated July 2nd, 1911.

To: Rai Sahib Dewan  
AmarNath Sahib Bahadur  
Chief Minister to H. H. the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur  
Jammu and Kashmir State

Dear Sir,

With reference to your D. O. No. 48/c dated June 8th 1911 regarding the desire of the Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim to marry a Buddhist lady of Ladakh I beg to state that the most respectable family of Buddhists in Ladakh, Zanskar and Purig is that of the Raja of Stok whose grandfather Giapu Tandup Namgial was the ruler of Ladakh at the time of conquest.

He has no daughter of his own. But his cousin Raja Tashi Lawang of Mathu has a grown up daughter who I should think would be a suitable spouse for the Maharaj Kumar. I therefore sent for the Raja of Stok and Kushuk Bakula of Zanskar, who is closely related with the Raja of Mathu, to consult about the desired match. I have discussed the matter with them. They say that the name of the lady is Shinchung Gialmon Lhadun of Mathu. The following genealogical tree will show clearly her parentage.



The Gialmon is sixteen years of age and is a lady of many refined manners according to Tibetan civilisation, and is also said to be good looking. The Buddhist era of her birth is called Mete [me = fire, te = monkey]. I enclose a slip with full name of the lady and the era of her birth written on it in Buddhist characters. She is illiterate and speaks only her mother tongue the Ladakhi dialect of the Tibetan language. No-one from amongst the Ladakhis knows English, Urdu knowing people are also few and far between. She is a lady of unquestionable respectability in Ladakh. But wealth she has not. The only source of her father's income is the small Jagir of Mathu granted to him by the state where Raja Tashi Lawang is leaving a peaceful life.

2. The Kushuk Bakula and the Raja of Stok say that they know absolutely nothing of the Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim nor have they enough means to enter into matrimonial relations with ruling chiefs. For this reason they don't know how to start the negotiations. In case it is desired by His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur that the marriage should be contracted and His Highness has full reliance on the Maharaj Kumar the Kushuk as well as the Raja of Stok will consider it their good fortune to carry out the wishes of His Highness. Even in that case they will not be able to get through the marriage ceremony in a manner becoming to the dignity and position of the proposed bridegroom on their own scanty means and without the help from the state. If this is arranged and His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur is inclined to think that the proposed marriage is a desirable one the Kushuk Bakula and the Raja of Stok undertake to arrange for the same with Raja Tashi Lawang of Mathu.

3. The Raja of Stok on his return to Leh will have the lady photographed and will send the photo to me which on receipt will be submitted to you. This may be expected within three weeks if a photographer is available otherwise it will take longer time.

4. The Kushuk Bakula further asks that if no objection the full name of the Maharaj Kumar, the Buddhist era of his birth, and particulars about his family and character may kindly be communicated to him.

5. As the Kushuk Bakula had to be sent for from Zanskar the reply to your letter could not be sent earlier.

Yours obediently  
Hashmat Ullah Khan

According to the genealogical tree prepared by the Wazir Wazarat, Shimchung Gialmo Lhadun was the great niece of the 18th successive incarnation of Arhat Bakula born in Zangla palace, and the aunt of the 19th incarnation of Kushok Bakula of Pethup born in the royal family of



Matto. The Wazir included the Kushok Bakula, who was only her great uncle by relation, because of the Kushok's position in the Ladakhi administration and his influence in public affairs.

Now the only hurdle to the Wazir securing the Maharaj Kumar's consent was to obtain a photograph of the Shimchung through the Raja of Stok. The Raja had said that this would take three weeks, due to the difficulty in obtaining a camera, and the materials necessary for developing and printing a photograph. The Dewan, upon receiving the confidential letter of the Wazir, wrote once again asking for a photo to be supplied quickly.

Confidential No. 190 C

From: The Chief Minister

Jammu and Kashmir State

To: S. Hashmatullah

Wazir Wazarat, Ladakh

Srinagar 10 October 1911

Dear Sir,

Please refer to your confidential letter No. 427 D. O. dated the 2nd July 1911 on the subject of the proposed desire of the Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim to marry a Buddhist lady of Ladakh.

I have read with pleasure the particulars furnished by you in letter concerning Lady Shimchung Gialmo Lhadun daughter of the Raja of Matto, as also the manner in which you conducted the confidential inquiries connected with the matter.

In para 3 of your letter you said that the Raja of Stok would arrange to have the lady photographed, I think you would supply the photo to me within three weeks.

It is expected that the Raja of Stok has already managed to have a photograph prepared of the lady. If however, he has not done so I shall be glad if you will please arrange, if it can be done without offence, and without the object becoming known to the lady or to her parents, to secure a photo of the lady and supply the same to me as early as possible for transmission to the government of India as the Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim is desirous of seeing the same.

Yours Sincerely

Dewan, Chief Minister

J&K State

One Captain P. H. Chenevix Trench, I. A., appears to have been the mediator with the Maharaja's government. Trench was the First Assistant to the Resident in Kashmir on behalf of the Government of India, and moved his office, along with the Dewan's, from Srinagar to Sialkot and elsewhere. He agreed with the latter's idea to carry out the whole inquiry in secret. The letter of Trench to the Dewan reads as follows:

Confidential Srinagar October 5th 1911

The Residency

Kashmir

My dear Sir

You will no doubt recollect Colonel Erskine speaking to you early last June regarding the possibility of finding in Kashmir, Ladakh, and the small Buddhist states on the latter frontier a lady who might make a suitable wife for the Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim. You promised to make secret inquiries in the matter but thought it doubtful whether a photograph of any such lady could be secured without a reference to her or to her parents, to whom it was undesirable that any direct reference should be made on the subject.

The inquiries made by you elicited the information contained in letter No. 427, dated the 2nd July 1911, from the Wazir Wazarat Ladakh to your address, which was handed by you to the Resident on the 11th: idem. A copy of the above letter, which is returned

herewith, was forwarded to the Government of India who have asked that, if possible, a photograph of the lady known as the Shimchung Gialmon Lhadun of Mathu may be obtained, as the Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim is desirous of receiving a copy.

It is possible that the Maharaja of Stok (vide paragraph 3 of the Wazir Wazarat's above cited letter) has already managed to have the lady photographed. If however he has not done so I am to request that you will kindly arrange, if it can be done without offence, and without the object becoming known to the lady or the parents, to secure a photo of the former for transmission to the Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim.

Yours Sincerely  
P Chevenix Trench

In spite of repeated requests and personal appeals by both the Dewan and Captain Trench for the procurement of a photo, it took the Wazir Wazarat almost six months to get one. Finally, in the month of November, the photo reached the Wazir, now in Kargil, who forwarded the photo to the Dewan, as the letter below explains.

Confidential No. 950/DO  
Ladakh Wazarat  
Kargil  
November 15th 1911

Sir,

Will you kindly refer to your confidential letter No. 190-C/DO dated October 10th 1911 on the subject of the desire of the Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim to marry a Buddhist lady of Ladakh.

I beg to enclose herewith a photograph of Shimchung Gialmon Lhadun supplied to me by the Raja of Stok. The photo I am sorry is not a good one. There are no professional photographers in Ladakh and as the matter had to be managed without giving the least opportunity to the lady or to her parents to suspect the real object no better could be arranged. I however hope that it will serve to give the Maharaj Kumar at least some idea what the Gialmon is like.

With respects  
I am, yours obediently  
Hashmatullah Khan

There might have been some delay in sending the photograph of Simchung Lhadun from the Dewan to Captain Trench, and Trench sent the Dewan the following letter:

Confidential No. 193 of 1911  
From: Captain P. H. Chevenix Trench, I. A.  
First Assistant to the Resident in Kashmir  
To: Rai Sahib Dewan Amar Nath  
Chief Minister to His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir  
Sialkot  
Dated: Sialkot 27th November 1911

Sir,

I am directed to invite your attention to my letter No 159 dated the 6th October 1911, regarding a photograph of a Buddhist lady required for transmission to the Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim, and to request the favour of an early reply.

Yours truly  
P Chevenix Trench, Captain,  
First Assistant to the Resident in Kashmir.

The Dewan now obtained the photograph from the Wazir Wazarat, and posted it under confidential cover to Captain Trench. The Dewan's letter reads as follows:

Confidential No. 228 C. S.

Enclosures: 1 photograph

From: The Chief Minister

Jammu and Kashmir State

To: Captain P. Chevenix Trench

First Assistant to the Resident in Kashmir

Sialkot

Sialkot, 28th Nov, 1911

My dear Sir,

With reference to your confidential letter No. 159 dated the 5th October last I am to forward herewith a photograph of the lady known as Shimechung Gialmon Lhadun daughter of the Raja of Mathu for transmission to the Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim, a copy of the Wazir Wazarat Ladakh letter no. 950. Ditto of 15th November 1911 with which the said photograph has been received is also enclosed for information.

Yours Sincerely

Dewan

The decision of the Maharaj Kumar, which was in the negative, reached Captain Trench after a gap of six months, and was duly communicated to the Dewan. Trench's letter reads:

Confidential SIALKOT, the 19th. March, 1912

My dear Sir

With reference to your letter No. 228 C. S. dated the 28th November, 1911, I am desired to inform you that the Political Officer in Sikkim has reported that the Maharaj Kumar does not desire marriage with the lady Shimchung Gialmon Lhadun of Mathu.

Yours sincerely

P Chevenix Trench

The whole episode raises some interesting points. For instance, why did the proposal not receive the consent of the Maharaj Kumar? Was it due to the inefficiency of the Darbar in tackling the matter? What would have happened if the proposal had been accepted? What is the significance of these letters in the cultural context of Himalayan kingdoms?

The last contact between Ladakh and Sikkim took place when the last ruler of Sikkim, Chos-rgyal dPal-Idan Ton-drup rNam-rgyal, paid an official visit in 1972, before he was dethroned and his kingdom became the 20th State of the Indian Union. His visit was an historical one in the sense that no Himalayan king of such high position had ever paid a visit to Ladakh. So, following the tradition, a rousing reception was given to the king by the people and the royal family of Ladakh. Decorated thrones were placed, one for the Ladakhi king Thin-las rNam-rgyal, and one for the Sikkimese king Chos-rgyal. The latter was offered the first throne in the row, but instead he decided to be seated next to the Ladakhi king.<sup>8</sup> On inquiry, it was learnt that the Sikkimese king had given precedence to the Ladakhi king as the latter was a direct descendant of the Tibetan emperor Gnya-khri-btsan-po.

This episode illustrates the continuing importance of genealogy and historical lineage amongst the aristocracies of the Himalayas. Among the followers of the Tibetan form of Mahayana Buddhism in the region, there is a profound respect for the Tibetan exponents of the religion, and also for the Tibetan kings. So, to establish their identity, the rulers of various Himalayan kingdoms have emphasised their direct descent from the Tibetan kings. Like Ladakh, the aristocrat families of Sikkim, Mustang in Nepal, the Mons (present-day Arunachal Pradesh), and other kingdoms, have claimed direct descent from these kings; and it is the

<sup>8</sup> I am greatly indebted to Shri Abdul Qayum of the Information Department for this information.

provenance and pedigree of these lineages which is an important factor in determining the social hierarchy amongst the aristocracies.

### **Conclusion**

Prior to the discovery of the documents in Jammu, there was little evidence of Sikkim having any kind of close religious or cultural contact with Ladakh. If any relation was assumed, it was indirect through the bKa'-rgyud-pas of Bhutan.

The documents themselves illustrate the importance of alliance and dynasty at that time; for the Ladakhi royal family, the inquiry from the Maharaj Kumar presented an opportunity for them to rejoin the mainstream of Himalayan aristocratic affairs, from which they had been excluded since the overthrow of King Tse-dpal-don-grup-rnam-rgyal by the Dogras in 1842. The letter of the Wazir Wazarat, dated July 2nd, emphasises that the Ladakhi royal family were particularly happy to honour the wishes of the Sikkimese royal family; and the Wazir Wazarat and other negotiators in Ladakh pleaded the case strongly with the Darbar in Srinagar.

The episode in 1972, with the visit of the Sikkimese king Chos-rgyal dPal-ldan Ton-drup rNam-rgyal, reveals that historical lineage, based on traditions stretching back for hundreds of years, still played an important part in relations between Sikkim and Ladakh.

Both these incidents show us that, in the 20th century, Ladakh's external relations in the field of monarchy and aristocracy, that is, in the field of what used to constitute external political relations, remain little changed in their form and functioning from what had been the case in previous centuries. Both incidents shed new light on how these relations continued to function, even though the political map in which they operate has been totally redefined since colonialism and, specifically in the case of Ladakh, since the Dogra invasion of 1834.

# A RED HAT LINEAGE TANKA

by

Braham Norwick, New York

In the early '50s, a tanka was obtained from a young art dealer who called himself Rudy. He specialized in Tibetan items. Rudy had studied in India and travelled widely. At the time of his sudden, untimely death, he had been flying between his nine ashrams. These were a mecca for varied people. One saw hippie types he had weaned from drugs, and older admirers, such as Eleanor Olson and Charmian von Wiegand. The former was curator of the Tibetan collection at the Newark Museum. The latter, with her early support, housing, purchases and donations, helped Tibetan refugees.

Rudy, shortly before his death, published a book, *Spiritual Cannibalism*.<sup>1</sup> Its illustrations were Rohrsach blots. After his unexpected demise, some of his acolytes republished a changed edition,<sup>2</sup> eliminating all the blots. The books give no easy clues to sources nor dispositions of his large collection of Tibetan items, now dispersed worldwide.

Rudy had seemed on the way to following a tradition in Tibetan arts, where dealers become involved with and establish public collections. Antoinette Gordon, curator of the Tibetan collection at the New York Museum of Natural History was the sister of Roland Koscherak, who was an important dealer in Tibetan art with a warehouse of stuff. Her collection was willed half to the Museum and half to Indiana University.<sup>3</sup> "Jacques Marchais"<sup>4</sup> was another, who had her own shop, and whose collection became the basis for the Tibetan Museum on Staten Island.

The lineage tanka which Rudy offered differed from much Tibetan material then available. All images were identified by names written in gold. So there might seem little to dispute about the names for those depicted. Rudy said he had brought the tanka to America, but gave no other detail. At a later period, in Rudy's second shop, one often met young westerners, returned from Asia to sell their acquisitions. But Rudy's explanation for his early collection resembled that given by Dr. Shelton.<sup>5</sup> They were in part gifts from those he had helped. Shelton's material is now in the Newark Museum.<sup>6</sup>

Recent writers tend to downplay mystery in Tibetan studies. But there are at least unanswered questions regarding dates, identity of portrayals (deities, mythological and historical individuals), and depiction sources (artists, sects and monasteries). There is much questionable published, with discussions and illustrations of Tibetan pantheon and historical figures. Items

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<sup>1</sup> Rudolph, Albert (Swami Rudrananda [Rudy]) (1973), *Spiritual Cannibalism*. New York, Links Books: "ink blots by Uli".

<sup>2</sup> Idem (1978), preface: Gaetano Maida, foreword: Michael Shoemaker. Woodstock, New York, Overlook Press.

<sup>3</sup> Gordon's obituary (1975), *New York Times*, 26 March, p 39. Her collection is displayed in both institutions.

<sup>4</sup> Marchais, Jacques (also known as Mrs. Harry Klauber) (1941), *Objects from the Tibetan Lamaist Collection*. New York.

<sup>5</sup> Shelton, Albert Leroy (1921), *Pioneering in Tibet*. New York

<sup>6</sup> Olson, Eleanor (1950), *Catalogue of the Tibetan Collection and Other Lamaist Articles in the Newark Museum*. Newark, New Jersey, p 41 et seq.

and painted images, bearing no writing, are purportedly identified, using such books.

In its area, this tanka is possibly more accurately helpful. Especially since it is arranged to be read somewhat as one reads a book, top to bottom, left to right. Overriding the linear aspect is a symmetry of images, balanced around the central figure of the major abbot.

Thirteen pantheon figures are placed at the top and bottom of the tanka. From the top, P1 to P7, they are numbered consecutively, with the last group, P8 to P10, at the bottom, all reading from left to right.

འབྲུང་འདུལ་	'Byung `dul	Vajrapani	P1
འཇམ་དབྱངས་	'Jam dbyangs	Manjughosa	P2
རྣམ་རྒྱལ་མ་	rNam rgyal ma	Vijaya	P3
ཚེ་དཔག་མེད་	Tshe dpag med	Amitayus	P4
ལྷོ་ལྷ་དཀར་	sGrol dkar	White Tara	P5
འོད་ཟེར་ཅན་མ་	'Od zer can ma	Marici	P6
རྟ་མགྲིན་	rTa mgrin	Hayagriva	P7
དཔལ་མགོན་ལྷལ་	dPal mgon zhal	Mahakala	P8
ལྷ་མོ་དབྱེག་གུ་ཕྱན་གསུམ་	Lha mo dbyug gu spun gsum	Three Sisters	P9
དུར་བདག་ཡབ་ཡུམ་	Dur bdag yab yum	Cemetery Couple	P10

15 siddhas are portrayed, and also numbered reading from left to right. They are arranged in a sequence that appears more related to an esthetic balance than to any observed listing. This sequence is probably recorded elsewhere, though not yet found.

S1 ཕུ་སྐད་	Pu smad	S2 འོག་ཅེ་པ་	Tog tse pa
S3 ཕག་ཚང་པ་	Phag tshang pa	S4 རྣལ་པོ་རྫོ་རྗེ་	Nag po rdo rje
S5 ས་ར་ཏ་	Sa ra ha	S6 རྣལ་པོ་སྤྱོད་པ་	Nag po spyod pa
S7 ལ་བ་པ་	La ba pa	S8 ཀུ་ཀུ་རུ་པ་	Ku ku ru pa
S9 མཚོ་སྤྲེལ་རྫོ་རྗེ་	mTsho skyes rdo rje	S10 ཤན་ཏི་པ་	Shan ti pa
S11 ཅན་ཀོ་མི་	Tsandra ko mi	S12 ཡི་རྩུ་བྱ་རྩེ་ཅམ་སྤོང་ཉེས་	Indra bhu dhi cam sring nyes
S13 མར་མེ་མཛད་	Mar me mdzad	S14 སར་ཀ་པ་	Sar ka pa
S15 བཟང་པོ་པ་	bZang po pa		

The 84 siddhas appear in varied order, names and aspects. Alice Egyed<sup>7</sup> summarized most of their usual appellations, but presented only one set of pictures. The same set is illustrated in another publication.<sup>8</sup> In this tanka, the first siddha's name, Pu smad, does not match any in Egyed's sources. He is not so named in other references in versions not cited by Egyed, at least not in the same publication, and consulted to date.<sup>9,10,11,12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Egyed, Alice (1984). *The Eighty-four Siddhas*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó.

<sup>8</sup> Schumann, Hans Wolfgang (1986). *Buddhistische Bilderwelt*. Köln, Eugen Diederichs Verlag.

<sup>9</sup> Khetsun Sangpo (1973). *Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism*. Dharamsala, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.

<sup>10</sup> Abhayadatta (1979). *Caturaśītisiddhapravṛtti*. Saranatha, Varanasi; in Hindi and Tibetan translation, and all siddhas pictured.

The weaver's more usual name is Tanti pa. But there are sect and area variations. For example, Toni Schmid<sup>13</sup> wrote about 85 siddhas with pictures of a set of 13 tankas. They were acquired in Peking during a Sven Hedin expedition and are now in the Ethnographical Museum of Stockholm. The monastery or sect origin of those tankas is unstated. Those in this tanka are found in 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 of these Hedin tankas. Weavers are mentioned in Schmid. One name is Tha ga pa, an outcast. Another is Tan tra pa, the latter differently classified in Egyed's index. Pu smad is shown weaving, so there is little question about identity in the usual siddha groupings.



Most Tibetan names of the siddhas are approximate phonetic transcriptions or translations from the Sanskrit. Variants occur in both cases, an oral and scribal tradition not being like a photocopy. Looking at the name Pu smad from a Tibetan point of view, a lowly caste is suggested. Siddha castes are often noted; since the siddhas came from India. Pu smad may be an attempted transcription from Sanskrit for a servant, or from Chinese for a fabric. Both ideas seem far-fetched. Speculation and inquiries about when and where the tanka was made, and based on siddha names alone, did not result in unarguable answers. It is interesting to note how many siddhas were low caste. Kukuripa with his dog, Phag tshang pa, the swineherd, with a pig, Tog tse pa, the man with the hoe, and Pu smad the weaver.

Certain siddhas have been classed as part of a yogic lineage. The sister of Lokesh Chandra has noted the presence of Indrabhuti and Kukuripa in the rDzogs chen anuyoga lineage.<sup>14</sup> Sarat Chandra Das wrote that the rDzogs chen is one of the principle sects of the rNying ma school of Tibetan Buddhism, and much followed in Sikkim and Derge in East Tibet.<sup>15</sup> But it seems

<sup>11</sup> Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams, 'Jam mgon Am yes zhabs (1985), *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i mam thar*. Dehradun, Sakya Centre, Biographies, with only two illustrations.

<sup>12</sup> Chopel Legdan (ed.) (1973), *Grub thob brgyad bcu rtsa bzhi'i chos skor*. New Delhi. The first text has all siddhas illustrated.

<sup>13</sup> Schmid, Toni (1958), *The Eighty-five Siddhas*. Stockholm, Statens Etnographiska Museum (for weavers, note p 71, 49, 157)

<sup>14</sup> Lohia, Sushama (1994), *Lalitavajara's Manual of Buddhist Iconography*. Delhi. Preface by Lokesh Chandra, p 13.

<sup>15</sup> Das, Sarat Chandra (1960), *Tibetan English Dictionary*. Alipore, West Bengal, p 1059.

clear, based on David Jackson's recent chronological listing of the abbots of the Ngor monastery<sup>16</sup> that the tanka has its source there.

Dominating the centre is the major abbot, and in the lower central area of the tanka, one sees twelve other portraits. All thirteen red hat abbots are named. Though each name constituent is familiar, no full composite had been found prior to Jackson's list. There was no publication or historical event with which any individual name had been unarguably registered, since names varied. Most colleagues questioned correctly opted for the founder of the Ngor monastery as the central figure, and Sakya sect abbots for the other lineage figures. Sakya abbots are widely pictured, but none seen to date corresponded closely enough to be a reliable match.

The main, central portrait is identified, but with an alphabet soup of honorifics not yet seen equaled elsewhere. This abbot is indisputably the founder of the Ngor monastery. Other tankas, without writing, have been published, claiming to show the founder of Ngor<sup>17</sup> and Ngor abbots,<sup>18</sup> but this tanka has put the names below each portrait, beginning with ཀུན་དགའ་བཟང་པོ་ [Kun dga' bzang po].



David Jackson had earlier published a paper on the identification of individual masters in Sa skya pa lineages,<sup>19</sup> but those he listed had, except for the founder, been of a period prior to those in this tanka. Another earlier Jackson paper,<sup>20</sup> seen only recently, and thanks to interli-

<sup>16</sup> Jackson, David (1993), "Apropos a Recent Tibetan Art Catalogue", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* XXXVII, p 109-130, esp.127-129.

<sup>17</sup> Lo Bue, Erberto F. (1983), *Sku-Thang. Pitture Tibetane dal Quindicesimo al Ventesimo Secolo*, p 2-3. Mandala with "Kun-dga'-bzang-po of the Ngor monastery", Mario Luca Giusti, Florence.

<sup>18</sup> Lauf, Detlef-Ingo (1976), *Verborgene Botschaft tibetischer Thankas*. Freiburg im Breisgau, Aurum Verlag, esp. plate 28.

<sup>19</sup> Jackson, David (1990), "The Identification of Individual Masters in Paintings of Sa-skyapa Lineages", in *Indo-Tibetan Studies. Papers in honour and appreciation of David Snellgrove's contribution to Indo-Tibetan Studies*. T. Skorupski (ed.), Tring (Buddhica Britannica, Series Continua II), p 129-144.

<sup>20</sup> *Idem* (1989), "Sources on the Chronology and Succession of the Abbots of Ngor E-wam Chos-Idan", *Berliner Indologische Studien* 4/5, p 49-94



brary loan from Cornell, did cover the period of the abbots portrayed in this tanka. It is especially valuable in that it displays the variations of names found in Tibetan sources.

There are interesting aspects about the abbots shown. The central figure is the only one with visibly bare feet. The thrones are not all the same, and one sees each type on either side of the central area. Mirrored pairs of sequential abbots can be seen surrounding the central figure. Reading from top left to right and proceeding down, are A2 and A3, A4 and A5, A6 and A7, A8 and A9, A10 and A11, A12 and A13. All the pairs are seated, gazing towards the centre. For each pair, one sees similar structure, pattern and color decorated thrones, halos, and hats. The names as given by Jackson in his 1993 article do not in most cases exactly correspond with those on the tanka. But we are not dealing with mathematical equations. There is sufficient match, especially when coupled with the fact that the chronological order, reading from right to left, top to bottom, fits an exact time sequence with the similar names. The abbots begin with tenure given by Jackson as 1689?-1695? and end 1746-1751.

The abbot names are here given as copied from the tanka, as transliterated, and with transliterations marked with an asterisk from the Jackson listing, along with his numbering and tenure dating.

- A1] ཨ་རྒྱལ་བས་རྒྱལ་བར་ལུང་བསྐྱེད། རྒྱལ་འགྲུག་རྩི་མེ་འཆང་ཚེན།  
rGyal bas rGyal bar Lung bstan | rGyal 'gyun rDo rJe 'Chang chin  
ཀུན་མཁྱིན་ཀུན་དགའ་བཟང་པོ། ཀུན་རྩི་མེ་སུ་བཟུང་མཚོན་  
Kun mkhyen Kun dga' bZang po | Kun tu rJes su bZung mdzod  
(1) \*Nor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po 1429-1456
- A2] ག་ཅན་སངས་རྒྱས་བསྐྱེད་འཛིན་  
Shar chen Sangs rgyas bsTan 'dzin  
(26) \*Shar-chen Sangs-rgyas-bstan-'dzin 1689?-1695?
- A3] མཚུངས་མེད་ཤིས་བྱ་བཟང་པོ་  
mTshungs med Shis bya bZang po  
(27) \* Shabs-stod rDzi-lung-pa Byams-pa Shes-bya-bzang-po 1695?-1702?
- A4] གུམས་པ་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་དཔལ་བཟང་  
Byams pa Tshul khirms dPal bzang  
(28) \*Shar Mi-ngag Rab-sgang-pa Byams-pa Tshul-khirms-dpal-bzang 1703-1710
- A5] མཚུངས་མེད་བསོད་ནམས་དཔལ་ལྷན་  
mTshungs med bSod nams dPal ldan  
(29) \* gTsang Phyug-gzhung sPel-skye-ba bSod-nams-dpal-ldan 1710-1713
- A6] གུམས་པ་བསོད་ནམས་བཟང་པོ་  
Byams pa bSod nams bZang po  
(30) \*Khang-gsar Byams-pa bSod-nams-bzang-po 1713-1722
- A7] འཇམ་མགོན་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལུག་གུབ་  
'Jam mgon bKra shis Lhun grub  
(31) \*gTsang mDo-mkhar-ba mkhan-chen Bkra-shis-lhun-grub 1722-1725
- A8] འཇམ་དབྱངས་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་ལུག་གུབ་  
'Jam dbyangs Tshul khirms Lhun grub  
(32) \*mKhas-btsun Dar-rtse-mdo Tshul-khirms-lhun-grub 1725-1729?

- A9] བྱམས་པ་ནམ་ཁའ་བསམ་འགྲུབ་  
Byams pa Nam kha' bSam 'grub  
(33) \*Thar-rtse Byams-pa Nam-mkha'-bsam-'grub 1730-1733
- A10] བྱམས་པ་དཔལ་ལྡན་ཚེས་སྤོང་  
Byams pa dPal dan Chos skyong  
(34) \*Phan-khang mkhan-chen dPal-l dan-chos-skyong 1733-1740
- A11] མཁས་གྲུབ་སངས་རྒྱས་དཔལ་བཟང་  
mKhaś grub Sangs rgyas dPal bzang  
(35) \*bSes-gnyen Ldan-ma Sangs-rgyas-dpal-bzang 1740?-1741
- A12] འཇམ་མགོན་བསོད་ནམས་ལྷན་གྲུབ་  
'Jam mgon bSod nams Lhun grub  
(36) \*Khang-gsar-ba Byams-pa bSod-nams-lhun-grub 1741-1745
- A13] རིན་ཚིན་མི་འགྲུ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་  
Rin chen Mi 'gyur rGyal mtshan  
(37) \*Klu-sdings Rin-chen-mi-'gyur-rgyal-mtshan 1746-1751

Several types of hats are worn. The Gega Lama has published descriptive details on headgear.<sup>21</sup> One set, resembling the old red hat which Tsonkhapa wore, shows in A1, 6 and 7, 10 and 11. Another set is on A2 and 3. The third set, resembling but not exactly, those the Gega Lama classed as Sakya, is on A4 and 5, 8 and 9, 12 and 13. These differences and similarities display varieties of Sakya headgear. Similar thrones can be seen in certain illustrated books.<sup>22</sup> Similar red hats are also shown.<sup>21</sup> There is a discussion of aureole color based on inspection of many tankas by Siegbert Hummel.<sup>24</sup>



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2

<sup>21</sup> Gega Lama (1983), *Principles of Tibetan Art*, v II. Darjeeling, Jamyang Singe.

<sup>22</sup> Pal, Pratapaditya (1984), *Tibetan Paintings. A Study of Tibetan Tankas Eleventh to Nineteenth Centuries*. Basle, Ravi Kumar. Note plate 85, identified as Sakyapa Monks..

<sup>23</sup> Panchen Erdini Qoigyí Gyaincain (1987), *Trésors du Tibet*. Musée National d'Histoire Naturelle. Paris. Note plate 52, showing Atisha, founder of the Khadampa school.

<sup>24</sup> Hummel, Siegbert (1950), „Die Gloriolen in der lamaistischen Malerei“, *Asiatische Studien* 4, p 90-107.

But no publication seen had clearly answered the origin question until the Jackson articles. One small confusion, which Jackson examined, has its source in the autobiography of Dpal ldan chos skyong,<sup>25</sup> our 10, Jackson's 34. The biography section gives his dates 1702-1759, listing him as the 33rd abbot. Jackson shows the dates as 1702-1769. Dpal ldan chos skyong's first vows were taken with the 27th abbot, who is given as Tshul-khrims-bzang-po, Jackson's 28th, our 4th. His final vows were taken with the 29th abbot, given as Byams-pa Bsod-nams-bzang-po, our 6th, Jackson's 30th. This deviation results from their beginning the counting for abbots of Ngor with Mus-chen rather than Ngor-chen. Folio 3 in volume 1 of the autobiography shows woodcuts of the founder of the Ngor monastery and of bSod-nams-dpal-ldan (*i.e.* our 1 and 5, Jackson's 1 and 29). Here too, the appellations below the portraits present modifications of their names.

- 1 Rgyal ba'i lung zins sangs rgyas bstan || snang byed chen po kun dga' bzang ||  
།།རྒྱལ་བའི་ལུང་ཟེན་ས་སྐུ་བཟུང་།།སྤང་བྱེད་ཆེན་པོ་ཀུན་དགའ་བཟང་།།
- 2 Theg gsum rgyud sde smra ba'i mchog || bsod nams dpal ldan bstan ba'i dpyid ||  
།།ཐེག་གསུམ་རྒྱུད་སྡེ་སྐུ་བའི་མཚོག་།།བསོད་ནམས་དཔལ་ལྷན་བཟུང་བའི་དཔྱིད་།།

A few abbots in the tanka have "bow eyes", most clearly A1. Most have mere suggestions of the bow. Others, the first and last pairs, A2 and 3, 12 and 13, are clearly shown with "rice grain" eyes. The "bow eyes" might seem at variance with a discussion in the Jackson book, *Tibetan Tanka Painting*.<sup>26</sup> Does it indicate these are considered true Bodhisattva reincarnations, in accordance with Jackson's discussion, while the others are not?

Several other questions still call for an answer. Why is the weaver siddha name not yet found elsewhere? Why are the names of so many of these Ngor monastery abbots absent in the electronic listings at the New York Public Library? Is this tanka one of a set, each illustrating approximately one 60 year cycle of Ngor abbots? Or is it one of a set with each showing about 13 abbots? Since there are 15 siddhas, the same number would presumably not be on each tanka of a set. This makes it seem possible that tankas in a sixty year period with less abbots would show more siddhas. Such reasoning leads to a guess that there are 5 tankas in the set, and that this is the last. That would indicate that it was painted during or shortly after the last abbot pictured (*i.e.* mid 18th century). If it is one of a set, did Rudy have and sell the others? Much of what Rudy sold went as decorations rather than as items for study, so they are hard to trace. Another unsolved mystery is the all but invisible writing underneath the paint.

<sup>25</sup> Dpal-ldan-chos-skyon, Ngor Mkhan-chen XXXIII (1702-1759), Autobiography in Tibetan 1974. 4 vols. Palampur, H. P., Sungrab Nyamso Gyunphel Parkhang.

<sup>26</sup> Jackson, David P. & Janice A. (1984), *Tibetan Tanka Painting*. Boulder, Colorado, Shambala. Note p 138-9.



P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	
S1	S2				S3	S4	S5
S6	S7					S8	S9
	S10					S11	
			A1				
S12	S13					S14	S15
A2							A3
	A4					A5	
A6							A7
	A8					A9	
			A10	A11			
	A12				A13		
P8			P9				P10



# STAG-GZIG AND ZHANG-ZHUNG IN BON SOURCES

by

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sTag-gzig was the land where the Bon religion originated; Zhang-zhung was the land to which it was transmitted; and Tibet was the land where it spread far and wide from Zhang-zhung. This is a point on which all available Bonpo sources are unanimous. "sTag-gzig" is spelled in three different ways: 1) *sTag-gzig* meaning "tiger (*stag*) and leopard (*gzig*)" i.e. this land is bordered by many fierce wild animals, such as tigers and leopards, making it hard for a traveller to cross it; 2) *rTag-gzigs* meaning "always seen", spelled so because this land was always seen by the compassionate eyes of the sTon-pa gShen-rab Mi-bo; 3) either spelling being phonetic transliterations of *Ta-zig* or *Ta-zhig*. The latter forms are not commonly found in the Bonpo literature, but rather in non-Bonpo Tibetan sources. sTag-gzig is believed to be not only the source of the Bon religion, but also of the writing system of Zhang-zhung and Tibet. It was in this land that the sTon-pa gShen-rab was born and lived his whole life. All later sources list the sTag-gzig lineage holders of *vinaya* and *tantra* separately.<sup>1</sup> Also, the kings of sTag-gzig are specified in the lists of the holders of six royal lineages,<sup>2</sup> the four suddenly-appeared kings,<sup>3</sup> the four appointed kings<sup>4</sup> and so forth. sTag-gzig is situated in inner Zhang-zhung. Zhang-zhung had three divisions: outer, middle and inner. About this land, *Nyi ma'i snying po*<sup>5</sup> (p. 212,4) says: "In

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<sup>1</sup> The holders of vinaya lineage: dMu-tsa tra-he, Khri-lde 'od-po, lHhang-lhang gtsug-phud, Thang-ba yid-ring, Thugs-dkar ye-shes, Gung-rum ye-shes, 'Od-lha gsal-'bar and rDzu-'phrul ye-shes. See mNyam-med Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan (1356-1405), *Kun btus 'grel ba*, in *Bonpo Obligatory text for the Study of the rules of monastic discipline*. Dolanji, 1984, p. 115,6. The lineage holders of tantra: Khyung-po sTag-sgra dun-gtsug, sNya Li-shu stag-ring, Bhe Shod-kram chen-po, Gu-rib bTsan-do mi-sar, Phu-lu gru-'dzin, sDe Gyim-thang rma-bo and Sum-pa Mu-phya. See sTag-tsha bla-ma rGyal-mtshan (14th cent.), *Yang rtse'i 'grel ba*, in *Yang rtse klong chen 'grel skor*. Ochghat, 1973, p. 50,4).

<sup>2</sup> The six royal lineages (*gdung rgyud kyi rgyal po sde drug*) are dMu, Shag, Hos, dPo, rGya and gNyan ('*Dul ba gling grags*, p. 118,1). The *Nyi zer sgron ma* says: "The nine 'then of the dMu lineage are the essence of the land of sTag-gzig (*dMu rabs 'then dgu stag gzis yul gyi bcud*)". At the beginning "the father and the mother of the cosmos originated from the cosmic egg; eighteen brothers and sisters came into being. The eldest among them was lHa-rabs gNyan-rum-rje; his son was gNam-lha dkar-po; the latter's son was gNam-then-rje; from him a line of nine 'then was born (*Nyi zer sgron ma*, p. 77,2). The nine 'then are Mu-'then, Bal-'then, g.Yen-'then, Phywa-'then, 'Ol-'then, Yul-'then, dGung-'then, 'Od-'then, and dMu-'then. After the generations following the nine 'then the father of sTon-pa gShen-rab, rGyal-bon Thod-dkar, was born. (See *lTa ba khyung chen in Khro bo rgyud drug*, discovered by rMaston Srid-'dzin in 1108, in the *Bonpo bka'-'gyur*, volume n. 170, pp. 1r-45r.)

<sup>3</sup> The four suddenly-appeared kings (*glo bur gyi rgyal po bzhi*) are: 1) Do-la nam-'phan, the king of sTag-gzig, 2) The-rgyal srog-zin, the king of Shag, 3) dMu-wer btsan-po lig-mi rgya, the king of Zhang-zhung, 4) To-wer btsan-po, the king of sPo (also spelled dPo). ('*Dul ba gling grags*, p. 123,5).

<sup>4</sup> The four appointed kings (*skos pa'i rgyal po bzhi*) are: 1) the king of rGya-nag, 2) the king who protects religion (*chos skyong ba'i rgyal po*) = rGya-gar, 3) the king of sTag-gzig and 4) the king of Ge-sar ('*Dul ba gling grags*, p. 124,2). The king of *chos-skyong* is replaced by the king of rGya-gar in *lDe'u chos 'byung lDe'u jo-sras*, *Chos 'byung chen mo bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan lde'u jo sras kyis mdzad pa*. Lhasa, Mi-mang dpe-skrun-khang 1987, (p. 97,12) and Don-dam sinra-ba'i seng-ge, *bShad mdzod yid bzhin nor bu*. Thimpu, 1967, p. 148,1.

<sup>5</sup> *Nyi ma'i snying po* (discovered by Gu-ru rnon-rtse, b. 1136 A.D.), *sGom 'grel nyi ma'i snying po*, in *The three basic mother tantra with commentaries*. Dolanji 1971, pp. 207-255.

Middle Zhang-zhung, there is the Fort rGyal-mkhar ba-chod. In Outer Zhang-zhung, there is the [Fort] Khyung-lung dngul-dkar (= mkhar). And in sTag-gzig, there is the [gSas-mkhar] Sham-po lha-rtse."

It is implicitly shown in this quotation that sTag-gzig was situated in or perhaps was identical to Inner Zhang-zhung. *Zhang zhung ju thig*<sup>6</sup> has listed these three parts of Zhang-zhung in an order different from that of the other sources. Here they are listed as "Inner, Middle and Outer" (phug-bar-sgo gsum), whereas in the other sources they are listed, "Outer, Inner and Middle" (sgo-phug-bar gsum). It is said that Inner Zhang-zhung is listed first in the above text, because it was the land where the Bon religion originated. Furthermore, the *bsGrags byang* (f. 4r,4) says: "Mountain ranges (*gangs-kyis (kyi) ra-ba-can*) in the centre; to the west are sTag-sde and gZig-phan". Later on, the same source says,

The border between sTag-gzig in the west and the mountain ranges in the centre is demarcated by [Mount] Ba-dag-sha dung-gi mgo-mo...(f. 5v,5). The border between Ge-sar [in the north] and sTag-gzig is demarcated by [Mount] Nyi-gong snyan-dmar...(f. 6r,2). The border between sTag-gzig and India [in the south] is demarcated by [Lake] Mon-mtsho nag-po ting-ring...(f. 6r,3). The border between sTag-gzig and Tibet is demarcated by [Mount] rDo-dgod brag-ring (f. 6r,5).

Here, we see that sTag-gzig is situated to the west. However, the *mDo 'dus* p. 15,5 affirms that Mount Ti-se is considered the centre of the earth, to the west of which is situated the country of dMu-yul. The language of sTag-gzig is called *dMu*.<sup>7</sup> *dMu* is also the most prominent lineage of sTag-gzig (see n. 2). Mount Ti-se together with its four rivers is believed to be the geographical centre (*sa tshigs kyi dbus*). The "qualitative centre" (*yon tan gyi dbus*) of Mount Ti-se and four rivers is located in sTag-gzig. Those four rivers flow from sTag-gzig to Bar-gzig<sup>8</sup> and then to India. Sa-skya Paṇḍita also has asserted this in his *sDom gsum rab dbye*<sup>9</sup> by saying that Mount Ti-se of Tibet is not the real Mount Ti-se, which is located outside of Tibet.

<sup>6</sup> *Mo khog chen 'phrul gyi rgyal po bshad byang gzhung don mdel mig*. According to the *dKar chag* of mKhan-chen Nyi-ma bstan-'dzin (b.1813), *bKa' gyur brten 'gyur gyi sde tshan sgrig tshul bstan pa'i me ro spar ba'i rlung g.yab bon gyi pad mo rgyas byed nyi 'od*, New Delhi, 1965, Śatapiṭaka Series 37, part II, (p.25,21), this text was discovered by Khyung-rigod-rtsal, b. 1175. The text itself says that it was propagated by Ral-ljag ston-pa, *tha ma ral ljag ston pas spel* p. 47v,2. See in the *Bonpo bka'-'gyur*, volume n. 149, pp. 1r-138r.

<sup>7</sup> See *gTing zlog che ba'i chung ba khro bo yang thus kyi cha lags* in *Khro bo rgyud drug*, contained in the *Bonpo bka'-'gyur*, *sTag gzig mu'i skad*, p. 197v,1, pp. 197r-170v.

<sup>8</sup> See *Dar rgyas gsal sgron*, p. 587,3 and *Kun btus mdzod*, p. 283,1.

<sup>9</sup> Sa-pan affirms that Mount Gangs-can mentioned in the *Abhidharma* and *Kālacakra* texts is not Mount Ti-se of Tibet (*sDom gsum rab dbye* Sa-skya Paṇḍita kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan [1182-1251], *sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i bstan bcos*. *Sa skya bka' 'bum*, volume v, Tokyo 1968, p. 312,17). It further says, "According to a quotation from *Veda*, Mount Ti-se in Tibet was formed from a mountain piece hurled by Hanumantha. Someone says it is Ti-se, but it is not Ti-se, it is an ant's nest" (*ibid.*, p. 312,22). The Bonpo historians interpreted the above lines of Sa-skya Paṇḍita in this way: "It is said that it was formed from a mountain piece taken out by Hanumantha from Mount Ti-se in sTag-gzig and thrown to Tibet after he had carried it there". According to the *bsGrags byang* f. 7r,1, Mount Ya-bag sha-ra is the actual name of what is now known as Mount Ti-se in Tibet. The real Mount Ti-se is located in the space in front of Mount Ya-bag sha-ra with Lake Ma-pang in the east, both being located in space. The water from Ti-se in space descends down onto the earth and merges into the ocean, but it cannot be seen by human beings. This lake never freezes, because many nagas bathe there. It never boils, therefore it is named Lake Ma-dros. Also, it is said that Mount Ti-se and Lake Ma-pang are like a man and his female partner. It is further said that this mountain and the lake would never perish even in the "Kalpa of destruction" They will remain safe, just as a water container hanging in space.



A map of 'Ol-mo lung-ring has been published.<sup>10</sup> Apart from this, no map of sTag-gzig, *i.e.* Inner Zhang-zhung, is available. This map accords with the description given in a work by Shar-rdza bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan (1858-1933).<sup>11</sup> It is a summary of the short, medium-length and the extended versions<sup>12</sup> of the sTon-pa gShen-rab's life story and the text entitled *Nyi zer sgron ma*. The three versions of sTon-pa gShen-rab's life story do deal with 'Ol-mo lung-ring, but very briefly. No complete description is found in any of them. Now, each of these three versions was rediscovered (one of them was revealed through transmission from hearing) in different times by different persons. Yet the fact that they influenced one another before they were hidden can be sensed from the versions available today.

A mention of a certain 'Ol-mo gling-chen situated to the west of 'Ol-mo lung-ring is found in *Yang rtse'i 'grel ba* (p. 47,2). Also, a land in Lower Tibet was known by a name similar to that of 'Ol-mo lung-ring. It is said that King Khri-srong lde'u-btsan suffered undesirable consequences of his bad karma for having banned Bon. As a result, he once again took refuge in Bon and offered the Bonpos three regions situated in Lower Tibet. Of those three regions, one was called 'Ol-mo lung-ring<sup>13</sup> or 'Or-mo lung-ring.<sup>14</sup> The *bsGrags byang* (f. 55r,5) affirms that King Khri-srong, while he was in power, sent his Minister 'Dre-dpal to conquer sTag-gzig. The minister failed to win sTag-gzig. As a result, the four forts in the upper region were lost and a revolt broke out in Ba-dag-sha and 'Du-ting. About 'Ol-mo lung-ring, *Gling gzhi bstan pa'i 'byung khungs* (p. 21,3) says:

Having looked west from the top of the mountain of Kha-che, the messenger saw a rainbow beaming from the far-off distance. Aiming at it, the messenger continued travelling and reached the foot of the mountain range dBal-so. From there he saw a narrow path (*smyug-lam*),<sup>15</sup> running along the side of the mountain. He lost his courage to proceed farther and returned home.<sup>16</sup>

The capital of Middle Zhang-zhung is called rGyal-mkhar ba-chod. This is said to have been the land where the master rGyal-gshen Mi-lus bsam-legs had done his retreat (*sgrub gnas*). A detailed account of this land is found in *Nyi ma'i snying po*, a chapter in *Ma rgyud sangs rgyas rgyud gsum*.<sup>17</sup> According to *rNam bshad gsal sgron* (p. 79,4), "rGya (rGyal)-mkhar" was the name of the fort there, a fort of the *dMu* clan (*dMu rdzong*). This fort is identified as one of the four forts of Upper Tibet known as "the four unbuilt forts" (*ma brtsig mkhar bzhi*). "[ba]-chod"

<sup>10</sup> See Snellgrove, D. (1980), *The Nine Ways of Bon*. Boulder, Prajna Press, pp. 289-290.

<sup>11</sup> *bDe chen zhing gi smon lam* (p. 469,2), in *Khrid dang smon lam sogs kyi 'grel ba*. Oachghat 1973, pp. 433-519.

<sup>12</sup> They are: 1) *gZi bijid* consisting 61 chapters revealed through 'ear transmission' to sPrul-sku Blo-ldan snying-po (b.1360). 2) *gZer mig* consisting of 18 chapters; discovered as a treasure by Drang-rje ser-mig btsun-pa (10th cent. A.D.). 3) *mDo 'dus* consisting of 24 chapters; discovered as a treasure by the Three Acharyas 960.A.D.

<sup>13</sup> This spelling is found in the manuscript copy of *bsGrags byang* (f. 32r.3); in Dolanji, India.

<sup>14</sup> This spelling is found in the manuscript copy of the *bsGrags byang* (f. 79v,5) in Oslo University Library.

<sup>15</sup> I think that *smyug* is a good way of expressing the idea of narrowness, because for example bamboo forest can be very thick, so that the distance between the poles can be very small.

<sup>16</sup> Another edition of this text received from Amdo a few years ago is available at the Bonpo monastery, Dolanji, India. According to this edition it reads, "...From there he saw a swarm of ants, each ant as big as a wild yak (*grog ma 'brong khyu tsam*), he lost his courage..." (f. 9,2).

<sup>17</sup> See Martin, Dan (1994), *Mandala Cosmogony*. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag.

is said to denote the fact that this fort, like Byi-ba fort, one of the five forts,<sup>18</sup> had the *ba gam* of tiger and yak head. *Ba gam* is a kind of roof decoration with the heads of yak and wild ass placed on it. In Tibet, the village headman and other leaders have the horns of yak on the rooftop of their houses to mark their valour. Similarly, the people in Sikkim have the horns of yak placed above the door of their houses. This seems to have been a custom still practised which originally spread from Zhang-zhung in the remote past and has some connection with the above-mentioned roof decoration (*ba gam*) of the Byi-ba fort. Provided that the four forts just mentioned were identical to those mentioned in *bsGrags byang*, it might be assumed that Middle Zhang-zhung was also known by the name sTag-gzig. This sTag-gzig of Middle Zhang-zhung has to be regarded as separate from that of Inner Zhang-zhung, as is explained in *'Bel gtam lung snying*.

The history books written by Tibetan authors in the twentieth century have this to say on Outer, Inner and Middle Zhang-zhung: the *Nyer mkho'i snang ba*<sup>19</sup> is completely silent about sTag-gzig, but considers rGyal-mkhar ba-chod to be a land located within Inner Zhang-zhung. *'Bel gtam lung snying* not only makes mention of sTag-gzig, but distinguishes the sTag-gzig of Inner Zhang-zhung from that of Middle Zhang-zhung. *g.Yung drung bon gyi bstan 'byung* identifies O-rgyan with Middle Zhang-zhung. However, I have followed the root text of *Ma rgyud*, because this is one of the earliest Bonpo texts that makes mention of Outer, Inner and Middle Zhang-zhung. Although there are two different names, sTag-gzig and Zhang-zhung, sTag-gzig is in fact listed among the lands located within Inner Zhang-zhung.

One thing worth noting is the fact that Sanskrit terms, such as *guru*, *paṇḍita*, *namo*, *samaya*, *prajñā*, *jñāna*, *śrī*, *citta*, *rāja*, *garuḍa*, *nāga*, and *buddha*, are regularly used to substitute their Zhang-zhung equivalents in many Bonpo texts. The Zhang-zhung equivalents of the Sanskrit terms are respectively *ci par*, *dpon gsas*, *dun gu hrun*, *u ya*, *sa trig*, *ha ra*, *sha ri*, *she thun* or *tsi ta*, *wer ro* or *ra tsa*, *zhung zhag*, *mur zangs* or *naga*, and *mu sangs*. It is clear that the Zhang-zhung language did not borrow those terms due to the lack of equivalent terms. Also, *sMan 'bum*<sup>20</sup> and *gZi brjid* have lists of several terms used in medicine, which are compounded of Sanskrit and Zhang-zhung. The reason why the terminologies of these two different languages were combined in order to create compound words is not known, although there might be a good reason. The *Zhi khro rtsa 'grel*<sup>21</sup> quoted in *Dar rgyas gsal sgron* (p. 641,5) says, "the Dag-pa stag-gzig was developed from Sanskrit and the latter from Kapita, the language of the gods." The detailed discussion on the evolution of human language found in *gZi brjid* (vol. NGA)<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> See n. 32 for the list of four forts. With the above-mentioned Byi-ba-mkhar, it makes five, but Lopon Tenzing Namdak disagrees with *rNam bshad gsal sgron* where it places Byi-ba fort in Zhang-zhung. See *g.Yung drung bon gyi bstan pa'i 'byung khungs nyung bsdus* by Lopon Tenzing Namdak, in *Three sources for a history of bon*. Dolanji, 1974, p. 621,2.

<sup>19</sup> *'Dzam gling mtha' dbus kyi rnam gzbag nyer mkho'i snang ba*, by dBra-ston bsKal-bzang bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan.

<sup>20</sup> There are four *sMan 'bum*. They belong to two different treasures, i.e. the one discovered by Bu-tsho srid-pa'i rgyal-po and the other by Khu-tsha Zla-'od (discovered in 1038 A.D.).

<sup>21</sup> According to the *Legs bshad mdzod*, this text was rediscovered by Gu-ru rNon-rtse in 1136 A.D. Quotations from this text are found in almost all Bonpo histories dated 12-14th century. Thus, the *bsGrags byang* has a quotation from the *Zhi khro rtsa 'grel*. The late reincarnated lama Bya-phur Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan from Amdo rNga-ba, who was residing at Dolanji till his death, had a copy of this text in his personal chapel in Amdo and according to him it was quite a thick volume.

<sup>22</sup> *Dag pa gshen gyi skad la lnga | rtsa ba g.yung drung lha skad | yan lag skad chen gzhung bzhi | gtsang ma lha skad | dag pa lha skad | sang skri ta lha skad | khre wer lha skad | (gZi brjid, vol. NGA p.308,7). lho 'dzam bu gling*

shows that there has been a definite relationship between the languages, such as Sanskrit, sTag-gzig and Zhang-zhung. The *'Bel gtam lung snying* (p. 41,1) says:

One who speaks Sanskrit does not necessarily have to be an Indian... a teaching that has its source in Sanskrit does not necessarily have to be either Buddhism or non-Buddhist Indian doctrines.

Furthermore, the Bonpo teachings that are well known in Tibet have a class known by the name "Indian Bon" and again a class known as "Zhang-zhung Bon". Those of Indian Bon are called so because they were said to have reached Tibet from India. However, the original source of Indian Bon was Zhang-zhung. The *Lo rgyus mchongs*<sup>23</sup> (p. 768,1) says:

A certain Ga-khyung spungs-pa of Zhang-zhung received (*dnogs grub tu babs*) this class of teachings as a result of his spiritual accomplishment and it was spread in India from him in the lifetime of a certain Indian gSas-'od g.yung-drung.

This statement, if it has a sound basis, provides us with a clue to re-examine the strongly held hypothesis of those who are of the opinion that the Bon literature is plagiarised from Tibetan Buddhist literature translated from Sanskrit in the eighth century and onwards. It is important to examine whether Buddhism, that originated in India and was the primary source for Tibetan Buddhism, had received any influence from other countries or not. The "nine vehicles" conception of Indian Bon is very different from that of Zhang-zhung. According to Indian Bon, the first four vehicles are the four schools of Buddhism in India, viz. *Vaibhāṣika*, *Sautrāntika*, *Vijñānavāda* and *Madhyamika*. The teachings of Indian Bon had spread in Tibet through the transmission of hearing from Dran-pa nam-mkha' and Tshe-dbang rig-'dzin. Also, they were translated into Tibetan from Sanskrit by Vairocana (8th cent. A.D.) with the permission and patronage of King Khri-srong lde-btsan. The collection of these teachings was called the "Teachings on the Nine Vehicles from the Central Treasury"<sup>24</sup> and was hidden in Samye monastery when Bon was persecuted. Another Indian cycle, in one *phur pa* text called *sTong 'dzab gsum gsal byed kyi 'grel pa me long* (p. 112v,1),<sup>25</sup> has some examples of words in both Sanskrit and Zhang-zhung contained in mantras like *rbin ze ya ma 'ur chum...*, *kug dur pa khu khu ya...*, *na ga pra la dun...*, *ma ma...*, *rag sha...*, *mum ma ra ya...*, *ki li phur hrim...*. In these mantras *rbin ze*, *kug*, *na ga*, *ma ma*, are Zhang-zhung, while *rag sha*, *ki li*, *ma ra ya*, are Sanskrit words. Since the Bonpo cycles of teachings from India and Zhang-zhung both originated from the sTon-pa gShen-rab, the contents are more or less similar, but when these cycles were translated into Tibetan, the Zhang-zhung cycle was directly translated into Tibetan from the language of Zhang-zhung, which is the reason why we find more Zhang-zhung words in the Zhang-zhung cycle. On the contrary the cycle coming from India does not contain as

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*gi skad rigs chen po bcu gnyis / stag gzig dang zhang zhung gnyis ye srid lha skad las grol / bru sha dang o rgyan gnyis da ran ka lha skad las grol / za hor dang yu gur gnyis ka pi ta lha skad las grol / rgya gar dang bal po gnyis sang skri ta skad las grol / bod dang me nyag gnyis sing nga lha skad las grol / rgya nag dang phrom ge sar gnyis ka la pking ka lha skad las grol / (ibid. p. 311,5).*

<sup>23</sup> *Lo rgyus mchong*, Lung-bon lHa-gnyan (b.1088), in *Ye khri mtha' sel*.

<sup>24</sup> The Nine Vehicles according to this system are: 1) Lha-mi gzhan-rtan 2) rang-rtogs gshen-rab 3) thugs rje sems pa 4) g.yung drung sems pa spros med 5) bya ba gtsang spyod ye bon 6) nram pa kun ldan mngon shes 7) dnogs bskyed thugs rje rol pa 8) shin tu don ldan kun rdzogs 9) ye nas rdzogs chen yang itse bla med. The first four are the "path of renunciation"; the next four are the "path of transformation" and the last one is the "path of great perfection" or the "path of self liberation".

<sup>25</sup> In *Bonpo bka' 'gyur* volume n. 114, pp. 100r-114v. The colophon states: the mantra was analysed by Dran-pa nam-mkha' bla chen dran pa nam mkhas bkrol ba p. 114v,4.

many Zhang-zhung words as the so-called Indian cycle coming indirectly, the logical reason being that the teachings propagated in Zhang-zhung were first received in India and then through India were spread into Tibet. Evidence supporting this explanation is found in the *rNam bshad gsal sgron* (p. 60,3).

Concerning the geography of Outer Zhang-zhung, the *Srid pa rgyud kyi kha byang* (p. 46,6) states:

To the east is sMyug-ma bu-khur; to the north is 'Jag-ma glu-len;  
to the west is gNub-mtsho'i-gling; and to the south is Dom-sgro nag-po.  
Located in the middle of those four are Khyung-lung in the  
upper region of Zhang-zhung and Sum-pa in the lower region.

This description is followed by all Bonpo historians throughout the centuries. This is an indication that the Bonpo historians did have a great respect for the historical materials. However, Grub-dbang bsTan-'dzin rin-chen<sup>26</sup> and scholars following him have described three divisions of Outer Zhang-zhung: the Outer, the Inner and the Middle. The Khyung-lung region is identified as the Inner; rTa-sgo or (sTa-rgo) and Dwang-ra are the Middle; and Sum-pa, the Lower Zhang-zhung, is the Outer. Furthermore, the *g.Yung drung bon gyi bstan 'byung* has a list of identifiable places that were once parts of Zhang-zhung (now included in the territories of modern India and Nepal). This piece of information is not found in the old Bonpo texts accessible to me. It is most probable that the author dPal-ldan tshul-khrims has listed them from the texts he claimed to have seen in Tibet. He has mentioned three such texts in his *g.Yung drung bon gyi bstan 'byung*. They are *Chab nag bon sgo'i yig sna*, *Zhang rgan a nu'i bstan bcos* and *Gri shad gna' mi'i ngag rgyun*.

A Tibetan from Dharamsala who recently returned from Tibet<sup>27</sup> told me that he came across a fort called Zhang-zhung Gad-mo-rdzong and traces of a "Buddhist community" (*chos-sde*) known as g.Yung-drung 'khyil-ba in Gli-rmi in the far north-west of Nepal. This fort was located on the sunny side of a rocky hill. The Buddhist community was located at the eastern, shady side of the fort. Between these two, various traces of agricultural activity could be seen. He was told by some older villagers that the combined name given to the fort and the place where the community was living was Chos-rdzong nyi-zla kha-sprod, "the fort and the community meeting like the sun and the moon." The local people say that the land is very fertile and they still cultivate it. However, in my opinion, it is not *chos-sde* and it does not have the meaning of Buddhist community but that of stupa, *mchod-rten*, as at the time of the early spreading of the Bonpo vinaya in Zhang-zhung and Tibet many names of temples and stupas used the word g.Yung-drung as, for example g.Yung-drung bkod-legs and g.Yung-drung khribskos (*gZi brjid* vol. NYA and *'Dul ba gling grags*). The expression "mChod-rten g.Yung-drung 'khyil-ba" has been found in the *dKar chag 'phrul gyi lde mig*,<sup>28</sup> where it is used as the name of a chapter of the text called *Kun bzang gshen lha'i bon skor* (p. 1227,2). The previously mentioned Tibetan from Dharamsala had travelled on foot for about an hour from rDzang in

<sup>26</sup> *Ti se'i dkar chag*, dKar-ru grub-dbang bsTan-'dzin rin-chen (b.1801). *'Dzam gling gangts gyial ti se'i dkar chag tshang dbyangs yid 'phrog*, in *mDzod phug rtsa 'grel | Ti se'i dkar chag*. Ochghat 1973, pp. 491-657.

<sup>27</sup> Mr. A-zhang grwa-pa. A well known member of the mNga'-ris Association of Dharamsala.

<sup>28</sup> *rGyal ba'i bka' dang bka' rten rmad 'byung dgos 'dod yid bzhin gter gyi bang mdzod la dkar chags blo'i tha ram bkrol byed 'phrul gyi lde mig*, composed by g.Yung-drung tshul-khrims, Lhasa, Bod-ljongs shin-ha par-'debs bzo-grwa. According to colophon p. 1390,2. The author started the work in 1876 and completed it in 1880.

Gli-rmi (Sle-mi)<sup>29</sup> in Nepal. Nowadays the local people are the followers of 'Bri-gung bka'-brgyud. Wom-glo is about two days' journey on foot from the border of Gli-rmi. That fort, according to the local people, was looked after by an old woman for a long period and thus it was named Zhang-zhung gad-mo rdzongs. In my opinion, this is also a misinterpretation. The word *gad* is a Zhang-zhung term and not the Tibetan term *rgad mo*, "old woman". Even today, *gad* occurs in the Kinnauri and Lahauli dialects of India and the Thakali of Nepal with the meaning "inaccessible" in terms of height. It is said that the fort in which the Bonpo priests in the past took shelter was named Gad-kyi byi-ba-mkhar and that it was situated in the land of Kha-yug in Zhang-zhung (*rNam bshad gsal sgron*, p. 92.8; see also *mDzod sgra 'grel*, p. 26.6). This piece of information on Zhang-zhung Gad-mo-rdzong makes it clear that the word *gad* was often added to the name of forts in the past, as in the case of Gad-mo-rdzong and Gad-kyi byi-ba-mkhar. Further the name of the eighteen minor forts of Khyung-lung dngul-mkhar was Ya-gad stag-mkhar. Also, it is clear that several parts of ancient Zhang-zhung are now included in the territories of modern India<sup>30</sup> and Nepal.<sup>31</sup> In '*Bel gtam lung snying*' (p. 34,7), Sle-mi and Wom-glo are listed among the regions of Zhang-zhung. It is further said in the above text that the big cities of Zhang-zhung include the four forts (*dbus su mkhar bzhi*)<sup>32</sup> in the centre and four in the four cardinal directions (*phyogs kyi rdzong bzhi*).<sup>33</sup> Also, it is said that the Zhang-zhung territory encompasses sixty different regions and eighty states each having a population of 10,000, the whole kingdom being ruled by eighteen Bya-ru-can kings in succession ('*Bel gtam lung snying*', p. 34,7). The term *bya-ru* often refers to an ornament for the head. In the *rNam dag*<sup>34</sup> (p. 136,1), mention is made of the eight *gshen* who had this head-dress. The materials of which the *bya-ru* was made were gold, turquoise, mother-of-pearl, melted bronze, crystal, iron, copper, and horns resembling those of the mythical Garuda. Reference to the *hya-ru* can also be found in the *Mu cho 'i khrom 'dur chen mo*<sup>35</sup> in the chapter called *dBu rgyan bya ru 'i lo rgyus gyer smrang*. The biography of sPa Nyi-ma 'bum-gsal<sup>36</sup> states that there had been a line of forty Zhang-zhung kings. Likewise, the *bKa'-stod*,<sup>37</sup> which is concerned with the Protector Nyi-pang-sad, says that this deity protected the treasury of forty successive kings and that it is also the specific protector of the rDzogs-chen teachings belonging to the cycle of the oral transmission of Zhang-zhung. People of Zhang-zhung called this protector Shel-'gying dkar-po. The names of four forts similar to those of the above-mentioned ones are found in the list of

<sup>29</sup> '*Bel gtam lung snying*' has this spelling; in my opinion the spelling *Sle* is preferable, cf. Zhang-zhung *Slas kra gu ge 'i rgyal po*, name of a king and *sle tres* for a medicinal plant.

<sup>30</sup> sBal te, La dag, Zang gal, Gar zha, Nung ti, sPi ti, Khu nu, Tshang drug, Nyi ti, Co nam, Sha khog. *g. Yung drung bon gyi bstan 'byung*, vol I, p.110,3.

<sup>31</sup> Wom glo, Se rib, Dol po, Krug skyes, Kor kha. *g. Yung drung bon gyi bstan 'byung*, vol I, p. 110,4.

<sup>32</sup> They are: 1) Khyung-lung dngul-mkhar, 2) sPu-hreng stag-la-mkhar, 3) rMe-shang byi-ba-mkhar, 4) Ma-pang spos-mo-mkhar ('*Bel gtam lung snying*' p. 39,6).

<sup>33</sup> They are: 1) Dang-ra khyung-rdzong, 2) Se-rib 'brug-mo-rdzong, 3) Ru-thog seng-ge-rdzong, 4) Mang-yul stag-mo-rdzong (*ibid.*, p. 36,13).

<sup>34</sup> Discovered by gShen-chen klu-dga' in 1017 A.D, *rNam dag pad ma klong yang rgyud gzhung gi gsung pod*. Oachghat 1973, p. 136,1.

<sup>35</sup> See in *Bonpo bka' 'gyur*, volume 39, pp. 119r-123v.

<sup>36</sup> Written by Rig-'dzin Ka-dag mthong-grol, *Biography of sPa-tsang nyi-ma 'bum-gsal*. Dolanji, 1984.

<sup>37</sup> See *Nyi pang sad kyi sngags sgrub* in *Bon skyong sgrub thabs bskang gsol bcas*. Vol II. Oachghat 1972.

nine forts<sup>38</sup> owned by the nine kings mentioned in the *Zhang zhung ju thig*. Also, it mentions forts other than those in the list.

The upper land of Khyung-lung has several names, such as Zhang-zhung kha-yug,<sup>39</sup> Zhang-zhung dar-ma'i-yul<sup>40</sup> and Bu-rong-gi yul.<sup>41</sup> The *rNam bshad gsal sgron* states that among the five forts located in the land owned by Khyung-po clan, the fort in Khyung-lung, known as Khyung-lung dngul-mkhar, is also called mkhar 'Om-bu sgo-bzhi. The *Kun-'bum*<sup>42</sup> (p. 47r,1) has descriptions of the physical structure of this fort and it states that it stands at the centre surrounded by eighteen minor forts<sup>43</sup> and that it was built during the time when sTon-pa gShen-rab visited Tibet. A similar statement is found in the *mDo 'dus* (p. 102,4), as well as in the *Nyi zer sgron ma* (p. 222,4).

The *Dran pa'i rtsis byang* in the *Kun btus mdzod* (p. 150,3) speaks of certain languages classified into *skad kyi zung bzhi* ('four pairs of languages')<sup>44</sup> that flourished in the four corners of Khyung-lung dngul-mkhar, enumerating them thus: "In the east, they became the languages of sMar-gyer, the melodious bird-like Sanskrit (*bya Sang kri ta*); in the north, in Gu-ge, the language that is like the whinnying of horses; in the west, at Dang-ra, the language that is hoarse as the groan of an ox; in the south, at mThing-ming dang-thog, the language that is like the barking of dog." *Gling gzhi bstan pa'i 'byung khungs* (p. 107,2) says:

Those were the languages from which the Four Learned Ones<sup>45</sup> made their transla-

<sup>38</sup> They are: 1) *Shar lha la seng ge rdzong*, 2) *lHo klu la ne tso 'brug mgo rdzong*, 3) *Nub mi la stag-mo rdzong*, 4) *Byang gnyan la chu (khyung?) mgo rdzong*, 5) *Shar lho sgra bla la nyi ma rdzong*, 6) *lHo nub wer ma la zla ba rdzong*, 7) *Nub byang cang seng la sha ra rdzong*, 8) *Byang shar g.yung drung la khro gnyer rdzong*, 9) *dBus srid pa la gser gyi ga'u rdzong*. The following nine are the rivals of the kings who own these nine forts: *bDud*, *Srin*, *Ngam*, *bTsan*, *sTag*, *Dom*, *Dred*, *gCan*, and *gShin-tje* (see *dPyad don sgyu ma gser 'bum* in *Zhang zhung ju thig*, f. 49v,6).

<sup>39</sup> *De nas ston pa zhang zhung kha yug yul du byon | mkhar khyung lung dngul mkhar bzhangs | rkong za khri lcam der bsus | gshen bu rkong tsha khrungs pa'o* (*Nyi zer sgron ma*, p. 224,4).

<sup>40</sup> *Zhang zhung dar ma'i yul grong khyer rgyal ba mnyes yul khyung lung dngul mkhar 'ol ('om) po sgo bzhi ru gshen rab thugs kyi bstan pa'i las dpon drian pa nam mkha' byon |* (*Nyi zer sgron ma*, p. 343,4). Also, a Dunhuang document PT 1290 (Ariane Spanien and Yoshiro Imaeda [eds.], *Choix de documents tibétains*. Tome II, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 1979, Pl 602, line 5) mentions *Zhang zhung dar ma'i tje bo...*

<sup>41</sup> *Bu rong gi yul zhang zhung kha yug yul spyi'i ming ste de dang bod kyi ru mtshams yang yin* (*rNam bshad gsal sgron*, p. 56,2).

<sup>42</sup> This text was never concealed as a hidden treasure, but the tradition connects with gNyal-ston gzhon-nu 'bum in the 12th century.

<sup>43</sup> They are: She le dbal rtse, 'Od gsal g.yu rtse, gSang mer lha rtse, Nyi 'od shel rtse, rGyal ba bse mkhar, Ya gad stag mkhar, Hab so lga mkhar, sKyug mo lan mkhar, Lo tog 'gyur 'khar (mkhar), Drag tshan 'bram mkhar, Gu ri gnam mkhar, g.Yung drung yod mkhar, Kha rag khyung mkhar, dPa' brtsan seng mkhar, Che brtsan dregs mkhar, mTho brtsegs rgod mkhar, Ma ma dred mkhar, Yar mo bzhad mkhar.

<sup>44</sup> These four pairs of languages appear in several texts. To the best of my knowledge the earliest available source is the *mDzod phug klad don* by 'Gro-mgon Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (b.1198), in *mDzod phug rtsa 'grel / ti se'i dkar chag*. Ochghat, 1973, pp. 95-444. This source uses the word (*skad gcong brgyad*), see p. 148,3. The *Gling gzhi bstan pa'i 'byung khungs*, 14th century, speaks of *skad kyi zung bzhi* and *Zhang zhung sde brgyad*. But the quotation from the *Kun btus mdzod* is unique in supplying more detailed descriptions and it directly quotes the text by Dran-pa nam-mkha' (8th century A.D.): *Khyung lung dngul chu can gyi phyogs bzhi nas (na) skad kyi gcung (zung) bzhi yod de: shar na mgyogs tshang smar gyer bya sang kri ta'i skad du bsgyur ('gyur): byang na gu ge la bya phug ron rta'i skad du 'tsher: nub dang ra pham (phal) po glang gi skad du mkhun: lho na mthing ming dang thog phal po khyi'i skad du zug ces pas skad rigs zung bzhi yod par mngon no ||*

<sup>45</sup> They are: 1) Zhang-zhung sTong-rgyung mthu-chen, 2) lDe Gyim-tsha rma-chung, 3) Se Sha-ri dbu-chen, 4) Me-nyag lCe-tsha mkhar-bu. The *rNam bshad gsal sgron* interprets the above names as follow: *Zhang zhung skyes pa'i*

tions. Now most of the people there speak Tibetan. That was perhaps because Khri-srong conquered Zhang-zhung and brought it under his rule.

Mount sTa-rgo and Lake Dwangs-ra in Middle Zhang-zhung are said to have been the "soul-mountain" (*bla-ri*) and "soul-lake" (*bla-mtsho*) of the Zhang-zhung kings. Mount Ti-se and Lake Ma-pham have a similar a function. Dwang-ra khyung-rdzong, one of the four forts mentioned above, was located in the region of Dwang-ra. A description of the protector sTa-rgo and the nine goddesses of the lake Dwang-ra (*mtsho sman sde dgu*) is found in the biography of Grub-dbang.<sup>46</sup>

In the *rNam bshad gsal sgron* (p. 56,3), the Sum-pa of Outer Zhang-zhung is identified as Sum-pa glang-gi gyim-shod, one of the eighteen great *shod*,<sup>47</sup> and not the Sum-pa of mDo-smad, although it is true that a land called Sum-pa did exist in mDo-smad. The *Bon ma nub pa'i gtan tshigs* (p. 263,3) says:

The army of Zhang-zhung was so great in number that it could cover the whole earth, whereas that of Tibet was of the size of the back of a grey cow.

In this quotation, the author seems to have depicted his idea of the geography of Zhang-zhung and Tibet taken together, which looked like the shape of a grey cow, Tibet being located where the back is. The *Gling gzhi bstan pa'i 'byung khungs* (p. 118,5) says:

When we say that Bon declined in the past in the lifetime of the Tibetan King Gri-gum this has to be understood to have taken place only in the gTsang region and not in dBus, Zhang-zhung, Sum-pa and mDo-khams, because Tibet was then a land ruled by the Zhang-zhung king.

The sources of the passage just quoted are, according to the author, *bsGrags byang* (f. 41v,4) and *mDzod sgra 'grel* (p. 27,2), but the passage does not correspond exactly to the texts that are published.

The *rNam bshad gsal sgron* (p. 56,5) speaks of two lists of the thirty-seven sites for tantric retreat, one according to the *bsGrags byang* (f. 1r,2)<sup>48</sup> and the other according to the gter-ma tradition of the sPa-gro.<sup>49</sup> The ones mentioned in the *bsGrags byang* were said to have been es-

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*gnas te / na ga li'i grong khyer du bshad cing / Stong ni grangs te zhang bod skad dod mthun pa dang / rgyung ni stod zhang bod rgyung dgu'i gnas la bzhus pa'o / lDe rus ming dang gyim tsha rma zhes pa zhang zhung smad rma shel le rgya kar sum pa glang gi gyim shod gnas dang bstun pa'o / Me nyag rus lce tsa (tsha) yum gyi rus mkhar bu ni mang mkhar 'dzin nas so / Se ni rus pa'o / sha ri shes bya thog med du bshad pa'am yang na dbu che ba gtsug thor cha'o / (p. 55,4). Se Sha-ri dbu-chen is believed to have composed a *Sha ri sgra mdo*, an important source for the study of the Zhang-zhung language. It is not known whether or not this text still exists.*

<sup>46</sup> *The Autobiography of Tenzin rinchen*, dKar-ru grub-dbang bsTan-'dzin rin-chen (b.1801), Dolanji 1974, pp. 277,7-288,2.

<sup>47</sup> They are: Nag-shod, Sog-shod, lCi-shod, Sum-shod, dKar-shod, dMar-shod, gNyi-shod, Zla-shod, sKy-i-shod, Yug-shod, dMa'-shod, 'Jag-shod, sTag-shod, 'Bri-shod, 'Dan-shod, rMa-shod, Dre-shod, and Nyag-shod (see *Srid pa rgyud kyi kha byang chen mo*, p. 62,3).

<sup>48</sup> The list of thirty-seven sites for retreat ('*du gnas so bdun*) found in the *bsGrags byang* agrees with that of the *sGra 'grel* (see *mDzod sgra 'grel*). Two sets of thirty-seven sites in the *Dar rgyas gsal sgron* are from the Southern Treasure and the *sGra 'grel*. The ones listed in the *sGra 'grel* were located in Tibet (p. 654,6). This implicitly shows that the ones listed in the Southern Treasure were located in Zhang-zhung. In the *Dar rgyas gsal sgron* the Southern Treasure and the *bsGrags byang* are said to list the same retreat places, but that is not confirmed by the *bsGrags byang* (f. 31r,5), where only retreat places of dBus-gtsang are mentioned. Both versions of *bsGrags byang* and *sGra 'grel* appear in the *Dar rgyas gsal sgron* p. 646,3. At the end of the *g.Yung drung bon gyi bstan 'byung* the author tries to find the corresponding modern names for the thirty-seven retreat places.

<sup>49</sup> This refers to the texts discovered by Khu-tsha zla-'od in sPa-gro, now in Bhutan, in 1038. These texts are classi-

tablished during the time of the Four Learned Ones and were located in different parts of the four regions (*ru bzhi*) of dBus and gTsang. The other list of thirty-seven sites, *i.e.* the ones mentioned in sPa-gro, were said to have been founded during the time of King Mu-khri btsan-po and were located in different regions in Outer, Inner and Middle Zhang-zhung. During the second spread of the Bon tantras, King Phri-thob nam-brtsan (Khri-btsan-nam) invited many teachers from Zhang-zhung and united Zhang-zhung and Tibet into one state (see the *g. Yung drung bon gyi rgyud 'bum* p.30,1).<sup>50</sup> During the reign of the emperors Mu-khri btsan-po, sPu-de gung-rgyal and Phri-thob nam-brtsan they maintained close religious ties, what we call a (*rgyal-gshen mchod-yon 'brel-ba*) 'priest-patron relationship' indicating that Tibet was under the power of Zhang-zhung. From the time when King Khri-srong lde'u-btsan conquered Zhang-zhung, Tibet seems to have extended its territory. However, the fact that the total area of Tibet during the lifetime of King Khri-srong was not bigger than that of Zhang-zhung is clear from the above quote Tibet being as big as "the back of a grey cow". According to the *rNam bshad gsal sgron* (p. 91,4), it is said that King Lig-mi-rgya of Zhang-zhung had in his kingdom a force of 990.000 battalion, each consisting of one thousand armies, and an additional number of less than a thousand (*stong bu chung*) from Sum-pa which was directly under the power of the Zhang-zhung king.

Tibet had only forty-two thousand armies plus four thousand more, but they defeated the Zhang-zhung armies by means of a ruse. Also, the *Rig 'dzin thugs rgyud*<sup>51</sup> (p. 203,2) speaks of the army forces of the seven regions, such as the force of Zhang-zhung, Se-lde, lDe-khrin, rTse-lde, Dre-lha, Da-mi shud-skye and Gu-ge. The *Legs bshad mdzod* (p. 173,19), likewise contains a list of army forces,<sup>52</sup> but slightly different from the ones given above. The fact that Zhang-zhung was conquered by the Tibetan king is attested by Dunhuang manuscripts as well as Bonpo texts: the former ascribes it to King Srong-btsan sgam-po, the latter to King Khri-srong lde'u-btsan. The earliest Bonpo text which mentions this is the *Bon ma nub pa'i gtan tshigs* in *Zhang zhung snyan brgyud*. The Dunhuang manuscripts do not mention King Khri-srong lde'u-btsan's conquest of Zhang-zhung. On the other hand the Bonpo texts do not mention King Srong-btsan sgam-po in this connection. Nor do they agree when it comes to the name of the place where the parties from Zhang-zhung and Tibet encountered each other or the manner in which Zhang-zhung was conquered. Srong-btsan sgam-po conquered Zhang-zhung by means of matrimonial alliance, whereas Khri-srong lde'u-btsan accomplished this by playing cunning tricks. It seems that Tibet did not have a military force strong enough to defeat

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fied as the Southern Treasure. Normally each discovered text is classified according to a geographical direction like for example, the treasure of North (Byang-gter), Centre (dBus-gter), South (lHo-gter) and East Tibet (Khams-gter). The sPa-gro treasures are included in the Southern Treasure. In this case this classification has nothing to do with the geographical place of discovery but rather with the content of the texts. For example the sPyi-spungs, the most important of the Bonpo tantras, is divided into two parts: the root text which is called *rTsa rgyud gsang ba bsen thub* and the two components made of six peaceful topics (*Zhi ba'i don skor drug*) and six wrathful tantras (*Khro bo rgyud drug*). At the time of the persecution of Bon by King Khri-srong, for fear that the teachings of this tantra might disappear, the text was hidden in different places. After gShen-chen klu-dga' discovered the *Khro bo rgyud drug* which was hidden at the time of Gri-gum, it is said that the texts disappeared. At present there are two versions of the *Khro bo rgyud drug*, one belonging to the gTer-gsar and one to sPa-gro. According to the *g. Yung drung bon gyi bka' 'gyur dkar chag* by Kun-grol grags-pa (b. 1700 A.D.), *Zab dang rgya che g. Yung drung bon gyi bka' 'gyur gyi dkar chag nyi ma 'bum gyi 'od zer*, Beijing, Krung-go'i bod-kyi shes-rig dpe-skrun-khang, 1993, p. 173,1, the classification in terms of chapters of the two versions of gTer-gsar and sPa-gro are quite different.

<sup>50</sup> Anonymous, contained in *Sources for a history of bon*, Dolanji, 1972.

<sup>51</sup> Discovered by rMa-ston Shes-rab seng-ge (12th century), contained in *Sources for a history of bon*, Dolanji, 1972.

<sup>52</sup> *Zhang zhung se lde / Ta la / Ta mi / Shud / Kye mang sde / Gu ge*.



Zhang-zhung in war. The New and the Old Annals of the Tang dynasty state that when King Srong-btsan was in the process of marrying the Chinese princess Wenchen Gongjo, the king of 'A-zha was also interested in a marriage alliance with the Chinese. The Chinese Emperor honored the 'A-zha request for a marriage alliance, but the Tibetan request was denied. Emperor Srong-btsan was offended by this and he immediately sent troops to defeat the 'A-zha with the help of Zhang-zhung troops.<sup>53</sup>

### Disintegration of Zhang-zhung

Zhang-zhung was conquered and all the tribes (*sDe-pa*) were subjected to the Tibetan rule by King Khri-srong lde'u-btsan. According to the *rNam bshad gsal sgron* (p. 91,5) these tribes were seven in number: Mar-pa, sTag-lo, Gu-rub, Khyung-byid, Khyung-po, 'U-sangs, and Sum-pa.<sup>54</sup> According to the *Bon ma nub pa'i gtan tshigs*, the king of Zhang-zhung was ambushed on his way to Sum-pa by the Tibetan king and was killed there. Perhaps one is not misled if one understands this Zhang-zhung to be Upper Zhang-zhung. Sum-pa has to be Lower Sum-pa, as it is said that the place where Tibetan soldiers killed the Zhang-zhung king was gSer-phug and Dung-phug in sTa-rgo dwang-ra of Middle Zhang-zhung. Although it is not easy to imagine exactly the distance from Upper Zhang-zhung to Lower, the distance from Zhang-zhung to Tibet, according to the *bsGrags pa gling grags*<sup>55</sup> (p. 68,2), is six months' travel. It is said in the *bsTan 'byung ke ta ka'i phreng ba*<sup>56</sup> that Lig-mi-rgya, the king of Zhang-zhung, destroyed almost one quarter of the territory of Tibet after he had seen that the Bon teachings were banned in Tibet by the Tibetan king, Khri-srong lde'u-btsan.

The Tibetan king sent his minister, sNa-nam, to assassinate the Zhang-zhung king. sNa-nam played many cunning tricks on Lig-mi-rgya while pretending to be faithful to him. He conspired with the youngest queen of King Lig-mi-rgya and finally assassinated him while he was on his way to Sum-pa to collect taxes. The *g. Yung drung bon gyi bstan byung* (vol.II, p. 310,6) says that Zhang-zhung was continuously ruled by Khyung-po sTag-sgra don-gtsug after its ruler was assassinated. Also, it says the latter was the son of a certain Mu-khyung-rgyan, who along with many other scholars were invited from Zhang-zhung by Prince sPu-de gung-rgyal, in order to restore Bon persecuted by Gri-gum, sPu-de's father. But this does not seem to be correct. sTag-sgra don-gtsug brought Bon texts from sTag-gzig and translated them. His son was bTsan-sgra don-gtsug. The latter's son was Gyer-nam zur-tse. Gyer-nam zur-tse may be identical with the minister Khyung-po sPung-sad zu-tse,<sup>57</sup> mentioned in a Dunhuang manuscript, who lived during the lifetime of gNam-ri slong-btsan as well as that of Srong-btsan sgam-po. His story, told in the same manuscript, runs somewhat like this: he sullies the relation between the high-ranking ministers and the kings with the intention to strengthen his power. He arranges a feast at his house and invites the king and his ministers with the intention to assassi-

<sup>53</sup> Beckwith, C.I. (1987), *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia*. Princeton N.J., Princeton University Press, p. 22,27.

<sup>54</sup> However, in the text just quoted the author gives Zhang-zhung as one tribe making eight tribes in all.

<sup>55</sup> *bsGrags pa gling grags*, discovered by Khod-po Blo-gros thogs-med in 1301 A.D., in *Sources for a History of Bon*. Dolanji 1972, pp. 48-71.

<sup>56</sup> It was written by mKhas-grub lung-rtogs rgya-mtsho (early 20th century).

<sup>57</sup> *sPungs, sad* and *zu tse* are Zhang-zhung words which mean respectively "teacher", "god" and "miraculous", see *Srid pa'i mdzod phug*, discovered by gShen-chen klu-dga' in 1017 A.D. also discovered by rMa-ston Srid-'dzin in 1108, contained in *mDzod phug: basic verses and commentary* (Delhi 1966, p. 3,2.) where it says: *Sad la gyer ro spungs kyin no = sTon pa lha yi gshen po ste* / p. 10,7+16. *Mang wer shim mang zu tse ci = Mo gdon dmar mo zing zing yin* / *Zu tshé da dod 'gi gar ju = rDzu 'phrul thang thang bla mar bshos* /

nate him. Minister mGar discovers this conspiracy and reports it to the king. Zu-rtse also knows that his conspiracy has been disclosed. He commits suicide after he has instructed his son (Ngag re-khyung) what to do next. His son cuts off his father's head and offers it to the king, saying that he had discovered his father's conspiracy against him (the king) and that he had killed his father for that reason. He requests the king to exempt him and his family members from being punished and the king grants his request.<sup>58</sup>

The *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*<sup>59</sup> also places him in Srong-btsan's lifetime. It says that Srong-btsan sgam-po declared six collections of codes (*khos drug*). Among them, the one for the Zhang-zhung region was composed by Khyung-po Zu-rtse at the Fort Khyung-lung dngul-mkhar. Now, all the sources mentioned above agree that Khyung-po Zu-rtse was contemporary with Srong-btsan sgam-po, but the *Srid pa rgyud kyi kha byang* (p. 89,6) and several other Bonpo sources place him in the lifetime of Mes-ag-tshom and Khri-srong lde'u-btsan. Buddhist and Bon sources obviously disagree about his date. It seems possible that the Khyung-po Tse-tse, who was one of the debaters for Bon during the disputation held under Khri-srong lde'u-btsan, is the same Khyung-po zu-tse.<sup>60</sup> It is, however, clear that Zu-rtse was a brave man of Zhang-zhung origin and perhaps had a great concern for the re-integration of Zhang-zhung, which had been totally torn apart by the Tibetan force. Therefore, he planned to assassinate the Tibetan king, although he did not succeed in doing so. What is understood from his reaction against the Tibetan king is that the people of Zhang-zhung were strongly concerned for what the Tibetan king had done to their king (*i.e.* murdered him) and were determined to fight against foreign rule by Tibet.

The Dunhuang manuscript describes Zu-rtse's plot to assassinate the Tibetan king. It does not mention his family lineage or its origin. The *g. Yung drung bon gyi bstan 'byung* describes his family lineage and this description to some extent agrees with that of the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*. To me it appears that what is described in the *g. Yung drung bon gyi bstan 'byung* is acceptable, although this source is not very clear about Zu-rtse's genealogy. According to the same source Zu-rtse was succeeded by his son, sTong-rgyung ring-mo, but he had to flee from his native region of Zhang-zhung to mDo-khams as he was attacked by the Ma-rangs force.<sup>61</sup> To summarize, it says that there were Upper, Middle and Lower Khyung. Middle Khyung is further divided into the White, Black and Yellow, and the Lower Khyung is identified as the rGya-rong region. When some later texts describe the kingdom of Zhang-zhung they modified the expression Higher, Lower and Intermediate Khyung-po into Outer, Inner and Middle Zhang-zhung. "Khyung-lung" if translated back into Zhang-zhung language would be "Zhang-zhung." It seems that all the information on the Khyung lineage found in the *g. Yung drung bon gyi bstan 'byung* and some contained in the *Legs bshad mdzod* were probably taken from the *Khyung rab g.yu mgo ma*. Later on, the rGya-rong kings, who were associated with the teach-

<sup>58</sup> PT 1287, (cf. n. 40, Tome II, Pl. 568-569, lines 315-325).

<sup>59</sup> dPa'-bo gtsug-lag phreng-ba (1504-1566), *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*. Beijing, Mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang 1986, vol I, p. 185,13,16: *Zhang zhung gi khos dpon khyung po bun zung ce... khyung lung ngul mkhar*].

<sup>60</sup> See *sBa bzhed zhabs btags ma sBa gSal-snang, et al.*, (8th century A.D.). R. A. Stein (ed.), *Une chronique ancienne de bSam-yas*. Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve 1961, p. 27, 16.

<sup>61</sup> Who the Ma-rangs force were is not very clear. According to an unspecified source quoted by *g. Yung drung bon gyi bstan 'byung* p. 311,2, and *Legs bshad mdzod* p. 148,5 (most probably from *Khyung rabs g.yu mgo ma*), it is said that the nephews of the two descendants of the royal family Mi-sdang-lta of the Upper and sDang-mig-lta of the Lower Region were against someone else taking their uncle's place and that they waged a war against them. As a result, the country disintegrated into Bar-khyung, Mang-khyung and Khyung-'thor.

ers of "New Bon"<sup>62</sup> and the spread of their teachings, were highly venerated and were described as having descended from the lineage of the Zhang-zhung kings. This seems to be connected with the spread of the Khyung-po lineage described above.

### Conclusion

In this paper, we have examined Bon textual materials related to sTag-gzig and Zhang-zhung. These geographical questions are important background for understanding the early spread of Bon. Geography involves us in larger questions that go far beyond geography, the languages, cultures and religions of those places, and their movements from one place to another. The textual references consulted for the compilation of this article mainly dealt with the history of the Bonpo tradition before and during the Tibetan historical monarchy. These references might appear quite scattered and fragmentary. Nonetheless, I hope this article will provide some clues to readers interested in the origins of Bon.

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- bsGrags byang*: Khod-po Blo-gros thogs-med (discovered in 1301), *Bon chos dar nub gi (kvi) lo rgyus grags (bsgrags) pa rin chen gling grag (grags) ces bya ba dmongs (mongs) pa blo'i gsal byed*, manuscript, 95 fols, copied in 1919, by Tshe-brtan rdo-rje, an attendant of the British Major Campbell, C.I.E., residing in Sikkim. (Oslo University Library). (Øst. as TT 14). There is another manuscript of the work probably from Dolpo preserved at Bonpo monastery, Dolanji, India. 37 fols.
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<sup>62</sup> This refers to the teachings of the four teachers: Blo-ldan snying-po (b.1360), Sangs-rgyas gling-pa (b.1705), Kun-grol grags-pa (b.1700 A.D.), and Mi-shig g.yung-drung 'byung-gnas (b.1820). According to the biography of Kun-grol, the king of Khro-skyabs in rGyal-rong was a descendant of a Zhang-zhung king.

*Bon ma nub pa'i gtan tshigs*: sNang-bzher lod-po and sTong-rgyung mthu-chen (8th cent.), *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi bon ma nub pa'i gtan tshigs*, in *History and Doctrine of Bonpo Nispanna yoga*. New Delhi, International Academy of Indian Culture (Śata-Piṭaka Series 73) 1968, 259-267.

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*mDzod sgra 'grel*: Dran-pa nam-mkha' (8th century), (gShen-chen Klu-dga', discovered as a treasure in 1017; also was discovered by rMa-ston Srid-'dzin in 1108), *bDen pa bon gyi mdzod sgo sgra 'grel 'phrul gyi kde mig*, in *mDzod phug: basic verses and commentary*. Delhi 1966, pp. 2-239.

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*g.Yung drung bon gyi bstan 'byung*: dPal-ldan tshul-khrims (1902-1973), *History of Bon*, 2 Volumes, Dolanji 1972.

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A RECONSIDERATION OF THE CONTROVERSY ABOUT  
THE ORDER OF THE CHAPTERS OF THE *PRAMĀṆAVĀRTTIKA*  
The Argument by Indian Commentators of Dharmakīrti\*

by

Motoi Ono, Tsukuba

**0. Introduction**

As is well known, the first chapter of the *Pramāṇavārttika*, the main work of Dharmakīrti, is the *Svārthānumāna*, whereas the same chapter is located after the *Pratyakṣa*-chapter in his other works and the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* of Dignāga. This strange order of the chapters of the *Pramāṇavārttika* has been variously discussed and interpreted by modern scholars as well as Indian and Tibetan commentators. As for the historical fact, however, there is, in my opinion, no reason to suspect the conclusion of the majority of the modern scholars that the *Svārthānumāna* was first written and located at the top of the work by the author.<sup>1</sup>

Modern scholars also have considered the interpretations of the issue of the strange order by the commentators of the *Pramāṇavārttika* since Prof. Stecherbatsky.<sup>2</sup> To be sure, we cannot expect too much of the commentators in elucidating the historical fact about this issue.<sup>3</sup> But apart from the historical fact, it is significant to investigate the interpretations by Dharmakīrti-commentators. It is because differences among the interpretations of this issue by the commentators must be a crucial point for understanding the historical development of the Buddhist logico-epistemological school. Prof. Stecherbatsky was certainly well aware of this point of view.<sup>4</sup> Prof. van der Kuijp and Prof. Kimura, based on their researches about Tibetan sources, also pointed out the significance of recognizing the difference among the interpretations of this issue by Dharmakīrti-commentators.<sup>5</sup> I think, however, we have not yet sufficiently inquired into the argument by Indian commentators itself. Therefore, I would reconsider the controversy among Dharmakīrti-commentators about the order of the chapters of the *Pramāṇavārttika* by tracing their argument in their own literature, and give some materials for elucidating the his-

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Frauwallner, E. (1954), "Die Reihenfolge und Entstehung der Werke Dharmakīrti's", in *Asiatica. Festschrift Friedrich Weller zum 65. Geburtstag*, Leipzig, 142-154; *The Pramāṇavārttikam of Dharmakīrti, the first chapter with the autocomentary*. R. Gnoli (ed.), Roma, 1960, Introduction; Nagasaki, H. (1969) "*Pramāṇavārttika* Itahiryō-shō no Jun'i [The place of the *Svārthānumāna*-chapter of the *Pramāṇavārttika*]", *Bukkyōgaku Seminā* 10, 18-30; *Svārthānumānapariccheda by Dharmakīrti*. D. Malvania (ed.), Hindu Vishvavidyalaya Nepal Rajya Sanskrit Series, Vol. II, Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Stecherbatsky 1932: 38ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Frauwallner 1954: 143.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Stecherbatsky 1932: 44f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Kuijp 1979; Kimura, S. (1988), "'Ryōhyōshaku' no shō no junjo ni tsuite [On the order of the chapters of the *Pramāṇavārttika*] (1)", *Komazawa-Daigaku Bukkyō-gakubu Ronshū* 19, (40)-(49); Kimura, S. (1989), "'Ryōhyōshaku' no shō no junjo ni tsuite [On the order of the chapters of the *Pramāṇavārttika*] (2)", *Komazawa-Daigaku Bukkyō-gakubu Kenkyū-kijō* 47, (18)-(29).

torical development of the Indian Buddhist logico-epistemological school after Dharmakīrti.

According to Prof. Stecherbatsky, Dharmakīrti-commentators can be divided into three branches, namely the philological, the philosophical and the religious school.<sup>6</sup> Concerning our problem, the argument was basically carried out between the philological and the religious school.<sup>7</sup> Strictly speaking, the argument is not even the controversy between two schools. It is rather a criticism by the religious school, especially by Jayanta (=rGyal ba can),<sup>8</sup> of the philological school's interpretation. It is well known that Tibetan scholars regard him as the representative who asserted that the *Pramāṇasiddhi* should be the first chapter of the *Pramāṇavārttika*, contrary to the philological school, which asserted that the strange order must be accepted as it is.<sup>9</sup> I therefore attempt here to trace the development of the argument, focusing on the statement of Jayanta. The text of Jayanta extant only in Tibetan translation is, however, quite difficult to understand because of its obscure translation. Therefore, in order to make clear the context of Jayanta's text, first I would closely investigate interpretations by the philological school, because it is probably the object of Jayanta's criticism. Then, I would deal with interpretations by the religious school, especially with Jayanta's view.

## 1. The philological school's interpretation

### 1.1. Devendrabuddhi's view

At first, Devendrabuddhi, a direct pupil of Dharmakīrti and the earliest commentator of the *Pramāṇavārttika* belonging to the philological school, refers to this problem of the order of the chapters at the beginning of all three chapters of his commentary, the *Pramāṇavārttikapañjikā*, as follows:

1) "Having established the inference, which is the ground for the explanation of the treatise defining valid cognition by the teacher [Dignāga], [Dharmakīrti] begins the explanation of the Maṅgala-verse, a chief subject by [the statement:] 'valid cognition' etc."<sup>10</sup>

2) "Having established in advance the inference, which is the ground for the explanation of the treatise defining valid cognition by the teacher [Dignāga], and finished the explanation of the first half [of the first Maṅgala-verse], because the latter half of the first Maṅgala-verse of the treatise composed by the teacher is easy to understand, then, in order to explain the definition of valid cognition, [Dharmakīrti] began [the explanation by the statement:] 'because the object of

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Stecherbatsky 1932: 39ff. To reconsider the validity of this classification and naming, probably depending on some Tibetan sources, is one of the objects of this paper, but I follow his way tentatively.

<sup>7</sup> Those who belong to the philosophical school, with the exception of Śaṅkarānanda, did not discuss this issue, because they did not compose the commentary on the *Pramāṇavārttika*. Śaṅkarānanda's interpretation is not so original, as we see later.

<sup>8</sup> We have until now called him 'Jina', but the present writer proved that his original name should be 'Jayanta'. See Ono, M. (1993), *Prajñākaraguptas Erklärung der Definition gültiger Erkenntnis (Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra zu Pramāṇavārttika II 1-7)*. 2 Vols. (Dissertation, University of Vienna), Einleitung, viii-x.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Stecherbatsky 1932: 44; Gnoli 1960: Introduction, xv-xvii.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *slob dpon gyis tshad ma'i mtshan nyid kyī bstan bcos bshad pa'i rgyu rjes su dpag pa rnam par bzhag nas skabs su bab pa tshad ma zhes bya ba la sogs pas phyag 'tshal ba'i tshigs su bcaḍ pa'i bshad pa mdzad par rtsom pa'o* //PVP 1b1f.

valid cognition is twofold', etc."<sup>11</sup>

3) "The inference is twofold. For oneself and for others. Between these, on the subject of the inference for oneself, [Dharmakīrti] explained it in advance. Therefore, [I] don't explain [it] here. The necessity for the reversion of the order [of the chapters] has already been explained [in the above two places]."<sup>12</sup>

Here, Devendrabuddhi apparently regards the *Svārthānumāna* as the first chapter, and recognizes this order as strange. He, however, defends this strange order. Namely, he considers that the normal order was reversed because the *Svārthānumāna*-chapter establishing the inference is the ground for explaining the whole of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* by Dignāga.

## 1.2. Śākyabuddhi's elaboration

Śākyabuddhi, the author of the subcommentary to both Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttikasvayṭti* and Devendrabuddhi's *Pramāṇavārttikapañjikā*, and the most influential person of the philological school, basically follows the interpretation by his predecessor, Devendrabuddhi, and elaborates on it. Śākyabuddhi's important references to the problem of the order of the chapters are found in the *Svārthānumāna*- and the *Pramāṇasiddhi*-chapter of his *Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā*.<sup>13</sup> At first, let us examine the statement in the *Svārthānumāna*-chapter of his commentary. This statement concerns the interpretation of the first sentence of the *Pramāṇavārttikasvayṭti*. There, Dharmakīrti says:

"The distinction between the rational and the irrational (*arthānartha*) depends on the inference. Therefore, in order to establish this [inference], [the author] has explained [the inference], because there is misunderstanding concerning this [very inference]."<sup>14</sup>

Śākyabuddhi interprets this sentence as follows:

"Therefore, one must explain [this sentence] in a different manner. [The word:] 'artha' means the definition of valid cognition accomplished by Dignāga, because [his definition] is rational. [The word:] 'anartha' means [the one, which] is made by the heretic, because [it] is irrational. 'To distinguish' these two means to distinguish the rational one from the irrational one. 'Because this [distinction, however] depends on the inference', one should ascertain whether the defining words are rational or irrational, by means of depending on the inference, but not depending on the direct perception, because the [latter] doesn't make any judgement. If one says that the definition of the inference has already been explained [by Dignāga], [Dharmakīrti] says 'because there is misunderstanding concerning this'. [Namely] because there is the ignorance of this inference, the author of the treatise [*i.e.*,

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *slob dpon gyis tshad ma'i mtshan nyid kyi bstan bcos bshad pa'i rgyu rjes su dpag pa sngar rnam par gzhag pa dang / slob dpon gyis gsungs pa bstan bcos kyi dang po phyag 'tshal ba'i tshigs su bcad pa'i phyed 'og ma rtogs sla ba nyid kyi phyir phyed gong ma nyid kyi bshad pa yongs su rdzogs par mdzad nas / da tshad ma'i mtshan nyid kyi bshad pa mdzad pa'i phyir / gzhag bya gnyis phyir zhes bya ba la sogs pa bitsams pa yin no // PVP 122a4ff.*

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *rjes su dpag pa ni rnam pa gnyis te / rang gi don dang gzhan gyi don to // de la 'dir rang gi don gyi rjes su dpag pa'i skabs su bab pa las / de sngar bstan zin pa de ltar na mi 'chad do // go rims bzlog pa'i dgos pa ni sngar bstan zin to // PVP 268b6f.*

<sup>13</sup> In the *Parārthānumāna*-chapter of his commentary, he also refers to this issue (cf. PVT(Ñe) 252a4ff.). See *infra* note 25.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *arthānarthavivecanasyānumānāśrayatvātadvipratipattes tadvyavasthāpanāyāha*. PVSV 1.8.

Dharmakīrti] ‘has explained’ [it] ‘in order to establish this’, namely in order to establish the inference by means of removing misunderstanding. Thus, when one depends on the inference, and then explains the meaning of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, there [can] be the misunderstanding concerning this very [inference]. Therefore, [Dharmakīrti] first of all established this very [inference]. [Dharmakīrti] explained [in such a way]. [Devendrabuddhi] will explain [it] in the same way at the beginning of the second chapter [of his commentary]: ‘having established the inference, which is the ground for the explanation of the treatise defining valid cognition by the teacher [Dignāga]’ etc.<sup>15</sup>

Here, Śākyabuddhi relates Dharmakīrti's statement at the beginning of his *Pramāṇavārtikavṛtti* to the problem of the order of the chapters. According to Śākyabuddhi, ‘the rational one’ in this statement means the definition of valid cognition by Dignāga, namely the content of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. According to him, therefore, Dharmakīrti himself states here that the *Svārthānumāna*-chapter explaining the inference is at the top because it is the ground for explaining Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. By means of interpreting Dharmakīrti's statement in such a way, he tries to confirm the Devendrabuddhi's interpretation that the *Svārthānumāna* is the first chapter because it is the ground for explaining Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. This idea by Śākyabuddhi has had a great influence upon those who discuss the problem of the chapters of the *Pramāṇavārtika* after him.<sup>16</sup>

We can also find such interpretation by Śākyabuddhi in his statement at the beginning of the *Pramāṇasiddhi*-chapter of his commentary:<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *de lta bas na gzhan du rnam par bshad par bya ste / don ni slob dpon Phyogs kyi glang pos mtzad pa'i tshad ma'i mtshan nyid la sogs pa yin te rigs pa dang ldan pa'i phyir ro // don ma yin pa ni mu steg kyis byas pa yin te / rigs pa dang mi ldan pa'i phyir ro // de gnyis rnam par 'byed pa ni rigs pa dang ldan pa dang / rigs pa dang mi ldan pa nyid du rnam par 'jog pa'o // de ni rjes su dpag pa la brten pa yin pa'i phyir te / rjes su dpag pa kho na la brten nas mtshan nyid kyi tshig rnam rigs pa dang ldan pa dang / rigs pa dang mi ldan pa nyid du rnam par gzhag par bya ba yin gyi / mngon sum la brten nas ni ma yin te / de ni rnam par dpyod par byed pa ma yin pa'i phyir ro // gal te rjes su dpag pa'i mtshan nyid ni bshad zin to zhe na / de las log par rtog pas zhes bya ba smos te / rjes su dpag pa de la rnam pas de rnam par gzhag pa'i phyir rjes su dpag pa de log par rtog pa bsal bas rnam par gzhag pa'i phyir bstan bcos mtzad pas bshad pa'o // 'di skad du gang gi phyir rjes su dpag pa la brten nas / Tshad ma kun las bstus pa'i don bshad par bya ba yin na de la yang log par rtog pa yod pa de'i phyir te shig de nyid rnam par gzhag go zhes bshad pa yin te / de skad du rab tu byed pa gnyis brtsom pa na yang slob dpon gyis tshad ma'i mtshan nyid bshad pa'i rgyu rjes su dpag pa rnam par gzhag nas zhes bya ba la sogs pa 'chad par 'gyur ro // PVṬ(Je) 5b7ff. See also Kuijp 1979: 15.*

<sup>16</sup> E.g. Śāṅkarānanda comments on the same sentence of Dharmakīrti as follows: "In this [*Pramāṇavārtika*], one can also find the comment on the treatise [which states:] ‘who became the means of valid cognition’ etc. Therefore, [the *Pramāṇavārtika*] is a commentary on the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. Nevertheless, it is not unjust that [Dharmakīrti], having abandoned the order of [the chapters of] this [*Pramāṇasamuccaya*], first explains the inference by [the statement:] ‘a property of the subject’ etc. In order to show this, [Dharmakīrti] explains the necessity [of the reversion of the order] by means of the comment ‘*artha* and’ etc. ‘*artha*’ means [something] of which nature is an absolute real being, ‘*anartha*’ means the counterpart of this. [Namely it means] relative real being such as colour-shape (\**rūpa*) etc., or unreal being such as the primary matter (\**pradhāna*), God (\**īśvara*) and the horns of a hare etc." (cf. ‘*dir yang tshad mar gyur pa zhes bya ba la sogs pa'i gzhung gi 'grel par dmigs pa'i phyir Tshad ma kun las btus pa'i 'grel pa yin yang de'i rim pa dor te phyogs chos zhes bya ba la sogs pas dang por rjes su dpag pa birod pa gang yin pa de mi rigs par mi 'gyur bar bya ba'i phyir 'grel pas dgos pa bshad pa ni don dang zhes bya ba la sogs pa yin no // don ni don dam par yod pa'i ngo bo'o // don ma yin pa ni de las bzlog pa ste / gzugs la sogs pa kun rdzob tu yod pa 'am / gtso bo dang dbang phyug dang ri bong gi rva la sogs pa med pa nyid do // PVṬsaü 4a4ff. ) See also Kuijp 1979: 15.*

<sup>17</sup> As for this paragraph, Prof. Steinkellner found some important fragments in Appendix I in R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana's edition of Manorathanandin's *Pramāṇavārtikavṛttiḥ*. See Steinkellner, E. (1980), "Philological Remarks on Śākyamati's *Pramāṇavārtikaṭīkā*", *Gedenkschrift für Ludwig Alsdorf*, Wiesbaden, 283-295.



"In order to explain the relationship between the first and the second chapter indirectly by means of posing question and answer, [Devendrabuddhi] states 'by the teacher', etc. There [can be] the following question: If the very [*Pramāṇasamuccaya*] should be explained because the teacher Dharmakīrti [intends to] make a commentary on this treatise, the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, why did he establish the definition of the inference first independently?<sup>18</sup> The objection to this [question] is [the statement:] 'The explanation of the treatise defining valid cognition by the teacher', etc. Here 'the teacher' means Dignāga because it is his treatise that [Dharmakīrti] will explain. [The word:] 'by the teacher' means 'his'. 'The treatise defining valid cognition' is the treatise by which one defines valid cognition, namely the direct perception and the inference. It means the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. [This is] a treatise with clear words, which destroys the heretical opponent and delivers [them] from the ignorance. [This sentence is] a determinative compound [which can be analyzed] as follows: this is [written] 'by the teacher' and is 'the treatise defining valid cognition' as well. Even if there are the \**Vinayaṭīkā*, etc. [written] 'by the teacher', [they are] not 'the treatise defining valid cognition'. [On the other hand] even if there is 'the treatise defining valid cognition', which is written by other people than him, [they are] not [written] 'by the teacher'. Therefore, both [attributes] are said. 'The explanation' means that one explains [the treatise] definitely, after [he] removed the wrong explanations by the commentators prior to him and the misunderstanding by the heretic. 'The ground' for this [explanation] is 'the inference'. Namely, the explanation is characterized by the distinction between the rational and the irrational one. This [distinction] depends on the inference, because [the former] is necessarily accompanied by conceptual construction. Therefore, [Dharmakīrti] 'established' the very [inference] at first, because it necessarily becomes a means [of the explanation of the treatise defining valid cognition]. Even if the teacher Dignāga has already defined the inference, there is no error [in saying that Dharmakīrti established the inference] because [he] established [it] by modifying [Dignāga's definition] fundamentally.

There is [another] question: In the first chapter of the *Pramāṇavārttika* [i.e., the *Svārthānumāna*], [Dharmakīrti] freely commented on the *Svārthānumāna*-chapter of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* by means of refuting different opinions. Why did he [nevertheless] make [the commentary] literally in this [*Pramāṇasiddhi*-chapter] by refuting [different opinions]? Therefore, [Devendrabuddhi] says 'by the teacher', etc. 'The treatise defining [something]' means the treatise by which the [five] constituent elements of being, the [eighteen] elementary spheres and the [twelve] places [etc.] are defined. [In this case, the compound:] '*pramāṇalakṣaṇaśāstra*' means what is both 'valid cognition' because of trustworthiness and 'the treatise defining [something]'. It means the Buddha's word. The ground for the explanation of the [Buddha's word] is 'the ground for the explanation of valid cognition and the treatise defining [something]'. It is an appositional compound (\**karmadhāraya*), which means what is [written] 'by the teacher', and is 'the ground for the explanation of valid cognition and the treatise defining [something]'. What is [this ground]? [It is] 'the inference'. [Here] 'the inference' means the *Svārthānumāna*-chapter of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, because it explains the inference. Thus, having

<sup>18</sup> *dang por rang dbang gyis: ādāv utkrāmya* Skt. uncertain [neglecting the first [chapter]]. See Steinkellner 1980: n. 32.

depended on the inference, [Dharmakīrti] will explain [later]<sup>19</sup> that the word of the Lord is rational, but [the word of] the other, the heretic's one, is not [rational]. Thus, [this] explanation [of the sentence<sup>20</sup>] is different [from the first explanation]. Also [in this case, however] this inference is examined at the *Svārthānumāna*-chapter [of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*]. Therefore, [Dharmakīrti] explained in advance the very *Svārthānumāna*-chapter of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* by means of refuting different opinions."<sup>21</sup>

In this long paragraph, Śākyabuddhi shows two different interpretations of the first sentence of Devendrabuddhi's first statement we investigated above. In the first interpretation, Śākyabuddhi follows Devendrabuddhi and elaborates his view as he did in the *Svārthānumāna*-chapter of his commentary. Namely, he considers that the *Svārthānumāna* is the first chapter because the inference is the ground for the explanation of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. In the second interpretation, however, he brings forward another remarkable view. Namely, he says that the *Svārthānumāna* is the first chapter because the inference is the ground for the explanation of 'the Buddha's word'. Further, he asserts that Dharmakīrti, having depended on the inference, indicates that the Buddha's word is rational. He seems to consider that the inference as valid cognition is more fundamental than the Buddha as valid cognition. We can, to be sure, find the

<sup>19</sup> I think it refers to PV II 284-285.

<sup>20</sup> Namely, the sentence: *slob dpon gyis tshad ma'i mtshan nyid kyi bstan bcos bshad pa'i rgyu rjes su dpag pa* / PVP 1b1f.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *rgol ba dang lan bstan pa'i zur gyis le'u dang po dang gnyis pa'i 'brel pa bstan pa'i phyir | slob dpon gyis zhes bya ba la sogs pa smos te | de la gal te slob dpon Chos kyi graags pa 'di bstan bcos Tshad ma kun las btus pa rnam par bshad par bzhed pa yin pas de nyid bshad par bya ba yin na | ci'i phyir dang por rang dbang gis rjes su dpag pa'i mtshan nyid rnam par gzhang pa mdzad ces bya ba nang rgol ba'o || slob dpon gyis tshad ma'i mtshan nyid kyi bstan bcos bshad pa'i zhes bya ba la sogs pa ni 'di'i lan yin no || 'dir slob dpon ni Phyogs kyi glang po yin par 'dod de | de'i bstan bcos bshad par 'gyur ba nyid yin pa'i phyir ro || de'i don ni slob dpon gyi'o || bstan bcos gang gis mngon sum dang rjes su dpag pa'i tshad ma mtshan par byed pa de ni | tshad ma'i mtshan nyid kyi bstan bcos te | Tshad ma kun las btus pa zhes bya'o || mu stegs kyi dgra 'chos shing mi shes pa las skyob pa'i phyir nges pa'i tshig gi tshul gyi bstan bcos so || slob dpon gyi yang de yin la tshad ma'i mtshan nyid kyi bstan bcos kyang yin pas zhes bya ba ni khyad par gyi bsdu pa'o || slob dpon gyi 'dul ba'i tik la sogs pa yod mod kyi | tshad ma'i mtshan nyid kyi bstan bcos ma yin no || de las gzhan pas byas pa'i tshad ma'i mtshan nyid kyi bstan bcos yod mod kyi | slob dpon gyi ma yin no || de bas na gnyi ga smos so || de'i nsgar gyi tik byed pa'i rnam par bshad pa ngan pa dang | mu stegs byed kyi rtsod ngan bsal nas khyad par du bshad pa ni rnam par smos te | bshad pa'o || de'i rgyu ni rjes su dpag pa'o || de lta na don dang don ma yin pa rnam par 'phyed pa'i mtshan nyid can ni bshad pa yin no || de'i yang rjes su dpag pa rten yin te rnam par rtog pa dang bcas pa nyid kyi phyir ro || de bas na thabs su gyur pa nyid kyi phyir de nyid dang por rnam par gzhang pa yin no || gal te slob dpon Phyogs kyi glang pos rjes su dpag pa'i mtshan nyid mdzad pa de lta na yang rgyas par rnam par dkrugs nas rnam par gzhang pa de lta na skyon yod pa ma yin no ||*

*Tshad ma rnam 'grel le'u dang por Tshad ma kun las btus pa'i rang gi don gyi rjes su dpag pa'i le'u rtsod ngan lan btap pa'i sgo nas don gyis rnam par bshad nas | de la ci'i phyir rim pa las rgal nas mdzad ces bya ba'i rtsod pa 'di la | de'i phyir slob dpon gyis zhes bya ba la sogs pa smos te | bstan bcos gang gis chung po dang khamas dang | skye ma ched mtshon par byed pa de ni mtshan nyid kyi bstan bcos so || mi slu ba nyid kyi phyir tshad ma yang de yin la | mtshan nyid kyi bstan bcos yang yin pas na | tshad ma'i mtshan nyid kyi bstan bcos te | sangs rgyas kyi bka' zhes bya ba'i don to || de'i bshad pa'i rgyu ni tshad ma'i mtshan nyid kyi bstan bcos bshad pa'i rgyu'o || slob dpon gyi yang de yin la tshad ma'i mtshan nyid kyi bstan bcos bshad pa'i rgyu yang de yin pas na shes bya ba ni las 'dzin pa'o || de gang zhe na rjes su dpag pa ste | rjes su dpag pa ston pa'i phyir Tshad ma kun las btus pa'i rang gi don rjes su dpag pa'i le'u ni rjes su dpag pa'o || de skad du gang gi phyir rjes su dpag pa la brten nas | bcum ldan 'das kyi bka' rigs pa dang ldan pa yin gyi | gzhan mu stegs pa dag gi ni ma yin no zhes bstan par 'gyur ro || de skad du bshad pa ni rnam pa gzhan yin no || rjes su dpag pa de yang rang gi don gyi rjes su dpag pa'i le'u rnam par phyed ba de bas na Tshad ma kun las btus pa'i rang gi don gyi rjes su dpag pa'i le'u de nyid rtsod ngan lan btap pa'i sgo nas nsgar rnam par bshad pa nyid yin no || PVT (Ne) 70b7ff.*

basis of his assertion in the statements by Dharmakīrti himself.<sup>22</sup> But in comparison with the religious school's interpretation we examine next, this assertion concerning the relationship between the inference and the Buddha as valid cognition seems to be quite characteristic of the philological school, especially of Śākyabuddhi.

## 2. The religious school's interpretation

### 2.1. Prajñākaragupta's approach

In contrast with the commentaries by the philological school we examined above, the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra* of Prajñākaragupta, the founder of the religious school, does not explicitly discuss the problem of the order of the chapters of the *Pramāṇavārttika*. It is quite natural in a sense, because Prajñākaragupta does not comment on the *Svāsthānumāna*-chapter and therefore has no occasion to explain the curious placement of the *Svāsthānumāna*-chapter in the *Pramāṇavārttika*. Nevertheless, we cannot say that Prajñākaragupta is not interested in this problem at all and uncritically accepts the philological school's interpretation.

Indeed, in the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra*, the *Pramāṇasiddhi*-chapter is located at the top. And it is not the case that the original second chapter automatically becomes the first chapter, as the result of the lack of the original first chapter. It is because he actually puts his own Maṅgala-verse at the beginning of the *Pramāṇasiddhi*-chapter of his work after the model of Dignāga's and Dharmakīrti's one<sup>23</sup> and moreover makes a paraphrase of the introduction of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* as follows:

"Here [in this work], a line praising [the Lord] is recited at the beginning of the treatise since the Lord became a means of valid cognition (*pramāṇabhūta*) through [his] perfection in cause and effect. It is because [the very Lord] is the purpose of the treatise."<sup>24</sup>

Here, Prajñākaragupta shows the purpose of the whole of the work. For him, the purpose of the treatise is the Lord. And then, in order to explain the meaning of the word 'who became a means of valid cognition' as the essential characteristic of the Lord, he begins to explain the definition of valid cognition. Thus, this introduction by Prajñākaragupta shows the necessity that the *Pramāṇasiddhi* should be the first chapter in Prajñākaragupta's own system. One could say, therefore, that Prajñākaragupta intentionally locates the *Pramāṇasiddhi* at the beginning of his work from his own philosophical viewpoint. And so far as this order of the chapters of the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra* is an inevitable conclusion of Prajñākaragupta's system, it is possible

<sup>22</sup> For example, Dharmakīrti states that the four noble truths are objects of the normal inference. Cf. PVSV 108,16ff.; see also PV II 284-5.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *pramāṇabhūtāya jagaddhitaiṣiṇe praṇamya śāstre sugatāya tāyine / kutarkasaṃbhrāntajanānukampayā pramāṇasiddhir vidhivad vidhiyate ||1||*  
*prāyaḥ prastutavastuvistarabhyto nekṣyanta evoccakair*  
*vaktāraḥ paramārthasaṅgrahadhīyā vyādhitaphalgukramāḥ /*  
*tenāsmiṇ viralakramavyapagamād atyantaśuddhān dhiyaḥ*  
*dhanyānāṃ vidadhātum uddhatadhīyaṃ dhīḥ saṃvide dhīyate ||2||* PVA 3,6-11.

The first verse is undoubtedly composed after the model of the Maṅgala-verse of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. The second verse also seems to be composed after the model of Dharmakīrti's second Maṅgala-verse of the *Pramāṇavārttikā-svavṛtti*.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *atra bhagavato hetuphalasaṃpattiyā pramāṇabhūtātvena stotrābhīdhānaṃ śāstrādaḥ, śāstrārthatvāt*. PVA 3,12f.; 'dir yang rab tu byed pa 'i dang por rgyu dang 'bras bu phun sum tshogs pas tshad mar gyur pa nyid kyis bcom ldan 'das la bstod pa brjod pa ni gus pa bskyed par bya ba 'i don du 'o /PSV 14b2.

to argue that he, as a commentator of the *Pramāṇavārttika*, may consider that the *Pramāṇasiddhi* should be the first chapter in Dharmakīrti's system also. In this sense, the following statement in the *Parārthānumāna*-chapter of the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra* should not be overlooked:

"The *Parārthānumāna* is stated immediately after the *Svārthānumāna*, because the *Parārthānumāna* presupposes the *Svārthānumāna*."<sup>25</sup>

Here, he actually suggests that the *Svārthānumāna*-chapter should be located immediately before the *Parārthānumāna*-chapter. However, this statement maybe does not concern the *Pramāṇavārttika*, but *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, because Prajñākaragupta refers to a sentence of the latter work immediately after this statement.<sup>26</sup> In any case, his opinion on the problem of the order of the chapters of the *Pramāṇavārttika* is not clear enough. This is the reason why there arose two different opinions regarding this problem in his followers.

## 2.2. Jayanta's new interpretation

It is Jayanta, a commentator of Prajñākaragupta, who under the influence of the above-mentioned approach of Prajñākaragupta first explicitly asserted that the *Pramāṇasiddhi* should be the first chapter of the *Pramāṇavārttika*. We can find out his discussion about this issue in all of the three chapters of his commentary on the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra*, the \**Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāraṅkā*. A thorough explanation of his new interpretation can be found at the beginning of the *Pramāṇasiddhi*-chapter of this work, in the folios De 2a2-4b3 of the Derge-edition. Therefore, I would mainly deal with this explanation in what follows. The description is not so long, but quite difficult to understand correctly, as I mentioned above. Nevertheless, we can realize at least that this description seems to consist of two parts. Namely, in the first half, he criticizes the philological school's interpretation that the *Svārthānumāna* is the first chapter, and accordingly in the second half, he tries to explain the reason for his assertion that the *Pramāṇasiddhi* should be the first chapter.<sup>27</sup> First let us examine his criticism of the philological school's interpretation.

### 2.2.1. Jayanta's criticism of the philological school's interpretation

The main question, which Jayanta here poses, is whether the *Pramāṇavārttika* is really a commentary on the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* or not. Jayanta says:

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *svārthānumānānantaraṃ parārthānumānam ucyate, svārthānumānapūrvakatvāt parārthānumānasya*. PVA 467,4. A similar statement can be found in the *pūrvapakṣa* of the fourth chapter of Śākyabuddhi's commentary (cf. *de la 'dir rang gi don gyi rjes su dpag pa 'i skabs su bab pa zhes bya ba ni mngon sum de ma thag tu bstan zin pa nyid kyi phyir rang gi don gyi rjes su dpag pa 'i skabs su bab pa yin par 'gyur ro || de sgar bstan zin pa zhes bya ba ni le'u dang por ro ||* PVT(Ñe) 252a4f.) [[Devendrabuddhi says:] 'Between these, on the subject of the inference for oneself. [One considers] that the *Svārthānumāna* should be the (next) subject, because [it] was stated [in the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*] immediately after the *Pratyakṣa*. [Devendrabuddhi answers to this question:] '[Dharmakīrti] explained it in advance.' Namely, in the first chapter.] Manorathanandin, who locates the *Pramāṇasiddhi*-chapter at the top, states similarly at the beginning of the *Pratyakṣa*-chapter of his commentary, the *Pramāṇavārttikavṛtti* (cf. *tatra svārthānumānam idāniṃ vaktavyam etatpūrvakatvāt parārthasya*. PVV 282,4).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *tatra parārthānumānaṃ tu svadīṣṭārthaprakāśanam*. PVA 467,5=PS III 1ab. [Between these [two inferences], the inference for others reveals the object perceived by oneself [to others].]

<sup>27</sup> I think it is also possible to consider these two parts as the response to the former and the latter part, respectively, of Śākyabuddhi's statement in the *Pramāṇasiddhi*-chapter of his commentary we examined above.

"With respect to this, one said: 'there are living beings that take a wrong step of despising the teacher [Dignāga] who teaches right knowledge to those who have wrong knowledge as the cause of suffering. [Dharmakīrti] wants to protect [them] with [his] compassion. [And] on the ground of [this compassion] he writes the *Pramāṇavārttika* as a commentary on the treatise of the [teacher Dignāga].'<sup>28</sup> This [assertion] is [however] not right. There is no reliable evidence concerning this. It is because there is no statement: 'I commented on the treatise [of Dignāga].' Also [in case of the statement:] 'his teaching', etc. [at the beginning of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*],<sup>29</sup> 'he' means the Lord or his followers. He [*i.e.*, Dharmakīrti] does not explain his [*i.e.*, Dignāga's] teaching."<sup>30</sup>

Jayanta eventually wants to assert that the *Pramāṇasiddhi* is the first chapter. And this order is rather suitable to the tradition of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. In this sense, it seems to be curious that he asserts that the *Pramāṇavārttika* is not a commentary on the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. It is, however, quite understandable, if we remember the reason for which the philological school asserts that the *Svārthānumāna* is the first chapter. In their interpretation, they presuppose that the *Pramāṇavārttika* is a commentary on the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. Namely, Devendrabuddhi, and Śākyabuddhi as well, asserted that Dharmakīrti established in advance the inference in his *Pramāṇavārttika* because the inference is the ground for the explanation of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*.

Jayanta's argument for the assertion that the *Pramāṇavārttika* is not necessarily a commentary on the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* is persuasive enough and significant in itself. For example, he argues as follows:

"The definition of thesis (*\*pakṣa*) etc., which [Dharmakīrti] explains at a certain [place in his work], is, to be sure, an explanation of the meaning of the [*Pramāṇasamuccaya*], because [Dignāga] also discussed [this issue] in his treatise. But [Dharmakīrti] considers [Dignāga's statement] as a mere guide. He did in that way [namely, presented his own teaching by utilizing Dignāga's statements], in order to explain [his own teaching] easily, but not in order to comment on his [*i.e.*, Dignāga's] treatise."<sup>31</sup>

As the present writer explained in another paper, Dharmakīrti presents his new teaching for the definition of thesis by utilizing Dignāga's sentence of the definition tacitly.<sup>32</sup> In this sense, we can say that Jayanta recognizes the relationship between the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and the *Pra-*

<sup>28</sup> It is not yet clear for me, who actually made this assertion. It probably could be ascribed to a commentator of the philological school, namely Śākyabuddhi (cf. PVT 3a4-5b7; PVSVT 2,23-4,27).

<sup>29</sup> Cf. PVin I 30,11. Dharmottara apparently regards this 'his' as 'Dignāga's' (cf. PVin[(Dse) 2a5ff.].

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *de la sdug bsngal gyi rgyur gyur pa 'i log pa 'i shes pa can la yang dag pa 'i shes pa bstan pa dang 'dri bar slob dpon la brnyas pa 'i kha na ma tho bas 'khrul pa 'i skye bo yongs su bskyang bar 'dod pa 'i thugs rjes de 'i gzhung gis bshad par gyur pa Tshad ma rnam 'gre] mdzad pa yin no zhes zer ba de ni mi rigs te | 'di la tshad ma med do || gang gis phyir de 'i gzhung la kho bos bshad ces bya ba 'i tshig med pa 'i phyir ro || de 'i lugs zhes bya ba la sogs pa yang | de shes bya ba ni bcom ldan 'das sam rjes su 'dzin pa po zhes bya ba 'i don to || de 'i lugs ni 'dis ston pa ma yin te | J(De) 2a3ff.*

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *phyogs kyi mtshan nyid la sogs pa gang du yang bstan pa de 'i gzhung nyid la yang brjod pa 'i phyir de 'i don 'chad par byed la | de yang drangs pa kho nar dgongs pa 'o || bstan par sla ba 'i phyir de ltar byas pa yin gyi de 'i gzhung bshad pa 'i phyir ni ma yin no || J(De) 3b2f.*

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Ono, M. (1986), "Dharmakīrti ni okeru shuchō-meidai no teigi ni suite [On the definition of thesis by Dharmakīrti]", *IBK* 34/2, (109)-(112).

*māṇavārttika* quite exactly. In fact, the *Pramāṇavārttika* is not a mere commentary on the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*.

Now, Jayanta concludes his criticism of the philological school's interpretation with the following statement:

"Because of the very above-mentioned reason, it is not [right to say] that [Dharmakīrti] explains the inference at first because [it] becomes a means of the explanation for his [*i.e.*, Dignāga's] treatise."<sup>33</sup>

Given this statement, it becomes clearer that Jayanta criticizes Śākyabuddhi's interpretation. It is because we can find out the relatively uncommon expression 'becomes a means (*thabs su gyur pa*)' in the very statement by Śākyabuddhi we examined above.<sup>34</sup>

### 2.2.2. Jayanta's own interpretation

On the other hand, concerning his own interpretation that the *Pramāṇasiddhi* should be the first chapter, Jayanta attempts to confirm it on the basis of the following arguments.

At first, he lays stress upon the superiority of the Buddha as valid cognition over the other means of valid cognition. He says:

"[Only] the Buddha, who attained to complete enlightenment, the Lord, inscrutable, who indicates righteousness and unrighteousness, [can] establish [something], and everyone depends necessarily on him. Therefore, [the other means of valid cognition] which can establish [something] are also not right without depending on him."<sup>35</sup>

According to Jayanta, only the Buddha, namely the omniscient being, is the ultimate means of valid cognition, and the other means of valid cognition such as the direct perception and the inference must depend on it. Without the Buddha as valid cognition, the direct perception and the inference ultimately cannot be legitimated. Therefore, the *Pramāṇasiddhi*-chapter, which proves that the Buddha is the one who became a means of valid cognition (*pramāṇabhūta*), must be located at the top of the work. It is because the explanation of the Buddha as valid cognition must precede the explanations of all the other means of valid cognition.

The second argument is so difficult that I can understand it only partially now. In this argument, Jayanta seems to justify his interpretation by means of relating the four chapters of the *Pramāṇavārttika* with the five epithets of the Buddha in the Maṅgala-verse by Dignāga and Prajñākaragupta, namely: 'who became a means of valid cognition (*pramāṇabhūta*)', 'who strives for the welfare of all living beings (*ḥḥagaddhitaiḥin*)', 'the Teacher (*śāstri*)', 'the Well-gone (*sugata*)' and 'the Saviour (*tāyin*)'. Anyway, in this argument, Jayanta states a second reason the *Pramāṇasiddhi* must be located at the top:

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *de nyid kyī phyir de 'i gzhung bshad pa 'i thabs su gyur nas rjes su dpag pa dang por bshad pa ni ma yin no* // J(De) 3b4.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *de bas na thabs su gyur pa nyid kyī phyir de nyid dang por nam par gzhag pa yin no* // PVṬ(Ñe) 71a6. See also *supra* note 21. In order to refer to Śākyabuddhi's interpretation, Jayanta uses this expression again later. Cf. J(Ne) 1b2ff. See also *infra* note 47.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *yang dag par rdzogs pa 'i sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das chos dang chos ma yin pa ston par mdzad pa nam par dpyad par bya ba ma yin pa sgrub par byed pa yin la de nyid ni thams cad kyis btos par bya ba yin pa 'i phyir de la btos pa med par sgrub par byed pa yang rigs pa ma yin no* // J(De) 3b5f.

"Among these [three means of valid cognition], the direct perception is [explained] at first because the production of the perfection for oneself is fundamental. By virtue of this [direct perception], the inference is also valid cognition. Therefore, some verbal behaviour is designated [as 'the inference' for others] metaphorically, because [this behaviour results from] only remembering [the content of the inference for oneself] that the logical reason is pervaded by a certain [object] to be established. Therefore, [Prajñākaragupta] wants to establish that 'the *Parārthānumāna* is [stated] immediately after the *Svārthānumāna*', and explains it [with the epithet:] 'the Saviour'.

Without a common definition to these all three means of valid cognition, one [can] not recognize that the Veda is not a means of valid cognition because it does not satisfy the definition [of valid cognition]. Therefore, in order to establish the common definition, [Prajñākaragupta] explains this [common definition] in the first chapter [concerning the epithet:] 'one who became valid cognition'.<sup>36</sup>

Here, Jayanta asserts that the common definition to the three means of valid cognition, namely the direct perception, the inference for oneself and the inference for others, must be established before explaining those means of valid cognition individually, because one cannot determine whether a means of cognition is valid or not without the common definition. It is the reason why the *Pramāṇasiddhi*-chapter, which explains the Buddha as valid cognition and the common definition of valid cognition, must precede other chapters explaining those means of valid cognition individually. This argument was regarded by later thinkers as a strong confirmation for the assertion that the *Pramāṇasiddhi* should be the first chapter of the *Pramāṇavārttika*. Yamāri, who later criticizes Jayanta's interpretation, takes first this argument as a target of his criticism and refutes it.<sup>37</sup> Later Tibetan scholars also regard this argument as decisive for Jayanta.<sup>38</sup>

At last, he explains the order of the four chapters of the *Pramāṇavārttika* as follows:

"One should rather say: the Lord, whose nature is both conventional and ultimate, and who removes misunderstanding by others, should be established here [at first].

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *de la rang gi don phul du byung ba rtsa ba yin pa'i phyir thog mar mngon sum mo // de'i dbang // du gyur pa'i rjes su dpag pa yang tshad ma yin pas bsrub bya ji lta bas khyab pa'i rtags dran par byed pa nyid kho nas tshig gi tha snyad la nye bar sbyor ba'i phyir rang gi don gyi rjes su dpag pa'i 'og tu gzhan gyi don gyi rjes su dpag pa bsrub par 'dod nas de bstan pa ni skyob la zhes bya ba'o // tshad ma gsum po 'di'i yang spyi'i mtshan nyid med na / rig byed la sogs pa tshad ma ma yin pa mtshan nyid dang bral ba can mi rtogs pa'i phyir tshad ma spyi'i mtshan nyid rab tu sgrub pa'i phyir le'u dang pos te de bstan pa ni tshad mar gyur pa zhes bya ba'o // J(De) 4a4f.*

<sup>37</sup> Cf. *gal te de lta na yang bar du bstan pa'i phyir 'di ci lta ngag dang po yin zhe na / 'di la kha cig na re spyi'i mtshan nyid med par ni / rig byed la sogs pa tshad ma ma yin pa la mtshan nyid mi rtogs pa'i phyir spvi'i mtshan nyid brjod pa'i phyir le'u dang po'o // de nas rang gi don 'phel ba'i rtsa bar gyur bas mngon sum gyi le'u'o // rang don gyi rjes su dpag pa ni mngon sum la rag las pa'i tshad ma yin pas mngon sum gyis 'og tu'o // de'i de ma thag tu ni gzhan don gyi rjes su dpag pa'o // de'i phyir go rim 'di la / rtsod pa 'jug pa ga la yod do zer ro // de'i rjes su rjod par byed pa gzhan dag kyang yod pa ni lha dbang blo la sogs pa ni le'u'i go rim la 'khrul pa yin te / slob dpon gyi rjes su dpag pa dang por bshad pa ni dka'i ba'i phyir // zhes skangs par byed do // de la 'dir rigs pa yal bar dor bar mi nus pas cung zhig brjod do // Y(Phe) 179a6. Here, the *pūrvapakṣa* (underlined) is this second argument by Jayanta. On the other hand, Yamāri's following statement seems to be a criticism of Jayanta's first argument: *rig pa nyid yid ches pa'i rgyu yin no zhe na / go rim de mi rigs pa nyid yin pa ni bla'o // slob dpon gyi ma yin pa ni ma yin te / skyes bu tshad ma zhes bya ba'i sgrub par byed pa ni slob dpon gyi bshad par yang ma yin no // rig pa nyid la yang slob dpon gyis yin pa nyid bka' ba ci yod de // Y(Phe) 179b5ff.**

<sup>38</sup> For example, see dGe 'dun grub's statement in his *Tshad ma'i bstan bcos chen po Rigs pa'i rgyan*. See Kimura 1989: 19f.

[The Lord] perceives the highest entire non-duality, because [he] attains the perfection of the virtues by means of entirely removing whole impurity accompanied with unconscious impressions. Therefore, it is the ultimate truth that his nature is the direct perception. Also in view of the conventional [truth], [cognition] is valid, which is consistent with the [direct perception by the Lord]. In order to recognize it, (Dharmakīrti) distinctively explains the inference for oneself and for others, whose natures are conceptual cognition and words [respectively], which are not inconsistent with the [direct perception by the Lord]."<sup>39</sup>

### 2.2.3. The origin of Jayanta's interpretation

Thus, Jayanta's new interpretation of the order of the chapters of the *Pramāṇavārttika* has a theoretical background; it is not a casual idea. Now, can we ascribe this new interpretation by Jayanta entirely to his originality? In my opinion, the second argument, which later scholars regard as Jayanta's own idea, and for that matter the first argument as well, are not necessarily original to Jayanta. It is because the fundamental idea of his arguments can be traced back to the statements of his great predecessor, Prajñākaragupta.<sup>40</sup>

As for the first argument, which asserts the superiority of the Buddha as valid cognition, Jayanta probably derives his idea from Prajñākaragupta's interpretation of omniscience. Prajñākaragupta says as follows:

"For the very reason, the misunderstanding is removed only by the treatise that the omniscient being revealed, not by other [treatises]. In view of this, only the word of the omniscient being is valid cognition. Therefore, ultimately only the cognition by the omniscient being is valid cognition, [but the cognition] by others is not. [It is] the ultimate truth. <Other [cognition such as the direct perception] is [ultimately] not valid, because it is impossible [for the cognition] to pervade its object. [And] the non-pervading cognition cannot grasp the connection with the effect, etc.> For the causality accompanied by [the cognition] pervading space and time, [namely] the past, the future and the present, is by no means the object of the cognition by the non-omniscient being, because the direct perception grasps only present and near space, and because the inference has no place for [the object of the direct perception]. [Now] how can the omniscience of the author of treatises be recognized? We will explain it later."<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *gzhan yang bcom ldan 'das kun rdzob dang don dam pa'i ngo bo gzhan gyi 'khrul pa sel ba 'dir bsgrub par bya ste / bag chags dang bcas pa'i dri ma thams cad rab tu spangs pa'i phyir yon tan phun sum tshogs pa brnyes pas phul du byung ba dngos po ma lus pa gnyis su med par thugs su chud pa'i phyir mngon sum pa'i bdag nyid can ni don dam par ro // kun rdzob tu yang de dang rjes su mthun pa nyid kyī tshad ma yin par shes pa'i don du de la 'khrul ba med pa'i rnam par rtog pa dang tshig gi ngo bo rang gi don dang gzhan gyi don gyi rjes su dpag pa'i dbye bas bstan te / J(De) 4a7ff.*

<sup>40</sup> Prof. Nagasaki has already assumed in his article that Jina (=Jayanta) followed Prajñākaragupta's criticism of the philosophical school (cf. Nagasaki 1969: 28).

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *ata eva śāstreṇaiva sarvajñoktena mohō nivartate, nānyenety anena prakāreṇa sarvajñavacanam eva pramāṇam iti paramārthataḥ sarvajñajñānam eva pramāṇam, nāparam iti paramārthataḥ.*

*anyasya na pramāṇatvaṃ prameyāvyaṅgyābhavāt / avyāpinā na kāryādisaṃbandhasya pariagrahaḥ (222)*  
*kāryakāraṇabhāvo hy atitānāgatavartamānakāladeśavyāpīśāhacaryarūpo na khalv asarvajñajñānasya viśayaḥ, vartamānasaṃnihitadeśamātragrahaṇāt pratyaḥśasyānumānasya cānavatārāt. sarvajñatvaṃ kathaṃ jñāyate śāstrakārasya cet. tad uttaratra vakṣyāmaḥ. PVA 29,26-31.*



Here, Prajñākaragupta explains the fundamentality of omniscience in his epistemological system. According to him, ultimately only omniscience, which can pervade the whole time and space, can recognize causality fully. And the inference, whose basis is the invariable concomitance, depends on the causality. Therefore, the inference ultimately must presuppose the omniscient being, the Buddha as valid cognition.<sup>42</sup> I think, Jayanta presents his first argument on the basis of this idea of Prajñākaragupta.<sup>43</sup>

Concerning Jayanta's second argument, which asserts that the common definition must precede an explanation of the direct perception and the inference, we can also find the origin of this argument in Prajñākaragupta's statement. At the beginning of the *Pratyakṣa*-chapter of his *Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra* he says as follows:

"After [Dharmakīrti] explained the common definition in this way [in the *Pramāṇasiddhi*-chapter], he has talked about particular definitions, [following Dignāga's statement:] 'the direct perception and the inference are valid cognition'.<sup>44</sup> "<sup>45</sup>

This statement probably leads to Jayanta's second argument. Jayanta really suggests that he derives his second argument from Prajñākaragupta's statement. Jayanta says in the *Pratyakṣa*-chapter of his commentary as follows:

"The commentator and the listener<sup>46</sup> [explained as follows:] '[Dharmakīrti] explains the inference in the first chapter, which becomes a means of the explanation of the treatise by the teacher [Dignāga]. [In] the second chapter [he] establishes valid cognition by [the explanation of] the first half of the verse: 'one who became valid cognition' [etc.]. [In] the third [chapter] [he] explains the direct perception.' [But Prajñākaragupta] considers [it] as absurd, because [this] does not explain the [true] meaning [of the order of the chapters]. Therefore, he says: 'the common definition in this way'.<sup>47</sup>

Namely, according to Jayanta, in the statement: 'after [Dharmakīrti] explained the common definition in this way', Prajñākaragupta asserts that the philological school's interpretation of the order of the chapters is wrong and the *Pramāṇasiddhi* should be the first chapter of the *Pramāṇavārttika*.

In addition to these points, it is also noteworthy that Jayanta refers in his second argument to Prajñākaragupta's statement in the fourth chapter of his *Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra*, which sug-

<sup>42</sup> According to Prof. Nagin J. Shah, the author of the *Siddhiviniścayaṭīkā* regards Prajñākaragupta as the Buddhist representative who asserted that the yogic perception is the means of cognising the invariable concomitance. See Shah, S. Nagin (1967), *Akalaṅka's criticism of Dharmakīrti's Philosophy - a Study* -, Ahmedabad, 263.

<sup>43</sup> Strictly speaking, the concept of the omniscient being which Prajñākaragupta presents here might correspond to the *sarvasarvajña*, whereas Jayanta seems to describe the Buddha as the *pradhānārthajña* in his statement (cf. *supra* note 35).

<sup>44</sup> Cf. *mngon sum dang ni tjes su dpag // tshad ma 'o* PS 1b3.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. *evaṃ sāmānyalakṣaṇam abhidhāya viśeṣalakṣaṇam āha: pratyakṣam anumānaṃ ca pramāṇe*. PVA 169,3.

<sup>46</sup> These expressions are not clear for me. I tentatively assume that 'the commentator ('*chad pa po*') and 'the listener (*nyan pa po*') mean Śākyabuddhi and Devendrabuddhi respectively.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. *slob dpon gyi gzhung 'chad pa'i thabs su gyur pa'i le'u dang pos ni tjes su dpag pa 'chad / le'u gnyis pa tshad ma yang dag ces bya ba'i tshig su bcad pa phyed kyis ni tshad ma grub pa // gsum pa ni mngon sum 'chad pa yin no zhes 'chad pa po dang nyan pa po sbyor par byed pa ma yin te / don mngon par ma bjod pa'i phyir ro zhes bya ba'i dgongs pas / de ltar spyi'i mtshan nyid ces bya ba smos so // J(Ne) 1b2ff.*

gests that the *Svārthānumāna* should be located immediately before the *Parārthānumāna*-chapter.<sup>48</sup>

As shown above, Jayanta's new interpretation depends heavily on Prajñākaragupta's statements. We can say that Jayanta's interpretation that the *Pramāṇasiddhi* should be the first chapter is not necessarily original to him, but derives from Prajñākaragupta's idea. We recognize that Prajñākaragupta plays an important role in Jayanta's new interpretation. But Prajñākaragupta's suggestions are fragmentary at the most. It is Jayanta who collects these suggestions and constructs a concrete interpretation regarding the order of the chapters of the *Pramāṇavārttika*. In this sense, the main advocate of the assertion that the *Pramāṇasiddhi* should be the first chapter is none other than Jayanta.

### 2.3. Yamāri and Ravigupta's view

Jayanta's new interpretation was criticized at great length by Yamāri, the second commentator of Prajñākaragupta.<sup>49</sup> An interesting question is this: Why does Yamāri, who seems to be an orthodox successor of Prajñākaragupta's thought, raise an objection to Jayanta's new interpretation, which derives from Prajñākaragupta's new interpretation of Dharmakīrti's philosophy? A detailed investigation of this question must be left for future research, because Yamāri's criticism of Jayanta's view is very comprehensive and elaborate. We can say at least that Yamāri, and Ravigupta as well, have a different opinion from scholars of the philological school with respect to the reason why the *Svārthānumāna* is the first chapter, although they generally follow the philological school's view on the order of the chapters. For example, Yamāri says:

"As for the four noble truths, which will be explained [later], one cannot easily understand [them] without the explanation of the inference. Therefore, it is right to explain the inference at first [in the *Pramāṇavārttika*]."<sup>50</sup>

Ravigupta states similarly:

"In this way, (Dharmakīrti) explains the Maṅgala-verse [of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*] clearly in the second chapter [of the *Pramāṇavārttika*], because, in order to strive for the four noble truths, these [four noble truths] should be explained, after the inference was established [at the *Svārthānumāna*]."<sup>51</sup>

Thus, in both cases, the reason why the *Svārthānumāna*-chapter is located at the top is that the

<sup>48</sup> See *supra* note 25; 36.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Y(Phe) 179a6-191a7. For example, Yamāri refers to the name 'Jayanta' in the following: "Therefore, the teacher Devendrabuddhi did not misunderstand. The rejection by Jayanta and his epigones is not necessary at all. Therefore, it is best to [consider the traditional order] as [the order] by the teacher [Dharmakīrti himself]." (cf. *de'i phyir slob dpon lHa dbang blo 'khrul pa ma yin no // Dza yā nta dang des yongs su zin pa'i bshad pa byed pa dag lan dgos pa yang med do // des na slob dpon gyi yin pa mchog go //* Y(Phe) 181a6f.); "It is not possible to say that [Prajñākaragupta], intending to explain the very *Pramāṇasiddhi*-chapters at the top of the whole [work], talks about the very purpose [of the treatise here], because Jayanta's opinion was refuted comprehensively." (cf. *tshad ma grub pa'i le'u nyid thams cad kyi dang por bstan pa'i bsam pas gtso bo'i don nyid du brjod pa yin no zhes kyang smra bar mi nus te // Dza yā nta'i 'dod pa rgya cher sun phyung pa'i phyir ro //* Y(Phe) 197b7).

<sup>50</sup> Cf. *'chad par 'gyur ba 'phags pa'i bden pa bzhi po nam su rjes su dpag pa bstan pa ma gtogs* (corrected: *rtogs*) *par bde blag du mi rtogs pa'i phyir rjes su dpag pa dang por bshad pa'i rigs so //* Y(Phe) 191a1f.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. *de ltar 'phags pa'i bden pa bzhi la 'jug pa yin pa'i phyir rjes su dpag pa rnam par bzhag nas de nyid bstan par bya ba'i phyir le'u gnyis pas phyag 'tshal ba'i tshigs su bcad pa gsal bar bshad par mdzad do //* R 293b2f.

knowledge of the inference is indispensable to understanding the four noble truths.<sup>52</sup> In the case of the philological school, the *Svārthānumāna* must be located at the top basically because the inference is the ground for explaining the whole of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. Śākyabuddhi, to be sure, also asserted that the *Svārthānumāna* is at the top because the inference is the ground for explaining 'the Buddha's word' such as the four noble truths. For him, however, the inference as valid cognition is more fundamental than the Buddha's word as valid cognition. In the case of Yamāri and Ravigupta, the situation of these two means of valid cognition seems to be reversed. For these two thinkers, the inference must be explained in advance in order to understand the four noble truths as the Buddha's word, and the Buddha as valid cognition is, of course, more fundamental than the inference as valid cognition. In this point, we probably could recognize a difference between Śākyabuddhi's view and Yamāri's/Ravigupta's view.<sup>53</sup>

### 3. Conclusion

In the foregoing sections, we have sketched out the development of the interpretation of the order of the chapters of the *Pramāṇavārttika* among the Indian Dharmakīrti-commentators. We have examined the philological school's interpretation, Jayanta's criticism of the philological school's interpretation, and Jayanta's new interpretation and its origin. Finally, I will summarize this paper, and make an additional remark:

It is Jayanta, who first explicitly asserted that the *Pramāṇasiddhi* should be the first chapter of the *Pramāṇavārttika*. He criticizes Śākyabuddhi's interpretation and presents his new interpretation. Jayanta's interpretation, however, depends heavily on Prajñākaragupta's idea. In this sense, Jayanta's interpretation can be regarded as a further extension of Prajñākaragupta's new interpretation of Dharmakīrti's philosophy.

In view of Prajñākaragupta's interpretation of the Buddha as valid cognition, which is an important factor of Jayanta's new interpretation, the school Prajñākaragupta founded is appropriately referred to as 'the religious school'. In view of Yamāri's and Ravigupta's interpretation, which seemingly follows the philological school's opinion, we can ascertain that their interpretation is essentially different from the philological school's interpretation and is suitable to be designated as 'religious'. Thus, it is quite appropriate, following Prof. Stcherbatsky, to designate the school, which Prajñākaragupta founded, and to which Ravigupta, Jayanta and Yamāri belong, as 'the religious school', in contrast with the school to which Devendrabuddhi and Śākyabuddhi belong.

<sup>52</sup> According to Prof. Kuijp, Go ram pa thinks that Yamāri's and Ravigupta's opinions are found in their interpretation on Dharmakīrti's statement '*arthānarthavivecanasya*' (cf. Kuijp 1979). But I could not find the corresponding statements in their commentaries. Nevertheless, it is sure that their opinions correspond to one of the six interpretations concerning '*arthānartha*', which Karṇakagomin enumerates (cf. PVSVT 7,23-27). I would like to thank Prof. Shōryū Katsura, who kindly informed me of this passage of the PVSVT.

<sup>53</sup> I think it is possible to designate Yamāri's and Ravigupta's view as 'religico-metaphysical', as Prof. Kuijp did. Cf. Kuijp 1979: 17f.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- J *Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāraṭīkā* (Jayanta) : D 4222, Vol.7-8, Tshad ma, De 1b1-365a7; Ne 1b1-312a7.
- PS *Pramāṇasamuccaya* (Dignāga) : D 4203, Vol.1, Tshad ma, Ce 1b1-13a1.
- PSV *Pramāṇāsamuccayavṛtti* (Dignāga) : D 4203, Vol.1, Tshad ma, Ce 14b1-85b4.
- PV *Pramāṇavārttika* (Dharmakīrti) : *Pramāṇavārttikakārikā* (Sanskrit and Tibetan). Ed. Y. Miyasaka. Acta Indologica 2 (1971/72), 1-206. (The chapter I, II, III, IV of our order correspond to the chapters III, I, II, IV in Miyasaka's edition).
- PVSV *The Pramāṇavārttikam of Dharmakīrti, the first chapter with the autocommentary*. Ed. R. Gnoli. Roma 1960.
- PVSVṬ *Pramāṇavārttika(sva)vṛttiṭīkā* (Kaṇḍakagomin) : *Ācārya Dharmakīrteḥ Pramāṇavārttikam (Svārthāṇu-mānaparicchedaḥ) svopajñavṛtṭyā Kaṇḍakagomiviracitayā Taṭṭīkayā ca sahitam*. Ed. Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana. Allahabad 1943.
- PVA *Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra* (Prajñākaragupta) : *Pramāṇavārttikabhāṣyam (Vārttikālaṃkāraḥ) Prajñākaraguptena viracitam*. Ed. Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana. Patna 1953.
- PVin I *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, Kapitel I (Dharmakīrti) : Tilmann Vetter: *Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇaviniścayaḥ. I. Kapitel: Pratyakṣam. Einleitung, Text der tibetischen Übersetzung, Sanskritfragmente, deutsche Übersetzung*. Wien 1964.
- PVinṬ *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā* (Dharmottara) : D 4229, Vol.15, Tshad ma, Dse 1b1-289a7.
- PVP *Pramāṇavārttikapañjikā* (Devendrabuddhi) : D 4217, Vol.2, Tshad ma, Che 1b1-326b4.
- PVṬ *Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā* (Śākyabuddhi) : D 4220, Vol.3-4, Tshad ma, Je 1b1-328a7; Ñe 1b1-282a7.
- PVṬŚāñ *Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā* (Śāṅkarānanda) : D 4223, Vol.9, Tshad ma, Pe 1b1-293a7.
- PVV *Pramāṇavārttikavṛtti* (Manorathanandin) : *Ācārya-Dharmakīrteḥ Pramāṇavārttikam Ācārya-Manorathanandikṛtāyā vṛtṭyā saṃvalitam*. Ed. Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana. Patna 1938-1940.
- Y *Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāraṭīkā Suparīśuddhi* (Yamāri) : D 4226, Vol.10-13, Tshad ma, Phe 174b1-287a7; Be 1b1-261a7; Me 1b1-328a7; Tse 1b1-251a7.
- R *Pramāṇavārttikavṛtti* (Ravigupta) : D 4224, Vol.9, Tshad ma, Pe 293b1-398a7.

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# APROPOS OF SOME FOREIGN ELEMENTS IN THE KĀLACAKRATANTRA

by

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The presence of foreign elements – of non-Indian origin – in the Kālacakratantra literature testifies to an evident connection with the Islamic world.

The theory put forward in the past by Helmut Hoffmann<sup>1</sup> about the Central Asian origin of the Kālacakratantra literature, and about its syncretism of Zoroastrian, Manichean and Christian elements has since been definitively discarded.

Subsequent research has demonstrated, in fact, that the Kālacakratantra, which was the last Buddhist tantric cycle to be developed in India, is deeply rooted in the culture of ancient Indian civilisation and that the foreign matrix elements preserved in its literature are the result of direct contacts with Islamic culture and religion.

In this brief essay I will analyse some passages of the *Laghukālacakratantra* containing noteworthy elements that will allow us some further considerations on the nature and origin of these contacts.

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In stanza 154 of the first chapter of the *Laghukālacakratantra* we find a list of the names of the demons who will propagate the barbarian dharma:

*Adam, Noah and Abraham; there are also five others endowed with tamas in the family of demons and snake: Moses, Jesus, the White-Clad One, Muhammad and Mathanī – the eighth – who will belong to the darkness. The seventh will clearly be born in the city of Baghdad in the land of Mecca, where the mighty, ferocious idol of the barbarian, the demonic incarnation, lives in the world.<sup>2</sup>*

This stanza was translated for the first time in 1969 by Helmut Hoffmann in an essay in which the German scholar evinced great skill in tracing the original Arabic names, although some of his conclusions on the Christian and Manichean influences, as mentioned above, are unsustainable today.

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<sup>1</sup> This theory is to be found in many of Hoffmann works but is elaborated in detail in his essay of 1969.

<sup>2</sup> Skr: *Ādro 'nogho varāhi danubhujagakule tāmasānye 'pi pañca | mūṣeṣau śvetavastrī madhumatimathanī yo 'ṣṭamaḥ so 'ndhakaḥ syāt | saṃbhūtiḥ saptamasya sphuṭamakhaviṣaye bāgadādau nagaryāṇi/ yasyāṇi loke 'surāṅgo nivasati balavān nirdayo mlecchamūrtiḥ* / in Hoffmann 1969: 56. Tibetan translation by Buston: *Ā (kla klo 'i chos dar bar byed pa 'i ston pa 'byung tshul ni) dra (phyed zer) ano (shid po nad med) gha dang (rlabs min zer) phag ldan (te gsum po ni) lha min (gyi rigs so) lag 'gro 'i (klu) rigs la mun pa (las sgyes pa) can ni (de las) gzhan yang (rnam pa) lnga ste // byi ba (dang) dbang po (dang) 'gos dkar can dang sbrang rtsi 'i blo gros (dang) joms byed ni brgyad pa (ste lnga po) gang (yin pa) de rnam mun pa (yi sbye gnas las sgyes pa) can no // gsal bar (te nges par) makha 'i (ste sog po) yul gyi bāgadā (ste ngag sbyin pa) sogs pa 'i grong khyer du ni (kla klo de rnam kyi) bdun pa (padma can gos dkar can la) 'chad kyang 'dir sbran rtsi 'i blo gros) yang dag (par) sgyes pa ste // (des kla klo 'i chos dar bar byed do) // gang (blo gros de 'i yul ni yul) du 'jig rten (na) lha min yan lag (bdud phyogs) stobs dang ldan par gnas shing (sems can la) brtse ba med pa kla klo 'i gzugs (te rnam pa 'am rang bzhin no) //* in Bu ston, 1, Ka. 40-41.

Later in 1987 John Newman studied the stanza anew giving a cogent translation of the text on the basis of the anonymous *Padminīnāmapañjikā*, and of the commentary by Bu ston and mKhas grub rje.<sup>3</sup>

I do not have much to add to his interpretation, except to say that I am more inclined to think that Anogho (=Noghaḥ) stands for Noah and not for Enoch, which Newman found more probable.

Therefore here we have the following list: Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, the White Clad One, Muhammad, and Mathanī, the Concealed One.

In my opinion these names are not random elements deriving from a not clearly identifiable heterogeneous milieu, but belong to a precise cultural context.

Six of these names, in fact, correspond to those of the great messengers-prophets (*ulū'l-'azm*, the "decision men") of Islamic prophethood (Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muhammad) who, according to tradition, had been sent with the mission (*risālat*) of enunciating a *shari'at*, a new divine law that superseded the preceding one, a "*nobowwat altashri*" or legislative prophecy.<sup>4</sup>

This concept had great prominence in the context of the prophetic philosophy of the unorthodox Shi'ite esoteric traditions, where these prophets were the object of special worship. In the Shi'ite heresy, particularly in the Isma'ilite tradition, time is divided in seven great cycles, each characterised by its own great prophet-guide (*Nātiq*).<sup>5</sup> The last *Nātiq* is the Imam of the Resurrection (*Qa'im*), corresponding to al-Mahdi, the twelfth concealed Imam of Twelve-Imam Shi'ism. He will not bring a new *shari'at*, but will reveal the hidden meaning of the Revelations, unleashing the great turmoil that this will imply, and pave the way to the future cycle of the epiphany.

Let us now turn to the two other names on this list: Svetavastrī, the White-Clad One, and Mathanī, the Concealed One.

Hoffmann assumed that Svetavastrī was Mani, and this idea became the cornerstone of his theory that the Kālacakratra originated outside India. In many of his publications the German scholar repeated his theory as fact,<sup>6</sup> and this induced other scholars to believe that the Kālacakra preserved several Manichean elements.<sup>7</sup>

This hypothesis was later convincingly rejected by Newman, who reasserted that the Kālacakratra originated in India and not outside, not somewhere "in the far Northwest", as Hoffmann had assumed in his theory of Manichean contacts.<sup>8</sup> The American scholar also suggested

<sup>3</sup> Newman 1987: 594-614.

<sup>4</sup> On the prophetic philosophy of the Muslim Shi'ite tradition see Corbin 1964: 53-92.

<sup>5</sup> Corbin 1964: 132.

<sup>6</sup> Hoffmann H. (1956), *Die Religionen Tibets*. Freiburg, Karl Alber, 41; Hoffmann H. (1960), "Manichaeism and Islam in the Buddhist Kālacakra System", in *Proceedings of the IXth International Congress for the History of Religions, Tokyo and Kyoto*, Tokyo, 98-99; Hoffmann H. (1964), "Das Kālacakra die letzte Phase des Buddhismus in Indien", *Saeculum* 15, 125-131; Hoffmann H. (1967), "Hinduism und Buddhismus von Ashoka bis zur mohamedanischen Eroberung", *Saeculum Weltgeschichte* 3, 406; Hoffmann H. (1975), *Tibet: A Handbook*. Bloomington, IN: Research Center for the Language Sciences, Indiana University, 142.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Boin-Webb S. (1983), "Review of Indianisme et Bouddhisme", *Buddhist Studies Review* 1, 53-59; Ries J. (1986), "Buddhism and Manichaeism: The Stages of an Inquiry", *Buddhist Studies Review* 3, 108-124.

<sup>8</sup> Newman 1987: 604. On the Indian origin of the Kālacakra system and its syncretism of different elements deriving

that Svetavastrī might refer to the Angel Gabriel who revealed the *Kur'ān* to Muhammad.<sup>9</sup>

Although we cannot be certain in this regard, I believe that this idea gains in significance if we accept the hypothesis that the list of names pertains to Islamic esoteric gnoseology. As is well known, in Muslim prophetology the figure of the Angel of the Revelation is fundamental, as the divine initiation of the prophets into the supreme gnosis always takes place through angelic mediation.

Nevertheless we have to consider the possibility that the term "White-Clad One" may reflect a derivation from the sect of the Sapīd Jāmagān, the "White-Clad Ones", a proto-Shi'ite revolutionary movement that arose in Khorasan at the end of the eighth century, following the heretical Veiled Prophet, al Muqanna.<sup>10</sup> According to the Arab historian Ibn Hazn, this was one of the groups that gave rise to the extreme Shi'a currents.<sup>11</sup>

Then, regarding *Mathanī* there are two observations to be made:

First, this term in Sanskrit has a clear meaning ( $\sqrt{\text{mathanin}}$ , n. *mathanī*): 'destroyer', or 'oppressor', 'agitator', and in fact it was accepted with this meaning by the Tibetans (*joms byed* or *khrug byed*).

Second, we have to consider that *al-Mathānī* is a term which occurs twice in the *Kur' ān*, namely in *Sūra*, xv, 87 and *Sūra*, xxxix, 24.<sup>12</sup> It is a metaphorical term, whose interpretation gave some difficulty to the Muslim commentators of the *Kur'ān* and gave origin to different theories. Even if it derives from the Hebrew *mishnāh* or the Syriac or the Aramaic *mathnāthā*, it must have been influenced by the Arabic *mathnā*, 'repeated'. Therefore the best translation of this term is the 'repetition', and connotes the revelation bestowed to Muhammad, the *Kur'ān* itself as a whole. Furthermore it must be noted that *mishnā* means a single law as well as the whole codex and this could be the source of the double meaning of *mathānī* (separate verses and the whole *Kur'ān*), a derivation which could be supported by the parallel meaning of the work *Kur'ān* (single revelation and all revelation as a whole).<sup>13</sup>

In this case I think we are confronted with a foreign Islamic word readapted to the meaning of its homophone in the Indian language.

from diverse Hindu traditions in reaction to the Islamic threat see also Hadano S. (1987), *Chibetto Indo Gakushūsei*, vol. 3, I (India), Hōzōkan, Kyoto, 6-9. However the date proposed by the Japanese scholar for the formation of the Kālacakratāntra in India is, in my opinion, questionable.

<sup>9</sup> Newman 1987: 609.

<sup>10</sup> The facts connected with the rebellion started by this singular personage are narrated in the *Ta'rikh Bukkhārā* (*History of Bukhara*) by Narshakhī, compiled in the tenth cent. A.D. on the basis of older historical records. On the movement of the White-Clad Ones the reader is referred to Jakubovskij, A. Ju. (1948), "Vosstanie Mukanny, Dvizvenie Ijudej v 'belyh odezdah'" ["The Rebellion by Muqanna' and the Movement of the White-Clad Ones"], *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie*, V, Moskow, 35-54.

<sup>11</sup> "From these baneful roots [the rebels Sunbād, Ustādsīs, Al Muqanna, Babak] sprang up the Ismailites and the Karmatians, two sections who publicly renounce Islam altogether and profess not only pure Magism but also the doctrine of Mazdak" in Friedlander, J. (1907), "The Heterodoxies of the Shiites according to Ibn Hazn", *JOAS* XXVIII, 37.

<sup>12</sup> "And we have brought thee seven of the Mathānī, and the noble Kur'ān" (*S.* xv, 87); "Allāh sent down the most beautiful recital, a book which is in harmony with itself, Mathānī, at which the skin of those who fear their Lord creeps" (*S.* xxxix, 24).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam* V: 410, s.v. *al-Mathānī*.

Besides, it is important to note that the personification of abstract concepts is a recurrent element in Islamic heresy. Furthermore in the *Laghukālacakratantra* the name Mathanī is qualified as hidden, invisible, lit. "the one who will belong to the darkness" (Skr. *andhakaḥ syat*, Tib. *mun pa can*) which might lead to conjecture a possible connection with the hidden Imam of the Islamic Shi'ite tradition.<sup>14</sup>

The last *pāda* of stanza 154 presents some inaccurate geographical information: obviously Muhammad was not born in Baghdad – that was founded in 762 A.D. – and Baghdad is not a city in the land of Mecca. I think that Newman is right when he observes that: "it is easily understandable that a writer of the 11th century in India, just beyond the fringes of the Muslim conquest, could have made Mecca (the birthplace of Muhammad and Islam's holiest city) into a country and then placed in it Baghdad – the political centre of the Islamic world".<sup>15</sup>

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Let us now examine another noteworthy element, found in *Laghukālacakratantra*, I, 163, on the apocalyptic conflict between the Cakravartin king and the hordes of barbarians at the end of time.

This battle is interpreted by the tradition as an allegory between the forces of good and the evil and presents affinities with Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, a text that became very popular in Europe during the Middle Ages.

*The supreme ferocious warriors shall smite the barbarian hordes. The lords of elephants shall smite the elephants, the [steady as a] rock horses shall smite the horses of Sind, the earth lords shall smite the earth lords in equal and unequal combat. Hanūmān, son of Mahācandra, shall smite Aśvatthāmā with sharp weapons. Rudra shall smite the protector of the barbarian lords, the master of all the demons. Raudra Kalkī shall smite Kṛmāti. [The Tibetan text adds:] It is a mistake to explain that Kṛmāti and the master of the demons are identical.*<sup>16</sup>

I would like to focus attention on the name of Kṛmāti, the last demon to be smitten by Raudra Kalkī.

This name recurs in stanza 48 of the second chapter of the *Laghukālacakratantra* and in its commentary, the *Vimalaprabhā*:

<sup>14</sup> The possibility that Mathanī corresponds to the hidden Mahdi was first suggested by Fenner, E. (1979), *Rasayana Siddhi: Medicine and Alchemy in the Buddhist Tantras*. Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 93-94, 262, who attributed this theory to Hoffmann. But, as Newman too has observed, Hoffmann never took such a hypothesis into consideration. This idea, in any case, is worth considering, as there seems to be a correspondence between the Islamic elements found in the Kālacakratantra and the kind of soteriology found among the Shi'a.

<sup>15</sup> Newman 1987: 612-613.

<sup>16</sup> Skr. *Hantavyaṃ mleccchavṛndaṃ varakuṭakabhaṭair varaṇendrain gaḥajānāṃ| śailāśvaiḥ saindhavānāṃ samaviṣa-marāṇe pāṛthivaiḥ pāṛthivānām | aśvatthāmā mahācandranayanahanūmāṃs tīkṣṇaśāstrairhanīsyat | rudro mleccchendranāthaṃ sakaladanupatiṃ kṛmātiṃ raudrakalkī|* Cf. LKC, I, 163 p. 155. Annotated Tibetan translation by Bu ston: *De yang rigs ldan gyi ('khor gyi) mchog tu tsha (ba ste nyam nga ba 'am dpa') ba 'i dpa' bo rnam kyis kla klo 'i tshogs la bsnun (par) bya zhin glang po 'i dbang pos (kla klo 'i) glang po la (bsnun no)|| rdo yi rta yis (kla klo 'i) rta rnam la ste mnyam dang mi mnyam (dpung 'thab pa 'i) g.yul du sa skyon (dgu bcu rtsa drug) rnam kyis (kla klo 'i 'khor gyi) sa skyon la (bsnun no)|| rta (kla klo 'i) dmag dpon la gnas bzla ba chen po 'i bu (rigs ldan gyi 'khor) ni ha nu manthas rnon po 'i mshon gyis bsnun par 'gyur || drag po (dbang phyugs chen pos ) kla klo 'i dbang (po 'i) mgon (po la bsnun par 'gyur) mtha dag lha min bdag po byis pa 'i blo (lha min bdag po dang byis pa 'i) blo gcig tu 'chad pa ni 'khrul pa ste) la drag po 'i rigs ldan gyis (bsnun te)*. Cf. Bu ston, I, Ka, 45.



...He who [externally] is *Kṛmāti*, the giver of suffering, [in the body is] the path of non-virtuous action.<sup>17</sup>

Until now no interpretation has been given of the name *Kṛmāti*, whose literary meaning in Sanskrit is "active intellect".

I think we are confronted here with a case of the readaptation in a Buddhist-tantric context of a term belonging to Muslim philosophy. As is well known "Active Intelligence" (*Aql fa' 'āl*) is a key term in Islamic philosophy and played an important role in the speculations of the so-called *Falāsīfa* or Islamic Hellenistic philosophers on the interpretation of Aristotle's *noūs poietikòs*.

Besides, we have to observe that the "Active Intelligence" recurs very frequently in Ismailite esoteric gnoseology, where it is identified with the Holy Spirit or with Gabriel, the Angel of Revelation.<sup>18</sup>

In the Tibetan versions this name was translated literally as *byed pa 'i blo* or *byas pa 'i blo*,<sup>19</sup> the "active mind".

Nevertheless in other translations we find the reading *byis pa 'i blo*<sup>20</sup> – that looks like an erroneous interpretation of the first translation – probably because "childish mind of the novice" made more sense in the eyes of the Tibetan translators.

Newman, analysing stanza 48 of *Laghukālacakrantra*, II, thought that *Kṛmāti* was another name for *Mathanī*, but I cannot see any reason for such an identification.<sup>21</sup>

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Further interesting information on the *Mleccha* is found in the second chapter of the *Laghukālacakrantra* in stanza 99 and in the *Vimalaprabhā* where reference is made to the white clothing of the Muslim ascetics (*śvetaṃ mlecchānāṃ tapasvinaṃ*, Tib. *kla klo rnam kyī ni dkar po 'o de rnam kyang dka' thub pa rnam kyī ste*).<sup>22</sup>

Due to the fact that in the *Vimalaprabhā*, the commentary to this stanza specifies that just as Buddhist ascetics wear red, the barbarian ascetics wear white – but this does not apply to lay followers of the respective religions (Skr. *grhastha*, Tib. *khyim pa*) who do not have any fixed rule of clothing – Newman conjectures that the ascetics in question are *Ṣūfīs*.

But this hypothesis is, in my opinion, unlikely because, as Newman himself states, *Sufism* was brought to India at the beginning of the thirteenth cent. in the wake of the invading Turkish armies, while we know that the *Laghukālacakrantra* was composed between the last years of

<sup>17</sup> Skr. ...*akuśalāpatha yaḥ kṛmātir duḥkhadātā*. Cf. LKC II, 48d, p. 183. Tibetan translation by Bu ston: ...*gang zhig byis pa 'i blo gros sdug bsngal sbyin byed mi dge lam*. Bu ston, Ka, 59. It is quoted again in chapter V of the *LKC*. Cf. the translation by Buston, in Bu ston, 3, Ga, 200-201.

<sup>18</sup> See Corbin 1964: 126.

<sup>19</sup> See the Tibetan translation by Shong stong rDo rje rGyal mtshan of the *Laghukālacakrantra* and the *Vimalaprabhā* reproduced in the various editions of the *bKa' 'gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur*.

<sup>20</sup> See Bu ston, 1, Ka, 59 and Bu ston 3, Ga, 200-201. In mKhas grub rje's commentary *dPal dus kyī 'khor lo 'i 'grel chen dri ma med pa 'i 'od kyī rgya cher bshad pa de kho na nyid snang bar byed pa* we find both readings: *byas pa 'y blo* (1102, 5-6) and *byis pa 'i blo* (1103, 1-3). Cf. mKhas grub dGe legs dpal bzang, *Yab sras gsung 'bum: mKhas grub*, Kha. Dharamsala, Tibetan Cultural Printing Press (Shes rig bar khang) 1983, 97-1113.

<sup>21</sup> Newman 1987: 611.

<sup>22</sup> LKC, II, 99 p. 223; VP, II, 5, 99, p. 223; VP II, 7, 164, p. 259. Cf. Newman 1987: 606-609.

the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. (in the sexagenary cycle from 967 to 1026 A.D.).<sup>23</sup>

Moreover, it is not attested that Sufis wore a white robe. One of the possible etymons of the term Sūfi is the Arab *suf* that means wool, which would allude to the Sufis' custom, at the beginning of their movement, to distinguish themselves by wearing a coarse woollen cloak. However this is only one of the hypotheses put forward by Arab grammarians on the origin of this term; another suggests that the term *suf* is a transcription of the Greek *sophos*, wise man.<sup>24</sup> Therefore we cannot draw such a simple conclusion regarding the identification of the Mleccha ascetics mentioned in the Kālacakra.

Another interpretation of this term could lead to think that the Islamic white-clad ascetics are in some way connected with the Sapīd Jāmagān (White-Clad Ones), the proto-Shiite heretical movement mentioned above. Furthermore, we know that the initiatory robe is a custom widespread in many Islamic sects, such as for example among the Karmatians, as we will see below, and the Druses where still nowadays initiates wear different clothes to distinguish them from lay people.

At this point it is necessary to take into consideration the fact that around the tenth century (in the fourth century of the Muslim era) the Northern territories of India were seized by some colonies of Malāḥida, a term used by Muslim historians for heretics or sectarians, including Isma'iliya, the Karmatians, the Khaṭṭābiya and the Sapīd Jāmagān. It is now well known that India at that time represented a place of refuge for heretical groups in flight. According to the first western scholars of Shi'ite literature the Isma'ilites were the most ancient Islamic group in India.<sup>25</sup>

All these heterodox movements were characterised by a strong syncretism of elements of different origin: Hellenistic gnosis, Hermetism, Qabbala, and Iranian religion. Through the fervid activity of translation from Greek and Syriac at the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth, Greek thought, or, better, a mixture of Aristotelism and Neoplatonism, penetrated the Islamic world and was absorbed enthusiastically by the heretic Shi'a groups.

Among these extreme Shi'a groups special attention must be made of the Karmatians, a name applied to a dissident Muslim group that broke away from the Isma'ilī movement with which they were first connected. In a strict sense this name was given to the rebel federations of Arabs and Nabataeans that were organised in lower Mesopotamia after the servile war of the Zandi from 877 A.D. and based on a system of communism into which initiation was necessary. In the broader sense, the name Karmatians means the great movement for social reform and justice based on equality, which swept through the Islamic world from the ninth to the twelfth centuries and was used by the Muslim orthodoxy in a wider and derogatory sense to include all the Ismā'ilīyah.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> On the period of composition of the *Laghukālacakratāntra* see Orofino G. (1994), *Sekoddeśa. A Critical Edition of the Tibetan Translations*. With an Appendix by Raniero Gnoli on the Sanskrit Text. Roma, Is. MEO, 15-16.

<sup>24</sup> Corbin 1964: 262.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. W. Ivanow (1922), *Ismailitica*. Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Calcutta, The Baptist Mission Press, The Asiatic Society, 50, fn. 2.

<sup>26</sup> Ismail K. Poonawala, "Qaramitah", in *The Encyclopedia of Religions*. (Mircea Eliade ed.), New York, Macmillan Publishing Company, 1987, 126-128; L. Massignon, "Karmatians", in *Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam* IV, 767.

About the Karmatians we know that they formulated a new synthesis of reason and revelation based on Neoplatonic cosmology and Shi'a doctrine. They offered a new world order under the Imam, who resembles Plato's philosopher-king. Furthermore they marked the dawn of Muslim philosophic reflection ensuing on its contact with Hellenistic science: by the systematic employment of the word '*akl*', intelligence, to designate the principle of individuation which constitutes man.<sup>27</sup>

The classic formulation of this synthesis is found in the well-known Hellenistic Encyclopaedia (in a sense more Neoplatonic and Hermetic-Pythagorean than Aristotelian) entitled *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā*, the *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity*, composed in southern Mesopotamia in the first half of the tenth century.

As reported by de Goeje: "*They had regular meetings for teaching the Ismailian doctrine. The Kur'ān had not lost its sacred character with them; but it was to be read according to its spiritual meaning. They dressed in white and had white banners, symbolising the religion of light which they professed, and the purity of life required of its followers.*"<sup>28</sup>

According to Islamic sources it was the Karmatians themselves who introduced the Islamic *dawat* in Multan in the fourth century of the Hijra, rapidly conquering the region of Sind and converting many Hindus to their faith. As several scholars have observed these Ismailite sects did not gain in strength only through the influx of refugees but also by conversions.<sup>29</sup>

Al Maqdasi visited Multan in A.H. 375 (A.D. 985) and found that its people were Shi'as.<sup>30</sup> Visiting India about A.H. 424 (A.D. 1033) Al Birūni says that the rise of the Karmatians preceded his time by "about one hundred years".<sup>31</sup>

When Mahmud of Ghaznī entered India in A.D. 1002, colonies of Malāḥidas or Karmatians were already established in the Northern regions. It is recorded that his assaults were directed not only against the Hindus but also against the Muslim "heretics", accused of being "infidels" like the others. Historical Arabic sources tell us that during his raids on Multan in 1006 and 1010 A.D. Mahmud imprisoned the Ismā'ili amīr Abū Futū Dāwūd b. Naṣr and killed several of his followers. However the Isma'ilites regained dominion over the city because, according to Tabakāt i Nasirī, in 1174-75 Sulṭān Mu'izz, leaders of the Ghoris, "led his forces to Multan and again delivered that place from the Karmatians".<sup>32</sup>

Islamic heretics were settled in Northern India over the succeeding two centuries, as we read in diverse Arabic sources, where sometimes they are called Malāḥidas and other times Karmatians, but always regarded with contempt by orthodox Muslim historians.

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<sup>27</sup> L. Massignon, *ibidem*, 770.

<sup>28</sup> De Goeje, "Karmatians", in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (J. Hastings ed.), Edinburgh, T.T. Clark. (1925-1940), III, 1932, 222-225.

<sup>29</sup> T. V. Haig "Multan", in *Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam* IV, 721; Elliot, H. M. and Dowson J. (1867). *The History of India*. London, Trubner & Co. 1867-1877 (8 Vols.), I, 491, 492. Hollister 1988: 341-342.

<sup>30</sup> Nadvi, Suleyman, (1934), "Muslim Colonies in India before the Muslim Conquest", *Islamic Culture* VIII, 609.

<sup>31</sup> Al Birūni Abū Reyhan. *Kitāb al Hind*, 2 vols. Translated by E. C. Sachau. London, Kegan Paul (1888) (Reprint 1989, Delhi, Low Price Publications), 116-117.

<sup>32</sup> Salisbury, E. (1951), "Two Unpublished Arabic Documents Relating to the Doctrines of the Isma'ilis and other Batinian Sects", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* II, 286-287; Hollister 1988: 344-348.

In conclusion the notions concerning Islamic culture found in the *Laghukālacakratantra*, such as the prophetic elements, the personification of abstract concepts (like in the case of Mathanī), the reproduction of the term *Aql fa' al* (like in the case of Kṛmāti), and the mention of a group of white-clad initiates, in my opinion lead to the conjecture that the authors of this literature obtained their information from a heterodox Islamic milieu. This conjecture is reinforced by the historical records that attest the presence of non-orthodox Shi'ite sects in the North-Western region of India around the tenth century A.D. before the invasion of the Turkish Sunnite armies.

As already stated above, it is now common opinion that the Kālacakratantra literature was composed in India, between the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century, but the problem of its exact localisation has not yet been satisfactorily solved. Now, analysing the above-mentioned data, I am more inclined to advance the hypothesis that this literature (or at least a nucleus of it) was formulated in the regions of North-West India, a part of India that, as is well known, played a fundamental role in the formation of the Buddhist Tantras.

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# THE BRITISH LIBRARY TIBETICA: A HISTORICAL SURVEY

by

Ulrich Pagel, London

The Tibetica of the British Library represent one of the largest collections of Tibetan manuscripts and blockprints brought together in the West. The earliest acquisitions go back to the middle of the 18th century, belonging to the so-called Foundation Collections of the British Museum. Because of the history and composition of the collections that came to be amalgamated within the administrative structure of the British Library, the Tibetan collection displays a number of important features not shared with other Tibetica in Europe and the United States. First, there is the composite structure of its holdings. Broadly speaking, we can distinguish two parallel but unmistakably distinct components. These are the holdings that formerly belonged, on the one hand, to the India Office Library and, on the other hand, to the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts, British Museum. Second, because British political interest centred primarily on the southern and central regions of Tibet, the majority of the British Library literary documents stem from those areas. Third, acquisition of Tibetan books took place in several phases separated by lengthy intervals of inactivity mirroring political events and the presence of dedicated curatorial staff.

## The India Office Library

The origin of the India Office Tibetan collection goes back to 1835 when BH Hodgson, British Political Resident in Nepal, presented the Library with a complete xylograph copy of the sNar than bKa' 'gyur and bsTan 'gyur.<sup>1</sup> A few years later, Hodgson's donation was followed by a gift from the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg Branch, which, in 1846, donated fourteen volumes of the Śer Phyin Section of a Peking bKa' 'gyur.<sup>2</sup> While the exact historical circumstances of this donation have not yet been fully ascertained, recent Tibetological research has established that these volumes constitute an extremely valuable acquisition for text-critical work on Buddhist canonical material. Apart from some miscellaneous blockprints that were brought to London by representatives of the Crown on an individual basis in the late 1870s and early 1880s, library-internal inventories compiled between 1850 and 1900 show that these donations were practically the only major acquisitions of the 19th century.<sup>3</sup> Tibetologists of the day were keenly aware of the very limited scope of the early India Office Tibetica. Soon after his appointment as curator at the India Office Library in 1903, FW Thomas remarked:<sup>4</sup>

“Schiefner ... was surprised by the poverty of the India Office Library in respect of separately printed works belonging to the two collections. This poverty, which is

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<sup>1</sup> WW Hunter, *The Life of B. H. Hodgson*, London, 1896, 270.

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<sup>3</sup> A Schiefner, „Bericht über eine Reise nach England im Sommer 1863“, *Mélanges Asiatiques (Titres du bulletin de l'academie impériale des sciences)*, 5, 43-44.

<sup>4</sup> FW Thomas, *Official note on Catalogues of Tibetan Books and Tibetan literature required for the India Office Library*, India Office Library Tract Volume 890, 2.

In conclusion the notions concerning Islamic culture found in the *Laghukālacakratantra*, such as the prophetic elements, the personification of abstract concepts (like in the case of Mathanī), the reproduction of the term *Aql fā'al* (like in the case of Kṛmāti), and the mention of a group of white-clad initiates, in my opinion lead to the conjecture that the authors of this literature obtained their information from a heterodox Islamic milieu. This conjecture is reinforced by the historical records that attest the presence of non-orthodox Shi'ite sects in the North-Western region of India around the tenth century A.D. before the invasion of the Turkish Sunni armies.

As already stated above, it is now common opinion that the Kālacakratantra literature was composed in India, between the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century, but the problem of its exact localisation has not yet been satisfactorily solved. Now, analysing the above-mentioned data, I am more inclined to advance the hypothesis that this literature (or at least a nucleus of it) was formulated in the regions of North-West India, a part of India that, as is well known, played a fundamental role in the formation of the Buddhist Tantras.

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## The India Office Library

The origin of the India Office Tibetan collection goes back to 1835 when BH Hodgson, British Political Resident in Nepal, presented the Library with a complete xylograph copy of the sNar than bKa' 'gyur and bsTan 'gyur.<sup>1</sup> A few years later, Hodgson's donation was followed by a gift from the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg Branch, which, in 1846, donated fourteen volumes of the Śer Phyin Section of a Peking bKa' 'gyur.<sup>2</sup> While the exact historical circumstances of this donation have not yet been fully ascertained, recent Tibetological research has established that these volumes constitute an extremely valuable acquisition for text-critical work on Buddhist canonical material. Apart from some miscellaneous blockprints that were brought to London by representatives of the Crown on an individual basis in the late 1870s and early 1880s, library-internal inventories compiled between 1850 and 1900 show that these donations were practically the only major acquisitions of the 19th century.<sup>3</sup> Tibetologists of the day were keenly aware of the very limited scope of the early India Office Tibetica. Soon after his appointment as curator at the India Office Library in 1903, FW Thomas remarked:<sup>4</sup>

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perhaps greater than that of any other library professing to contain Tibetan books, does indeed contrast with the stores of the Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg.”

The scarcity of Tibetan material in the early days of the India Office Library is chiefly attributable to the fact that the Library tended to depend for its Tibetan acquisitions on the generosity and goodwill of a few interested travellers in search of a permanent home for their personal collections. This situation changed at the beginning of the 20th century when the Government of India transmitted a number of extremely important collections to the India Office Library. Within the span of a few years, many hundreds of rare manuscripts and blockprints were thus acquired, paving the way for a more systematic approach towards Tibetan studies in the United Kingdom.

The main reason for this sudden revival of interest in the Tibetan literary heritage was the expansion of British political ambition beyond the borders of South Asia into the Himalayas and Tibet itself. Coupled with the keen Tibetological interest of one of its finest curators, FW Thomas, this led to an unprecedented flood of Tibetan manuscripts and xylographs entering Great Britain, either on the initiative of the Government of India or due to the personal initiative of political personnel who were posted in Tibet. The first wave of new acquisitions reached Britain in 1905, consisting of books collected during the Younghusband campaign of 1904. This shipment consisted, besides a second set of the *sNar than bKa' 'gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur* and a beautifully illuminated hand-written copy of the *rÑin ma rgyud 'bum*, of several hundred ancient manuscripts and xylographs. The selection of the material took place under the supervision of Lieut Col LA Waddell. The selection criteria themselves had been defined by FW Thomas in a list of book desiderata compiled shortly before Younghusband set out on his mission (Thomas, 1904). While it is difficult to say just how much attention was given to Thomas' list in the course of the campaign, it must have helped Waddell to focus his acquisition efforts, since many of the books suggested by Thomas were indeed delivered to the India Office Library in 1905. Because of the war-like situation and the geography of Tibet, it took several months to assemble the material and prepare it for shipment to the UK (Waddell, 1912). Every text had to be checked for completeness and physical condition before it was deemed suitable for transport. The majority of this collection was donated to the India Office Library. Other parts went to the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts, British Museum, the Bodleian Library and Cambridge University Library. Because of its great scope, diversity and high quality, the portion acquired by the India Office Library, usually referred to as the *Lha sa* or Waddell collection, came to constitute the bedrock of the British Library Tibetan collection. Statistically, it represents by far the largest single donation of Tibetan books ever made to the India Office Library.

Its impact on the fortunes of the India Office Library Tibetan collection cannot be overestimated. Prior to this acquisition, British scholars showed little interest in Tibet. Primary sources were difficult to access and little was known about Tibetan literature. This all changed with the arrival of the *Lha sa* collection. The presence of such a large collection of primary material in the United Kingdom caused quite a stir in the field of oriental studies and a number of well-known scholars began work on selected texts. Virtually overnight, the India Office Library had become one of the largest repositories for Tibetan texts in the western world.

As a result of the reputation of the material it had acquired, the Library began to attract the generosity of an increasing number of people looking for a more permanent repository for their personal Tibetan libraries. The first person to donate his Tibetan collection to the India Office Library was ML Ettinghausen (1906). A year later, ED Ross decided to act likewise and presented the Library with his entire collection. Others followed soon, with SC Das (1907),



E Teichman (1937), G Grierson (1941) and FW Thomas (1956) all handing down their Tibetica to the India Office Library. While none of these collections is very important in its own right, typically consisting of miscellaneous works collected in the course of visits to the Himalayas and Tibet, taken together they created an important basis for the Library's future acquisitions.

The majority of texts brought to London by these scholars stemmed from South and Central Tibet where British political interest was most pronounced. Representatives of the Crown posted in these areas tended to develop a keen interest in Tibetan culture beyond their political brief, studying local customs and exploring the rich literary heritage. In the short term, this was certainly a positive development. In the long term, however, it turned out to be less advantageous than anticipated, since it closely tied the acquisition policy of the India Office Library to political events rather than establishing more stable and independent channels of supply. But in the early years of the 20th century the prospects for an expansion of the India Office Tibetica looked good. Britain seemed determined to establish a permanent representation in Tibet and ambitions for increased political influence in the Himalayan region were being developed.

For the orientalists working in the India Office, this air of optimism was enhanced through the arrival of an altogether new class of Tibetan literary documents that reached the Library only a few years after the shipment of the Waddell donation. These documents stemmed from the ancient oasis towns scattered along the Silk Route in Central Asia and pre-dated all known Tibetan manuscripts by at least 500 years. I am referring, of course, to the manuscripts included in the Stein Collection.

The Stein collection consists of Central Asian manuscript fragments and wood slips written in ten different languages which were brought to England by Sir Aurel Stein from three expeditions, *inter alia*, to the ancient sites of Tun-huang, Mazār Tāgh, Mirān and Khotan (1900/1, 1906/9, 1913/16). Although the Tibetan manuscripts included in the Stein collection do not make up the largest proportion (this privilege falls to the Chinese language material), their importance for Indo-Tibetan Buddhist studies is immense. Written down between the sixth and eleventh centuries AD, they represent the earliest known literary documents of Tibetan culture. The material itself falls into two categories. First, we have 1400 fragments written on paper and birchbark. Approximately half of these deal with Buddhist thought, being either translations of Indian Buddhist works or indigenous Tibetan writings on selected aspects of Buddhist practice. The majority of these fragments were catalogued between 1914 and 1918 by Louis de la Vallée Poussin. The catalogue, together with references to some Chinese manuscripts, appeared in 1962. The non-Buddhist material included in the Stein collection, chiefly administrative, historical and political, has been ignored for many decades, until a group of scholars, including Tsuguhito Takeuchi (Kyoto) and Helga Uebach (Munich), following the inspiration of Géza Uray (Budapest), began to express interest in this part of the collection in the late 1980s. A catalogue, describing 700 plus manuscript fragments, is currently in preparation. Second, in addition to the paper documents, Stein also brought back more than two thousand wood slips that he had found in Mazār Tāgh and Mirān. The content of these slips, typically measuring 1×2.5 cm, has never been systematically recorded. Since high-quality photographic reproduction is very difficult to achieve for this material, the wood slips have been included in a digitisation project, aimed at transferring the contents of selected Central Asian documents on to CD ROM. The antiquity of the Tibetan Stein material and its immense significance for research in early religious and secular developments in Tibet indubitably makes its many thousand literary fragments included the most valuable component of the India Office Library Tibetica.

Because of its high profile and reputation among Tibetologists world-wide, it is often overlooked that the Stein documents are not the only Tibetan manuscripts from Central Asia held in the India Office Library. Even before Stein had set out on his first expedition, a number of extremely important manuscript fragments discovered at the ancient sites in Eastern Turkestan began to reach English libraries. The first, and arguably most important manuscript, was the so-called Bower Manuscript which was discovered by Lieut H Bower in Kūcha in 1890 and subsequently entrusted to the Bodleian Library. It turned out to be the first of a trickle of ancient manuscript remains that were purchased by Indian political agents stationed in Central Asia on the behalf of the Government of India. In most cases, the discovery of these manuscripts took place in an uncoordinated fashion, relying as much on chance as on the personal collecting activity of a few selected individuals. Their assessment and academic exploitation, however, was very successful and proceeded at great pace. This was largely due to the efforts of a single scholar, that is AFR Hoernle. Hoernle, who was resident in Calcutta for much of his working life teaching at Muslim schools, was a man of extraordinary philological skill. Within a few months of the discovery of the Bower Manuscript, brought to his attention in his capacity as the Honorary Philological Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, he had managed to decipher the script and to prepare the first transliteration. As a result of Hoernle's work on the Bower Manuscript, more and more Central Asian texts were dispatched for an assessment to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. After his death in 1918, the majority of the material assembled by Hoernle in Calcutta was passed on to the India Office Library. Like the Stein material, it is essentially a multi-lingual collection, with most manuscripts written in Sanskrit and Khotanese. The Tibetan fragments, although in a minority, are important for their antiquity and philological peculiarities. Apart from Hoernle's early exploitation of the collection (published in 1916) and specifically-funded research on the collection's most celebrated items, such as the Bower Manuscript and the Gāndhārī Dharmapada, comparatively little work has been carried out on the other manuscripts. Even the exact number of fragments has not yet been established (for the Sanskrit material the figure is approximately 600; the exact figures of the Khotanese and Tibetan fragments are not known, although they are likely to be in the lower hundreds). It was only in the last few years that individual scholars from Germany, Japan and the USA have started work on a more systematic exploration of the material contained in the Hoernle collection.

These early acquisitions came to form the backbone of the Tibetan collection in the India Office Library. By the end of the 1920s, its Tibetica had become one of the most important, active Tibetan collections in the West. The scope, quality and antiquity of its material, together with the expert curatorial care bestowed by FW Thomas, had transformed its holdings within two decades from a minor repository of Tibetan canonical literature to a thriving department attracting scholars of the finest calibre. Unfortunately, this situation was not to last. After Thomas' move to Oxford in 1927, very little new material was being purchased and conservation work virtually ground to a standstill. Furthermore, with no proper descriptive catalogue extant, access to the collection became increasingly difficult. More often than not, for text identification Reader Services had to rely on incomplete handlists or to draw on the knowledge of other orientalist curators. Amazingly, this process of neglect and deterioration was allowed to persist for almost 50 years. The first serious attempt to reactivate the Tibetan Section and to catalogue its holdings was made in 1974 when the Library approached Phillip Denwood (SOAS) to prepare, on a contractual basis, an inventory of the India Office Tibetica, excluding the Central Asian Stein material. This catalogue, although completed in 1975, was never published. Denwood's departure shortly afterwards led to another period of neglect, extending until the early

1990s when the India Office Library (now a part of the British Library) made provision for a more permanent curatorial appointment for its Tibetan collection.

### The Oriental Collection (British Museum)

The second component of the British Library Tibetica consists of the manuscripts and xylographs acquired by the British Museum Oriental Collections. The origins of the Oriental Collections go back to the Foundations Collections of the British Museum, acquired in the middle of the 18th century. In the same way as the Tibetan collection of the India Office Library, it started out with the donation of a few miscellaneous items. Over the years, these texts were augmented through a continuous trickle of more or less carefully selected Tibetan manuscripts. Hence, its growth into a major collection was of a more gradual, sustained nature than that of the India Office and it was spared many of the vicissitudes of the latter's Tibetica. Records found in the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts (British Museum) show that its first items were a few Śer phyin (*prajñāpāramitā*) folios donated by Sir Hans Sloane in 1745. Over the next 150 years, the collection was slowly upgraded through the acquisition of xylographs belonging to the personal collections of T Egerton (1829), Hodgson (1845) and Waddell (1898). Until the beginning of the 20th century, most of the material acquired was, however, of a distinctly minor nature, consisting of individual treatises donated by travellers connected with the administration of British India.

The first major acquisition took place in 1905 when the British Museum received a portion of the blockprints obtained in the course of the Younghusband campaign. In that period, it was government policy to divide the literary documents brought back from Tibet and to distribute them among the major UK libraries. The most significant work received by the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts in that period was doubtlessly the Śel dkar (London) Manuscript bKa' 'gyur (Or. 6724). This manuscript, beautifully illuminated and in excellent condition, was prepared in 1712 by monks from the monastery of Śel dkar in the region of La stod in southern Tibet. Because of its significance for the history of the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur, the Śel dkar Manuscript has recently become the focus of much scholarly attention. Like the material donated by the Government of India to the India Office Library, the works acquired on that occasion stem mainly from Central Tibet and belong to the politically dominant dGe lugs pa school. On conservation grounds, most of the manuscripts were allocated to the British Museum, while the xylographs went to the India Office collections. Only a few years later, the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts also received a substantial portion of the Central Asian manuscript fragments discovered by Stein. However, compared to the India Office allocation, the Tibetan language material included in the British Museum share was of minor importance.

On balance, the British Museum Tibetan holdings were, at this stage, still inferior to the India Office material. The situation changed over the next few decades when the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts managed to attract some valuable donations. For example, there was the collection of Tibetan xylographs presented by Sir Charles Bell in 1933. Consisting of 118 rare texts that Bell had hand-picked over many years during his government service in rGyal rtse and Lha sa, the Bell collection includes historical works, biographies of important ecclesiastical leaders and many key religious texts. Other, mostly minor, collections secured in the first quarter of the 20th century include those of Rose (1903), R Strachey (1906) and W Marsden (1921). These early donations included examples of some very fine manuscripts, including a rare manuscript copy of dPa' bo gtsug lag 'phreñ ba's *Chos 'byuñ* (Or. 15046), a historical work on the foundation of the O rgyan gliñ monastery (Or. 6750), registers

of taxes and festivals in Ladakh (Or. 6686a, Or. 6684), political edicts (e.g., Or. 14190) and manuscript copies of pillar inscriptions relating to political events in the eighth century AD. In contrast to the wholesale acquisition policy of the India Office Library, purchases in the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts (later called Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books) were much more selective and focused on a few particularly precious items. This policy persisted for many years and culminated in the acquisition of the Snellgrove collection of rare Bonpo manuscripts (1984), dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By the time the Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books had been renamed as Oriental Collections (British Library) in 1972, the Tibetica of the Oriental Collections had acquired a fine, albeit relatively small, assortment of important and rare Tibetan texts. The main reason for this development is found in the department's ongoing interest in Tibetan culture and literary history co-ordinated, for many years, by Lama Chime Rinpoche. We have seen that in the India Office the initial dedication to its Tibetica waned quickly after the departure of FW Thomas in the 1920s. No successor was appointed and resources were redirected to other departments within the library. Inevitably, this led to the neglect of its Tibetan manuscripts and blockprints which persisted until the transfer of the India Office collections to the British Library in 1982. For reasons that I have given above the Tibetica of the Oriental Collections have escaped this fate.

### The British Library

The amalgamation of the Oriental Collections and the India Office Library into a single institution had far-reaching consequences for their Tibetan collections.

First, it created overnight one of the largest single collections of Tibetan manuscripts and blockprints in the West. By merging the extensive, albeit neglected, India Office holdings with the carefully maintained Tibetica of the Oriental Collections, the British Library came to accommodate a collection of immense depth and quality. The historical works alone, that is texts written or printed in Tibet proper before the annexation by the Peoples Liberation Army of China in 1959, number more than 3500. They include canonical and paracanonical material, many volumes of indigenous Tibetan Buddhist writings, numerous Collected Works mainly by dGe lugs pa prelates, examples of some of the earliest Tibetan blockprints dating back to the 14th and 15th centuries (e.g., rGyal sras Thogs med's treatise on *Blo sbyon*, entitled *Blo sbyon don bdun ma sogs ñams len khrid kyi bskor*, Tib.K.14), administrative writings including 18th-century letters and decrees brought together in the Gergan collection of Ladakh, hagiographies and copies of important religious histories. A comprehensive descriptive catalogue of these texts is currently being compiled for publication in 1999. In addition, the Library holds two original bKa' 'gyurs (sNar thañ and Śel dkar), three reprints (sDe dge, Peking and Urga), one microfiche copy (Phug brag) and three bsTan 'gyurs (sNar thañ (original), sDe dge (reprint) and dGa' ldan (microfiche)), spanning hundreds of thousands of folios. From the point of view of text-criticism, apart from the Śel dkar bKa' 'gyur and sNar thañ bKa' 'gyur / bsTan 'gyur, of which microfiche editions and location lists are in preparation, the most interesting canonical work is probably a Red Peking Edition of which the British Library holds the Śer Phyin Section. Next, there is the illustrated rÑiñ ma rgyud 'bum manuscript. Sadly, this manuscript is not complete, featuring only twenty-nine of the original thirty-three volumes. A catalogue of the rÑiñ ma rgyud 'bum, perhaps based on Kaneko's description (1982), is an urgent desideratum. Finally, there is, of course, the Tibetan Stein material, now brought together under a single roof, numbering 3500 fragmentary paper documents and 2250 wood slips.

Since the late 1960s, the original Tibetan manuscripts and xylographs have been supple-

mented by a steady flow of photomechanic reprints of rare Tibetan books produced by the Tibetan refugee community in South Asia. The early publications were secured in co-operation with the Library of Congress whose PL 480 Acquisition Scheme, set up in the mid 1960s, helped to establish channels of supply from India to the British Library. Other portions were processed on an individual basis. To date, this part of the Tibetica consists of more than 3500 volumes and is expected to expand significantly over the next few years.

There is yet another aspect pertaining to the British Library Tibetica that has not been mentioned so far. It is included in the India Office Department of European Manuscripts and consists of personal and official letters, political documents, economic treatises and administrative correspondence exchanged between the Tibetan authorities and the representatives of the British Government in Lha sa and rGyal rtse. These materials represent an important and largely unexplored source of information for Anglo-Tibetan relations during the first part of the 20th century. Amongst others, it includes the correspondence of Sir Marshal Bailey, Sir Charles Bell and Hugh Richardson with the 13th Dalai Lama, several Panchen Lamas and the rulers of Sikkim. A substantial part of this collection was deposited with the India Office Library during the first half of this century, though additional material was acquired in the 1960s and 1970s.

The second major benefit for the British Library Tibetica springing from the amalgamation of the Oriental and India Office Collections took place in the sphere of manuscript conservation. While the Tibetan texts contained in the Oriental Collections enjoyed at all times a fairly high standard of conservational care, India Office Library material had to endure periodic neglect caused by insufficient funding and the lack of adequately trained manuscript conservation staff. These shortcomings affected, in particular, the Central Asian holdings and some of the early Tibetan blockprints. Over the past few years concerted measures have been taken to remedy this situation, involving Oriental Collections conservators, curators and a team of dedicated external contractors. Today, the worst aspects of this conservation crisis have been dealt with. The entire Tibetan Stein collection has been singled out for urgent treatment and specialist storage in secure, acid-free conservation-grade boxes; Tibetan blockprints are being unbound and prepared for long-term preservation; some of the most ancient manuscript fragments have been cleaned and placed in melinex transparency folders. The conservation process will continue well into the next century before the whole India Office Tibetica has been stabilised. In view of what has been achieved during the past three years, and provided that funding can be secured for the outstanding work, there is good reason to be optimistic about the future prospects of the conservation work on the India Office Tibetica.

With only slight reservation, this note of optimism may also be applied to the future of the British Library Tibetica in general. What must have been for many years one of the most dormant departments in the British Library has turned, once again, into a thriving section befitting its exceptional holdings and serving the scholarly community it was conceived to support. Acquisition strategies have been revised and updated, immediately resulting in a number of important additions to the early collections; contacts with the Tibetological community, previously the backbone of the collection, have been revitalised; publications of microformat reproductions are well under way, leading to substantial revenue generation; institutional links with other libraries featuring major Tibetan holdings have been resurrected. Particularly noteworthy is, perhaps, the new spirit of co-operation that is developing between the libraries in St. Petersburg and the British Library. While this co-operation is not limited to the Tibetan Section, the Tibetica stands to gain substantially, since the St. Petersburg collections contain what is certainly the largest holding of Tibetan books in Europe. Other areas of co-operation include automated cataloguing (Musée Guimet (Paris), Otani University (Kyoto), Toyo Bunko

(Tokyo), Universität zu Leipzig), prospects of joint acquisition agreements with Harvard University Library and the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin in the field of Chinese publications of Tibetan books, as well as the establishing of scholarly contacts with Tibetan Sections in other leading libraries.

While one cannot but welcome the revitalised support shown by the British Library authorities for its Tibetan holdings, only time will tell whether this burst of curatorial and conservational activity will be sustainable in the long-term. The history of the British Library Tibetica is too varied to allow for any firm predictions. During the past 100 years, it has witnessed long periods without specialised curatorial care, the collapse of three cataloguing projects and severe difficulties in terms of conservation and access. But even if history should repeat itself and the many thousand manuscripts and blockprints are, once again, left unattended, no one will be able to place the blame on a collection ranking amongst the finest holdings of Tibetan books world-wide.

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# གསལ་དུ་རྟོག་པའི་ཁྲིམ་ཚེན་རྫོང་རིང་ཡི་གེའི་མཚམས་སྟེར།།

## པ་ཚབ་པ་མངས་དབང་འབྲུག་ལ། ལྷ་ས།

དེ་ཡང་ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་བཙན་པོའི་དུས་ཀྱི་རྫོང་རིང་ཡི་གེ་དང་ཟུག་བཞེས་ཡི་གེ་ནི་རང་ཅག་མེས་པོས་བསྐྱུན་པའི་ཅུ་ཚེའི་  
རིག་གཞུས་ཀྱི་ལ་བཞག་ཡིན་པ་དང་སྐབས་དོན་རིག་པའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་དུ་བ་ལ་རིན་མང་ལྡན་པའི་དཔུང་གཞིའི་ཡིག་  
ཆ་ཡང་ཡིན། དེ་སློབ་སྦྱོང་ལོ་ ༡༧༤༠ ལོར་ལ་བོད་རིག་པའི་ཞིག་འཇུག་པ། ལྷག་པོ་དོན་གྱི་གཞུར་རབས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལ་  
ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱེད་པ་པོའི་ཁྲིམ་དུ་ཡོངས་སུ་གྲགས་པའི་རྫོང་རིང་ཡི་གེ་དང་ཟུག་བཞེས་ཡི་གེ་ནི་བཅུ་ཅམ་ལས་མ་  
མཚེས་གཤིས། ཁྲི་སྲོང་རྩེ་བཙན་དང་ཁྲི་སྲོང་བཙན་ཡབ་སྐུམ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དམ་ཚོས་ཡུན་དུ་གཞུས་པར་དམིགས་ནི་  
བསྐྱེད་པའི་བཀའ་གཅིགས་གསུམ་རྫོང་དང་ཟུག་ལ་བཞེས་པ་མཚོན་ཚོས་སུ་མ་གྱུར་ཡང་དཔའ་བའི་གུའུ་ལག་གྲོང་  
བསམ་མཁམས་པའི་དགའ་སློབ་ནང་མ་ཡིག་ཆ་ཚང་དངས་ཡོད་པས་རྗེས་འཇུག་པ་ལ་བཀའ་དྲིན་ཚེའོ། མེ་ཆར་ལོ་ངོ་  
བཅུ་ལྷག་ཅམ་རིང་ལ་བོད་མིའི་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཁག་ནས་བཙན་པོའི་དུས་ཀྱི་རྫོང་རིང་དང་ཟུག་ལ་བཞེས་པའི་ཡིག་རྟོག་ཁག་  
གཅིག་རྟོག་སོན་བྱུང་བས་དེའི་ཁོངས་སུ་ཁོ་བོས་ ༡༧༤༡ ལོར་བོད་རྫོང་སའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཐོག་མཚམས་སྟེར་ཞུས་ཡོད་  
པའི་སྟེ་ཟུག་ཟུག་བཞེས་ཡི་གེ་དང་། ཆར་སྟེལ་ཆེ་བརྟན་ལུ་ཚོགས་མཚོག་ནས་ ༡༧༤༧ ལོར་བོད་རྫོང་སའི་ཞིབ་  
འཇུག་ཐོག་མཚམས་སྟེར་གནང་བ་དང་སྤུ་ཟེ་ལན་གྱི་བོད་རིག་པ་མཁམས་ཅན་ལུ་མེ་ཆར་མཚོག་ནས་ ༡༧༤༩ ལོར་  
ལོར་ལྷན་གྱི་སྐོར་ལ་ལྷོ་སྐྱོ་སྐྱོ་བོད་རིག་པའི་ཚོགས་འབྲུག་ཐོག་དཔུང་གྲོང་གནང་བའི་ལྷན་མ་ཟུག་བཞེས་ཡི་གེ་དང་  
པམ་དངོས་སུ་རྩོམ་ཡིག་དང་སྐབས་ངོ་སྟོན་ཞུ་མེད་པའི་ཁྲིམ་ཚེན་རྫོང་རིང་ཡི་གེ་དང་། སྤུ་རྩེད་རྫོང་རིང་ཡི་གེ་དེ་བཞིན་  
ཚིག་འབྲུག་མང་བར་མི་སྣང་བའི་ཡར་བའི་རྫོང་བཞེས་ཡི་གེ་དང་། འཇུང་ཡུལ་རྫོང་བཞེས་ཡི་གེ་ལ་སོགས་པ་བཅས་  
གཏོགས་སོ། འདྲིའི་སྐབས་སུ་བབས་པ་ཁྲིམ་ཚེན་རྫོང་རིང་ཡི་གེའི་མཚམས་སྟེར་དང་ཐོག་མའི་དཔུང་པ་རོ་ཅམ་ཞུ་  
བའི་འདོད།

ཁྲིམ་ཚེན་རྫོང་རིང་ཡི་གེ་དེ་གཙང་སྟོན་ལྷ་ཚེ་རྫོང་ཁོངས་ཁྲིམ་ཚེན་ཞེས་པའི་གྲོང་རྒྱུང་ཞིག་ནས་རྟོག་སོན་བྱུང་  
བཤིས། དེའི་ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་ཕྱི་དང་མདའ་ལ་ཁྲིམ་མདའ་ཞེས་པའི་ཡུལ་ཕྱང་གཉིས་ཆགས་ཡོད་དེ། གྲོང་གི་སྟོང་སྟོང་གང་  
གཞི་དུ་གཙང་ཆབ་ཚེན་མོ་དང་། སྟོ་ལུ་སྤོགས་ལ་གྲོམ་པ་རྒྱུང་དང་མང་མཁམས། ཤར་ངོས་སྤོགས་ལ་རོ་མོ་ནང་  
དང་དགོ་ལྡན་ལུ་ཚོགས་གྲིང་ལ་སོགས་པའི་གྲགས་ཅན་གཞུས་ཚེན་ཁག་ཡོད། ལོ་ངོ་ཁ་ཤས་གོང་ལ་གྲོང་རྒྱུང་དེ་  
ནས་ངོ་མཚར་ཆེ་བའི་ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་བཙན་པོའི་དུས་ཀྱི་བང་སོ་ཚོགས་ཚེན་པོ་ཞིག་རྟོག་ཚོལ་བྱུང་བ་ན་ ༡༧༤༩ ལོའི་







༠༠༠ ཅ་ཉེ་གང་།	༡༠༠༠ ལོ་བཟང་།
བཟོ་དེད། །༠༠	༡༠༠༠ ལོ་བཟང་།
༠༠༠༠ ལ།༠༠༠	༠༠༠ ལྷ་༠༠༠
༠༠༠༠ ཡང་དེ།	༠༠ ས་ལོག་པ་
བསུ། ལྷ་༠༠༠	༠༠༠ དལ་བཟང་།
བཟང་བཟོ་རྒྱ།	༠༠ ལྷ་ལེས་རབ་
༠༠ ས་འབྱུང་པ་ལི་	ཀྱིས་ལོ་ལྷ་ས་
ལོ་ལྷ་དང་། མཛོད་	པར་བཟོ་ས་

དོ་རིང་གཡོན་ངོས་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ།

༠༠༠ ལོ་ལྷ་	༠༠༠༠ ལོ་ལྷ་
ལྷོ་གསལ་པ་	༠༠༠༠ ལོ་ལྷ་དང་།
མངའ་མང་	༠༠༠༠༠༠
༠༠ ས་སངས་	༠༠༠༠༠༠
རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཡོན་	༠༠༠༠༠༠
༠༠༠ ལྷ་ས་	༠༠༠༠༠༠
༠༠༠༠༠༠	༠༠༠༠༠༠
༠༠༠༠༠༠	༠༠༠༠༠༠
༠༠༠༠༠༠	༠༠༠༠༠༠
༠༠༠ ལྷ་༠༠༠	༠༠༠༠༠༠
༠༠༠༠༠༠ དེ།	༠༠༠༠༠༠
བཟོ་གཤེས་གཉེན་	༠༠༠༠༠༠
མཛོད་པར་རྒྱུས་	༠༠༠༠༠༠
འབངས་ཀྱིས་	༠༠༠༠༠༠
༠༠༠༠ ང་བཅས་	བཟོ་གཤེས་ལམ་ཅན་

གོང་གསལ་ཡི་གེ་དེ་རྒྱ་མས་ལེ་ཁོ་བོས་ལོར་གྱིང་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་ལས་རོགས་ཚོས་མཁོ་འདོན་གནང་བའི་དོ་རིང་གི་ཡི་གེ་  
 འོ་བཟོས་དང་། ལྷ་རང་ངོས་ཀྱིས་པར་ལེན་འོ་བཟོས་བྱས་པའི་ཡི་གེ་གཉེས་བསྐྱར་ལེན་གང་ཟེས་བྱས་པ་གཞིར་  
 བཟུང་ཐོག་བཞོན་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན། ཡི་གེ་ཡལ་བྱུང་བུ་གྲུ་བ་ཇི་བཞིན་ངོས་འཛིན་དཀའ་བའི་རིགས་ལ་རྟགས་  
 །༠༠༠༠ འདི་འདྲ་བ་ཞིག་བཞོན་ཡོད་ཀྱང་འདིས་ཡིག་འབྲུའི་གྲངས་མི་མཚོན་པ་གསལ་བཤད་ལྷོ་རྒྱ། ཡིག་འབྲུམ་  
 ཉུང་བ་ཞིག་མི་གསལ་བའི་རྒྱུ་ཀྱིས་གོ་རྟོག་དང་བཟོས་ལོར་སོགས་མཚིས་པ་སློབ་མེད་ཡིན་གཤིས།

དུང་དེ་དང་བཅས་རྟོག་ཚིག་ལུང་ལ་པའི་རྟོག་གིས་ཡི་གེའི་གོ་དོན་ཡང་ཇི་བཞིན་རྟོགས་དགའ་བ་ཞིག་ཡོད་སྟེ།  
འོན་ཀྱང་བོད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་རིག་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ལ་ཕན་འགྲུལ་གྱི་ཚམས་ཡོད་པའི་སྐུལ་སྤོང་བཟང་པོས་ཁོ་བོས་རང་གྲོ་གང་  
དཔོན་གིས་དོ་རིང་གི་ཡི་གེའི་མ་ཡིག་ལ་འགྲེལ་འཛོལ་དང་དབྱེད་པ་རགས་ཚམས་ལྟ་སྟེ་ཡིན།

༡) ཤེས་རབ། ཤེས་རབ་ནི་ཚོས་རྣམ་པར་འབྱེད་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། གང་གིས་ཚོས་རྣམས་རབ་ཏུ་རྣམ་པར་འབྱེད་པ་བྱེད་  
པའོ། ཡང་ན་རང་ལྷལ་གྱི་བརྟག་བྱའི་དངོས་པོ་ལ་དམིགས་རྣམས་དེ་དོ་བོ་དང་ཁྱད་པར་དང་རང་གྱི་འཚོ་མཚན་ཉིད་དང་  
སྤང་དོར་ལེགས་པར་འབྱེད་པའི་ཤེས་པ་རབ་ཀྱི་མཐུན་སོན་པ་ཐེ་ཚོམ་སྒྲོག་པའི་བྱེད་ལས་ཙམ་ལ་འཇུག་གོ།

༡) ལྷལ་འབྱེད། ལྷལ་འབྱེད་ཏེ་ཡང་དག་པའི་ལམ་དབང་དུ་གྱུར་པའི་དོན།

༡) གུལ་ལག་ཁང། དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་གྱི་ལྷ་ཁང་ལ་འཇུག།

༤) ལྷ་སྲས། དུར་རྒྱལ་བརྩམ་པའི་མཚན་བསྟེན་ཅིག་གོ། དེ་ཡང་དང་ཐོག་གཉེན་ཁྲི་བརྩམ་པོ་ལྷ་ཡི་སྲས་རྣམས་  
མགོ་ནག་མིའི་རྗེ་བོར་གཤེགས་ཟེར་བས་མཚན་དེ་ལྟར་ཐོགས།

༥) བཀའ་བཅད་པའི་མདོ། བཅོམ་པོས་གཤེད་པའི་བཀའ་ཚིག་ལ་འཇུག་པར་འདོད།

༦) ཁྲི་གུལ་ལྷེ་བཅོམ། མཚན་གཞན་ལ་ཁྲི་རལ་པ་ཙམ་ཡང་ཟེར། དུས་སྐུ་རལ་པའི་ལན་དུ་རྣམ་པར་དུད་པས་ན་  
མཚན་དེ་ལྟར་ཐོགས། ལྷ་ལོ་༤༡ ། ལན་༤༣ ། ཡང་ན་༤༤ ། བར་ཁྲིར་འཁོད། བཅོམ་པོས་འདིས་རྒྱ་རལ་གྱི་བརྗོད་  
མང་པོ་ཞིག་གཞན་དང་སྲས་བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་པར་དང་མཉམ་དུ་སངས་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་གསུང་རབ་གསུང་དུ་མང་པོ་བསྐྱུར། མང་  
དང་མཐུན་ལེགས་ཀྱི་མཉེན་ཚིག་དོ་ལ་བཞོས། ལྷོན་དབང་སྟག་སྲས་བགྲོངས།

༧) ལྷ་ཡོན། བཅོམ་པོ་སྐྱེ་ཆེ་ལྷལ་རིང་དུ་གཞན་པར་དམིགས་པའི་རིམ་གྲོ་ལམ་ཞབས་བརྟན་ལྷ་དུ་ཡིན་པར་  
འདོད། ལྷ་ཡོན་ཚེན་པོ་ལྷ་དུ་སྐྱེའི་ཡོན་ཏན་དང་གྲ་རལ་ལྷ་དུ་ལྷ་ཡོན་ཟེར་བའི་དོན་དང་ཁྱད་པར་ཡོད།

༨) ལྷི་དམི། ཉུང་དུ་མ་གཏོང་བའི་དོན་ལོ།

༩) དར་མ། རྒྱ་སྐད་རྒྱུ་ཅས་པའི་ཚིག་གི་སྤྱི་བའི་འདྲི་སྲོལ་ཞིག་ཡིན་སྟེ། ལྷན་ཅོང་ཡིག་རྟོག་ནས་དེ་ལྟར་འཇུག་  
པ་མང་བར་མངོན།

༡༠) ལྷ་ཞུ། ལྷ་ཡང་ཞེས་པའི་དོན་ལ་འཇུག།

༡༡) ཡིད་དམ། ཡི་དམ་དང་དོན་མཚུངས། ལྷན་མོང་མེན་པའི་བསྟན་བྱའི་ལྷ་སངས་རྒྱུས་བྱང་སེམས་རྣམས་རྒྱུད་  
སྤེར་ཡི་དམ་དུ་འབོད། འདིར་དམ་བཅའ་དང་ཁས་ལེན་པའི་དོན་ཡིན་པར་ངེས།

- ༡༡) རྩོམ་མཁའ་ཡི་དོན། དཔེར་ན་རྩོམ་པ་ནི་མཁའ་སྐྱེལ་པའི་དོན་དང་མཚུངས།
- ༡༢) དུང་གཅིག་བཞིན། འདིར་ཉེན་གཅིག་བཞིན་ཞེས་པའི་དོན་ལ་འཇུག་པར་འདོད།
- ༡༣) བཤོས་ཆ། ཟས་ཀྱི་དོན། དཔེར་ན་ལྷ་སངས་རྒྱལ་བུ་བྱང་ལེམས་ཀྱི་མཁའ་ཉུང་བྱངས་པའི་ཟས་རིགས་ལ་ལྷ་བཤོས་སུ་འབོད།
- ༡༤) དགེ་སྐྱེན། དཔེར་ན་པ་བཞི་ལྟ་བུ་བྱས་པར་ཁས་ལེན་པའི་ཁྲིམ་ན་གཞུགས་པའི་ནང་ཚོས་དང་ལྷན་གྱི་སྐྱེས་ལུ།
- ༡༥) དགེ་སྐྱོང་། སངས་རྒྱལ་ཚོས་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་འདུལ་བྱིམས་ཉེས་བརྒྱུ་ལྟ་བུ་ལྷ་གསུམ་སྤྱང་བར་ཁས་ལེན་ཅིང་དེའི་སྐྱོམ་པ་ཚོ་ག་བཞིན་ལེན་པའི་གང་ཟག།
- ༡༦) དར་མ་མདོ། སངས་རྒྱལ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་གསུང་རབ་ལ་འཇུག་པར་སྤང་།
- ༡༧) གཏུགས། འདིར་ཉེན་མའི་དོན་ལ་འཇུག་པར་འདོད། གཏུགས་ལ་བར་ཆད་མ་མཆིས་པར་གྲག་ཅེས་པ་ནི་ཉེན་མོར་གསུང་རབ་བར་མི་ཆད་པར་གྲོག་དགོས་པའི་དོན།
- ༡༨) མེན་ཉོག། མེ་ཉོག་དང་མཚུངས།
- ༡༩) རོལ་མོ་སིལ་སྐྱེ། དག་གི་མཚོན་པའི་དབྱངས་དང་རྩ་ཉུང་དྲིལ་ལྟ་སྤྱབས་ཆལ་ཅང་ཉེའུ་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱ་ལྟ་བུ་བོ།
- ༢༠) དུག་སྐྱོང་། དུག་སྐྱོས་དང་མཚུངས། མཚོན་རྩིས་ཀྱི་སྐྱོ།
- ༢༡) ཡོན་ཆབ། རྩའི་མཚོན་པ།
- ༢༢) གཏུགས། འདིར་ཉེན་གཏུགས་དང་དུག་གཏུགས་ལྟ་བུའི་དོན་ལ་འཇུག། དེའང་མཚོན་ཚོགས་ཤིང་བའི་བརྟེན་པའི་རྩལ་མཚོན་པ་སྟེ་མེ་ཉོག་དང་དུག་སྐྱོས་ཀྱི་སྤང་བ། རོལ་མོ་དྲོལ་བ། རྩའི་མཚོན་པ་འདུལ་བ། གཏུགས་སྐྱོན་པ་ལ་སོགས་པས་དགོན་མཚོག་ལ་མཚོན་པའོ།
- ༢༣) མཚོན་དབྱངས། མཚོན་དབྱངས་དང་དོན་གཅིག། དག་གི་མཚོན་པའི་དབྱངས་ལ་འཇུག།
- ༢༤) དགོན་མཚོག། དགོན་མཚོག་དང་མཚུངས།
- ༢༥) དགེ་བཅུ། དགེ་བ་བཅུ་སྟེ་སྐྱོག་མི་གཅོད་པ། མ་བྱིན་པར་མི་ལེན་པ། ལོག་གཡེམ་སྐྱོང་བ། བདེན་པར་སྐྱ་བ། ལ་མ་མི་བྱེད་པ། ཚིག་འཇམ་པོར་སྐྱ་བ། དག་མི་འཚལ་བ། གཞན་ལ་ལོར་ལ་ཆགས་སེད་མི་བྱེད་པ། གཞན་ལ་གཞོན་སེམས་མི་སྐྱོད་པ། འཇིག་རྟེན་པའི་ཡང་དག་པའི་ལྟ་བུ་བོ།

༡༥) སྤོང་། སྤོས་དང་མཚུངས།

༡༤) བར་མ། རྒྱུ་ཚགས་པའི་དོན་ལ་འཇུག།

༡༥) བམ་དེ། ལོགས་སྐྱུར་གྱི་སྐད། དགེ་འདུན་གྱི་དོན་ལོ།

༡༦) སྤོམ། འདོར་དྲི་བཟང་བྱུག་སྤོས་ལ་འཇུག།

༡༧) རྒྱ་ཡོན་ཏུ་བསྟོ། བཙོན་པའི་རྒྱ་ཚེ་སྤོང་བའི་ལྷིང་བསྟོ་ཞེས་པའི་དོན་ལ་འཇུག།

༡༨) དབྱུན་སྤྲ་ར་བ། དབྱུན་སྤྲ་མི་དབྱུན་གྱི་དོན་ལོ། དབྱུན་སྤྲ་ར་བ་མི་དབྱུན་གྱུར་བ་སྟེ་ཉོར་གྱུ་བཅུ་པར་འཇུག།

༡༩) དཔྱིད་སྤྲ་ར་བ། དཔྱིད་སྤྲ་མི་དཔྱིད་གྱི་དོན་ལོ། དཔྱིད་སྤྲ་ར་བ་མི་དཔྱིད་གྱུར་བ་སྟེ་ཉོར་གྱུ་དང་ཕོར་འཇུག།

༢༠) ཉལ། ཉགང་སྟེ་ཚེས་བཙོན་འཇུག་པར་སེམས།

༢༡) ལྷ་རིས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱ་སྐྱུར། དགོན་པའི་འབངས་སུ་གཏོགས་པའི་མི་སེར་གྱི་འགྲོ་གྲོལ་གཏོང་བའི་དོན་ལ་འཇུག།

༢༢) དབྱུར་སྤྲ་ར་བ། དབྱུར་སྤྲ་ར་བ་མི་དབྱུར་གྱུར་བའི་དོན་སྟེ་ཉོར་གྱུ་བཞི་པ་ལ་འཇུག།

༢༣) སྟོན་སྤྲ་ར་བ། སྟོན་སྤྲ་ར་བ་དང་སྟོན་གྱུར་བ་བགཉིས་དོན་མཚུངས་ཏེ་ཉོར་གྱུ་བཅུ་པར་འཇུག།

༢༤) མོངས་པ། རྒྱ་ལོར་མེད་པའམ་དབྱེད་བའི་དོན།

༢༥) མུང་གོ། ཏུས་མུང་ཡིན་པའི་མི་ཞིག་གི་མིང་ཡིན་པར་སེམས།

༢༦) དགེ་བའི་བཤེས་གཉེན། དགེ་བའི་ལམ་སྟོན་པའི་སྟོང་དཔེ།

༢༧) དགོན་མཚོག་མཚོད། དགོན་མཚོག་ལ་མཚོད་ཞེས་པའི་དོན།

༢༨) སྤོགས་པ། སོགས་པ་དང་དོན་མཚུངས།

༢༩) ཚི་ལོས། ཅི་ལོས་དང་མཚུངས།

### མ་ཡིག་གི་གཙོ་བའི་སྟིང་དོན་མདོར་བསྟུས།

༄༅ ཤེས་རབ་རྣམས་འབྱོར་གྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་ཚེས་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུན་གསུང་བྱེད་སྟོར་ལྷ་སྐུ་བཙོན་པོས་གནང་བའི་བཀའ་གཙུགས། བཙོན་པོ་མི་གཙུག་གི་བཙོན་གྱི་སྤྱི་ཞབས་བརྟམ་མི་རྒྱུན་ཚགས་པར་སྐྱེད་ནས་ལྷ་མ་ཡིང་ཉུང་བྱ་གཏོང་བའམ་ཡང་ན་གཞན་ཏུ་བསྐྱུར་མི་ཚོགས། ལྷ་ས་ཀྱང་དེ་ལ་བསྐྱུར་བ་མི་བྱེད་པའི་དམ་བཅའ་དང་མཐོང་གསལ་བཞག་ཅིག། རྣམ་གཅིག་ལྟར་དགོན་མཚོག་ལ་མཚོད་པ་མཚོན་བྱེད་ཀྱི་བཤེས་གཉེས་པ། དགེ་སྟོང་བཞིས་རྒྱུན་

ཆགས་སུ་དགོ་བསྐྱེན་བཅུ་འཛོལ་ཆ་སྒྲིམས་པ་གང་འཕྲུང་བྱ་བ། དགོ་སློང་བཅུ་འཛོལ་ནང་ནས་གསུང་རབ་བར་མི་  
 ཚད་པ་སྒོལ་ཅིང་། ཏུས་སུ་མེ་རྟོག་འདྲེན་པ། སྐྱལ་ཆལ་དགོལ་བ། དུག་སྒོམ་སྤར་བ། ཡོན་ཆལ་འབྲལ་བ།  
 གདུགས་ཤུབ་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་དགོན་མཚོག་དང་དོ་ཡི་ལམོར་ལ་མཚོད་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་སྲིང་བ་བརྟེན་གས་དགོས་ཤིང་།  
 བཙམ་པོ་ཁྱི་གཙུག་ལྷེ་བཙམ་གྱི་སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་བསྐྱེན་པ་སློང་བའི་སྐྱའི་སྤྲོད་ཏུ་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་མཚོད་པ་དང་། དག་གི་  
 བསྐྱེད་པ་གསོལ་དགོས། རྩེ་གཅིག་ལྷན་དགོ་བཅུ་འཛོལ་སྒོམ་གྱི་དྲི་བསུང་རྒྱུ་ཆགས་པར་འབྲལ་བར་བགྱིས། དགོན་  
 མཚོག་ལ་བསང་ཞེ་རེ་(?) དང་བཅུ་དེ་བཞི་ལ་མི་རེ་སྐྱེན་ནམ་སྒོམ་ཞེ་རེ་(?) བཙམ་པོའི་སྐྱ་ཆེ་བསྐྱེད་བའི་ཕྱིར་  
 སྐྱོན་ལམ་བགྱིས། དུག་ལྷ་བཅུ་པ་ནས་དཔྱིད་ལྷ་དང་པོའི་ཆེས་བཙོལ་པའི་དབང་ལྷ་འབངས་ཀྱིས་འགོ་བྱེན་སྤར་ཏེ་ལྷ་  
 མིས་དགོན་མཚོག་ལ་མཚོད་པ་བཞེངས། ཡང་དགོན་མཚོག་ལ་མཚོད་པ་དང་སྐྱོན་ལམ་འདེབས་པའི་ཏུས་སུ་ལྷ་  
 འབངས་མི་སེར་གྱིས་སེམས་ཙན་འབྲམ་གྱི་སྒོག་ལེན་པའི་བྱ་བ་བརྟེན་ཆེ་ལྷ་རེ་བཞིན་དགོན་མཚོག་ལ་མཚོད་པ་  
 དང་། དུལ་མི་ལ་དམ་ཚེས་བཤད་པར་བྱ། བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་དང་ལྷན་ན་ཅི་ལོས་སུ་དགོན་མཚོག་ལ་མཚོད་པའི་རྒྱས་རྣམས་  
 བཤམས། ཟས་གོས་ཀྱི་ཤོངས་བ་རྣམས་ལ་སྐྱོན་པ་བགྱིས།

དེ་ནི་གོང་གསལ་ཡི་གེ་ལ་ཐོག་མའི་དཔྱད་པར་འཇུག་པ་ན། དང་པོ། རྫོང་འཛོལ་བ་བསྐྱེན་པའི་ལོ་ཁམས་ནི་ཞིབ་ལྟ་  
 མི་གསལ་ཡང་བཙམ་པོ་ཁྱི་གཙུག་ལྷེ་བཙམ་ཏེ་ཁྱི་རལ་པ་ཙན་གྱི་སྐྱ་ཏུས་སུ་ཡོན་པ་རྫོང་ཐོག་གསལ་བར་ལམོད་  
 ཡོད་གཤིས། ཁྱི་གཙུག་ལྷེ་བཙམ་ཁྱི་ལམོད་ལོ་ནི་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༡༥ ལྟེ་ཤིང་ལྷག་ལོ་ཡོན་པ་གཏན་ལམེལ་ཏེ་ལྷ་ལྷན་བཙུག་  
 ལག་ཁང་མུའུ་ངོས་ཀྱི་བོད་རྒྱ་དུ་ལྷང་རྫོང་འཛོལ་ཡི་གེའི་ཐོག་ནས་ར་སློང་ལྷག་ལ། དེང་ཏུས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྤྱི་བ་པོ་  
 ཚོའི་བཞེང་པ་ཡང་རྩེ་མཐུན་ཡོན་པའི་ཕྱིར། བཙམ་པོ་དེའི་འདས་ལོར་ཆོས་འབྲུང་རྒྱལ་རབས་ནང་བཞེང་པ་  
 གཅིག་མཐུན་མེན་ཡང་གཙོ་བོ་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༡༩ ས་རྟེ་ལོ་འམ་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༢༡ ལྷགས་བྱ་ལོར་གཤེགས་པ་ཡོངས་གྲགས་སུ་  
 ཡོན། དེས་ན་རྫོང་འཛོལ་གྱི་ཡི་གེ་དེའང་ཏུས་རབས་དགུ་པའི་ལོ་རབས་ཉི་ཤུ་ལྷན་སུམ་ཅུ་འཛོལ་འོག་ཏུ་བཞོས་ཞེས་ཁ་  
 ཚོན་བཅད་པར་ལུས་པས་ད་ལན་ལོ་ངོ་༡༡༠༠ ལ་ཉེ་བ་ཞིག་འདས་པར་སོང་། གཉིས་པ། རྫོང་འཛོལ་གསལ་པའི་ས་ནི་  
 ཁྱིམ་ཚུན་ཞེས་པའི་ལུལ་ལྷང་དེ་ཡོན། ཏུར་རྒྱལ་བཙམ་པོ་རིམ་རྒྱུན་གྱིས་བོད་སྤྱི་ལ་དབང་བསྐྱུར་སྐབས་ལུལ་གྲོང་  
 དེ་ཏུ་ལག་གི་ཡ་གྲུལ་ཏུ་ལག་སྟོད་ཁོངས་སུ་གཏོགས་ཤིང་། ཁྱི་གཙུག་ལྷེ་བཙམ་གྱི་ལུམ་འགོ་བཟེན་ལྷ་རྒྱལ་མང་པོ་  
 རྗེ་ལམ་འགོ་ཁྱི་མོ་ལོགས་ཀྱི་ཁྱིམ་བརྒྱུད་འགྲུང་གཏུང་ཏུས་ཀྱིས་བདག་གིར་བཟུང་བའི་ས་ཆ་ཡོན། ལུལ་དེའི་ཕྱོགས་  
 སུ་བཏང་པའི་གཞི་རྒྱ་ཆེ་བའི་བང་སའི་ཚོགས་དང་། རྫོང་འཛོལ་གྱི་ཡི་གེ་ལ་ལམོད་པའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཞེས་པའི་ཚིག་  
 ལ་གཞིག་ན་གཞུང་ཏུས་དེར་ཆོས་སྤྲིད་རྒྱུ་གི་འཕྲིན་ལས་མི་དམན་པ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པར་མངོན།

སྤྱིར་ཏུར་རྒྱལ་བཙམ་པོའི་ཏུས་བསྐྱེན་པའི་རྫོང་འཛོལ་གྲག་ལ་བཞོས་པའི་ཡི་གེ་པལ་ཆེ་བ་ནི་བཙམ་པོའི་བཀའ་

གཉེན་གསུལ་གཏོགས་ཤིང་། དེའང་བཀའ་ཐང་གི་སྡེ་ལྟེ་ལས་། རི་ལྷུང་དོ་རིང་བཟོ་ལེགས་བཅུགས་དང་། ཡང་མེས་  
 རྒྱལ་པོའི་རི་ལྷུང་མཇེད་ཚུལ་དང་། ཐང་ཡིག་རྒྱལ་པོའི་བཀའ་ལུང་བསྐྱེད་བའི་སྤེལ་ཞེས་ལུང་བ་ལྷུང་། དོ་ཡིག་གི་  
 དོ་སོལ་གཞིག་ན་དེའི་བའི་ལྷུང་ཡོད་དེ། བོད་རྒྱ་མཇེད་ལུ་མེད་ཚིག་དཔེ་ན་ལྷུ་སའི་བོད་རྒྱ་དེའི་ལུང་གི་དོ་རིང་  
 ལྷུ་ལུ། བཅོམ་པོས་རྒྱལ་སྤེལ་དང་སྤོམ་པོ་བྱས་པ་ཅན་ལ་གཞན་བའི་བཀའ་གཉེན་གསུལ་དཔེ་ན་གོང་པོ་དེ་མའི་དོ་བཞོས་  
 ཡི་གེ་དང་ལྷུ་སའི་ཞེས་གྱི་དོ་རིང་གྱི་མའི་ཡི་གེ་ལྷུ་ལུ། བཅོམ་པོའི་མཇེད་རྗེས་བཞོད་པའི་བསྐྱོད་པ་དཔེ་ན་ཞི་ལྷེ་  
 སྤོང་བཅོམ་བང་མའི་དོ་རིང་དང་འབྲེངས་རྒྱས་ཟམ་པའི་དོ་རིང་ལྷུ་ལུ། དམ་ཚེས་བསྐྱེད་ལུ་གཞན་པར་དམིགས་ནི་  
 དགོ་འདུན་གྱི་སྤེལ་གཉེན་གསུལ་ལག་ཁང་ལ་གཞན་བའི་བཀའ་ལུང་དཔེ་ན་བསམ་ཡས་གཉེན་གསུལ་ལག་ཁང་གི་དོ་རིང་དང་སྤོད་  
 ལུང་མཚུར་ལུའི་དོ་རིང་ཡི་གེ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ལྷུ་ལུའོ།

གོང་སྤོས་ལྷུང་ཁྲིམ་ཚུན་དོ་རིང་དེའང་ཡི་གེ་མི་གསལ་བ། ཡང་ན་དོ་བཤུས་བྱས་པའི་ཚིག་འདུལ་ལ་ཚིག་སྤོ་  
 རིགས་མི་ཚོད་པ་སོགས་གྱི་སྐྱེད་པས་མ་ཡིག་ཆ་ཚང་གྱི་མི་སྤྱིང་དོན་འདི་ལྷུ་སྤེལ་ཞེས་འགྲེལ་བཞོད་དགའ་ཡང་། དོ་  
 ཡིག་དེ་ལྷུ་བའི་ཆ་ནས་མཚུར་ལུའི་དོ་ཡིག་དང་འདྲ་གས་ཆེ་སྤེ། བཅོམ་པོ་ཞི་གཉེན་སྤེལ་བཅོམ་གྱིས་དགོ་འདུན་གྱི་  
 སྤེལ་གཉེན་གསུལ་ལག་ཁང་ལ་གཞན་བའི་བཀའ་ལུང་ལུ་དེས་པས། གཉེན་པོའི་བཞོད་བྱེད་ལུ་གཉེན་གསུལ་ལག་ཁང་ལྷུ་བཅོམ་པོའི་  
 ལྷུ་རིམ་སྤྱོད་རྒྱ་དང་། དགོན་མཚོག་ལ་མཚོད་པའི་པམ་ཡོན་བསྐྱེད་པའོ་ཞེས་ཚིག་ཐག་ཚོད་པ་ཞིག་འདུག་གོ་སྤྱི་མཇེད་  
 བཅོམ་པོ་ཞི་ལྷེ་སྤོང་བཅོམ་སྤྱུ་ལུས་(༤༠༠?-༤༡༤) སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་བསྐྱེད་པ་ལ་སྤེལ་བྱས་མཚོད་ལྷུ་ལྷུག་བསྐྱེད་པས་  
 ཡོད་པ་ཡོང་གྲགས་ལྷུང་ཡིན་པ། དགའ་རྒྱུད་དོ་རིང་དཔྱིངས་གྱི་གཉེན་གསུལ་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས་པ། བཅོམ་ལྷུ་འདས་  
 རིང་ལུགས་འཇིག་པའི་དགོ་སྤོང་ལ་ཆབ་སྤོང་གྱི་འདུན་གྲོས་སུ་དབང་བའི་སྤོམ་ཚུན་པོའི་གོ་མིང་བསྐྱེད་པ་གཉིས་ལི་  
 དཔེ་མཚོན་ཅིམ་ཡིན། ཞི་གཉེན་སྤེལ་བཅོམ་གྱིས་ཡང་ཡང་ཞི་ལྷེ་སྤོང་བཅོམ་གྱི་མཇེད་སྤོགས་རྗེས་སུ་འདུག་སྤེལ་  
 ལྷུང་པའི་དང་པས་དགོན་མཚོག་ལ་མཚོད་པ། གཉེན་གསུལ་ལག་ཁང་དང་དགོ་འདུན་ལ་བསྐྱེད་བཀྲུང་སོགས་ཡང་གྱི་སྤྱུ་  
 ལུས་ལ་འགྲེལ་པར་བྱས་པའི་མཇེད་རྗེས་བཞག་ཡོད་པ་བཅོམ་པོ་དཔྱིངས་སུ་བཞེངས་པའི་དོ་ཡིག་གཞན་ནས་དོ་  
 སྤོད་བྱེད་ལ་དོ་ཡིག་འདི་ནས་ཀྱང་དེས་ཤེས་རྟེན་དོ།

བཅོམ་པོའི་ལུས་གྱི་དོ་དང་སྤྱོད་བཞོས་ཡི་གེའི་སྤེལ་མོང་གི་ལུང་ཚོས་ནི་དེ་རྣམས་ནི་བོད་མིའི་མེས་པོས་པོ་དོ་  
 ༡༠༠༠ སྤོམ་ལུ་རང་གི་པོ་རྒྱས་དོ་ལ་བཞོས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཆེ་བཅོས་སྤྱོད་གྱི་དྲི་མ་དང་སྤྱོད་པས་བྱིས་སུ་སྤོམ་པའི་ཚོས་  
 འདུང་རྒྱལ་རབས་ལས་གཉེན་གསུལ་ཆེ་བ། དོ་ཡིག་གི་བདེ་སྤོང་དང་དོ་ལི་གེའི་བདེ་དག་སྤོམ་ཚུལ་ལ་དེའི་བའོད་  
 པས་བོད་ཡིག་གི་བདེ་སྤོང་རིག་པའི་འཕེལ་རིམ་དཔྱད་པ་བྱ་རྒྱུར་མ་ལྷི་ཚང་རྣམ་ཡིན་པ། གཞན་རབས་བོད་མིའི་དོ་  
 བཞོས་སྤྱུ་ཚུལ་གྱི་རྒྱ་ཚང་མཚོན་པའི་དོས་དབང་ཡིན་པ་ལྷུ་ལུའོ། དེས་ན་ཁྲིམ་ཚུན་དོ་རིང་གི་ཡི་གེ་འདི་ལྷུང་

ཚོས་ཡང་གོང་སྤོམ་ལྟར་ལགས། དམིས་གསལ་དུ་བརྗོད་པར་འོས་པ་ལོ། རྟོ་ཡིག་འདི་རང་ཅག་གི་མིག་ལམ་དུ་  
 བྱུང་བའི་ཁྱི་གུའི་ལྟུང་ལྟུང་གི་རྟོ་ཡིག་གསལ་པ་(གཞན་གཉིས་ལྟུང་གི་སྤོམ་ལྟུང་གི་རྟོ་ཡིག་གསལ་པ་  
 ལྟུང་མཚུར་ལྟུང་གི་རྟོ་ཡིག་གསལ་པ་) ཡིན་པས་བཙུན་པོ་དེའི་ཚོས་སྤོམ་གྱི་དུང་བ་བརྗོད་པར་དཔྱད་གཞི་གསལ་པ་  
 མཐོང་འདོན་དུས་ཡོད་པ་རེད། བོད་ཀྱི་ཡོངས་གྲགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་རབས་སུ་བཙུན་པོ་ཁྱི་སྤོམ་བཙུན་གྱིས་དམ་པའི་ཚོས་  
 སྤོམ་གཏོང་། འབྲུག་སྤང་གུའི་ལག་ཁང་དང་དུ་གཞོན། མཐའ་འབྲུག་ཡང་འབྲུག་པ་སོགས་པའི་གུའི་ལག་ཁང་  
 བརྒྱ་ཅུ་བརྒྱད་བཞེངས་ཟེར། ཡང་ཞེ་གཉིས་བཞེངས། གྲངས་མ་ཚང་བ་དཔེན་སྲས་ཀྱི་དུས་ལ་བཙུན་པོ་དང་སྤོམ་  
 པོས་བཞེངས། ཞེས་ལྟུང་ཚོས་འབྲུང་ལས་དུང། བཙུན་པོ་ཁྱི་གུའི་ལྟུང་ལྟུང་བཞེངས་པའི་གུའི་ལག་ཁང་སྤོམ་  
 ལྟུང་ཚོས་འབྲུང་ལས། ཁྱི་གུའི་ལྟུང་ལྟུང་ལས་པ་ཙམ་གྱིས་རྒྱལ་ས་བཟུང་ནས། འཕྲུ་ཅང་རྟོ་དཔག་མེད་ལེགས་  
 པའི་གཡུང་དུང་གི་གུའི་ལག་ཁང་རྒྱ་ལོངས་དགུ་བ་རྒྱུགས་པ་དཔེ་དང་འགྲན་ལྷ་མེད་པ་བཞེངས། ཞེས་རལ་དུང་  
 བ་རྣམས་གསོས། གུའི་ལག་ཁང་བརྒྱ་ཅུ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་གྲངས་མི་ཚང་བ་དག་ཀྱང་ཁ་བསྐངས་ཏེ། ཉང་རོ་རྩིས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་  
 ཁང་དུ་རྩིས་བཏབ། རྒྱའི་གོང་དུ་མེ་རུ་ཡན་ཆད་དུ་གུའི་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས། ཞེས་གསལ། དེ་ལྟར་ཡང་བཙུན་པོ་  
 རིམ་སྤོམ་གྱི་དུས་སུ་གུའི་ལག་ཁང་དང་ལྷ་ཁང་པ་སོགས་པ་བཙུན་པོ་འབྲུག་ཞེས་གི་བཞེངས་བ་མ་ཡིན་པར་རྟོ་  
 མོ། དགེ་བའི་བཞེས་གཉེན། སྤོམ་པོ་དང་པ་ཙམ་གྱི་བཞེངས་པ་འང་མང་དུ་མཚིས། འདིར་ལྷ་ཁང་བརྒྱ་ཅུ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་  
 ཚིག་སྤོམ་འདི་ལ་རྒྱ་མཚན་དེས་ཙམ་ཞེས་ཡོད་པ་སྤང། དེ་སྤོམ་མཐའ་དབང་འབྲུག་ཞེས་གུའི་ལག་ཁང་རམ་  
 ལྷ་ཁང་བརྒྱ་ཅུ་བརྒྱད་ཟེར་བ་འདི་ཡང་བཙུན་པོ་རིམ་སྤོམ་གྱི་ཚོས་སྤོམ་གྱི་མཚན་པ་མཚོན་སྤོམ་དུས་རབས་ལོ་  
 རྒྱུས་སྤོམ་བས་མང་ཚིག་ཙམ་ཞེས་དུ་བཟངས་བ་ལས་དངོས་སུ་དེ་ལྟར་མེད་པའི་དགོངས་བཞེད་འཛིན། རོ་མཚར་  
 ཅག་ལ་ལྟུང་ཚོས་འབྲུང་དུ་གུའི་ལག་ཁང་བརྒྱ་ཅུ་ཙམ་གྱི་མཚན་ནས་གྲངས་ལེགས་ཡོད་པས་ཁྱི་གུའི་ལྟུང་ལྟུང་  
 དུས་སུ་གྲངས་དེ་ཙམ་ཟེན་ཞེས་སྤོམ་ཚེ་མི་མཚམས་པ་མེད་པར་སེམས་ལ། བརྒྱ་ཅུ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་ཐ་སྤྱང་ཡང་དེ་དུས་  
 ཆགས་ཡོད་པ་ཁྱོམ་ཚེན་རྟོ་ཡིག་འདི་ལ་གསལ་བའི་ཤིང་། སྤོམ་པའི་གུའི་ལག་ཁང་པལ་ཚེ་བའི་གཞི་ཁྱོན་ཡང་  
 དེ་ཙམ་ཚེ་བ་མེད་པར་མངོན་ཏེ་དགེ་སྤོམ་བཞི་ཙམ་གྱིས་དགོན་གྱི་གཉེར་ཁ་འབྲུག་པ་རྟོ་ཡིག་འདི་དང་མཚུར་ལྟུང་གི་  
 རྟོ་ཡིག་གསལ་པར་རྟུལ།

ད་ནི་ཁྱོམ་ཚེན་རྟོ་ཡིག་འཕྲོད་པའི་གུའི་ལག་ཁང་དང་དེ་བཏབ་པའི་སྤོམ་པའི་སྤོམ་པའི་གང་ཞེས་  
 ཐོགས། ལོ་རྒྱུས་མི་སྣ་སུ་ཞེས་གསལ་བསྐྱུན་ཞེས། ས་མིང་གི་འདོ་འབྱུང་དང་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་ཡིག་ཆའི་བདེན་  
 དཔང་ལྟར་དཔེ་དཔེ་པའི་སྤོམ་གྱིས་བསྐྱེད་ཚིག་རེ་ཞེས་མ་རྟེན། འཕྲུ་ཅང་རྟོ་ཡིག་འདི་དཔེ་གཡམས་དོས་ཀྱི་ཡིག་སྤོམ་  
 བཅུ་བརྒྱུ་པར་མུང་གོ་ཞེས་པའི་ཡིག་འབྲུག་གཉིས་མཚིས་པ་དེ་དང་སྤོམ་ཚོས་འབྲུང་དང་ལྟུང་ཚོས་འབྲུང་གཉིས་སུ་



མུང་(ཉང་) །ག་མི་གོ་ཚས་རྒྱ་ཚལ་གྱི་ལྷ་ཁང་བཞེངས་ཟེར་བའི་ཚིག་ལ་སོགས་པར་འབྲེལ་བ་ཡོད་མེད་དཔྱད་པར་  
འོས། མུང་ །ག་མི་གོ་ཚ་འི་ཁྱི་ལྷོ་སྤོང་བཙམ་སྐྱུ་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཚོས་སྤོན་ཚེན་པོ་མུང་གཉིང་དེ་འཛིན་གྱི་གུཅང་པོ་ཡིན་ཏེ་ཁྱི་  
གུཅག་ལྷོ་བཙམ་གོ་སྐྱུ་རྒྱས་སུ་བཞུགས་ཟེར་ཡང་རྒྱ་མཚན་ཉུ་མཚིས།

གོང་ཉུ་ཁོ་བོས་གསར་ཉུ་རྟོག་པའི་བཙམ་པའི་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་དོ་རིང་ཅིག་མཚམས་སྟེང་དང་དེར་རང་གི་མ་སྤྱིན་པའི་ལྷ་  
རྒྱལ་རགས་ཙམ་དཔྱད་གཞིའི་བོམ་ཙམ་ཉུ་བཙོད་ཟེན་ཡང་། འོག་རྟོགས་དང་མོར་འཆུག་ཅི་རིགས་མཚིས་པ་གཞོན་  
མི་བྱ་བས། མཁས་དབང་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཡོ་བསྟང་བཀའ་སློབ་གནང་བའི་རེ་བ་དང་བཅས།

### དཔྱད་གཞིའི་དཔེ་དེབ།

- ལྷོ་ཚོས་འདུང་། ལྷ་སའི་ཕྱགས་པར།
- འོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེའི་ཐེང་ལྷ། ལྷ་སའི་ཕྱགས་པར།
- འོད་ཀྱི་དོ་རིང་ཡི་གེ་དང་རྒྱལ་བུའི་ཁ་བུང་། ལེ་ཅིང་གྱི་ཕྱགས་པར།



# CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN EDUCATION AMONGST IMMIGRANT TIBETANS IN INDIA

by

Nupur Pathak, Chandigarh

## **Introduction**

Since 1959, after the Chinese invasion the immigrant Tibetan community in India have migrated from their native land, Tibet, and are residing in various settlements in different parts of the country. Their propensity to preserve their cultural heritage is related to their isolated existence in Tibet from the rest of the world. There is always an intense desire to protect traditional Tibetan education as an important cultural heritage and as a symbol of ethnic identity.

The aim of the present study is to explore how mass media, culture contact, modern scientific education are becoming influential vehicles for changing attitude and converting traditional ideologies among migrant Tibetans in India. The system of education is an important landmark and is bound to have a bearing on the culture of the immigrant Tibetans in exile. It was with this perspective that the present study puts a special emphasis on analysis of educational status of immigrant Tibetans in India, highlighting the ongoing changes after migration. Their cultural traditions are under constant threat of degeneration and the social fabric is disintegrated.

After a preliminary investigation on above mentioned parameters four settlements were selected for detailed investigation. They include Dharamsala, Kulu, Manali and Dolanji in Himachal Pradesh in India.

## **Material and methods**

The selection of the households were done following a simple random sampling method in which every unit of the universe gets equal chance to be selected into the sample. A list of approximate household units were collected from the representative of each settlement.

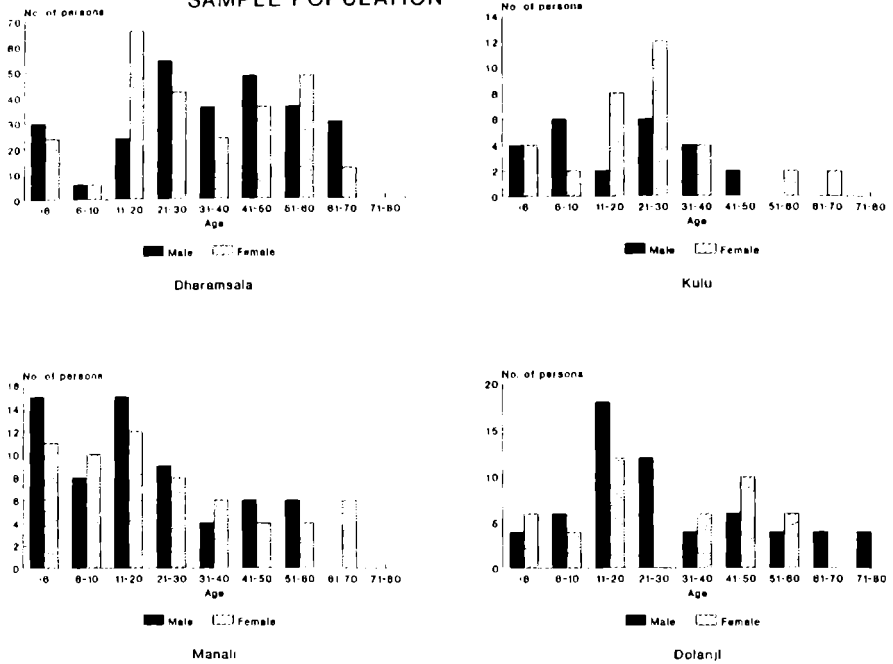
Anthropological techniques namely, observations, interview schedules, and interview guides, were used to collect the information related to continuity and change in educational institution.

## **Demographic composition of the studied population of four settlements**

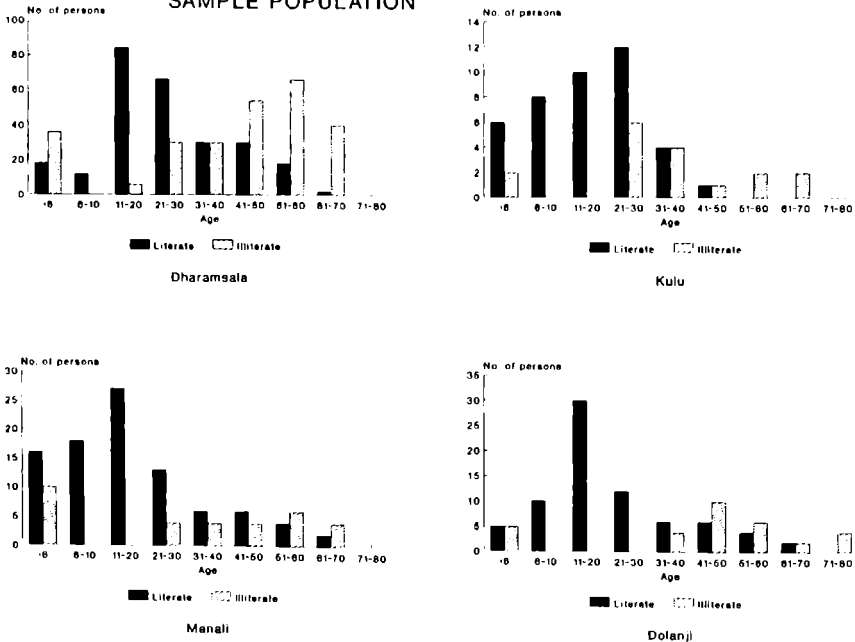
Table 1: Bar diagrams showing age and sex structure of sample population.

Table 2: Bar diagrams showing age-wise literacy status of sample population.

**Table 1 BAR DIAGRAMS SHOWING AGE & SEX STRUCTURE OF SAMPLE POPULATION**



**Table 2 BAR DIAGRAMS SHOWING AGE-WISE LITERACY STATUS OF SAMPLE POPULATION**



**Dharamsala**

Total number of population interviewed at Dharamsala was 522 constituting 10.4 percent of the static population. Maximum informants were in the age group of 21 to 30 and 59.8% of the population was below 40 years of age (Table 1).

**Kulu**

The population interviewed at Kulu was 58 constituting 45.3 percent of the total population. Seventy-six percent of the population below 30 years of age (Table 1).

**Manali**

Total number of population interviewed at Manali was 124, constituting 13.8 percent of the settlement population. 71 percent of the population was below 30 years of age (Table 1).

**Dolanji**

The total number of informants interviewed at Dolani settlement were 106, constituting 37.8 percent of the total population. Maximum respondents were in the age group of 11 to 20 years and 58.5 percent of the population was in the age group below 30 years (Table 1).

Evaluation of literacy status of all the four settlements revealed that majority of the people born before the Chinese invasion were illiterate (Table 2). Contrarily, increasing trend of literacy was observed among the Tibetan youths in India as projected in Tables 3 & 4.

The processes of social transformation have been recognised in the world over the domain of anthropological investigation. As compared to communities which are settled at one place for generations, the processes of social transformation are expected to become rampant in migrant groups and communities. An attempt was made to comprehend the changes that are going on within this group especially in the institution of education after migration to India.

**Education in Tibet**

General information obtained from published materials and from the immigrant Tibetans highlight that apart from few general schools 3,000 monasteries were scattered all over Tibet. Besides religious thought, culture, literature, grammar, medicine, engraving and traditional art, specialisation in magical rites and rituals related to (i) cure of ailments, (ii) driving away of evil spirits and (iii) control of supernatural forces were also taught in the monasteries. In Tibet, majority of the students left the school after five to six years of study which was then sufficient to maintain their daily living. At the primary level students were taught to read and write Tibetan language. The scriptures were memorised by heart by the monks and the general students. Tibetans had no experience of graded series of text books to instruct the students on the subjects of religion and traditional culture which constituted part of their traditional system of education.

At the advanced stage, monks and other students participated in dialectical discussions with their teachers regularly. The examinations in the monastery were conducted orally to test the knowledge of the candidates on Buddhist scriptures and philosophy. Proficiency in religious debate was also examined. The traditional educational system focused on philosophy and religion without incorporation of any science subjects. This sufficed the needs of the Tibetans, as they were secluded from the rest of the world.

A medical institute was established in the capital of Tibet, Lhasa, known as 'Chagpori'. In the later period another medical college known as 'House of Medicine and Astronomy' was established in Lhasa. Generally the selected local candidates and the monks from each monastery used to attend medical college in Tibet. It was said that to be a master of medicine one needed thirty years. After qualifying the examinations the students were eligible to start practice in their country. Few monks returned to their parent monasteries to practise and rest of them had to stay at the Medical Institute to carry on the research work.

### **Contemporary status of education**

In India, to help maintain Tibetan culture the Council for Tibetan Education was established in 1960. With the traditional teaching of Tibetan language, philosophy, religious texts and culture the students were being provided modern education on professional subjects like medicine, technology, engineering, law and the other skills to promote a competitive attitude among the Tibetan youths. Many residential schools, day schools and the monasteries were established in different parts of India to accommodate the immigrant children.

It was revealed that in all the Tibetan schools, syllabus of Central Board of Secondary Education was being followed. Basic medium of instruction was English. The introduction of modern class room instructions from the primary school level constituting of series of text books in Tibetan language on traditional culture, history and religion exhibits a radical departure from the traditional education system though it emphasised on retaining traditional mode of written language.

In India, generally after completion of initial education up to middle school level the children got admission in monastery but the orphans and poor children were accommodated at an early stage where besides religious texts and Tibetan language they were taught English, mathematics, science, Hindi and other compulsory subjects.

Those who decided to be monks for the rest of the life, continued their further studies on astronomy, medicine, Tibetan grammar, art, painting along with the lessons in Buddhist philosophy. At the end of eight years the monks achieved the highest degree known as Geshe degree after appearing in the traditional examination.

A Tibetan Medical Institute was also established in Dharamsala to train the students in traditional Tibetan medicine. In addition, there were provisions for higher studies in Indian or foreign universities. To encourage research work, the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives was established in Dharamsala. These were implemented energetically to incorporate new ideas and enculturate thought process which make the system competent enough to combat with emerging problems.

### **Emerging scenario of education in exile**

Primary information as collected from the sample population revealed increasing trend of literacy among the Tibetan youths in India. In Dharamsala, in few cases both the sexes acquired higher education (Table 3). After completion of graduation or postgraduation from Indian colleges they were either engaged in jobs or were planning to go abroad for better employment opportunities. As commented by Tibetan youths the necessity for education was basically for a better job facility which did not exist in Tibet.

The change in literacy status amongst immigrant Tibetans before and after Chinese invasion is projected in Table 4. The present study revealed a low literacy status among the immigrant

TABLE 3: FORMAL EDUCATION STATUS OF SAMPLE POPULATION

Age group	Settlement	Primary School		Middle School		High School		Total
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	
< 6 yrs	Dharamsala	12	6	--	--	--	--	18
	Kulu	4	2	--	--	--	--	6
	Manali	10	6	--	--	--	--	16
	Dolanji	4	6	--	--	--	--	10
6-10yrs	Dharamsala	5	4	1	2	--	--	12
	Kulu	5	0	1	2	--	--	8
	Manali	6	6	2	4	--	--	18
	Dolanji	4	2	2	2	--	--	10
11-20yrs	Dharamsala	3	6	8	29	7	31	84
	Kulu	--	2	1	3	1	3	10
	Manali	3	1	5	2	7	9	27
	Dolanji	6	4	4	2	8	4	28
21-30yrs	Dharamsala	18	5	21	8	19	5	76
	Kulu	2	4	2	2	--	2	12
	Manali	3	1	1	2	5	1	13
	Dolanji	6	--	4	--	2	--	12
31-40yrs	Dharamsala	9	3	11	2	4	1	30
	Kulu	2	2	--	--	--	--	4
	Manali	2	0	2	1	0	1	6
	Dolanji	2	2	--	2	--	--	6
SETTLEMENT WISE TOTAL	Dharamsala	47	24	41	41	30	37	220
	Kulu	13	10	4	7	1	5	40
	Manali	24	14	10	9	12	11	88
	Dolanji	22	14	10	6	10	4	66

TABLE 4: LITERACY TREND IN THE SAMPLE POPULATION

Settlement	Population below 30 years of age			Population above 30 years of age		
	Total Lit. %	Male Lit. %	Female Lit. %	Total Lit. %	Male Lit. %	Female Lit. %
Dharamsala	71.42%	73.69%	67.19%	29.62%	37.34%	20%
Kulu	81.81%	88.88%	76.92%	35.71%	50%	25%
Manali	84.1%	87.5%	75%	50%	62.5%	40%
Dolanji	91.93%	95%	86.36%	40.9%	50%	33.33%

Lit. = Literacy

Tibetans who were born in Tibet. Attributable causes lie in the fact that Tibet was secluded from the rest of the world for several centuries. Majority of them were engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry where education played no significant role. Except for the monasteries no organised formal schooling system existed.

Contrarily, increasing trend of literacy was observed among the Tibetan youths in India. This change is attributed to the fact that since the very first year of migration to India, top priority was provided to the education of the younger generation with an aim to achieve various interrelated goals. It was found that the Tibetans above 30 years of age have learnt colloquial English or Hindi and other regional languages to communicate with the non-Tibetans especially for trade, occupational needs and daily necessities.

As a convention all the parents desired to send their children at the age of 6 either to school or to monastery where besides education other basic facilities were available for the children. Besides sports and physical developments, the students were encouraged to do gardening and also developed kitchen gardens.

As an incentive to pursue higher studies, the Central Tibetan School Administration provided many scholarships. Provision for postgraduation and vocational training is also maintained by Council for Tibetan Education. In addition, Tibetan students were provided reserved seats in the professional spheres as sanctioned by the Ministry of Education, Government of India.

### **Conclusion and remarks**

In India, Tibetans are marginal farmers in the studied areas and they are often moving from place to place for additional income or new jobs. Tibetan youths are gradually seeking for higher education and are constantly seeking change in the traditional occupational structure. Majority of them are looking for worthy opportunities in the sphere of trading and marketing.

Mass communication media has played an important role in propagating health awareness and literacy missions in the minds of the young. The study highlights that immigrant Tibetan youth reflects the desire of the developing mind to accept the new values without rejecting the old tradition.

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# PROLEGOMENON FOR A HISTORY OF TIBETAN LITERATURE

by

Suniti Kumar Pathak, Calcutta

## **A cross-cultural exposure of Tibet**

About a couple of decades ago Tibetan studies have been recognised as one of social sciences for the advancement of human learning. The scope of Tibetan studies is not always buddhistic. It has been widened when vast materials in Tibetan speak about the totality of the Tibetan people's culture. Alike the neighbouring peoples, the Tibetans, developed their culture traits in various dimensions. Tibetan studies, therefore, promote the cause of human learning through continuity and convergence. The Tibetan literature manifests them explicitly.

The Tibetans, in spite of their ethnic plurality, hold a universal pattern of culture growth. They also continue individualistic, social and interactional expediencies through alienation and alliance. The Tibetan literature thus tends to be varied and multidisciplinary and becomes a prominent exposition of the culture complex in which contributions of diverse ethnic groups are available.

The inhabitants of Tibet living in the high upland of the Trans-Himalayas, preserve an integration in spite of their cultural plurality. Tibet which is now called TAR, Tibet Autonomous Region of China, is strategically important for being surrounded by the neighbouring countries like Central Asia, China, Mongolia, Iran, Arab, Nepal and India (Bharatavarṣa). The Tibetans also endeavoured to enrich their culture by assimilation of the many as well as to disseminate them to their neighbouring peoples like the Mongols and the other Central Asians, the Hans, the Manchus in the east, the inhabitants of Bhutan, Nepal and the Bhotias of the Indian Himalayas in the south.

Csoma de Kőrös innovated Tibetan studies with reference of the Tibetan translation literature from the Indic source materials especially in Sanskrit, Apabhraṃśa, Prakrit and Pali. His "Analysis of the Kah Hgyur" had then been a wonder in the cross-cultural exposure in Tibet. Since then, Tibetan studies have been in progress. The translations of the Indian texts became the basis in importing the Buddhist thoughts among the people of Tibet up to the 15th cent. A.D. Several critical studies have been done by the scholars outside Tibet with reference to Indo-Tibetan Buddhism. Simultaneously, the Buddhist erudites ventured to interpret the Buddhist scriptures and composed many texts to exhibit the divergent outlook of the teaching lineages (*brgyud*). The wide dimension of Buddhist literature in Tibetan would claim to be a large chapter in the proposed history. Modern scholars of the west and the east have already posed its immensity.

Moreover, the Tibetan materials in Mongolian and those in other languages have now been accessible for the promulgation of Tibetan studies. Lokesh Chandra has already published the some valuable materials of the Tibetan literature out of the rare collection of his illustrious father Professor Raghuvira from Siberia and China. The collections made by Rahula Sankrityayana and those by Giuseppe Tucci from various parts of Tibet in this century encourage to fulfil the long-felt desideratum of preparing a history of Tibetan literature.

Also many arduous strives by the Tibetans who are now outside TAR for preservation of their dying literary traditions are to note here. The ethno-socio culture traits of the Tibetan speaking people in Asia are now at a stake. The mind and face of the inhabitants of Tibet up to the fifties of our century exist no longer. Among them, the cultural distinction of the Tibetans attracts the world up till now for their cohesion of the wisdom with the practical method of achievement. But no comprehensive history of the Tibetan literature has yet been attempted to enhance the scope of Tibetan studies further. A historical study of the Tibetan literary materials in multiple aspects speaks about the continuous process of cross-cultural experimentation since the early centuries of the Christian era.

A traditional account of the ethnic movement from Ta zig (Iran) to the south-west Tibet in the Trans-Himalayan region probably occurred in the early centuries of the Christian period as claimed by the Bon-priests. The conversion of Tibetan sexagesimal cycles to their chronology in the Christian calendar may not always correspond accurately.

### **Its perimeter**

A literature communicates the socio-cultural status of a group of human beings to describe their mind and face. The Tibetan literature becomes thematically diverse. It maintains oral traditions as well as written materials which developed through following periods:

- (i) Early period of the Tibetan literature (up to cent. 10 A.D.)
- (ii) Middle period of dimensional diversity (cent. 11-18 A.D.) which may be subdivided in two epochs:
  - (a) Epoch of radical progress up to cent. 15 A.D. and
  - (b) that of momentum in creative diversity (cent. 16-18 A.D.)
- (iii) Modern period (up to 1950 A.D.) of the literature
- (iv) Contemporary literature (1950 A.D. onwards in Tibetan). The above periodic distribution is based on its thematic relevance in the time context. The perimeter of the Tibetan literature happens to be somewhat coherent to its dimensional growth.

### **Early period (up to cent. 10 A.D.)**

The heroic tales of Gesar Ling which had been popular in oral traditions may claim to be the conspicuous evidence of the early phase of creative composition among the Tibetans and other Tibetan-speaking peoples of Mongolia, China and those of the Indian Himalayas.

The tale regarding the falling of scriptures on the roof the royal palace of Lha tho tho ri (c. 4th cent. A.D.) communicable to the then seers and onlookers. In which language those scriptures were? Gang Sung? Urgyan? Buruski? ...

The entrance of Bon, carried by the priests in the south-west Tibet, as the tradition speaks, during the early consolidation of Yar lungs leadership leaves meagre literary records to construct a separate chapter. A chapter dealing with the Tibetan literature regarding the ecclesiastic Bon precepts does not narrate its early period. The use of Gang Sung scripts in the model of Lañchana/Rañjana lip or Lantsa, as claimed by the Bon po priests prior to the innovation of Tibetan scripts (7th cent. A.D.), may be hard to substantiate. Not the Iranian sources, nor the Chinese materials of the Wu dynasty record the details about their neighbouring people of the Trans-Himalayas. The folklore and myths which have come down up till now suggest the prevalence of verbal communication as they were then understandable to the listeners residing in the valleys and ravines of the high plateau.

The Bon po priests in 'Bru dza (zha) might claim their semblance with the speech Brushkshi which might have been in vogue by cent. 2 A.D. in the western (*praticya*) country in between the down course of the Sin (dhu) and the north-eastern border of Iran. The specimens, as referred by Siddheswar Verma (1920), require further probing. Gang Sung and Brush or Puruski were probably in usage prior to the systematisation made by Thon mi Sambhoṭa in the 7th cent A.D. In course of systematisation Thon mi Sambhoṭa might take care of the then prevailing speeches used in popular tales, folklore as Pāṇini endeavoured in the Western Himalayas by 400 B.C. in composing his Aṣṭādhyāyī on Sanskrit grammar.

The Dunhuang documents which refer to the Yar lungs are silent about the Olmu lung / rñing Bon tradition. The latter generated in the remote areas like Bur dza, (s)Pu rangs and Gu ge in the northwest of the Himalayas. It was administered with the local rituals of nature-worship which subsequently became akin to the pre-Vedic Śiva cult of Kashmir. Prior to the consolidated state formation in Tibet many sporadic groups of the Trans-Himalayas used to practise their indigenous rituals. No systematisation of the faith was ventured. The Dunhuang documents substantiate them. Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956) and R. A. Stein (1957) refer to some pre-Bon local faiths resembling the Mother Tantra which might be indigenous. Egon von Eickstedt (1926): also traced them among some ethnic types of the Western Himalayas. Moreover several edicts and inscriptions come in the purview.

Thon mi Sambhoṭa (7th cent. A.D.) otherwise named Anu, is accredited with the authorship of Sum cu pa and rTag 'jug pa as he endeavoured to systematise the Trans-Himalayan speeches spoken by the inhabitants of sTod bod. Its linguistic study may not be relevant in the present context. The Proto-Tibetan literature requires further research in contrast to the speeches belonging to the neighbouring peoples of Tibet. Giuseppe Tucci (1980: 165) aptly remarks:

"In general it can be asserted that the religious practice of the layman is still strongly under the influence of the pre-Buddhist and folk heritage. He is familiar from his childhood with the epic deeds and marvellous happenings with which the literature and traditions deriving from this heritage are filled. The particular kind of religious feeling which gives life to them regulates all the relationship between the Tibetan people and the immense, uncertain world of the demonic and the divine".

The advent of Buddhist literature in Central Tibet and its predominant role through the patronisation of the *bTsan* rulers is well documented. Also the support of the T'ang emperors of China, the assistance of the Buddhist teachers from Nepal with the source materials and the influx of the Buddhist erudition for centuries paved the path for the Early Spread (*snga dar*) of Buddhism in Tibet.

The Buddhist literature in Tibetan extends in three sections, *i.e.* *Yig bsgyur* (translation work), *gTer ma* (revelations) and *bsTan bcos* (elucidatory compilations) by Tibetan Buddhist scholars.

Pad ma 'byung gnas (Padmasambhava) is said to have been initiated by Thisong detsan (Khri srong lde btsan, cent. 8 A.D.) to visit Tibet for facing the severe challenges from the Bon po priests when the Tibetan chieftains adhered to the pre-Buddhist Bon tradition prevalent then in 8th cent. A.D. Pad ma 'byung gnas succeeded in application of the rNying rgyud to subdue his opponents. He therefore ensured the base of Buddhism in Tibet by installing the bSam yas monastery in Tibet (750 A.D.).

The teachings of Buddha Śākyamuni were carried to Tibet in Indian original since the introduction of Buddhism by the Indian Buddhist missionaries. The Tibetans also paid high

regard to those sayings by preserving in Tibetan translation and by codifying them as the sacred texts of the Indians. Those texts are generally known as the Kanjur (*bka' 'gyur: buddhavacana*) and the Tanjur (*bstan 'gyur: śāstra*). The latter collection consists of the works composed by the Indian Buddhist exponents like Nāgārjuna (1st cent. A.D.), Asaṅga and his brother Vasubandhu (4th cent. A.D.), Padmasambhava and his contemporaneous Śāntarakṣita (8th cent. A.D.), Kamalaśīla (8th cent. A.D.), Naropa (9th cent. A.D.), Birupa (10th cent. A.D.), Atiśa Dīpaṅkara (11th cent. A.D.) and many other Indian teachers. Thus a bilateral relationship was established between the Indian and the Tibetan Buddhists.

The sūtra and the tantra texts as preserved in Tibetan translations have great importance in the Indological studies. Actually speaking, the demarcation between the sūtra and the tantra, as we understand now, did not prevail in olden time. The ideal of the bodhisattva, who took the vow to dedicate himself for redressing the suffering of others had been elaborated in theory and in practice in the sūtra and the tantra texts.

What was the case of the lay people outside the Yar lungs valley? In mNga' ris khor gsum the Bon priests took care of them. They undertook a competitive task to provide ethno-cultural nourishment in the Tibetan literature of the Bon. Because they had no access into the Buddhist monastic environment for socio-economic background. They reproduced gŚen rab glorification at par with that of Śākyamuni, the Buddha. The healthy competition lost its fervour after being loathed by potential power game during Glang dar ma and subsequent Yum brtan regime in Central Tibet and in Western Tibet. The diversity of the Tibetan literary history became explicit.

### **Middle period of dimensional diversity**

As usual the intelligentsia of Tibet were engaged to proceed in multifarious directions, which had then been known to them. The patronage of the Sa skya hierarch enhanced the inquisitiveness of the Tibetan scholars when the Buddhists of Bharatavarṣa got their asylum either in Nepal or in Tibet. The diverse literary production of the Bon teachers deserved a separate mention.

On the other hand, the inhabitants of Central Tibet had the occasion to be in touch with the Yuan emperors of China as well as the vast population of the Kokonor Mongols. Again, a fusion in the Tibetan culture could generate a new dimension of the Tibetan literature through patronage and hostility.

Besides the translation works from the Indian, the Chinese and the Central Asian sources, the Buddhist teachers and authors belonging to Tibet and Mongolia were accredited with the literary contribution in Tibetan in different aspects of the Buddhist thought. Which may be broadly divided into five heads.

(i) Annotations, elucidations and commentary works of the Tibetan translated texts further led to manifold schism among the Tibetan Buddhists. Such as,

- (a) Nyingma school advocated the tenets of Padmasambhava in the 8th cent. A.D.
- (b) Kargyu school reformed by Lama Marudpa (cent. 11 A.D.) on interpretation of Naropa.
- (c) Sakya school founded by dKon mchog rgyal po (cent. 11 A.D.) with reference to Birupa's elucidation.
- (d) Gelu school reformed by Tsong kha pa (cent. 15 A.D.) as preached by Atiśa Dīpaṅkara. Kadam and other minor schools like Karmapa founded by Rinchen dorjee, Di-klhungpa, Talungpa, Zhijepa, grew in due course.

(ii) Esoteric experiences (*sgrub thabs*) with or without ritualistic formulae (*cho ga*) prescribed in the tantra are related to deities in singular or in multiple. Texts such as *lam rim*, *ra khrid* and *sgrub dkyil* were composed by eminent Buddhist teachers in their *gSung*s 'bum (Collected Works). Occasionally they preserve the exposition on the particular tantra practice. For instance, *Mi bskod dkyil hor gyi cho ga* and *dBang don rab gal* ascribed to Tsong kha pa (Toh. 5287) belong to the Guhyasamāja. Similarly *dByangs can Dga' ba'i blo gros* composed on the Guhyasamāja practice in his work *Lam gzhag legs bshad*. In propitiation of multiple deities several works were also written by scholars according to their personal experience. Tsong kha pa's work entitled *Rin po che'i 'phreng ba* and *dPal gzhin rje gsed lha bco gsum ma rnyoms kyi dkyil 'khor du dbang bskur ba sgnub pa'i thabs kyi cho ga* (Toh. 5339) were popular among the *dGie lugs pa* Buddhists.

(iii) Epistemological analysis and doctrinal interpretations for general understanding. Several Buddhist philosophers like Maitreyanātha, Vasubandhu, Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla comprehended in conformity of the logical ground of nonsubstantiality. Among the Tibetans the Abhidharma, the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra deliberations also continued. Resultantly, some philosophical texts based on the Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras were composed to compromise in Madhyamaka-Sautrāntika, the Yogācāra-Madhyamaka (Svatāntrika) standpoints. For example, the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* (Toh. 3786) ascribed to Maitreyanātha laid emphasis on such assimilation of Yogācāra-Madhyamaka. The *Tattvasaṃgraha* (Toh. 4266) of Śāntarakṣita with its commentary by Kamalaśīla (Toh. 4267) became a Buddhist philosophical compendium in the 8th cent. A.D. Similar endeavours were also observed among the Buddhist philosophers of Tibet like *Sa skya paṅ chen* (12th cent. A.D.), *Ngag Lo tsā ba* (13th cent. A.D.), *Tsong kha pa* (15th cent.) who owed the subsequent trend of the Buddhist philosophers of India.

(iv) Historical annals (*deb ther*) including biographies (*rnam thar*), didactic deliberations (*man ngag*) spiritual correspondence (*'phring yig*), pilgrimage account (*lam yig*) on the Buddhist culture were composed with reference to four major tenets of Buddhist schools which developed in Tibet since the 11th century A.D. The Tibetans had shown their excellence in preservation of historical records carefully with an awareness of historiography.

Momentum in the Tibetan popular writings may be traced in *sngan ngag* (poems), *sgrungs* (tales), *tshigs bcad* (metrical verses), *rtsom tshig* (essays), and *yig bskur* (epistle).

The triangular political struggle among the Chinese, the Mongols and the Tibetans in the mediaeval period could bring forth a new dimension of the Tibetan literature when ecclesiastical authorities like *Gyalwa ngawa* produced important political memoirs through eoustikart correspondences. The Tibetan monks were the source of inspiration to the Mongol erudite who devoted to extensive translation of the Buddhist scriptures, especially those of the Kanjur (*bKa' 'gyur*) and the Tanjur (*bsTan 'gyur*). The royal family members preferred to hold the Buddhist faith avowedly at the early phase. In due course Buddhism became so popular as many authors in Mongolia composed indigenous Buddhist texts in Tibetan as well as in Mongolian. As a result of that the Buddhist literature in Tibetan developed in a new dimension for no less than seven hundred years up to the current century.

The lineages of ecclesiastical hierarchs belonging to different monastic schools and sub-schools in Tibet have grown for about a thousand years. The unique process of reincarnation in succession became an important feature in the Buddhist society of Tibet and Mongolia. The literary contributions of the eminent Mongolian teachers like *sPyan sha rin po che* (*bLo gros rgyal mtshan*) 1390-1448 A.D., *ICan skya hutuqtu* (*Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan*) 1642-

1714 A.D., 'Jam dbyangs bZhad pa (Ngag dbang brTson grus) 1648-1786 A.D., IC'an skya Hu-tuqtu (Rol pa'i rdo rje) 1717-1786 A.D. achieved prominence.

In spite of shouldering the ecclesiastical responsibility of carrying out the task laid down by a predecessor teacher to junior one or successor, the latter devotes himself to elucidate the ideas of tenets which one inherited through spiritual generation. Miscellaneous writings (*thor bu snga tshogs*) covering manifold subjects on Buddhist studies, such as, *sgra rig* i.e. grammar, rhetoric, lexicon, *gso rig*, i.e. texts on medicine and therapeutics and *bzo rig*, i.e. treatises on Buddhist visual art, like *sku thang* or *than ka* painting, temple and monastic architectural design, iconography, decorative art for internal beautification and Buddhist performing art like *'cham*.

The Tibetan literature also preserves important materials on the popular sciences like astronomy, mathematics, mensuration, calculus, accounting, chemical knowledge of the organic and inorganic factors, animal husbandry and agricultural know-how etc. Moreover, the excellence in the Tibetan architecture, masonic technique and that of the applied arts like painting, calligraphy, interior decoration, iconmaking, leather work, carpet weaving, paper making, wooden block curving, printing, wool processing, dye preparation, wood craft, metal work, weaving technology manifests their basic knowledge of sciences behind the arts. The technological methodology in written form expands the perimeter of the Tibetan literature. The texts on performing arts deserve mention here. The *rig gnas long* could not exclude the therapeutical science, and craftsmanship, howsoever improvised it might be, from the monastic curricula in Tibet.

It is to mention that the Tibetans came in touch with the Arabs since the 9th cent. A.D. and they faced threats from the Muslim chiefs of Kashgar in Central Asia. In due course the inhabitants of Central Asian principalities embraced Islam while the Tibetans adhered to either Buddhism or Bon until Baltistan was invaded by Shihabuddin (1359-78) and Sultan Sikandar (1394-1416) of Kashmir. In spite of repeated attempts by the Muslim rulers of Kashmir, Tibet and Central Asia to conquer Ladakh, the inhabitants of Ladakh maintained their separate identity. Meanwhile, the sectarian conflicts between the rNying ma pa of Ladakh and dGe lugs pa followers of Gu ge worsened the situation. Deldon Namgyal (1648-75) had to compromise with Mughal emperor and accepted Islam by assuming the name of Aqabal Khan. He ordered to build a mosque at Leh in 1665. The attempts for translation of the Qurran with other writings like Kha che pha lu could lead the Tibetan literature towards a new development.

### **Modern period up to 1950 A.D.**

The proselytism of Christianity and Islam (Amunduddin 1989) leaves a room for diversion in the Tibetan literature. As a result of that the Buddhist and the Christian translation literature in Tibetan from external sources tended to mutual tolerance and harmony. Such tendency made the Tibetan literature not only comprehensive but also universal.

The Christian missionaries in India took an active part by translating the Bible into Tibetan for the Tibetan-speaking people in India. It may be mentioned that the first Tibetan dictionary in European languages in India was composed by an Indian missionary from Serampur of Bengal in 1926. A Roman Catholic Indian missionary while working in the frontiers of Bhutan ventured to collect Tibetan vocabularies with brief grammatical notes for the use of the Europeans. The name of the said Indian missionary has been now lost but his papers were edited by Mr Schroter, a missionary of Bengal. H.A. Jäschke, a member of the Moravian mission, who worked at Kyelang of British Lahoul published his Tibetan English Dictionary in 1881. And his Tibetan Grammar was printed later on in 1890. In this connection, the Baptist

Mission Press, Calcutta played an important role for printing the Tibetan materials in those days.

The Tibetan literature had a new turn when the Gospel of Mathew of the Holy Bible was translated in the first half of the 19th cent. A.D. by Rev William. The Scandinavian Alliance Tibet Mission at Ghoom translated the New Testament in seventeen fascicules (1903). The contributions of Joseph Gergan, Eliyah Tsetan Phuntshog showed the continuity of this trend.

On the other hand, the Tibetan scholars like Mi pham phyogs las rNam par 'gyur ba (1846-1914?) of Kham, dGe 'dun chos 'phel (d. 1954), rGya ba bcu gsum pa (1876-1933 A.D.) started reformation against the orthodox outlook. dGe 'dun chos 'phel and Don sgrub rgyal (1953-1985) had to suffer for that. Several Mongolian Buddhist authors however continued the tradition of earlier composition. Such as, mKhan chen mkhyen rab bstan pa chos 'phel (1840-1908), mKhyen brtse'i dbang po 'Jam dbyangs (1820-1892). Also 'Dud 'joms Rin po che (d. 1889 in India) followed the tradition.

### Contemporary period (1950–)

Contemporary Tibetan literature bifurcates from the traditional trend by the change of human values when One Worldism expands with the halo of modernity. Economic disparity, tendency of equality in social strata and urge for socialisation tended the Tibetans to accept Marxian thoughts after sharing the political ideology of the People's Republic of China.

Tenzin Gyatsho, the Dalai Lama XIV administration in exile and the traditional learned Tibetans outside Tibet have endeavoured to maintain the literary standard with a reformed style in composition as far as practicable. Obviously that makes them aware how to adjust the literary style in the changed conditions. A transitional phase goes in the contemporary Tibetan literature for the last few decades. The diversity in approaches may bring forth a new horizon fending towards the adaptation of modernity with tradition in the human values.

Some verses may be relevant to cite here from the contemporary Tibetan literature.

*Rgya mtsho : bkra shis*  
 ...dbang rgyal rgya mtsho 'i gru la brten nas su /  
 phan tshun 'brel bzang brtan po 'gyur /  
 so so 'i skad dan shes rig la /  
 yar rgyas ni ma sprin 'bral sar /  
 den san tshan rig pa kun gyis /  
 dpyand nas sa snum mtsho las rned /  
 rig gnas rgya mtsho thugs rje can /  
 khyed kyi bka' drin sus brjed thub //  
 gangs ris bskor ba 'i yul ljons 'dir /  
 yon tan bdud rtsi char bads nas /  
 gzhon nu pho mo 'i sa gzhi la /  
 rig gnas lo tog smin par sog //

The translation work from the Indian works of Tagore and Jawaharlal Nehru speak about the interaction of young generation with the modern Indian literature.

Again, the Tibetans residing in TAR (Tibet Autonomous Region) have also been enthusiastic in creative composition with their latest political trend towards socialism and Marxism. Several journals and newspapers which have been published since 1950 from Lhasa and Bei-

jing show their literary merits with creative excellence. Moreover, Tibetan translations of Marxian works from Chinese have been popularly distributed among the Tibetan minorities.

In fine the propensity of a literature, as it is generally understood, is elaborated by Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan in the following:

“Literature is a sacred instrument and through the proper use of it we can combat the forces of ignorance and prejudice and foster national unity and world communication. Literature must voice the past, reflect the present and mould the future. Inspired language, tejomayi vak, will help readers to develop a human and liberal outlook on life, to understand the world in which they live, to understand themselves and plan sensibly for their future.”

In that respect the Tibetan literature may claim its distinction from that which a literature refers to. A contest between monkish rigorosity and the commoners in expressing the human feeling and emotions tends to a broad bifurcation in the medieval Tibetan literature.

The Tibetans also endeavoured to enrich their ways of life by assimilation and compromise with those of their above-mentioned neighbouring peoples. Those are verily presented in the Tibetan literature which has developed through the ages.

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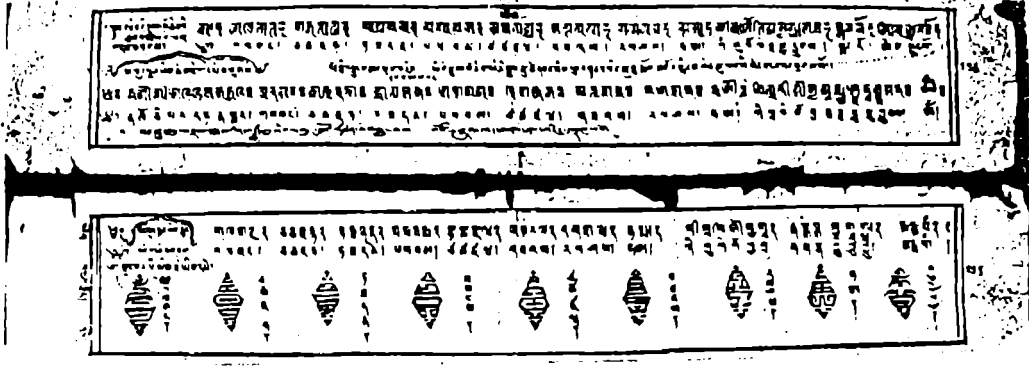




བཅོས་སྒྲུབ་རལ་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་མདོ་རྒྱུད་ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་གཅིག་དང་བཅས་པ་ལོ་བུལ་རིང་རིག་པ་རྩེ་གཅིག་ཏུ་སྤྱང་སྡེ་  
 ལྟམས་པའི་རྩེ་མོར་སོམ། ལྷ་མི་སམ་རྩོལ་སྟེ་བོད་སྤྱུག་བཟང་པོ་ཞེས་པའི་སྒྲུབ་པའི་མཚན་བཟང་ཐོབ། དེས་ལུང་ལ་  
 དཔེ་མཚན་དེ་དུ་ཅན་དང་། སྤྱུ་ལ་དཔེ་སྤངས་ནས་དུ་མེད་ཀྱི་ཡིག་གཟུགས་བརྒྱམས། དེ་ནས་བོད་ཏུ་ཕྱི་བལ་ཁར་  
 སྤྱི་རིག་པའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ཁག་གི་རྒྱ་དཔེ་དང་། འདུས་པ་རིན་པོ་ཚེའི་ཉོག་མདོ་ཟ་མ་ཉོག་བཞོད་པ། སྒྲུབ་རལ་  
 གཟིགས་ཀྱི་མདོ་རྒྱུད་ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་གཅིག་། དགོ་བ་བཅུ་འཛོལ་སོགས་པ་རྒྱ་དཔེ་རྣམས་ཚབས་ཅིག་ཏུ་བསྒྲམས་ཕེབས་  
 པ་མ་ཟད། བརྟ་དག་གསལ་བར་བྱེད་པའི་སྤུམ་རྟགས་སོགས་བོད་ལ་ཉེ་བར་མཁོ་བའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་བརྒྱུད་བརྒྱམས་  
 ཉེ་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་སྤོང་བཅོན་སྐྱམ་པོར་ལྷལ། རྒྱ་གར་རྒྱལ་པོས་སྤྱེས་ལན་བསྐྱར་བའི་མདོ་སྡེ་དགོན་མཚོག་སྤྱོད་དང་།  
 དམ་ཚེས་པད་མ་དགར་པོ། གཅོག་ཉོར་རྗེ་མེད་ཀྱི་གཟུངས། རོར་ཏུ་གེ་རུ་བཅས་བོད་ཏུ་ལྷིང་བསྐྱམས་ཕེབས།  
 ཚོས་རྒྱལ་སྤོང་བཅོན་སྐྱམ་པོར་ལྷ་མི་སམ་རྩོལ་སྟེ་བོད་པོ་ཏུ་བསྟེན་ནས་ལྷ་ས་པ་བོད་ཁར་ལོ་གསུམ་བཞི་རིང་སྤྱི་  
 མཚན་སུ་བཞུགས་ཉེ་བོད་ཡིག་སྤངས་པ་མཚན། ལྷ་མི་སམ་རྩོལ་ལའང་བཀྲུལ་སྤྱི་དང་། གཟེངས་བསྟོད་ཡང་  
 མཚན་ཅེས་སྒྲུབ་པའི་གཏམ་དེ་གང་སར་ཁྲུབ།

ལོ་གྲང་དེང་སྐབས་བོད་ཡིག་གཏུམ་གསར་གཏོང་བྱས་མེད་དང་། ཚོས་རྒྱལ་སྤོང་བཅོན་སྐྱམ་པོར་སྤྱོད་བོད་  
 ཡིག་ཡོད་མེད། ཞང་ཞུང་གི་ཡི་གེ་དང་། རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ཡི་གེ་བོད་ཡིག་དབར་འབྲེལ་བ་གང་ཡོད་མེད་སྟོར་ལ་བྱི་ནང་  
 གི་ལྟམས་པ་མང་པོས་བརྟག་ཞིབ་དང་། རྩོད་གྲོང་གཞན་དང་གཞན་བཞིན་ཡོད། ལོ་ལྔ་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་སྤོང་བཅོན་སྐྱམ་པོ་  
 གསེར་ཁྱིམ་ལ་ལོ་ལྔ་ལོ་ལྔ་བོད་ལ་ཡི་གེ་ཡོད་དམ་མེད་ཅེ་ན། སྤོང་བཅོན་གྱི་གོང་ཏུ་བོད་ལ་ཡི་གེ་ཡོད་ཅེས་པ་དེ་  
 རི་བོད་ཀྱི་གཞན་རབས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་རྙིང་ཁག་དང་ཡོངས་སུ་མཐུན་པ་ཞིག་ཤིང་། དེའི་རྒྱ་མཚན་གཙོ་བོ་ལོ་  
 ཀྱི་ཚོས་འབྲུང་དེབ་ཐོར་ཁག་དང་། ལོ་ལྔ་གྱི་དཔེ་རྙིང་འགར་ཞིག་ཏུ་བཞོད་པ་གཤམ་གསལ། ཚོས་འབྲུང་མེ་ཉོག་སྤྱིང་  
 པོ་སྤྱང་རྩེའི་བཅུད་ལས་«བོད་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་ཡང་ཁྱི་ཕེ་བཅོན་པོའི་རིང་ཏུང་བར་འདོད་པ་ཡང་ཡོད་» ཞེས་ལའོད་པ་  
 དང་། ཡང་ལོ་ལྔ་གྱི་བརྟ་དག་རིན་གཏེར་ལས་«གཞམ་རི་སྤོང་བཅོན་ལན་ལ་བོད་ཡུལ་ཏུ་ཡི་གེ་མེད་ཅེས་ཁྲུངས་མ་  
 དག་པ་བྱ། དེ་ལོ་ལྟམས་པ་ཚོ་ལོའི་གསུང་ཡིན་ཀྱང་། མ་བརྟག་བལ་ཅོལ་ཚིག་ཏུ་ཟད་པར་ངེས། རྒྱལ་རབས་སོ་  
 གཉིས་བར་ཏུ་བོམ་དར་ན། ཡི་གེ་མེད་པས་བསྟན་ལ་ཇི་ལྟར་དར་» ཞེས་ལའོད། གོང་གསལ་དེ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཐོག་ནས་  
 གསལ་པོར་རྟོགས་ཐུབ་པ་ཞིག་ལོ་ཁྱི་ཕེ་བཅོན་པོ་སྟེ་བོད་ཀྱི་བཅོན་པོའི་གཏུང་རབས་དྲུག་པ་གངགས་ཁྱི་བཅོན་པོའི་  
 སྤྱུ་རྒྱུས་སུ་བོད་ཡིག་ཡོད་པ་གསལ་པོར་མཐོང་ཐུབ། དེ་ལྟར་འདོད་ན་ལྷ་མི་སམ་རྩོལ་ལ་ཁྲུངས་གོང་གཤམ་ལོ་བུལ་  
 ལམ་མི་ལོ་བུལ་བརྒྱ་ཅམ་ལ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་ཡོད་པར་ངེས། གལ་སྲིད་བོད་ཡིག་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ཡི་གེ་ལ་དཔེ་སྤངས་ནས་  
 གསར་ཏུ་གཏོང་པ་ཞིག་མེད་ན། དེའི་དར་རྒྱལ་གང་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཟེར་ན། ལོ་ལྔ་གྱི་བརྟ་དག་རིན་གཏེར་ལས་«སྟག་གཟིག་  
 ཡུལ་ཏུ་སྤྱངས་སོ་ཚེ་རྒྱུང་གཉིས། ཞང་ཞུང་ལོ་ཅས་སྤྱར་ཚེ་སྤྱར་རྒྱུང་བསྐྱར། བོད་ཀྱིས་རྒྱལ་གར་དགར་ནག

གཉིས་བསྟུན་གྲང་། འོ་འོ་འདྲུལ་ཡིག་བཞི་ཅུ་འབྲུམ་བ་མེད། དེ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་དཀར་ནུ་བ་སོགས། སོ་སོ་འདྲུལ་གྱི་ཡི་གེ་རྒྱུ་མང་།» ཞེས་དང་། ཡང་འུང་གི་མྱོང་པོ་ལས་«དག་པ་ལྟ་ཡི་ཡི་གེ་སྟག་གཟིག་སྟངས་ཡིག་ཅུ་བསྟུན། སྟག་གཟིག་གི་སྟངས་ཡིག་ཞང་ཞང་གི་ཡིག་མཚན་ཅུ་བསྟུན། ཡིག་མཚན་སྟུང་སྟུང་ཅུ་བསྟུན། དེ་སྟུང་ཚེ་རྒྱུ་ཅུ་བསྟུན། སྟུང་ཚེ་རྒྱུ་ཚེ་རྒྱུ་རམ་གཟབ་ཅུ་བསྟུན། ཡིག་སྟུང་མ་ལས་བརྒྱུ་མ་སོ་» ཞེས་འཛིན། དེ་མོན་ནས་རང་རང་འོ་འོ་འདྲུལ་འདྲུལ་གི་ཡི་གེ་སྟུང་ཚེ་རྒྱུ་ཅུང་ལས་བསྟུན་པ་གསལ་པོར་བསྟུན། དལ་རང་ཅག་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དངོས་སུ་མཇེད་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་པའི་སྟག་གཟིག་གི་སྟངས་ཡིག་དང་། ཞང་ཞང་གི་ཡི་གེ་སྟུང་ཚེ་རྒྱུ་ཅུང་། འོ་འོ་འདྲུལ་བཅས་འདྲུ་སྟུང་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་འོ་འོ་འདྲུལ་པའི་དཔེ་རྒྱུ་དེའི་ཡིག་གཞུགས་ཀྱི་འབྲུམ་བར་ལྟ་ས་ན་འོ་འོ་འདྲུལ་གི་སྟུང་ཚེ་རྒྱུ་ཅུང་ནས་བསྟུན་པ་གསལ་པོ་མཐོང་གྲང་། དཔེར་ན། ཡིག་གཞུགས་ཀྱི་དཔེ་གཤམ་གསལ།



དེ་བཞིན་སོ་གྱི་བརྒྱ་དག་རིན་གཉེར་ནང་འོ་འོ་འདྲུལ་གི་དབྱུངས་གསལ་རྣམས་འབྲུང་བ་ལྟ་བུ་སྟུང་ནས་སྟུང་པ་དེའི་འདྲུལ་གསལ་གསལ་པོ་ཞེས་དང་། ཡང་འུང་རམ་མཁའ་རི་རང་བཞིན་ཚེ་མ་ཡིག་ལས། ཀུ་དང་ཀུའག་ཀུ་ཅ་ཅ་ཅི། འབྲུང་བ་རམ་མཁའ་རི་ཡི་གེ་བརྒྱུད་ཅུ་འབྲུང་། དེ་བཞིན་ཚེ་དང་ཅ་ཅ་ཅི་རྩ། མྱི་རྩ་བརྒྱུད་འི་མི་ཁམས་ར་ལས་འབྲུང་། ཚེ་དང་ཅ་ཅ་དཔེ་ལས་སྟུང་། བརྒྱུད་འི་མི་ཁམས་ཉེ་སྟུང་ལས་འབྲུང་། ཟུ་དང་པ་པ་བ་མ་ཟེལ་ཟུ། བརྒྱུད་པོ་རྒྱུ་ཡི་ཁམས་ཉེ་ཁམས་ལས་འབྲུང་། ཚེ་དང་ཅ་ཅ་ཅི་མ་ཡི་གེ། བརྒྱུད་འི་རྒྱུང་གི་ཁམས་ཡིན་ཡམ་ལས་འབྲུང་། འབྲུང་བ་རེ་ལས་ཡིག་འབྲུ་བརྒྱུད་ཅུང་བས། བརྒྱུད་ལྟ་འབྲུལ་གྱི་ཡི་གེ་བཞི་བཅུ་ལྟེ་» ཞེས་འཛིན། ཡང་ཞང་ཞང་སྟུང་གྱི་«ཚེ་ཟུ་ཚེ་ཚེ་བཞི་འོ། འོ་ཟུ་ཟུ་གི་ཟུ་ཞབས་ཀྱི་འབྲུང་པོ་ན་མོ་» དང་། «སྟག་གཟིག་སྟུང་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་ཡི་གེ། ཞང་ཞང་སྟུང་ཟུ་མྱོང་མསྟུན་པར་གཉིས། འོ་འོ་འདྲུལ་རྒྱུ་ལྟ་བུ་འབྲུམ་པ་ར་སྟུ་ཡ་སྟུ་ཡིན་» ཞེས་འཛིན།

དེ་དབྱུང་སྟུང་བཅུ་གྱི་འོ་འོ་འདྲུལ་འོ་འོ་འདྲུལ་འོ་འོ་འདྲུལ་རྣམས་གསལ་པོ་མཚོན་གྲང་པ་ཞིག་ལ། འོ་འོ་འདྲུལ་དཔེ་རྒྱུ་མང་པོ་ཞིག་འོ་འོ་འདྲུལ་གི་དབྱུངས་གསལ་སྟུ་སྟུང་ཕྱོག་བཞོད་གྲང་དེའི་གོ་དོན་ལེ་ཅང་དཀར་བ་ཞིག་འབྲུག་དེའི་དཔེ

ཡིག་གཤམ་གསལ།

॥ གསལ་དཔ་ རྩམ་རྒྱུ་དཔུལ་གསལ།

॥ ལྷན་ཚོགས་ཚེ་རིང་། ལྷན་ཚོགས་ཚེ་རིང་། ལྷན་ཚོགས་ཚེ་རིང་། ॥

॥ ལྷན་ཚོགས་ཚེ་རིང་། ལྷན་ཚོགས་ཚེ་རིང་། ॥

དེ་བཞིན་ལོ་ངོ་རྒྱུང་གི་སྤྱོད་ལུ་འཛུགས་ཀྱིས་རྩིས་པའི་སྤྱོད་ལུ་ཡི་གེ་ཞེས་པ་  
 དབྱེད་གསལ་མང་པོ་ད་ལྟར་བོད་ཡིག་དང་འབྲུག་ཡིག་གི་དུང་གི་ལོ་སྤྱོད་ལུ་  
 དེ་བཞིན་གཏོག་གུང་ད་ལྟར་བོད་ལྷན་ཚོགས་ལྟ་བུ་ཡོད། མདོར་ན་བོད་ཡིག་ནི་ལཱ་ཏུ་དང་། ལཱ་ཏུ་ལ་དཔེ་བྱེད་སྤྱོད་གསལ་  
 གཏོང་གཞན་པ་ཞིག་ལྷན་ཚོགས་ལ་ཡིན་ལ། གཞན་རབས་བོད་ལ་བོད་ཡིག་ལྷན་ཚོགས་མེད་པ་དེ་བས་གུང་མ་ཡིན།

ཡང་ལྟ་རྒྱུ་གཞན་ཞིག་ལ་གཞན་བོད་བོད་ཡིག་དང་ཞང་ཞུང་གི་ཡི་གེ་ནི་གཏོག་མཐུན་ཡིན་པར་ངོས་འཛིན་ནི་  
 «བོད་ཡིག་སྤྱོད་ཞང་ཞུང་གི་ཡི་གེ» ཟེར་ཉ་རྒྱུང་མཉམ་བཟེས་ཀྱི་ལྟ་བུ་དེ་རིགས་གུང་བོད་དངོས་དང་མི་མཐུན་སྤྱོད་  
 དོན་དངོས་ཐོག་བོད་ཀྱི་གཞན་རབས་ཀྱི་ཡིག་རྒྱུང་དེ་ཞང་ཞུང་གི་ཡི་གེ་སྤྱོད་ཆེན་སྤྱོད་ལྷན་ཚོགས་ལ་དཔེ་བྱེད་སྤྱོད་གསལ་བོད་ཀྱི་  
 སྤྱོད་ལུགས་མཐུན་པ་དང་། སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་གསལ་བདེ་དུ་བཏང་བའི་ཡི་གེ་གསལ་པ་སྤྱོད་གཞན་རབས་ཀྱི་བོད་ཡིག་ཅིག་  
 གསལ་གཏོང་བྱས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན། དཔེར་ན་བོད་ཀྱི་བདེ་དག་མིན་གཏོང་ལས་«ལྷན་ཚོགས་བོད་དང་ཞང་ཞུང་ཞིང་  
 ཁམས་ལུ་བསྟན་པ་འཛིན་པ་མཁས་གྲུབ་བསྟན་ཅུ་བྱུང་། དེ་ལས་སྤྱོད་བསྟན་པའི་པར་གཤམ་བསྟན། དཔོན་གསལ་  
 ཆེན་པོ་སྤྱོད་བོད་ལ་དང་། མཁས་པ་མི་བཞིས་སྤྱོད་གཏོགས་ཤན་སྤྱོད་ལས། ཐོག་པ་རིམ་དགུ་བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་ལུ་བསྟན་པ་  
 དང་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་ཡི་བསྟན་བཅོས་མང་དུ་མཛོང་» ཞེས་བཞེད། དེ་ཐོག་ལས་རང་ཅག་གིས་གསལ་པོར་རྩོགས་བྱས་པ་  
 ཞིག་ལ། སྤྱོད་དེར་ཞང་ཞུང་གི་ལུང་ཁམས་ལུ་ཞང་བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་ཡིག་གཏོགས་ཀར་བྱེད་ལུ་ལཱ་ཏུ་ལཱ་ཏུ་  
 བསྟན་པ་སོགས་པ་བྱོན་ལས་བོད་ཀྱི་ཐོག་པ་རིམ་པ་དགུ་ལ་སོགས་བསྟན་བཅོས་མང་པོ་བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་ཡིག་ལྷན་ཚོགས་  
 པ་གསལ་པོར་མཛོང། གལ་སྲིད་གཞན་རབས་ཀྱི་བོད་ཡིག་དང་ཞང་ཞུང་གི་སྤྱོད་ཡིག་གཏོགས་གཏོག་མཐུན་ཡིན་པར་  
 འདོད་ན་མཁས་པ་མི་བཞིས་སྤྱོད་གཏོགས་ཤན་སྤྱོད་ལས། ཐོག་པ་རིམ་པ་དགུ་བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་ལུ་བསྟན་ཞེས་པ་དེ་བརྗོད་  
 བྱས་ལྷན་ཚོགས་མེད་པ་ཞིག་མ་ཡིན་ལས།



སྤྱི་བཙུན་གྱི་བུ་ཕྱུག་དང་། རྒྱ་བཙུན་གོང་ཚོ་མཚོ་ཡི་པད་མ་རྣམས་གཉིས་བོད་ཏུ་གདམ་དྲངས། ལྷན་པས་དེར་ཐང་  
 རྒྱལ་འབྲེལ་དང་། བལ་པོའི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་གཉིས་ཀ་སངས་རྒྱལ་ཚོས་ལྷན་པས་དང་ལྷན་ཚེ་བའི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཅིག་ཡིན་  
 ལྷན་པས་རྟེན་གཙོ་ཚོ་བོ་གྲུ་ལུ་འི་དང་ཚོ་བོ་མི་འགྲུལ་དོ་རྗེ་སོགས་བོད་ཏུ་གདམ་དྲངས་ཏེ་གུ་ཚོགས་ལག་ཁང་མང་པོ་  
 བཞེངས། སངས་རྒྱལ་ཚོས་ལྷན་པས་པའི་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་ལྷན་པས་ཚེ་ཆེར་བྱིན། ལྷན་པས་དེར་ཚོས་དང་བོའི་གཉིས་བྱི་ཚུལ་ཏུ་  
 ཚོས་ལྷན་པས་གྲུབ་མཐའ་མི་མཐུན་པའི་རྣམ་པ་མཚོན་ཡང་བོའི་དངོས་ཐོག་དེ་དག་གིས་སྤོང་དབང་གི་སྤོང་སྤྱོད་ལྷན་པས་  
 ཞག་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཚབ་བྱས་ཏེ་སྤོང་དང་ཚོས་སྤོང་དབང་གི་འཐབ་ཚུངས་ལྷན་པས་ཚེ་བྱིན། དེ་ནས་བཟུང་བོའི་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་  
 དབང་བསྐྱར་གྱི་གནས་འབྲས་དེར་རྩ་བའི་ཐོག་ནས་གཡོ་འགྲུལ་ལྷན་པས་ཚེ་ཐོབས། མཐའ་བོའི་བྱི་བུ་ལྷན་པས་  
 བསྐྱེད་ཏེ་ཚོས་སྤོང་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བོད་ཀྱི་སྤོང་དབང་ཡོངས་སུ་ཁ་ལོ་བསྐྱར། བོའི་བྱི་འགྲེས་སམ་གནའ་འབྲས་  
 བོད་ཀྱི་འགྲེས་གནས་དམིགས་མེད་གཏོང་བའི་ཚེ་དུ་བོའི་བྱི་དཔེ་ཆ་དང་ཡིག་རྟེན་མང་པོ་མེད་བསྐྱེདས། ལ་ལ་བསམ་  
 ཡས་ཀྱི་མཚོན་རྟེན་ནས་བའི་འོག་ཏུ་སྤྱོད། མཐིམ་ནས་མིག་མཚུགས་ཀྱིས་དུང་དགའ་སེར་པོར་མཛོལ་པ་ལྟར། བོད་ཀྱི་  
 གནའ་འབྲས་པོ་རྒྱལ་ལ་འཁྲོག་བཤད་མང་ཙམ་བྱས་པ་སྟེ། རྒྱ་མི་སམ་རྩོལ་མ་སྤོང་གོང་བོད་ལྷལ་ཁ་བ་མཚུགས་དེར་  
 ཡི་གེ་རྩ་བ་ནས་མེད་ཚུལ་དང་། ཏུས་དེ་ནས་བཟུང་བོད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་འགྲེས་པོ་རྒྱལ་ལོ་ཚུགས་ཙམ་ཡིན་ཚུལ། རྒྱ་མི་  
 སམ་རྩོལ་དེ་ཉིད་བོད་ལ་བཀའ་དྲིན་རིམ་ཚེ་ཚུལ་སོགས་པོ་རྒྱལ་ཀྱི་བོའི་དངོས་དང་ཡོངས་སུ་མི་མཐུན་པའི་བཤད་  
 ཚུལ་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་གང་སར་ཁྲབ། བོའི་དངོས་ཐོག་རྒྱ་མི་མ་འཁྲུངས་གོང་མི་ལོ་སྤོང་སྤྱོད་ལྷན་པས་ཙམ་གྱི་སྤོང་ཏུ་བོད་ན་སྤྱི་  
 མང་ལུག་སམ་ཚོགས་པའི་བོའི་བྱི་འགྲེས་དང་ཁྲབ་ཚེ་ཞིང་། གཤམ་སྤོང་བོའི་བྱི་འགྲེས་དེ་བོད་ཀྱི་གནའ་  
 འབྲས་འགྲེས་ཡིན་པར་ཁས་མ་སྐྱེད་ཚེ་རང་ཅག་གི་མེས་པོའི་བྱལ་བྱུང་གི་འགྲེས་ཁས་མ་སྐྱེད་པ་  
 དང་། བོད་ཀྱི་པོ་རྒྱལ་ཆ་མི་ཚང་བ་ཞིག་བཟོས་པ་ཞིག་རང་རེད། མདོར་ན། གོང་གསལ་གྱི་པོ་རྒྱལ་དེའི་ཐོག་ནས་  
 བོད་ལ་རྒྱ་མི་སམ་རྩོལ་གོང་ཏུ་བོད་ཡིག་ཡོད་བཞིན་ཏུ་ཚིག་ཐག་བཅད་ནས་མེད་ཟེར་བའི་རྒྱ་མཚོན་གཙོ་བོ་འི་  
 ལྷན་པས་དེའི་ཆབ་སྤོང་གྱི་དགོས་མཁོ་དང་མཐུན་པའི་ཚེ་དུ་ཡིན་པ་གསལ་པོར་མཛོལ།

ལོ་ན། བོད་ཀྱི་པོ་རྒྱལ་ཐོག་རྒྱ་མི་སམ་རྩོལ་ཞེས་པ་དེ་ཡོད་དམ་མེད། ཞོང་གི་མཛོད་རྗེས་དངོས་དེ་གང་ཡིན་  
 བམ། དེ་ལས་དང་དོང་སྤྱོད་མཁུལ་པ་མང་པོས་གཟུགས་ཚུལ་མི་འདྲ་བ་དྲུང་ཞིང་། རྒྱ་ནང་གི་མཁུལ་པ་འགའ་ཞིག་  
 གི་དགོངས་ཚུལ་ཏུ་ཏུ་ཚོང་ནས་ཐོབ་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཡིག་རྟེན་ཐོག་རྒྱ་མི་སམ་རྩོལ་འཚོན་ཡང་མེད་པས་བོའི་ཏུ་པོ་  
 རྒྱལ་ཐོག་ཡོད་དམ་མེད། ཡང་མཁུལ་པ་འགའ་ཞིག་གིས་རྒྱ་མི་སམ་རྩོལ་གོང་ཏུ་བོད་ལ་ཡི་གེ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་དེ་འི་  
 ཚོས་ལྷན་པས་ཐོག་མ་གཏོགས་ཁྱོད་ཡོངས་ལ་བོད་སྤོང་ལྷན་པས་པའི་ཡི་གེ་མ་ཡིན་གསུངས། དེའི་ཐད་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་  
 ཚུལ་ལྟེ། ད་ལྟར་རེས་ཏུ་ཚོང་ནས་ཐོབ་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཡིག་རྟེན་ཆ་གསལ་དེའི་ཐད་རྒྱ་མི་མཚོན་འཁོད་མེད་ཀྱང་  
 བོད་ཀྱི་ཚོས་འཁྲུང་དང་དེས་ཐེར་འབྲས་དང་རིམ་པའི་ནང་རྒྱ་མི་སམ་རྩོལ་འཁྲུངས་ལྷལ་དང་། ཚོས་རྒྱལ་སྤོང་



བཅོམ་སྐྱེས་པའི་སྐོན་པོ་མཚོག་ཏུ་བྱུང་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ལྟགས། སྤྱི་མིའི་ཁྲིམ་རྒྱུན་སོགས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་གསལ་ཞིང་གསལ་བ་བཞག་ཡོད་སྟབས་དེ་དོགས་འཚར་གཤེད་དགོས་དོན་ཅི་ཡང་མི་འདུག་སྟེ།

འོ་ན། སྤྱི་མི་སམ་རྩོལ་འཇོག་མཚན་རྣམས་དངོས་དེ་གང་ཡིན་ཟེར་ན། འཇོག་རྩེན་གྱི་དངོས་པོ་གང་ཞིག་ཡིན་རྒྱུར། མང་པ་ལྷན་ཡོད་པ་དང་། ཚ་མི་ཚང་བ་ལྷན་ཚང་བ། དམར་རིམ་ལྷན་མཐོ་རིམ་ཏུ་འཕེལ་བྱས་འགྲོ་བ་དེ་ནི་དངོས་པོ་མཐའ་དག་འཕེལ་བྱས་འགྲོ་བའི་རྩ་བའི་ཚོས་ཉིད་ཅིག་ཡིན། དེར་བརྟེན་བོད་ཡིག་དེའང་འཕེལ་བྱས་ཀྱི་ཏུས་རིམ་དེ་ལྟར་ཞིག་བརྒྱུན་དགོས་པ་ནི་སྐོས་མི་དགོས། དེ་ཡོད་ཁངས་བཅོམ་གྱི་ཡིག་རྒྱུ་ཁག་ལ་ཚན་རིག་དང་མཐུན་པའི་དབྱེ་ཞིབ་བྱས་པ་ལྟར་ན། གཤམ་ལོ་ནི་ཤུ་རྩ་གཉིས་ཙམ་སྟེ་མི་ལོ་ཉེས་སྟོང་རྩ་གཉིས་ཙམ་གོང་ཏུ་གནའ་རབས་ཀྱི་བོད་ཡིག་གསར་གཏོང་བྱས་པ་གསལ་པོར་མངོན། འོན་ཀྱང་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་འཕེལ་བྱས་ཀྱི་དགོས་མཁོ་དང་མཐུན་དགོས་ཤིང་། མ་འགས་དང་གུ་བྱིས་མཉམས་གསལ་བྱུང་། ཚོས་རྒྱལ་སྐོར་བཅོམ་སྐྱེས་པའི་སྐྱེས་པ་སོགས་མཐའ་བཞིའི་རྒྱལ་སྐོར་མང་པོ་དང་ཏུ་འདུས་དེ་བོད་སྐད་སྐད་ལོར་(༦༣༣)རྒྱལ་སྐོར་སྐད་སྐད་སྟོས། དེ་ལྷན་བརྒྱུད་སྐད་སྐད་པོ་དོད་ཀྱི་ཚབ་སྲིད་དང་། དཔལ་འདྲེར། རིག་གཞུས་བཅས་ཀྱི་རྩེ་གཞུས་སུ་བྱུང་། སྲིད་འཇུག་གི་སྤྱི་གཞི་དང་། དམག་དཔུང་གི་སྤྱི་གཞི་འཇུགས་སོགས་གཞན་ལ་པལ། ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་གསར་བཅོམ་དང་། ལོགས་ཉེས་སྐོང་ས་དོར་གྱི་ཚད་གཞི་གཞན་ལ་པལ། བསྟན་བཅོས་མང་པོ་བོད་ཡིག་ཏུ་བསྐྱུར་བ་སོགས་མཚན་པ་རྒྱ་ཚུལ་སྟེ། དེ་བཞིན་སྤྱི་མི་སམ་རྩོལ་བ་སོགས་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་བཏང་སྟེ་ལྷུ་དང་། མུའུ་ན་ག་ར་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་ལ་དཔུང་གཞི་མཚན་དེ་བོད་ཡིག་ལ་ཁ་སྐོང་དང་ལོགས་བཅོས་གནང་ཞེས་པ་དེ་སྐབས་དེའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་དངོས་སུ་མཐུན་པ་ཞིག་རེད། དེ་གསལ་པོར་བཤད་ན། མཐའ་བཞིའི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཁག་དང་ཕན་རྒྱུན་འབྲེལ་གཏུགས་ཚེ་བ་དང་། དཔལ་འདྲེར་གོང་ཏུ་འཕེལ་བ། བསྟན་བཅོས་མང་པོ་བོད་ཡིག་ཏུ་བསྐྱུར་དགོས་པའི་དགོས་མཁོ་དང་བསྟན་ཚད་བོད་ཡིག་ལ་འཕེལ་བཅོས་མི་སྲིད་གསལ་མེད་ཡིན་གཤིས། སྤྱི་མི་སམ་རྩོལ་སོགས་རྒྱ་གར་ཏུ་ཕེབས། རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ཡི་གེ་སོགས་ལ་སྦྱང་བ་མཐའ་བྱིན་མཚན་པ་དང་། བོད་ཡིག་ལ་མཁོ་བའི་སྐད་ཅུ་པ་དང་། ཏུགས་འཇུག་སོགས་བསྟན་བཅོས་ཚེ་མོ་བརྒྱུད་བརྒྱུ་ལ་ཉེ་བཅོམ་པོར་ལུལ། རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་ནང་ལྷན་བསྟན་བཅོས་བསྐྱུར་བར་ཉེར་བར་མཁོ་བའི་ཐ་སྐད་མང་པོ་རྒྱུར་སྐོང་ས་པ་བཅས་ལ་བརྟེན་ལྷན་གནའ་རབས་བོད་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་དེ་གི་སྟོན་བདེ་བ་དེད། ཚ་ཚང་བ། ཚན་རིག་དང་མཐུན་པའི་ཡི་གེ་ཞིག་ཏུ་བསྐྱུར་བ་དེའི་ཐད་སྤྱི་མི་སམ་རྩོལ་འཇོག་མཚན་རྣམས་པོ་ཚེ་བཞག་གཤེད་བ་དེར་རང་ཅག་གིས་བསྟན་པར་འོས་སོ།

མདོར་ན། ད་ལྟོ་དངོས་སུ་མཇུག་སྟེ་ཡོད་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་རིགས་ཁག་ལ་གཞིགས་ན་གཤམ་ལོ་ནི་ཤུ་རྩ་གཉིས་ཙམ་སྟེ་མི་ལོ་ཉེས་སྟོང་རྩ་གཉིས་ཙམ་གོང་ཏུ་གནའ་རབས་བོད་བོད་ཡིག་གསར་ཏུ་གཏོང་བ་དང་། དེ་ལྷན་རིམ་བཞིན་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་གོང་

འཕེལ་འགོ་བ་དང་ཆབས་ཅིག་བོད་ཡིག་དེ་དང་རིམ་བཞིན་འཕུས་སྒོ་ཚང་ཏུ་ཕྱིན། ལྷག་པར་ཏུ་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་སྤོང་  
 བཙན་སྐྱམ་པའི་སྐྱུ་རྒྱས་སུ་གནས་བའི་བོད་ཡིག་ཡར་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཀྱོང་གཏོང་གནད་པ་དེས་བོད་ཡིག་ནི་ཆབ་སྤོང་  
 དང་། དཔལ་འབྱོར། རིག་གནས། ཚད་རིག་ཚོས་ལྷགས་སོགས་ཁྱོད་ཡོངས་ལ་སྤོད་གོ་ཚོད་ལ་ཚན་རིག་དང་  
 མཐུན་པའི་སྤོན་སྤོན་གྱི་ཡི་གེ་ཞིག་ཏུ་བསྐྱར་པ་བཅས་སོ།

# TRADITIONELLE TIBETISCHE BEWEGUNGSKULTUR TIBET AUF DEM WEG ZU EINER DIFFERENZIIERTEN SPORTKULTUR?\*

von

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## 1. Gegenstand und Forschungsprobleme

Der Bericht über eine fremde Kultur verleitet dazu, den subjektiven Standpunkt, bzw. die in der eigenen Kultur sozialisierte Wahrnehmung mit einfließen zu lassen. Sich von dieser Sichtweise zu distanzieren, um möglichst wertneutral zu berichten, ist aus mehreren Gründen problematisch:

1. Was bedeutet ein kulturneutraler Standpunkt, wie wird er gewonnen bzw. welche „metakulturellen“ Kriterien einer Beobachtung und Interpretation gibt es, um eine Darstellung als wertfrei und neutral bezeichnen zu können?
2. Um über Fremdes im eigenen Land berichten zu können, muß dennoch auf den lokalen Verstehenshorizont des jeweiligen Kulturkreises eingegangen werden, damit Mitteilungen überhaupt verstanden werden.
3. Es ist äußerst schwierig, überkulturelle, archetypische bzw. phylogenetische Grundmuster sichtbar zu machen, die sowohl für die eigene als auch für die fremde Fest- und Bewegungskultur handlungsleitend sind.

Aus diesen Gründen nehmen die Verfasser bewußt den Standpunkt des europäischen Beobachters ein, um aus ihrer Sichtweise abweichendes Verhalten zu interpretieren; denn erst solches ist auffallend, das nicht selbstverständlich gegeben ist.

Das Ziel der Forschungstätigkeit war, die Veränderung der Bewegungskultur in Tibet darzustellen, jene Nahtstelle zu finden, an der traditionelle, im Volk verankerte (und aus dieser Tradition sich auch wandelnde) Körperpraktiken auf ein Sportverständnis treffen, das besonders durch die Fremdherrschaft der Chinesen gegeben ist. Diese neue, sehr stark an internationalen Regeln und Standards orientierte sportliche Bewegungskultur ist uns Europäern selbstverständlich.

Um diese Annäherung an ein Sportverständnis, das sich unter dem Einfluß einer abendländischen Weltanschauung und eines entsprechenden Mythos (der individuellen Bewährung und Belohnung) entwickelt hat, darzustellen, wird im folgenden die strukturelle Besonderheit dieser mit dem Begriff „Sport“ bezeichneten Bewegungskultur beschrieben. In einem zweiten Schritt werden wir diesen Strukturraster über jenes, von uns beobachtete tibetische Brauchtum legen, das sich besonders körperorientiert präsentiert, um diese Bereiche hervorzuheben, die aus unserer Sicht auffallend sind. Dieses „Auffällige“ aktualisiert sich gerade dort, wo im Kontext des abendländischen Mythos etwas nur schwer erklärt werden kann, so daß an dieser Stelle der Versuch unternommen wird, gerade diese, uns nicht geläufigen Phänomene im Verständnishorizont (das bedeutet unter den Sinnkriterien und

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FWF-Projekt P09904-SPR, mit Unterstützung der Tibetischen Sportkommission.

Handlungsrechtfertigungen) der Betroffenen zu deuten. Diesem letzten Vorhaben diente besonders die Feldforschung, die in der Zeit von Juli bis September 1994 in Zentraltibet stattgefunden hat, und bei der Dias und Videos zur nachhaltigen Dokumentation und nachträglichen Interpretation der Ereignisse gemacht wurden. Dazugehörige Interviews wurden vor Ort mit beteiligten Einheimischen und Kennern der Tradition aufgenommen.

## **2. Struktur und konstitutive Merkmale des europäischen Sports**

Unter Sport in unserem Sinne, wie er sich in der abendländischen Kultur darstellt, wird eine Handlung verstanden, die den Sinn in sich selbst trägt. Diese Tätigkeit ist losgelöst von einem schaffenden Arbeitsprozeß oder einer kultischen Handlung, wobei die Körpersprache „Sport“ für alle Beteiligten den gleichen symbolischen Gehalt haben muß um in einem übereinstimmenden Prozeß handlungsfähig zu sein. Allein aus dem Phänotypus einer Bewegung, der nur die äußere Erscheinungsform eines Ereignisses abbildet, kann nicht auf seine Bedeutung im kulturellen Kontext geschlossen werden. Erst durch die soziale Absprache über den jeweiligen „Symbolgehalt“ (semantische Dimension) der Handlung, kann diese differenziert wahrgenommen, und sportliche Handlung als Sport erfahren und nachvollzogen werden. Sport ist so gesehen ein soziales Konstrukt, mit einer für alle Beteiligten einheitlichen Semantik. Weiters baut Sport in unserem Sinne auf einem rein binären Code des Sieges und der Niederlage auf.

Im Sport existieren genormte überregionale Regeln, Wettkampfbedingungen und -stätten, die zu einer weltweiten Vergleichbarkeit der sportlichen Handlungen führen. Aus dieser Entwicklung heraus sind Rekordlisten entstanden, weil nicht nur mehr der unmittelbare Kampf, Mann/Frau gegen Mann/Frau, sondern durch die genormten Bedingungen auch ein überregionaler Vergleich möglich und wesentlich geworden ist. In dieser, vorwiegend an Leistung orientierten Sportkultur hat sich eine Tendenz zur Selektion gebildet. Eine Einteilung nach Geschlecht und eine Aufspaltung in Leistungs-, Alters-, Gewichtsklassen ist die Folge, was einerseits Chancengleichheit (und somit wiederum bessere Vergleichbarkeit) und auf der anderen Seite spannendere Wettkämpfe ergibt. Chancengleichheit und Spannung sind wesentliche Elemente einer besonders telegenen Vermarktung des Sportes im Sinne der Unterhaltungsindustrie geworden.

In diesem, auf Vergleich und Leistung orientierten sportlichen Handeln gelten die Maßstäbe der Ökonomie, Effektivität und Rationalisierung; Prinzipien die auch in unserer Arbeits- und Wirtschaftswelt bedeutsam sind und von dort her auch auf den Sport übertragen wurden. So ist Sport einerseits Ausdruck und Spiegelbild unserer Alltagswelt, andererseits präsentiert er Werte und Normen dieser Welt in idealtypischer Weise (Leistung, Spezialisierung, Differenzierung, Optimierung).

Basierend auf der These, daß gesellschaftliche Subkulturen, in diesem Falle Sport, immer auch Normen, Werte, Motive und Sinnmuster des sozialen Umfeldes widerspiegeln, muß sich auch am Wandel von einer traditionellen Bewegungskultur zum modernen Sport in Tibet gleichzeitig ein gesamtgesellschaftlicher Veränderungsprozeß ablesen lassen. Handlungen unterliegen somit in ihrem Phänotypus und ihrem Symbolgehalt einer im jeweiligen Kulturkreis allgemein verständlichen Semantik. Dort jedoch wo gesellschaftliche Veränderungen relativ rasch erfolgen, ist diese Semantik nicht allen Beteiligten gleichermaßen selbstverständlich. Auffällige Prozesse der Absprache, gehäufte Unstimmigkeiten und Differenzen bei der Deutung, besonders Bewertung von Handlungen sind die Folge. Diese Phase des Umbruchs war von besonderem Forschungsinteresse.

### 3. Beschreibung der beobachteten Feste und Wettkämpfe

#### 3.1. Yakrennen

Austragungsdatum: 8.8.1994, vormittag.

Austragungsort: *Lha sa*, Sportstadion (in der Nähe des *Kyi chu*)

Austragungsmodus: 27 Yaks und Reiter (vorwiegend Bauern) aus drei Regionen aus der näheren Umgebung *Lha sas* nahmen teil.

10 Reiter aus *sTag tse rJong*

6 Reiter aus *sTod lung bde chen*

11 Reiter aus *Mal gron dkar*.

Das Rennen wurde laut Interview mit *Ngag dbang* einem Mitglied der *Lha sa*-Stadt-Sportkommission zum dritten Mal in *Lha sa* von der Sportkommission organisiert, wobei heuer dieses Ereignis zum ersten Mal anlässlich des *Sho ston* Festes stattfand. (*Ngag dbang* betont, daß das Yakrennen eigentlich von *rGyal rtse* geborgt ist und früher nur dort stattgefunden hat). Im Sinne einer Aufwertung der Arbeit und der Bemühungen der tibetischen Sportkommission scheinen diese traditionellen Bräuche nach *Lha sa* importiert worden zu sein.



Abb. 1: Yakrennen in *Lha sa*, 08.08.1994

Das Rennen selbst wurde in drei Durchgängen ausgetragen. Die zu durchlaufende Strecke wurde vor dem Wettkampf mit den Reitern abgesprochen. Am Sportfeld wurde eine Bahn mit der Breite von 16,7m abgesteckt.<sup>2</sup>

In der ersten Runde traten jeweils drei Reiter (Abb. 1) nach Möglichkeit aus verschiedenen Regionen gegeneinander an. Die Gruppierungen wurden durch Los entschieden. Es gab keine Zeitnehmung (entscheidend war der direkte Vergleich), die ersten beiden Reiter stiegen in die zweite Runde auf. Das hatte zur Folge, daß abgeworfene Reiter zum Start zurück eilten, um einen zweiten Versuch zu starten um so innerhalb der markierten Bahn das Ziel zu erreichen.

Die Gruppierung der zweiten Runde wurde mit Los entschieden, wobei wiederum jeweils drei Reiter gegeneinander antraten. Nur der Erste stieg in die letzte Runde auf. Die so ermittelten sechs Gruppensieger bestritten den Endlauf.

Siegerehrung: Alle Teilnehmer erhielten einen Ballen Ziegeltee und eine *Katag*, die ersten sechs erhielten zusätzlich Geld von der *Lha sa*-Stadt-Sportkommission: Der Erste 3000 Yuan (vgl. ein guter Yak kostete 1994 1500 Yuan), der Zweite 2500 Yuan, der Dritte 1500 Yuan, der Vierte 1000 Yuan, der Fünfte 500 Yuan und der Sechste 200 Yuan (200 Yuan entsprachen im

<sup>1</sup> Abbildungen Wolfram Müller, 1994, original auf 6 x 6 Farbdias (Hasselblad); elektronisch kopiert.

<sup>2</sup> Sämtliche Längen und Flächen wurden von uns vermessen. Diese Daten waren den Veranstaltern nur zum Teil bekannt und von geringer Bedeutung.

Sommer 1994 noch immer einem guten Monatslohn). Die Organisation des gesamten Festes, inklusive der Preise, hat gemäß der Sportkommission 20.000 Yuan gekostet.

### 3.2. Pferderennen *Dam shung*

alter Name: *'Dam spyi rim*

heutiger Name: *'Dam rta gyug*

Dieses Fest diente früher vorrangig einem großen Tauschmarkt und stand somit mehr im Dienste eines Zusammentreffens um Handel zu treiben und weniger, um sich sportlich zu betätigen. (vgl. Chodak 1988: 199).

Austragungsdatum: vom 9.8. bis ~ 11.8.1994<sup>3</sup>

Das Zeltlager der Nomaden mit großem Markt dauert ca. 10 Tage.

Austragungsort: *Dam shung*, im freien Gelände und in einer Pferderennbahn

Austragungsmodus: während dieses mehrtägigen Festes werden verschiedene Bewerbe in den folgenden Disziplinen abgehalten:

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<sup>3</sup> Das Fest konnte nicht in seiner ganzen Länge beobachtet werden, da das Forschungsteam bereits frühzeitig weiterfahren mußte.

### 3.2.1. Ein Langstrecken Pferderennen am 9.8.1994

Die Strecke ist ca. 7,6 km lang, wobei der Streckenverlauf nur ungefähr markiert ist. das Ziel ist durch zwei gemauerte Räucheröfen festgelegt. 29 Teilnehmer, meist Kinder, die den Vorteil des geringeren Gewichts haben, bestreiten das Rennen (Abb. 2). Symbolisch ist diese „Leichtigkeit“ durch eine Adlerfeder am Hut ausgedrückt.



Abb. 2: Pferderennen in *Dam shung*, 09.08.1994



Abb. 3: Pferderennen in *Dam shung*, 09.08.1994

Siegerehrung: Alle Teilnehmer und Pferde bekamen *Katags* umgehängt (Abb. 3). So geschmückt werden sie rund um die Räucheröfen geführt, anschließend wird *Chang* geopfert. Die ersten 15 Teilnehmer bekommen von der Stadtregierung von *Dam shung* einen Geldpreis bezahlt.

### 3.2.2. Rundrennen in der Pferdearena am 10.8.1994

Austragungsort: In der Pferdearena von *Dam shung*, die erst 1989 erbaut wurde (eine Runde sind 1000m). Vor diesem Zeitpunkt gab es keine Rundstreckenrennen. Austragungsmodus: Die selben Reiter mit Pferden, die auch beim o.a. Langstreckenrennen teilgenommen haben, bestreiten diesen Wettkampf. Es wird in drei Gruppen (zweimal 10 Teilnehmer, einmal 9) geritten, dabei werden fünf Runden zurückgelegt. Es wird hier jedoch eine Zeitmessung verwendet, wobei die schnellste Zeit aus allen drei Durchgängen zum Sieg führt.



Siegerehrung: Sämtliche, jetzt nur mit *Katags* ausgezeichnete Teilnehmer umrunden zeremoniell den in der Mitte der Laufbahn befindlichen Räucherofen.

### 3.2.3. Kunstreiten (*Aufheben von Katags*) am 10.8.1994

Austragungsort: In der Pferdearena von *Dam shung*.



Austragungsmodus: In mehreren Durchgängen versuchten die Reiter in gestrecktem Gallop *Katags* vom Boden aufzuheben. Dabei lehnen sich die Reiter seitlich zu Boden, wobei sie sich nur mit den Beinen am Pferd halten (Abb. 4). Bei diesem Bewerb dient ausschließlich die Zahl der aufgehobenen *Katags* zur Siegerermittlung (siehe im Gegensatz zu 3.3.1). Ein detailliertes Reglement konnte nicht erfragt werden.

Abb. 4: Kunstreiten in *Dam shung*,  
10.08.1994

### 3.2.4. Steinheben 10.8.1994

Austragungsort: Inmitten des Zeltlagers der Nomaden wurde ein Rechteck von 10 x 10 Meter mit weißer Kreide markiert: außerhalb dieses mußten die zahlreichen Zuschauer Platz nehmen. In der Mitte waren zwei konzentrische Kreise mit 2m und 4m Durchmesser mit einem „verbindenden Weg“, ca. 50cm breit, markiert.



Austragungsmodus: Sieben Teilnehmer mit einer Körpermasse zwischen 65 und 82kg.<sup>4</sup> Drei Steine unbehauen mit einer Masse von 103.6kg, 124.3kg und 136.5kg. Mit dem leichtesten Stein wurde begonnen. Dieser mußte innerhalb des kleineren Kreises auf die Schulter gehoben und anschließend über den markierten Weg aus den Kreisen heraus und um den äußeren Kreis herum getragen werden (Abb. 5).

Abb. 5: Steinheben in *Dam shung*.  
10.08.1994

Da nach dem 7. Teilnehmer heftiger Regen ausbrach, wurde der Wettkampf ohne Fortsetzung oder Siegerehrung abgebrochen. Der beste Teilnehmer war ein Tibeter mit 69.4kg Körpergewicht (gewogen inkl. Gewand); er konnte diesen Stein  $1\frac{1}{4}$  Runden weit tragen.

### 3.3. Pferdefest *Nag chu*

#### *Nag chu'i chad can · rTu rkyugs*

Auch im Rahmen des Reiterfestes in *Nag chu* werden wie in *Dam shung* mehrere Bewerbe durchgeführt. Wir dokumentierten in Bild und Ton den Kunstreitwettbewerb. Über das Langstreckenrennen, das einige Tage nach unserem Aufenthalt in *Nag chu* stattfand, holten wir uns über Interviews mit Kennern des Festes entsprechende Informationen ein.

#### 3.3.1. Kunstreitbewerb:

Austragungsdatum: 12.8.1994

Austragungsort: *Nag chu* Sportarena (erst 1993 erbaut!)

Austragungsmodus: Insgesamt nahmen 60 Reiter teil, wobei in zwei mal drei Gruppen geritten wurde.

Am 12.8.1994 vormittags traten jeweils 10 Teilnehmer aus *Amdo*, *Nag chu* und *Pang gar* gegeneinander an.

<sup>4</sup> Eine Aufgabe der Forschungsgruppe bestand darin Personen und Geräte mit einer elektronischen Waage zu vermessen. Von den Veranstaltern in ganz Tibet wurde das Gewicht der Teilnehmer nicht erhoben, wobei in *Lha sa* (siehe 3.4.2) bereits von Gewichtsklassen „gesprochen“ wurde. Die Steine dagegen wurden dort gewogen, aber dies nur sehr ungenau. In *Dam shung* war das Gewicht derselben unbekannt. Die Unterscheidung in leichte und schwerere beruhte auf Schätzung.

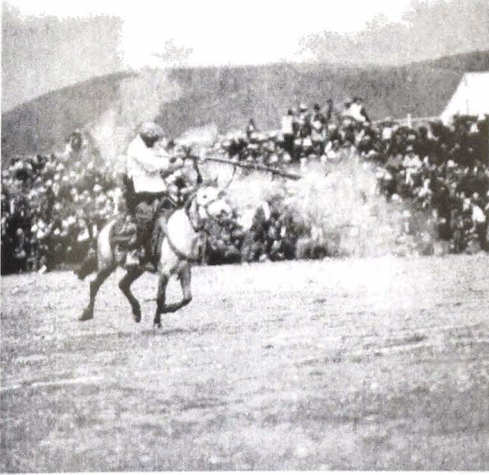


Abb. 6: Kunstreiten in *Nag chu*, 12.08.1994

Jeder Reiter hatte zuerst drei Versuche mit dem Gewehr auf drei entlang der Rennbahn aufgestellte Zielscheiben zu schießen und dann drei Versuche, auf den Boden gelegte *Katags* aufzuheben. Nur der jeweils beste Versuch wurde gewertet, wobei seit zwei Jahren eine durch die Sportkommission in *Nag chu* festgelegte Punkteregelung die Leistung quantifiziert. Die besten 10 Teilnehmer nehmen am Finale teil. Die Punktwertung ist relativ kompliziert und es würde zu weit führen, diese hier genau zu beschreiben. Den Verfassern wurden diese Bewertungskriterien aber am 12.8.1994 während eines Gespräches mit einem Mitglied der tibetischen Sportkommission in *Nag chu* erläutert. Nur soviel sei hier erwähnt: Von 7

ausgewählten Schiedsrichtern (– Lehrbeauftragte der tibetischen Sportakademie und Mitarbeiter der tibetischen Sportkommission in *Lha sa*) werden für die künstlerische Darbietung vor und nach dem Schießen auf drei Holzzielscheiben und die Treffleistung sowie das geschätzte Reitempo Punkte vergeben (Abb. 6). Die höchste und niederste Bewertung wird gestrichen und von den übrigen fünf Wertungen wird das Mittel errechnet. Diese Regeln wurden erst vor zwei Jahren fixiert und erstmals aufgeschrieben. Früher wurde durch die Intensität des Beifalls des Publikums der Sieger ermittelt. Die Mitglieder der Sportkommission meinten, daß diese Art der Bewertung ungerecht und unbeliebt gewesen sei, da es keine echte Leistungsbewertung war. Der Geschicklichkeitsbewerb (Aufheben der *Katags*) wird nach ähnlichen Richtlinien bewertet, wobei zum Unterschied zu *Dam shung* (siehe 3.2.3) auch das Reitempo Berücksichtigung fand. Bei unserem ausführlichen Gespräch mit Mitgliedern der tibetischen Sportkommission wurde betont, daß diese Regeln nur hier in *Nag chu* verbindlich sind, daß aber in anderen Regionen und Dörfern die Feste noch wie früher organisiert werden.

### 3.3.2. Langstreckenrennen

Austragungsdatum: 19. und 20.8.1994

Austragungsort: Umgebung von *Nag chu*

Die Startlinie ist eine mit weißen Steinen sichtbar gemachte ca. 100m breite Markierung. Nach unserer Messung (Autokilometer) 8km von der Sportarena, die als Ziel diente, entfernt.

Austragungsmodus: Teilnahme für alle offen. Meist sind es 100 bis 150 Nomaden- und Bauernkinder aus der näheren und weiteren Umgebung von *Nag chu* (eine Wochenreise mit den Pferden entfernt). Alle Teilnehmer starten gleichzeitig aus einem langsamen Traben heraus. Sieger ist jener Reiter, der zuerst in der Sportarena einreitet.

Siegerehrung: An die ersten drei Reiter werden Geldpreise vergeben (5000, 4500 und 4000 Yuan). Unser Gesprächspartner *Sang po* erwähnt aber, daß nicht nur für Geld geritten wird, wichtiger sei das Zusammentreffen mit Freunden und die gemeinsamen Picknicks. Aus dem Gesprächsprotokoll entnehmen wir, daß „Alte, Junge und Kranke zum Festplatz kommen um das Ereignis zu sehen und zu erleben; dies bedeutet Glück und Zusammengehörigkeit.“

### 3.4. Sportfest *Lha sa*:

Austragungsdatum: 15. 17.8.1994

Austragungsort: Sportstadion in *Lha sa* (in der Nähe des *Kyi chu*)



Abb. 7: Wandmalerei im *Jo khang*

Austragungsmodus: Von der tibetischen Sportkommission in *Lha sa* wurde dieses mehrtägige Fest, bereits ab Mai vorbereitet und organisiert. Die tibetische Sportkommission hat sich auf jenes traditionelle Sportfest berufen, das spätestens seit der Regierungsperiode des *V. Dalai Lama* in *Lha sa* stattgefunden hat. (vgl. Tiley Chodag 1988: 199, vgl. auch die Wandmalereien im *Jo khang* und *Potala*, die ebenfalls sportliche Feste zeigen). Das Fest, das im *Jo khang* abgebildet ist (Abb. 7), soll nach Auskunft unseres Interviewpartners sogar auf die Regierungszeit von *Srong btsan sGam po* zurückgehen, der dieses Fest zu Ehren seiner Gattin Wenchen organisiert haben soll.<sup>5</sup>



Abb. 8: Wandmalerei im *Potala*

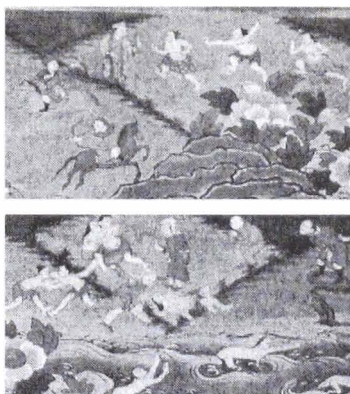


Abb. 9: Wandmalerei im *Potala*

Eine andere Ursprungstheorie dieses Festes wird belegt durch die Abbildungen im *Potala*. In einer großflächigen Darstellung (Abb. 8) wird ein Traum des *V. Dalai Lamas*, in dem auch „sportive“ Wettkämpfe aufscheinen, beschrieben. Ein weiteres Bild (Abb. 9) zeigt ein Fest, bei welchem körperlich-geistiges Kräfteressen (7 Disziplinen) aufscheint. Die Interpretation des Inhaltes dieses Bildes ist mehrdeutig. Einerseits wird dieser von *'Jang pa Kun Khyab* in der Weise gedeutet, daß dieses Fest anlässlich der Fertigstellung der Stupa des *V. Dalai Lamas* gegeben wurde, andererseits meint derselbe (siehe auch Taring 1995: 180), daß dieses Fest in

<sup>5</sup> *'Jang pa Kun khyab*, vormalig ein *Rinpoche* und Kenner der tibetischen Tradition.

seiner kontinuierlichen Wiederkehr jungen Adeligen die Möglichkeit gab, sich durch gegenseitiges Kräfteressen dem Adelsstand würdig zu erweisen.

Beim Sportfest in *Lha sa* wurde eine Reihe von traditionellen Bewerben veranstaltet: Bogenschießen, Ringen, Steinheben, *Giram* (traditionelles Brettspiel). Zusätzlich beobachteten wir auch Seilziehen, Steinzielwerfen und verschiedene Tanzvorführungen (hier nicht näher dargestellt).

#### 3.4.1. Bogenschießen mit singenden Pfeilen

1994 nahmen nur 4 Teilnehmer aus *Nji che* an diesem Bewerb teil. Sie traten in der traditionellen Tracht dieser Gegend auf. Die Zielscheibe bestand aus drei ineinandergesteckten Lederringen mit einem von uns gemessenen äußeren Durchmesser von 23cm. Taring (1995: 180) beschreibt in Ihrem Buch die Größe der Scheibe mit einem Durchmesser von 25cm. Schäfer (1988: 199) dagegen mit 15cm. Der Abstand von der Zielscheibe wird von *Da dba*, unserem Interviewpartner und teilnehmendem Schützen aus *Nji che*, mit 45 Schritten angegeben (vgl. Schäfer 1988: 199). Jeder Schütze gibt 10 Schüsse ab, wobei jeder Treffer mit einer *Katag* geehrt wird.



Der beste Schütze bekommt zusätzlich noch eine besonders schöne *Katag*. Zwischen den Schüssen wird von allen 4 Bogenschützen viel Bier getrunken und *Da dba* vermerkt: „*Biertrinken ist ein Brauch, der zum Bogenschießen gehört*“ (vgl. auch Schäfer a.a.O und Bell oJ 271). Pfeil und Bogen werden auch heute noch (vgl. Bell oJ 271) aus Bambus von den Schützen selbst angefertigt, für die Pfeile werden Federn des Adlers verwendet (Abb. 10). Der Gesang der Schützen war während der Dauer des Bewerbes zu hören.

Abb. 10: Bogenschießen mit singenden Pfeilen, *Lha sa* 1994

#### 3.4.2. Steinheben

Die Steine waren rund behauen (früher waren es glatte Flußsteine vgl. Harrer 1952: 139), und haben eine Masse von 100, 125, 150 und 175 kg; das Gewicht war in Pfund auf die Steine geschrieben. Es stellten sich 10 Teilnehmer diesem Bewerb (ihre Körpermasse lag zwischen 67,5 und 91 kg mit leichtem Gewand). Jeder Teilnehmer hatte drei Versuche um den Stein auf die Schulter zu heben. Erst wenn der leichteste Stein gehoben war, durfte zum nächst schwereren gewechselt werden. Das Gewicht des gehobenen Steins und die benötigten Versuche entschieden über Sieg und Niederlage.

### 3.4.3. Steinheben und Tragen

Die sechs Besten aus dem Bewerb (Steinheben) des Vortages durften an diesem Bewerb teilnehmen. Der Stein mußte nur bis auf Bauchhöhe gehoben werden. Die um die Mitte gebundenen Ärmel der *phyu ba* erleichterten das Tragen des Steines am Bauch. Gemessen wurde der vom Steinheber zurückgelegte Weg entlang einer mit einem Maßband ausgelegten Geraden.

Ein Mönch aus einem Kloster bei *Nag chu* gewann diesen Bewerb, er konnte den Stein mit 150 kg 76 m weit tragen. Die Sieger dieses Bewerbes wurden mit *Katags*, Medaillen (!) und Geld von der Sportkommission geehrt.

### 3.4.4 Ringen

Die Wettkämpfer mußten alle eine *phyu ba* tragen, der Oberteil des Mantelkleides war aber um die Taille gebunden. Nach *sKal bsang Da dba*, einem Mitglied der tibetischen Sportkommission, wurde „früher“ fast nackt und am ganzen Körper eingölt gekämpft (vgl. Harrer 1952: 138). Der Austragungsort war vor der Besetzung Tibets durch China ein Platz vor dem *Jo khang*. Der Austragungszeitpunkt war der 25. Tag des 1. Monats (vgl. Harrer a.a.O und Schäfer 1988: 215). Ein weiteres Mitglied der tibetischen Sportkommission erklärte, daß es zu den Regeln des tibetischen Ringens gehöre, eine *phyu ba* zu tragen, an der sich der Gegner festhalten kann. Das Treten mit Füßen war nicht erlaubt. Der Kampf ist dann beendet, wenn der Gegner flach am Rücken liegt. Neue zusätzliche Regeln mit Gewichtsklassen (60, 70, 80kg) stehen zur Diskussion (s.o.). Eine genormte, den europäischen Ringplatzmarkierungen entsprechende Begrenzung, gibt es seit wenigen Jahren (Abb. 11).



Abb. 11: Ringkampf, *Lha sa* 1994

Semantik, generelle Akzeptanz sozialer Vorgaben, Selbstverständlichkeit). Die Situation war bedrohlich, das Publikum stürmte den Sportplatz, es kam aber zu keinen gewalttätigen Ausschreitungen.

Vor dieser Festlegung soll die Wettkampfstätte ein von Steinen befreites, unmarkiertes „Feld“ gewesen sein (vgl. Harrer a.a. O. Schäfer a.a.O). Über die genaue Siegerermittlung bei den von uns beobachteten Wettkämpfen kann nicht berichtet werden, da wegen der Unstimmigkeiten über die neueingeführte Ringplatzmarkierung und den damit verbundenen Unruhen im Publikum dieser Wettbewerb vorzeitig beendet wurde. Man fürchtete sich vor einem größeren Aufstand der *Kham pas*, die sich ungerecht behandelt fühlten.

Obwohl den *Kham pas* im Sinne einer Vereinheitlichung der Regeln, bereits zwei Monate vor dem Wettkampf die neuen Ringregeln zugesandt wurden, gab es dennoch keine Zustimmung (siehe 2., einheitliche

### 3.5. Vorerntefest (*dBang khor*)

Austragungsdatum: 17.8.1994

Es war im Zuge des Forschungsaufenthaltes beabsichtigt, ein Vorerntefest zu besuchen, ein Termin dafür war aber auch über die tibetische Sportkommission nicht eruierbar.

Auf das hier beschriebene Fest wurde das Forschungsteam nur durch Zufall aufmerksam, da der Termin solcher Feste äußerst kurzfristig (innerhalb einer Woche) vom Bürgermeister und den Bauern eines Dorfes, abhängig vom Erntestand des Getreides, festgelegt wird und daher Ort und Zeit dieser Feste auch in keinem tibetischen Kalender festgehalten werden können.

Austragungsort: *Kron cho* ca. 50km westlich von *Lha sa*

Austragungsmodus: Nach der Terminfixierung bereiten sich die Dorfbewohner auf dieses Ereignis vor. Am Festplatz (in diesem Fall etwas westlich vom Dorfe, am Fuße eines Berges gelegen) wird am frühen Morgen des 1. Festtages ein typisch tibetisches Picknick-Zeltlager errichtet und ein Hohlweg mit geringer Tiefe wird als Pferderennbahn festgelegt. Drei Zielscheiben (mit Stroh gefüllte Lederbeutel), die an einem gegabelten Stock befestigt sind, wurden neben der Bahn aufgestellt.

35 Reiter nahmen an diesem Fest teil. Im 1. Durchgang wurden die Reiter dem unmittelbar an den Rand des „Rennweges“ herangeeilten Publikum vorgestellt. Es folgten 9 weitere Durchgänge, in denen alle Reiter in relativ rascher Abfolge die Pferdebahn entlang galoppierten und sich entweder seitlich vom Pferd beugten um *Katags* aufzuheben oder um mit der Peitsche die Erde zu berühren (Abb. 12) oder um mit einem Stein oder Pfeil (teilweise sehr alte Bogenkonstruktionen) auf die Zielscheiben zu schießen (Abb. 13). Ein genaues Regelwerk konnte weder vom Bürgermeister noch von anderen Dorfbewohnern erfragt werden.



Abb. 12: Reiterspiele anlässlich des Vorerntefestes in *Kron cho*.



Abb. 13: Reiterspiele anlässlich des Vorerntefestes in *Kron cho*.

Es wurden sehr unterschiedliche Beurteilungskriterien geäußert, eine davon war die Schnelligkeit, diese wurde allerdings ohne Zeitnehmung geschätzt. Die Siegerehrung glich viel mehr einem gemeinsamen Opferritual, bei dem ein Räucherfeuer entzündet und *rTsam pa*

geopfert wurde. Die ersten drei erhielten zusätzlich zu den *Katags* noch eine sehr geringe Geldprämie von 60 bzw. 50 Yuan.

Nach der Sieger- und Dankeszeremonie folgten noch einige immer wilder werdende Reitvorführungen (die enorme Hitze und der Bierkonsum trugen sichtlich dazu bei), die nicht mehr zum Bewertungsdurchgang, aber sehr wohl zum Festgebrauch zu gehören schienen.

Der Tradition gemäß wird am 2.Tag des Erntefestes am Festplatz eine tibetische Oper aufgeführt.

#### 4. Die Wahrnehmung des Auffälligen

Irritationen aus der Sicht eines europäischen Beobachters

Alle von den Verfassern beobachteten und beschriebenen Feste, dienten zum Unterschied von europäischen Sportereignissen nicht vorwiegend einem Leistungsvergleich und sportlichen Wettkampf, sondern hatten vorrangig eine gesellig-kommunikative Bedeutung. Das Pferdefest von *Dam shung* zum Beispiel dient noch immer hauptsächlich dem Tausch und Verkauf von Waren. Im Rahmen dieser Tätigkeiten findet ein Rennen statt, das aber in einem „Terminkalender“ der Festereignisse nur sehr ungenau angegeben ist (vgl. auch Tiley Chodag 1988: 199 und Loisang Yexe 1988: 9). Auch in *Nag chu* scheint der „Wettkampf“ nebensächliche Bedeutung zu haben, da laut unserer Interviews mit den Teilnehmern die Anwesenheit an dieser Veranstaltung besonderes Glück sowie Zusammengehörigkeit symbolisieren. Daß es dabei nicht ausschließlich um Sieg und Niederlage geht, kann auch an der von uns dokumentierten Zeremonie der Ehrung der erfolgreichen Teilnehmer an den „Wettkämpfen“ (z.B. beim Pferderennen in *Dam shung* und beim Yakrennen in *Lha sa*) erkannt werden. Hier wurden alle Teilnehmer mit der Überreichung von Tee und *Katags* geehrt. Dies sind also durchwegs Ehrerweisungen, die ihren Symbolwert aus dem Alltag und aus rituellen Bedeutungen beziehen. Dagegen war beim Steinheben während des großen Sportfestes in *Lha sa*, eine in Europa übliche Form der Siegerehrung mit einer nur im Sport üblichen Preisverteilung zu beobachten. Aus diesem Anlaß erhielten die ersten Drei besonders gestaltete Medaillen. Diese Form der Siegerehrung läßt sich aus einer traditionellen Ehrerbietung nicht rekonstruieren, verweist also auf den Einfluß international üblicher, sportlicher Gewohnheiten. Bemerkenswert ist, und dies deutet vielleicht auch auf einen Übergang von traditionell gewachsener Entwicklung zu „fremdbestimmten“ Einflüssen hin, daß relativ hohe Preisgelder, abgestuft nach den Plazierungen, bereits bei fast allen beschriebenen Festen vorherrschend waren. Nirgends war jedoch eine symbolhafte und deutlich sichtbare Erhöhung der Sieger gegenüber den Verlierern, wie sie international durch das Siegerpodest gegeben ist, zu erkennen.

Zusammenfassend kann gesagt werden, daß es in jenen Ländern, die bereits eine eigenständige Sporttradition besitzen, eine konkrete Terminplanung mit exakter Zeit- und Ortsangabe gibt. Weiters existieren im Sinne einer Chancengleichheit Leistungs- und Altersklassen, sowie geschlechtsspezifische Disziplinen und Wertungen. Wie aus der Kurzbeschreibung der Feste in Tibet ersichtlich ist, existiert derzeit noch keine landesweite Gesamtkoordination der Wettkämpfe, wobei sich die tibetische Sportkommission in vermehrtem Maß um eine Abstimmung bemüht. Auch die Voraussetzungen, um Ereignisse auch überregional vergleichen zu können, nämlich die Standardisierung der Wettkampfflächen, Geräte und Handlungsabläufe, ist in Tibet noch nicht, beziehungsweise erst in ersten Ansätzen, vorhanden. Dies bedeutet auch, daß es keine Protokolle bzw. Rekordlisten, vor allem aber keine



landesweite Absprache und damit schriftliche Fixierung von sportlichen Regeln gibt. Ein Novum stellt der Bau einer Pferderennbahn in *Dam shung* und *Nag chu* dar, dessen Länge jeweils 1000m ist. Bislang fanden die „sportlichen“ Vergleiche, bei denen es um die Bewältigung von Strecken ging, entlang geradliniger Wegführungen statt, die sich oftmals an traditionell vorgegebenen Fixpunkten orientierte, die aber nicht vermessen waren. Ein Beleg dafür sind die, das Ziel markierenden Räucheröfen in *Dam shung* oder die Wegführung für die Reiter und Läufer bei den Wettbewerben in *Lha sa* während des großen Sportfestes nach *Mon lam Chen mo* (vgl. Harrer 1952: 139, Schäfer 1988: 201). Den Verfassern sind weder schriftliche Dokumente noch traditionelle Bilddokumente bekannt, bei denen Pferde- oder Yakrennen oder Läufe auf einer genormten Rundbahn stattgefunden haben.

Dieselbe unreglementierte und nicht standardisierte Abfolge bei der Ermittlung eines Siegers ist auch bei jenen Wettkämpfen zu beobachten, bei denen es um Vergleiche der Körperkraft geht. So zum Beispiel beim Steinheben in *Dam shung*: dort waren keine künstlich geformten Steine zu heben und keine genormten Hebetechiken vorgeschrieben. Dagegen wird das Steinheben in *Lha sa* bereits mit extra für diesen Anlaß erzeugten Steingewichten vorgenommen, die Bewegungsausführung aber ist hier noch offen. Für den Ringwettkampf in *Lha sa* wurde während unseres Besuches ein exakt bemessenes Feld verwendet. Daß hier ein Bruch mit traditionellen Formen vorliegt, ist aus den vor Ort dokumentierten Streitgesprächen der Teilnehmer und Kampfrichtern und den sich anbahnenden Unruhen zu ersehen. Ein durchgehender Abstimmungsprozeß unter allen Beteiligten und damit klare und allgemein akzeptierte Schiedsrichterentscheidungen sind noch nicht gegeben. Diese Unstimmigkeit, die sich durch eine „Überformung“ traditioneller Gepflogenheiten ergibt, soll am Beispiel eines Wettkampfes auf einer Rundbahn erläutert werden. Dort wo sich „Sport“ aus Arbeitstechniken entwickelt hat, ist ein Handlungsablauf von einem vorgegebenen Ort A nach einem zu erreichenden Ort B „noch“ als sinnvoll einzusehen. Dort jedoch, wo die Punkte A und B ein und dieselben sind (Kreisbahn), ergibt sich aus dem Alltagsverständnis einer sinnvollen Bewegung (als Ortsveränderung in einer Zeit von A nach B) ein Sinnbruch, der sich in der Zusammenfassung der Interviews etwa so äußert: „Warum soll man von einem Ort weglaufen, um an dem Ort möglichst bald wieder anzulangen, wo man sich bereits befindet.“ Mit der Einführung dieser, dem Alltag nicht kongruenten Sinnebene in Form der Rundbahn von *Dam shung*, muß eine zusätzliche (zum Alltagsleben und zu traditionellen Wertvorstellungen) Sinn- und Interpretationsebene erschlossen werden, die den einzelnen Teilnehmer die Handlung bedeutsam erscheinen läßt und so Antrieb seiner Handlung ist. Ein erstrebenswerter Grund kann das finanzielle Entgelt für die besten Leistungen sein. Damit verbunden kann eine Stuserhöhung des Teilnehmers in der Gesellschaft sein. Die Feldstudien (Bilddokumentation, Videostudien und Tonbandmitschnitte der Stimmungen während der Ereignisse) zeigen bei diesen „neuen“ Formen weniger Interesse und Freude bei den Teilnehmern. So war das Sportfest in *Lha sa* zum Beispiel wesentlich schlechter besucht als etwa die Wettkämpfe in *Dam shung*.

Unmut, wie wir ihn zum Beispiel im Zuge der Ringwettkämpfe in *Lha sa* erlebten, ist immer ein Zeichen des Umbruchs, neue Werte und Normen sind noch nicht internalisiert oder selbstverständlich. Erst wenn für alle Beteiligten an einem Wettkampf einschließlich der Zuseher eine einheitliche und übereinstimmende Akzeptanz sportlicher Regeln gegeben ist, und damit jene „noch“ beobachtbaren lautstarken Diskussionen über richtige und unrichtige Entscheidungen wegfallen, ist jener Moment erreicht, bei dem eine eigenständige Bewegungskultur durch den internationalen Einfluß einer weltumspannenden Sportkultur überformt ist. Die tibetische Gesellschaft ist zumindest in städtischen Bereichen

internationalen Normen und Werten, Bedürfnissen und Verhaltenserwartungen ausgesetzt: der damit verbundene gesellschaftliche Wandel spiegelt sich auch in der sich ändernden Bewegungskultur wider. Sport dient hier als Kennzeichen einer Ausdifferenzierung der Gesellschaft in klar definierte Bereiche mit eigener gesetzesartiger Binnenstruktur (Gesetze, Regeln, kultische Vorschriften). Arbeitshandlungen, kultische Handlungen und „Sporthandlungen“, waren bei unserem Aufenthalt, zumindest in ländlichen Gemeinden noch als „Gesamtereignis“ sichtbar.

Dabei müssen wir aber wiederum selbstkritisch hinterfragen, inwieweit wir uns in unserem Forschungsinteresse nicht durch ein Interpretationskonstrukt leiten ließen, das die Suche und Wahrnehmung einer „noch heilen Welt“ mit einer ganzheitlichen Lebensweise, die diesem Volke zugeschrieben wird, beeinflusst hat. Dies mag seine Ursache in einem, den westlichen Lebensgewohnheiten kritisch entgegengestellten idealisierten Lebensentwurf haben.

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# THE SEMANTIC STRUCTURE OF THE TIBETAN COMPOUND

by

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This investigation touches upon the question of derivational semantics of the Tibetan language. We made a classification of Tibetan compounds according to their semantic structure.

It is known that sometimes it is very difficult to differentiate compounds from word-combinations. In this case it is impossible to tell whether this linguistic unit should be studied from the point of view of morphology or syntax. Actually this problem is typical for many eastern languages. It is especially difficult to discriminate compounds from word-combinations when dealing polysyllabic complexes if there are no formal indications (such as for example the genitive particles).

In this context we should also mention abbreviation. But we will only mention it, for it is a separate question needing a special discussion.

Further, we can find that dictionaries contain patent compounds equally with polysyllabic complexes which cannot be clearly defined as compounds or as word-combinations or even which are evidently word-combinations.

*so ma ra tsa'i til mar gyi bkrag rtsi brgyabs pa'i sa khebs* 'linoleum'

*zang thal du 'big pa'i 'od 'phro'i khyad nus* 'radioactivity'<sup>1</sup>

*bcings 'grol las 'gul* 'liberation movement/campaign'

*dmag rtsal dge rgan* 'military teacher, drill instructor'

*tshong zog gi rnam pa* 'forms of commodities, commodity types'<sup>2</sup>

*rtsod sgrub kyis dngos po tsam smra ba* 'dialectical materialism'<sup>3</sup>

V. M. Solntsev stresses the fact that the relations between the components of the compound are asyntactic. He suggests the following criteria for differentiating compounds from word-combinations:

- one of the components (or both components) of the compound change the part of speech they belong to;
- the part of speech of the compound does not result from the parts of speech of the components;
- the components of the compound are connected without any syntactic words while from the point of view of syntax syntactic words are necessary;
- the components of the compound are connected according to the rules of the old language;
- the complex linguistic unit which is formed according to the verbal-objective model (*i.e.* an object is included into its structure) can govern an 'outer' object, can have an object itself;
- the complex unit is a result of abbreviation, and the components of the compound represent

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<sup>1</sup> Dhongthog, T. G. (1973), *The New Light English-Tibetan Dictionary*. Dharamsala.

<sup>2</sup> Goldstein, M. C. (1975), *Tibetan-English Dictionary of Modern Tibetan*. Kathmandu.

<sup>3</sup> Roerich, Y. N. (1983), *Tibetan-Russian-English Dictionary with Sanskrit parallels*. Moscow, Nauka Publishers, Central Department of Oriental Literature.

not themselves but the words they belonged to.<sup>4</sup>

V. M. Solntsev applies these characteristics to the isolating languages. To our mind the modern Tibetan language cannot be defined as a strictly isolating language but these criteria can be used for discriminating Tibetan compounds from word-combinations.

We could suggest one more criterion: ability to add auxiliary components (for example *byed*, *gtong* etc.).

Further, we should point out the main structural models according to which Tibetan compounds are formed. They are:

- copulative (*pha ma* ‘father and mother, parents’; ‘father’ + ‘mother’; *dkar nag* ‘black and white, opposites’; ‘black’ + ‘white’);
- attributive (*mgron khang* ‘guest house, hotel’: ‘guest’ + ‘house’);
- verbal-objective (*kha phyis* ‘napkin’: ‘mouth’ + ‘to wipe’);
- numerative (*phyogs bcu* ‘all sides/directions, everywhere’: ‘direction, side’ + ‘ten’);
- sequential (*bcings ’grol* ‘liberation’: ‘to tie, to bind’ + ‘to untie, to set loose, to liberate’).

The last two models are not very active.

Still the purpose of this paper is to analyze Tibetan compounds from the semantic point of view.

A classification of Tibetan nominal compounds was made by George Roerich.<sup>5</sup> He divides Tibetan nominal compounds into copulative (corresponding to the Sanskrit Dvandva compounds), determinative (corresponding to the Sanskrit Tatpuruṣa compounds), synonym and abstract (formed by grouping together two words [syllables] with opposite meaning).

A classification of Tibetan compounds was also made by Melvyn C. Goldstein (*op. cit.*, 13-22). According to his classification they are divided into nominal (synonymic, premodifying, conjunctive and polar), adjectival (polar and postmodifying), verbal (premodifying Adj.-Vb., synonymic Vb.-Vb., summation Vb.-Vb., polar Vb.-Vb., premodifying Vb.-N., premodifying N.-Vb. and sequential Vb.-Vb.) and quadrisyllabic.

Our classification is based mainly on the semantic criteria. The main principle is correlation of meanings of the compound and its components.

So the general classification of the Tibetan compounds is as follows:

1. The meaning of the compound is a sum of meanings of both components:
  - a) a simple sum of meanings of the components without semantic changes;
  - b) a sum of meanings of the components with semantic changes;
  - c) the generalization of the meanings of the components.
2. The meaning of the compound is the same with the meaning of one of the components. The meaning of the other component can belong to a close-related semantic field.
3. The meaning of the compound includes some semantic structures of its components but in general it is idiomatic and metaphorical.

<sup>4</sup> Solntsev, V. M. (1995), *Vvedeniye v teoriyu izoliruyuschih yazykov*. Moskva, Vostochnaya Literatura. [Introduction into the Isolating Languages Theory. Moscow, Oriental Literature Publishers.]

<sup>5</sup> Roerich Y.N., Tse-Trung Lopsang Phuntshok (1957), *Textbook of Colloquial Tibetan (Dialect of Central Tibet)*, Calcutta.

Most words of the first group (a) are formed according to the copulative model and their components belong to the same part of speech, but some of the compounds of this time consist of the components which are in case relations:

*pha ma* 'parents': *pha* 'father' + *ma* 'mother' (copulative model)

*gdan lcog* 'cushion and table': *gdan* 'cushion' + *lcog* 'table' (copulative model)

*kun shes* 'all-knowing': *kun* 'all' + *shes* 'to know' (verbal-objective model)

In case of the compounds of the first group (b) as a rule one of the components determines the other.

*kha phyis* 'napkin': *kha* 'mouth' + *phyis* 'to wipe' (verbal-objective model)

*g.yar 'dzin* 'certificate of indebtedness, receipt for a loan': *g.yar* 'to borrow' + *'dzin* 'receipt, voucher, check' (attributive model)

*za khang* 'restaurant': *za* 'to eat' + *khang* 'house' (attributive model)

*sgo lcags* 'lock': *sgo* 'door' + *lcags* 'iron, metal' (attributive model)

The compounds of the first group (c) consist of two antonyms and are usually formed according to the copulative model.

*gsar rnying* 'age': *gsar* 'new' + *rnying* 'old'

*bde sdug* 'well-being, welfare': *bde* 'well, in good health, comfortable' + *sdug* 'suffering, misery'

When speaking about the compounds of the second group we can say that the meaning of one of the components is 'dissolved' in the meaning of the other.

However, the meanings of the two components are quite close. We could suppose they are formed according to the copulative model.

*nang logs* 'inside': *nang* 'inside' + *logs* 'side'

*dge legs* 'good, fine, auspicious': *dge* 'virtue, good deeds, merit' + *legs* 'good, well'

*sa khul* 'region, zone': *sa* 'land, earth' + *khul* 'region, area'

In this group there is a sub-group: compounds which consist of synonymic components.

*sra brtan* 'firm, stable, strong': *sra* 'firm, strong' + *brtan* 'firm, steady, stable'

*dpe deb* 'books': *dbe* 'book' + *deb* 'book'

Finally, the compounds of the third group are most descriptive and metaphorical. Sometimes it is quite difficult to guess the meaning of the compound knowing the meanings of the components:

*gzugs mthong* 'television': *gzugs* 'body' + *mthong* 'to see' (verbal-objective model)

*'khyags sgam* 'refrigerator': *'khyags* 'ice' + *sgam* 'box' (attributive model).

A lot of new words are created according to this scheme. For example we can look at some political terms.

*log spyod* 'reactionary, perverted action/conduct': *log* 'to return, to go/come back' + *spyod* 'behaviour' (attributive model)

*skabs 'tshol* 'opportunism': *skabs* 'time, occasion, opportunity' + *'tshol* 'to look for' (verbal-objective model)

So we tried to analyze the Tibetan compounds from the point of view of their semantical structure. We described the main semantical models of the compounds. We also pointed out the main structural models. But still we did not stress the question of the parts of speech the components of the compounds belong to. In our opinion the problem of parts of speech in the Tibetan language is a special field of investigation.



# TOWARDS A COMPREHENSIVE CLASSIFICATION OF RNYING-MA LITERATURE

by

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The monumental size of Tibetan religious literature is well known to contemporary tibetology. In spite of this massiveness, indigenous works affording an overall view of that literary corpus appear to be simply non-existent, whereas texts dealing with single parts of it from a bibliographic standpoint are exceedingly scanty in proportion. Only a number of works mostly running under the denomination of *dkar chag* (catalogue) fill this gap.

It is in this light that a couple of religious historical writings by the first rDzong-sar Rinpoche, 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-po (1820-1892),<sup>1</sup> one of the *spiritus movens* of the Ris-med or eclectic trend of Tibetan Buddhism, assume a special interest. These are his *gDan rabs* and *mTshan tho*, and more precisely those sections consisting in a compendium of scriptural collections, authors, genres, and books relevant to the major schools of Tibetan Buddhism. Texts of this kind, which are both extremely rare and very helpful, deserve to be regarded as authoritative guidebooks for the student. The considerations put forward in the following lines are basically hinged on these two works.<sup>2</sup>

The bulky literary output of the Ancient Tradition is customarily referred to as *gsang sngags snga 'gyur rnying ma* – namely the body of writings centred on and developed from the core constituted by the tantric texts translated into Tibetan language during the former spread of the Buddhist doctrine (*bstan pa snga dar*) in the Land of Snows. Though mKhyen-brtse accepts in *gDan rabs* (19rv) the well-established criterion of differentiating the Ancient Tradition (*mying ma*) from the New one (*gsar ma*) on a diachronic basis, he does question it in *mTshan tho* (42rv). After pointing out the convenience of adopting as the dividing line between these periods the figure of *Lo tsā ba* Rin-chen-bzang-po (958-1055) instead of the alternative Paṇḍita Smṛti, who came later,<sup>3</sup> mKhyen-brtse draws our attention to the fact that all this has no rele-

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<sup>1</sup> A basic bibliography on mKhyen-brtse is *i.a.* given in: Smith, E.G. (1970), Introduction to *Kongtrul's Encyclopædia of Indo-Tibetan Culture*, Part I. New Delhi (Śata-piṭaka Series 80), 72; Prats 1982: 15 n. 24. For a profile of mKhyen-brtse's life see Dudjom Rinpoche 1991: 1 849-58. See also Dhongthog Rinpoche, T.G. (1977), *Byang phyogs thub pa'i rgyal tshab dpal ldan sa skya pa'i bstan pa rin po che ji ltar byung ba'i lo rgyus rab 'byams zhing du snyan pa'i sgra dbyangs*. New Delhi, 148r-154v.

<sup>2</sup> Though no reference to the *gDan rabs* is made in Tulku Thondup Rinpoche 1987, the former has most probably constituted one of the basic sources for Tulku Thondup's overview of Tibetan literature (71-100), and of the religious literature in particular (75-90), in which context we find a section on the rNying-ma school (77-82).

<sup>3</sup> Paṇḍita Smṛti or Smṛtijñānakīrti (he is mentioned as Dran-pa-ye-shes-grags in dPa'-bo gTsong-lag-'phreng-ba's *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, Part I-ta. New Delhi [Bhoṭa-piṭaka Series 4], 1959, 157) was a disciple of Nāropā (? 956-1040). He arrived in Tibet at the time of IHa Bla-ma Ye-shes-'od, the 11th century pious ruler of Pu-hrang, to found subsequently in Kham a school for the study and practice of the Abhidharmakośa. He became proficient in Tibetan and translated a number of Sanskrit works, among which several tantras and related commentaries. Paṇḍita Smṛti is believed to have taken rebirth shortly after his demise as Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po (1012-1088), a scholar who played a prominent role in the formative period of the rNying-ma school. This contrasts with mKhyen-brtse's statement that Paṇḍita Smṛti was junior to Rin-chen-bzang-po. Cf. Obermiller, E. (1931-32), *History of Buddhism (Chos-hbyung)* by Bu-ston. Heidelberg, II 214-5; Roerich 1949-53: 102, 160-7, 204-5, 346, 372, 395.

vance to the translation of tantras. Indeed, he continues, some works like *De nyid 'dus pa*, *rNam snang mngon byang*, and *bSam gtan phyi ma* were initially divulged at bSam-yas during the early period, but nobody sees them as appertaining to the Ancient Tradition.<sup>4</sup> No precepts of the Anuttara category were translated at that time for fear that they could be practised to the letter. «Ancient», according to mKhyen-brtse, is a denomination to be applied *sensu stricto* to those teachings that were translated in secrecy by Vairocana and others, under the scholarly guidance of the Indian paṇḍitas (Padmasambhava, etc.); while «New» stands for the Anuttara texts rendered into Tibetan since the time of Rin-chen-bzang-po. mKhyen-brtse cites as an instance three works of the so-called Eighteen Tantrapīṭaka (*tantra sde bco brgyad*),<sup>5</sup> and concludes by propounding that any distinction between «Ancient» and «New» Traditions ought to be established in accordance with the procedure used to lay down (*gtan la 'bebs lugs*) the tantric teachings.

Various Tibetan scholars had put forward similar arguments much earlier,<sup>6</sup> such as the renowned rNying-ma-pa polemist Sog-bzlog-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (1552-1624). He underlines the fact that Paṇ-chen Smṛti and others who were contemporaries with or lived after *Lo tsā ba* Rin-chen-bzang-po had translated some texts commonly ascribed to the Ancient Tradition. Conversely, tantric works of the Kriyā, Caryā, and Yoga classes which had been translated under the reign of Khri-srong-lde-brtsan (754-797) are considered distinctive of the New Tradition.<sup>7</sup>

As a matter of fact, the «*gsar rnying*»<sup>8</sup> dichotomy is actually restricted to the upper category of tantras – *i.e.* both those of the Mahāyoga, Anuyoga, and Atiyoga classes, which form the so-called Inner Tantras (*nang rgyud*) of the Ancient Tradition, and those of the Anuttarayoga of the New Tradition. On the contrary, there is no disagreement between these Traditions as referred to sūtras and to the category of Outer or Lower Tantras (*phyi rgyud* or *rgyud sde 'og ma*).<sup>9</sup>

Proceeding to the specific domain of rNying-ma literature, mKhyen-brtse affords an elementary classification and a summary list of its more selected writings in *gDan rabs* (19r-23r), while a terse outline of a part of the *bka' ma* and *gter ma* scriptural categories is likewise found in *mTshan tho*.<sup>10</sup> Laying the very foundations for a general classification of that literature, he

<sup>4</sup> *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha*, *Mahāvairocānābhisambodhī*, and *Dhyānottaraṭālakrama*, respectively. They belong to the category of Outer Tantras (*phyi rgyud*) and are included in the *bKa' 'gyur*. Cf. Roerich 1949-53: 351, 753.

<sup>5</sup> *gSang 'dus* (*Guhyasamāja*), *Zla gsang thig le* (*Candraguhyatilaka*), and *Sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor* (*Buddhasamāyoga*). On the *Tantra sde bco brgyad* see Dudjom Rinpoche 1991: II 222; Roerich 1949-53: 102 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Karmay, Samten G. (1981), «King Tsa/Dza and Vajrayāna», in *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R.A. Stein*. M. Strickmann (ed.), Bruxelles (Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques XX), 192-3.

<sup>7</sup> See *bDag po rin po che'i chos 'byung la | zhal snga nas blo bzang pas dgag pa mdzad pa*, in Vol. II of *Collected Writings of Sog-bzlog-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan* (1975). New Delhi, 27v-28v.

<sup>8</sup> See n. 15.

<sup>9</sup> *gDan rabs*, 19r: «... *gsang sngags snga 'gyur zhes pa ni | mdo phyogs la gsar rnying gi dbye ba med cing | sngags la 'ang rgyud sde 'og ma gsum gyi sgo nas dbye ba ma yin te* ».

<sup>10</sup> *mTshan tho*, 60r: «... *rnying lugs bka' ma | mdo sgyu sems gsum | lo dril nag gsum | gter ma bla rdzogs (zhi drag gnyis) thugs gsum (zhi drag gnyis) | bka' (nam gsum) dgongs (snga phyi bar gsum) phur gsum (bka' gter gnyis) [60v] mams dar so che | bka' 'dus | dgongs 'dus | rig 'dzin yongs 'dus sam grol thig gsum la dgongs 'dus snga phyi bar gsum | bder 'dus | gsang rdzogs | rang shar gsum la bka' brgyad nam gsum | phur pa jo lugs | 'khon lugs | rong lugs sogs bka' ma dang | chos dbang | sangs gling | ratna gling pa sogs gter ma snga phyi man* ». The subsumption



splits that entire corpus into two major parts. He does not assign any headings to these, but we might tentatively call them «Scriptures» and «Compositions». The heading «Scriptures» embraces the canonical and paracanonical<sup>11</sup> texts as ascribed to the three modes of handing down the Dharma-teachings within the framework of the rNying-ma school: *bka' ma*, *gter ma*, and *dag snang*. Those doctrines whose origin is reputed to go beyond any mere human author are involved here. By «Compositions» stress is conversely laid upon the stated personal authorship of the works.<sup>12</sup>

### Scriptures

Let us very briefly recall the three systems of producing and transmitting the «Scriptures» at the outset.<sup>13</sup>

With the phrase *ring brgyud bka' ma*, «Words of distant transmission», those teachings are designated which have reputedly been passed on in an unbroken sequence since the time they were allegedly expounded by the *ādhībuddha* Kun-tu-bzang-po or by the historical Buddha, and in particular since the 8th century, when they were bestowed to Tibetans by Padmasambhava and Vimalamitra. Notwithstanding the fact that the *bka' ma* precepts have been properly committed to writing to facilitate their spread to non-realized individuals, the idea of their acroamatic character is uppermost.<sup>14</sup> It is in fact considered that the full efficaciousness of those precepts is lost if the strict continuity of their oral transmission through distinct *guru-paraniparā* lineages is broken. In that event, resorting to the concomitant written sources does not suffice to re-establish the value of such esoteric doctrines. Cases are however known in which an extinguished *bka' ma* teaching has been exceptionally restored by means of the *gter ma* procedure.

The *bka' ma* category focuses primarily upon the Mahāyoga, Anuyoga, and Atiyoga classes or ways (*theg pa*) constituting the Inner Tantras. They are named by the collective title *mDo sgyu sems gsum*,<sup>15</sup> which designates the chief tantric cycle of each class.<sup>16</sup>

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of the group *lo dril nag gsum* under the *bka' ma* category deserves comment. It stands for the names of the Indian Mahāsiddhas Lūyipa (Lū-yi-pa), Vajraghaṅṭā (rDo-rje Dril-bu-pa), and Kṛṣṇācārya (Nag-po sPyod-pa-pa), who pioneered the transmission lineage of the *Cakrasaṃvara* cycle, representative of the Mother Tantras (*mo rgyud*) of the New Tradition's Anuttarayoga category (see, *i.a.*, Roerich 1949-53: 380, 385, *passim*; Robinson, J.B. [1979], *Buddha's Lions. The Lives of the Eighty-Four Siddhas*. Berkeley, 22-4, 81-5, 174-9, 265, 270, 277; Templeman, D. [1989], *Tāranātha's Life of Kṛṣṇācārya/Kāpha*. Dharamsala, 93). The reason for including such a non-specifically rNying-ma doctrine among those of the *bka' ma* category must be considered under the perspective of the eclectic slant that guided mKhyen-brtse. The same can be applied to the herein listed *Phur pa (Kīlaya)* cycles.

<sup>11</sup> By «paracanonical» those collections of revealed scriptures admixed with works of a personal authorship are here intended.

<sup>12</sup> A division among «composition», *gter ma*, and *snyan brgyud* is used in Karma, Samten G. (1977), *A Catalogue of Bonpo Publications*. Tokyo (v-vi).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Gyatso, Janet (1992), «Genre, Authorship, and Transmission in Visionary Buddhism: The Literary Traditions of Thang-stong rGyal-po», in *Tibetan Buddhism. Reason and Revelation*. Steven D. Goodman, Ronald M. Davidson (eds.), Albany, N.Y., 96-100.

<sup>14</sup> This is the final of the three progressive methods of revealing the scriptures according to the rNying-ma-pas: the Mental Transmission of the Buddhas (*rgyal ba dgongs brgyud*), the Symbolic Transmission of the sages (*rig 'dzin brda' brgyud*), and the Oral Transmission of the people (*gang zag snyan brgyud*). On this triple paradigm cf. Gyatso, Janet (1986), «Signs, Memory and History: A Tantric Buddhist Theory of Scriptural Transmission», *JIAS* 9.2, 8.

<sup>15</sup> The transposition in this title between *sGyu* and *mDo*, which stand for Mahāyoga and Anuyoga respectively, answers to euphonic reasons only. Identical case occurs with the dichotomy *gsar rnying*, «new-ancient» (oral communication from Nyi-leang mKhan-sprul Rin-po-che).

a) *mDo* alludes to Anuyoga, which is originally made up of five esoteric sūtra-cycles,<sup>17</sup> the axial one being the *sPyi mdo dgongs pa 'dus pa* or *'Dus pa mdo*, whose basic tantra is the *Kun 'dus rig pa 'i mdo*.

b) *sGyu* indicates *rDo rje sems dpa' sgyu 'phrul drwa ba* otherwise *sGyu 'phrul zhi khro*. This is the principal of the eighteen cycles integrating the Tantra Section (*rgyud sde*) of the Mahāyoga; the *sGyu 'phrul gsang ba snying po 'i rgyud* (*Guhyagarbhatantra*) is its basic or general tantra (*rtsa/spyi rgyud*). The Sādhana Section (*sgrub sde*) is fundamentally constituted by the *bKa' brgyad* cycle: the Eight Pronouncements of Padmasambhava.<sup>18</sup>

c) *Sems* stands for *sems phyogs*, a generic designation for the threefold division of Atiyoga or rDzogs-chen (*rdzogs chen sde gsum*), corresponding to the primordial mind (*sems sde*), its cosmicity (*klong sde*), and the specific *upadeśa* instructions (*man ngag sde*), and are composed of 18, 9, and 17 works respectively. Their fundamental tantras are said to be *Kun byed rgyal po*, *rDo rje zam pa*, and *sGra thal 'gyur*, this last pertaining to the valued *rNying ma rgyud bcu bdun*, which constitute the core of the *upadeśa* class.<sup>19</sup>

A thorough arrangement of the *bka' ma* material goes far beyond the present outline, inasmuch as each class and section of this category is furtherly divided. To cite but the Atiyoga's *upadeśa* section, it is branched into four parts: outer (*phyi*), inner (*nang*), secret (*gsang*), and secretmost (*yang gsang bla med, spyi ti*, and *yang ti*).<sup>20</sup> The *bka' ma* texts which have survived to this day are preserved in some of the canonical collections of the rNying-ma-pas,<sup>21</sup> and exceptionally even in the *bKa' 'gyur*.<sup>22</sup>

The second system of scriptural transmission employed by the Ancient Tradition is that of the *nye brgyud gter ma*: «Treasures of near transmission». This refers, within the realm of letters, to those teachings which in the 8th-9th centuries were reportedly <a> written down and materially ensconced, like standard manuscripts or like small ciphered scrolls, in a variety of sites and caches (*sa gter*); or <b> were «established in the treasured amplitude of the inmost mental principle»<sup>23</sup> (*dgongs gter*) of a number of elect individuals. The purpose, in both cases,

<sup>16</sup> A well documented account of the transmission of the *mDo sgyu sems gsum* trilogy may be had from Dudjom Rinpoche 1991: I 599 ff. Scattered information on the same is given in Roerich 1949-53: 102-203.

<sup>17</sup> Though belonging to the Mantrayāna, the basic texts of the Anuyoga are styled sūtra, the reason being that some of the oldest tantras known to us are actually esoteric sūtras (according to my informant, Nyi-lcang mKhan-sprul Rin-po-che), as they hold the germ of tantric doctrine. *Mantras* and *dhāraṇīs*, though typical of the Vajrayāna, are not at all exclusive of it. Several sūtras of the Mahāyāna –like the ones devoted to the Buddhas' families– are known which contain many *mantras* and *dhāraṇīs*. P. Demiéville called them «sūtra tantriques» (R.A. Stein, «Tibetica Antiqua iv. La tradition relative au début du bouddhisme au Tibet», *BEFEO* LXXV [1986] 169-96: 193; cf. Karnay's «King Tsar/Dza...», 204).

<sup>18</sup> They are, as enumerated by mKhyen-brtse: 'Jam-dpal *sku*, Padma *gsung*, Yang-dag *thugs*, bDud-rtsi *yon tan*, Phur-pa *phrin las*, Ma-mo *rbod gtong*, 'Jig-rten *mchod bstod*, and dMod-pa *drag snags*. Cf. n. 30 I. On the *bKa' brgyad* cycle see Prats 1982: 30-1.

<sup>19</sup> A full list of the tantras making up the Atiyoga category is given in Tulku Thondup Rinpoche 1989: 32-5. On the Seventeen Tantras of the Ancient Tradition see Dudjom Rinpoche 1991: II 264-5.

<sup>20</sup> For a brief scheme of the *bka' ma* categories of texts see Tulku Thondup Rinpoche 1986: 184-5.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Dudjom Rinpoche 1991: II xix.

<sup>22</sup> The *Kun byed rgyal po*, for exemple. See Neumaier-Dargyay, E.K. (1992), *The Sovereign All-Creating Mind – The Motherly Buddha: A Translation of the Kun byed rgyal po 'i mdo*. Albany, N.Y., 48 n. 56.

<sup>23</sup> «... *dgongs gter ni nang dgongs pa 'i klong mdzod du bzhugs pa...*», in *gTer bshad* (33r). A translation of this treatise on the Treasure tradition's phenomenology has been included in Tulku Thondup Rinpoche 1986 (164: «they re-

was to pass on those precepts to succeeding generations, in order to periodically heighten their religious vigour and provide them with new spiritual values. In the nick of time for every *gter ma*, they are produced either <a> by bringing them to light from their hoards, like real treasure troves, or <b> by being revealed in the course of states of deep mystical insight and verbal inspiration.<sup>24</sup> The individuals prophetically entrusted with uncovering the Treasures are called Treasure Masters (*gter ston*) or Treasure Producers (*gter bton*), who as regards the teachings mentally imprinted (*dgongs gter*) are held to be the charismatic incarnations of the masters reputed to have been their original depositaries.<sup>25</sup> mKhyen-brtse does not pronounce himself on the authenticity of the *gter ma* finds neither on how far the role played by the Treasure Masters consisted supposedly in editing, interpreting, or elaborating the teachings produced.<sup>26</sup>

A line between the aforementioned two classes of Treasures is drawn in *gDan rabs* for the sake of dividing those scriptures on the typological ground of their revelation.<sup>27</sup> This, nevertheless, poses us with the problem of classifying certain compilations where *sa gter* and *dgongs gter* material coalesces, as it occurs with the *upadeśa* precepts of the *sNying t(h)ig ya bzhi* cycle.<sup>28</sup> The *gter ma* category is considered under an altogether distinct criterion in the *Rin*

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mained in the treasure of the inner expanse of the mind»).

<sup>24</sup> A parallel may be drawn between the kind of transcendental insight involved in the process of disclosing a *dgongs gter* from its original condensed form, and the hermeneutic capacity necessary to elaborate as an intelligibly formulated teaching the cryptic script in which some *sa gter* scrolls are or were originally written.

<sup>25</sup> The *gter ma* tradition of Tibetan Buddhism claims to stretch back primarily to Padmasambhava, but it appears to have had, at least in theory, an Indian antecedent in the revelatory transmission of some Mahāyāna sūtras (see Mayer, Robert [1994], «Scriptural Revelation in India and Tibet», in *PIATS Fagernes 1992*, 533-7). The system of Treasures started to be customarily exploited in the 11th century, but there is no certainty as to who was the first Buddhist Treasure Master. The hypotheses concern three *gter stons*: Sangs-rgyas-bla-ma, lDang-ma-lhun-rgyal, and rDo-rje-'bun Chos-kyi-grags-pa (cf. Prats, Ramon [1984], «Tshe-dbañ-nor-bu's Chronological Notes on the Early Transmission of the *Bi ma Sñiñ thig*», in *Tibetan and Buddhist Studies Commemorating the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös*. Louis Ligeti [ed.], Budapest [Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica XXI/2], II 208). The most revered *gter stons* are those known as the Five Sovereign Treasure Masters» (*gter ston rgyal po lnga*), two of whom are likewise found among the so-called Three Supreme Incarnate Lamas (*mcchog sprul nam gsum*). Their names (*gDan rabs*, 21rv) are the following:

The Five Sovereign Treasure Masters: Nyang-ral Nyi-ma-'od-zer (1136-1204), the patriarch of the Upper Treasures (*gter kha gong ma*); Gu-ru Chos-dbang (1212-1270), of the Lower Treasures (*gter kha 'og ma*); rDo-rje Gling-pa (1346-1405), of the Eastern Treasures (*shar gter*); Padma Gling-pa (1450-1521), of the Southern Treasures (*lho gter*); and Padma-'od-gsal mDo-sngags Gling-pa, mKhyen-brtse himself.

The Three Supreme Incarnate Lamas (cf. n. 30, I): Nyang-ral Nyi-ma-'od-zer; Gu-ru Chos-dbang, and Rig-'dzin rGod-ldem-'phru-can (1337-1408), the patriarch of the Northern Treasures (*byang gter*).

<sup>26</sup> On the polemic between canonical and apocryphal scriptures see Kapstein, Matthew (1989), «The Purificatory Gem and Its Cleansing: A Late Tibetan Polemical Discussion of Apocryphal Texts», *HR* 28.2, 217-44. The topic of the authenticity of the *gter ma* materials and the role of their rediscoverers was dealt with in the paper «The Study of the Terma Tradition», delivered by Diana Cousens at the 7th Seminar of the IATS, Schloss Seggau-Graz 1995. Cf. Gyatso, Janet (1993), «The Logic of Legitimation in the Tibetan Treasure Tradition», *HR* 33.2, 97-134.

<sup>27</sup> An excellent essay on the semiology of the *gter ma* revelations is J. Gyatso's «Signs...».

<sup>28</sup> This cycle is a classical blending of the two types of Treasures (cf. n. 32). Of the four works that make it up, the two *sNying thigs* were brought to light in the way of Material Treasures (*sa gter*), while their exegeses, the *Yang thigs*, were conceived as Mental Treasures (*dgongs gter*) by Klong-chen Rab-'byams-pa Dri-med-'od-zer (1308-1363) (see *gTer man*, 45r, 61v, 200v. For a historical background of Klong-chen-pa's *Yang thigs* see Dudjom Rinpoche 1991: I 585 ff.). The composition of the *sNying thig ya bzhi* responds to the following (*gDan rabs*, 20v. Cf. Tulku Thondup Rinpoche 1989: 157-8; or, by the same author [1984], *The Tantric Tradition of the Nyingmapa. The Origin of Buddhism in Tibet*. Marion, MA, 74, 212 n. 491):

*chen gter mdzod*, the authoritative paracanonical compilation of selected Treasures cum subsidiary «Compositions» which was edited by the illustrious Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas (1813-1899), an intimate of mKhyen-brtse. As can be ascertained from a close look into the catalogue of the *Rin chen gter mdzod*,<sup>29</sup> the structure of its central body (*dgongs*) is fully articulated on thematic grounds, which must be seen against the broader context of the classical arrangement of rNying-ma tantric genres. The thematic option taken by Kong-sprul appears to be the most suitable one for a circumstantial cataloguing.

The *gter ma* literature presents an enormous mass of works whose total number greatly exceeds that of the *bka' ma* material, and which has only in part found its way into the *Rin chen gter mdzod*. Unlike the *bka' ma* ones, the genres of *gter ma* go beyond the limit set by the Inner Tantras category, falling more often than not within the scope of those genres of religious literature which characterize «Compositions». The majority of scriptural collections, fruit of rNying-ma mysticism, belong to the Treasures. Among its main groupings, the voluminous *bKa' dgongs phur gsum*,<sup>30</sup> and *Bla rdzogs thugs gsum* deserve to be remarked upon, the latter

1. *Bi ma snying thig*, also called *gSang ba snying thig chen mo*. Precepts bestowed by Vimalamitra, and later rediscovered by lDang-ma-lhun-rgyal (10th century? Cf. Prats, «Tshe-dbañ-nor-bu's...», 202-3, 207). It is constituted by the *Zab pa pod bzhi*: *gSer yig can*, *g. Yu yig can*, *Dung yig can*, and *Zangs yig can* cum *Phra yig can*.

2. *Bla ma yang thig*, or *Yang zab yid bzhin nor bu*, on the essence of both the *Bi ma snying thig* and the *Man ngag yi ge bigya bcu dgu*, a series of *upadeśa* precepts of the Atiyoga. It was revealed by Klong-chen Rab-'byams-pa Dri-med-'od-zer.

3. *mKha' 'gro snying thig*. Precepts of Padmasambhava rediscovered by Padma-las-'brel-rtsal alias Rin-chen-tshul-khrims-rdo-rje (1291-1315/9), Klong-chen-pa's previous incarnation.

4. *mKha' 'gro yang tig*. It is an exegetic commentary of the *mKha' 'gro snying thig*, by Klong-chen-pa.

To these four parts (*ya bzhi*) a fifth is usually added, which is known as *Zab mo yang thig* (thus completing the so-called *Yang thig nam gsum*). It was written by Klong-chen-pa too, and it is considered to be the quintessence of both *sNying thigs* together.

On the combination of *sa gter* and *dgongs gter* cf. Neumaier, E. (1969), «Einige Aspekte der gTer-ma-Literatur der rNiñ-ma-pa-Schule», *ZDMG*, Supplementa 1.3, 860.

<sup>29</sup> The inner full-length *dkar chag* of the *Rin chen gter mdzod* from mTshur-phu is included in its 2nd (*kha*) volume. A separate list of contents of the dPal-spungs edition was reproduced as *Rin chen gter mdzod chen mo'i dkar chag*, Paro, 1982. Cf. Tulku Thondup Rinpoche 1986: 186-8. A most detailed catalogue, yet unfinished, of this massive collection is Schwiager, Peter (1990, 1995), *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke (Die mTshur-phu-Ausgabe der Sammlung Rin-chen gter-mdzod chen-mo)*. Stuttgart (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland XI, 10 & 11).

<sup>30</sup> The architecture of this group is the outcome of linking together various cycles which, in their turn, are composed of one or more series of scriptural precepts. Intertwining the sketches of the *bKa' dgongs phur gsum* as afforded in *gDan rabs* (20rv), and in *mTshan tho* (60rv), and adding some scattered data to those, this group can be tentatively outlined as follows:

I. *bKa' bigyad nam gsum*:

- A. *bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa* (13 vols.), revealed by Nyang-ral Nyi-ma-'od-zer
- B. *bKa' brgyad gsang ba yongs rdzogs* (6 vols.), by Gu-ru Chos-dbang
- C. *bKa' brgyad rang byung rang shar* (4 vols.), by Rig-'dzin rGod-ldem

II. *dGongs (snga phyi bar gsum)*:

- A. [*Yi dam* or *Zhi khro*] *bKa' 'dus* [by O-rgyan Gling-pa (1323-1374?)]
- B. *dGongs 'dus (snga phyi bar gsum)*:
  1. *Bla ma dgongs 'dus*, by Sangs-rgyas Gling-pa (1340-1396)
  2. [*Yi dam dgongs 'dus*, by bSam-gtan Gling-pa, sTag-sham Nus-ldan-rdo-rje (1655-?)]
  3. [*mKha' 'gro dgongs 'dus*, by mKhyen-brtse himself]

embracing the greatest part of the rediscovered teachings (*gter chos*) that exist today.<sup>31</sup> As to the cycles or series, the *gNam chos* of Rig-'dzin Mi-'gyur-rdo-rje (1645-1667) and the *Klong chen snying thig* of 'Jigs-med Gling-pa (1730-1798) are among the most widespread and valued.<sup>32</sup>

The third category of rNying-ma «Scriptures» is formed by the *zab mo dag snang*, or «profound Pure Visions». They consist in a coruscation of spiritual knowledge which may take place in the course of non-ordinary states of consciousness, like aware dream or *samādhī*. Tibetan lore has it that the knowledge at issue is revealed to qualified individuals by means of hierophanies – eidetic visions of an external agency, usually a deity of the Buddhist empyrean or an accomplished master of former times. Akin to the *dgongs gter* recoveries, these visionary experiences (*gzigs snang*) can possibly be interpreted as mystical intuitions which surface, from the depths of consciousness, when any mental obscuration is transcended and the yogin's mind displays its intrinsic noetic capacity (*rig pa*). The Pure Visions occasionally overlap the Mental Treasures (*dgongs gter*), as with the *gNam chos*, and the *Klong chen snying thig* cycles. In other circumstances they conflate, tending to fuse perfectly together.<sup>33</sup> This last happens

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[The *rTsa gsum dgongs 'dus* by 'Chi-med-bstan-gnyis g.Yung-drung Gling-pa, alias Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas, may be appended to these. It is also called *rTsa gsum dril sgrub*, by reason of being a condensed version of the former ones.]

C. *Rig 'dzin yongs 'dus* or *Grol thig* [by mNga'-ris Paṅ-chen Padma-dbang-rgyal (1487-1542)]

III. *Phur pa 'i skor*:

A. *Phur pa 'i spu gri*, by Gu-ru Chos-dbang

B. *Phur pa yang gsang bla med*, by Ratna Gling-pa (1403-1478)

C. [*Phur sgrub thugs kyi nying khu*], by Sangs-rgyas Gling-pa

D. Etc. [*Phur pa dril sgrub*, by Rig-'dzin rGod-ldem; *sNying thig tshe yang phur gsum*, by sPo-bo Rig-'dzin bDud-'dul-rdo-rje (1615-1672); etc.]

To gather an idea of the towering proportions of a compilation like the *bKa' dgongs phur gsum* it will suffice to point out that one of its cycles, the *Bla ma dgongs 'dus* of Sangs-rgyas Gling-pa (II.B.1), comprises by itself 13 volumes (*pod*), numbering a total of 308 work-titles (*le'u tshan*), and 5,758 folios (*ldeb*). For an altogether different classification of the *dGongs 'dus* (II.B) cf. Tulku Thondup Rinpoche 1986: 116-8.

<sup>31</sup> *gTer bshad*, 10v: «| *gter chos kyi rigs thams cad kyi nang na mang shos ni bla rdzogs thugs gsum ste* ». The importance of this triad is stressed by the fact that those who contributed to its rediscovery are praised as *gter chen*: Great Treasure Masters (*gTer nam*, 230v; *gTer bshad*, 10v). The parts constituting the *Bla rdzogs thugs gsum* are the *Bla ma zhi drag*, *rDzogs pa chen po*, and *Thugs rje chen po*, three vast series of precepts (mostly *sādhana*s) relating to guru Padmasambhava in his peaceful and wrathful aspects, to rDzogs-chen, and to Avalokiteśvara (Mahākāruṇika) respectively (*gDan rabs*, 20v-21r). To the second of these pertain the well-known cycle *sNying thig ya bzhi* (see n. 28), and to the third the *Ma ṅi bka' 'bum*. For a brief account of the teaching cycles embodying the *Bla rdzogs thugs gsum*, see *gTer bshad*, 10v-14r (cf. Tulku Thondup Rinpoche 1986: 118-25; *idem* 1987: 79-80).

<sup>32</sup> Though the *gDan rabs* (21v) lists both the *gNam chos*, and *Klong chen snying thig* cycles among the *dgongs gter* revelations, they are otherwise recognized as a blending of *dgongs gter* and *dag snang* (the third of our scriptural categories), a conjunction not so rarely occurring. This is the case of the *Klong chen snying thig*, in which connection 'Jigs-med Gling-pa had numberless Pure Visions (*dag pa 'i gzigs snang*: *gTer nam*, 221r. Cf. Dudjom Rinpoche 1991: I 595-6, 837; Prats, Ramon [1988], «The Aspiration-Prayer of the Ground, Path, and Goal». An Inspired Piece on Rdzogs-chen by 'Jigs-med-glin-pa», in *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memorizae Dicata*. G. Gnoli, L. Lanciotti [eds.], Roma [Serie Orientale Roma LVI,3], 1163-4). mKhyen-brtse also mentions as a *dgongs gter* the *mDzod bdun* of Klong-chen-pa (*gDan rabs*, 21v), a set of treatises otherwise viewed as a «Composition» (cf. Tulku Thondup Rinpoche 1989: 155-6). In fact, the *mDzod bdun* set recurs a further time in *gDan rabs* (just two lines below that), listed among the single writers' collected works (*gsung 'bum*).

<sup>33</sup> As to corroborate the close relationship that exists between Pure Visions and Mental Treasures, Dudjom Rinpoche (1991: I 747-9) touches upon them conjointly.

whenever the figure envisioned is alleged to be a previous incarnation of the visionary himself or herself.

Widely known scriptures of the *dag snang* category (*gDan rabs*, 21v) are the *sNying t(h)ig* cycle revealed by g.Yu-thog Yon-tan-mgon-po (12th-13th centuries),<sup>34</sup> and the *Rig·dzin srog sgrub* of lHa-btsun Nam-mkha'-'jigs-med (1597-1650?). No less noteworthy than these are the writings regarding the secret visionary experiences of the Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang-rgya-mtsho (1617-1682). They are styled *rGya can Nyer Inga*, and were never included in any edition of his collected works, on account of their private nature.<sup>35</sup> Just like for the Treasures, not all the *dag snang* scriptures deal with Buddhist practice or are of strictly doctrinal entity.<sup>36</sup> Therefore, the classification of these two categories may tally with each other.

A few concluding remarks on the rubric of «Scriptures». The standard classification based on the three procedures of revelation and transmission which we have been considering thus far, as put forward by mKhyen-brtse, cannot be adopted as far as some canonical collections of combined scriptural category – like the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* (a collection of *bka' ma* and *gter ma* works in which the former predominate)<sup>37</sup> – are concerned; and much the less in respect to the paracanonical compilations like the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, where texts of the *sa gter*, *dgongs gter*, and *dag snang* categories are intertwined with «Compositions».

Treading in the steps of the inner structure of all those corpora of «Scriptures» (each one of which existing in different editions),<sup>38</sup> and of single works alike, an organic and overall system of classification has to be worked out, as to thereby form an all-comprehensive unity which integrates the whole range of categories, classes, genres, and subjects of Tibetan hagiographies. A draft plan for such a system should be completed with the three following typologies: <1> canonical and paracanonical collections; <2> scriptural categories (*bka' ma*, etc.), and classes (Kriyātantra, Caryātantra, etc.); <3> genres and subjects.

## Compositions

The second part of our adumbrated classification of rNying-ma literature deals with «Compositions», through which reference is made to those non-canonical writings resulting from the intellectual capacity and creativity of their individual authors. For one thing, the categorical classification of this part needs not be specific to the rNying-ma school, as is that of «Scriptures». Barring special exceptions, the arrangement of rNying-ma «Compositions» can

<sup>34</sup> He is the second g.Yu-thog-pa known to Tibetan history (cf. Prats 1982: 39-40 n. 24). This very same *sNying thig* is qualified as a Mental Treasure in *gTer rnam*, 199r.

<sup>35</sup> As a matter of fact, this is the secret autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama, also known under the title *gSang ba'i rnam thar rgya can*. The numeral *nyer Inga* is an indication of its sections. See Kamay, Samten Gyaltsen (1988), *Secret Visions of the Fifth Dalai Lama*. London, 11, 13.

<sup>36</sup> A short hagiography of Padmasambhava serves as an instance. It was received in a Pure Vision, and set down by the rDzogs-chen master A-'dzom 'Brug-pa, 'Gro-'dul-dpa'-bo-rdo-rje (1842-1924). It is the *O rgyan gu ru padma 'byung gnas kyi rnam thar bsdu pa thos pa don ldan dang 'brel ba'i snying po rdo rje'i sgra dbyangs kyi phreng ba* (reproduced together with *The Life of Lady Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal*. Tashijong [Palampur], 1972).

<sup>37</sup> For a simplified outline of the sDe-dge edition of this collection of tantras see Tulku Thondup Rinpoche 1986: 182-3. A complete catalogue of the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* from dGon-pa Byang, in gTing-skyes, is Kaneko Eiichi (1982), *Ko tantora zenshū kaidai mokuroku*. Tokyo.

<sup>38</sup> To the mentioned, other canonical and paracanonical collections should be added, e.g.: the main *bka' ma* collections (see n. 21), the *Vairo'i rgyud 'bum* (a grouping of ancient tantras and esoteric instructions compiled, and translated by Vairocana [c. 760-?]), etc.

follow the more monumental one of Tibetan religious literature, regardless of any Tradition or school. For another thing, this defies any pre-established systematic scheme, just due to its peculiarities. A rough classification halfway between genres (in a broad sense) and subject matters, settled on the basis of some major religious domains, would appear to be a valid compromise.

mKhyen-brtse (*gDan rabs*, 21v) assigns the place of honour among «Compositions» to the *opera omnia* (*gsung 'bum*, *bka' 'bum*) of single authors. The importance of these encyclopaedic compilations needs not be emphasized. It will suffice to recall the *mDzod bdun*,<sup>39</sup> the outstanding philosophical treatises of Klong-chen Rab-'byams-pa Dri-med-'od-zer (1308-1363), and to mention the *Jigs gling pod dgu* of the fine polymath 'Jigs-med Gling-pa alias Rang-byung-rdo-rje mKhyen-brtse-'i-'od-zer.<sup>40</sup> mKhyen-brtse mentions too the *bka' 'buns* of the Fourth rDo-rje-brag, Padma-phrin-las (1641-1717), gTer-bdag Gling-pa (1646-1714), and Lo-chen Dharmaśrī (1654-1717).

Thereafter come the works subsidiary to the canonical texts which integrate the different categories of «Scriptures». A great many are the authors who magnificently contributed to this section,<sup>41</sup> their production encompassing a lengthy number of literary classes and genres which is not on all occasions easy to classify and arrange methodically.<sup>42</sup>

The classification of historical literature is a comparatively easy task, if only because it has long been a range of material to which Western tibetologists have most often resorted. It comprises sacred history (*chos 'byung*), hagiographies and biographies (*rnam thar*), religious chronicles (*gdan rabs*), and a long like.<sup>43</sup> In yet another section a diversity of topics like the following might be gathered: reference works, guides, treatises on the traditional arts and sciences, etc., without overlooking such precious sources of information on a wealth of subjects that go by the name of *dkar chag* (catalogue, register, list of contents, survey).

One of the manifold branches of «Compositions» worthy of special attention is that of polemic literature (*rtsod gleng*, *dgag lan*), a genre featured highly in Tibetan scholarship and which mKhyen-brtse takes into particular account (*gDan rabs*, 22v-23r).<sup>44</sup> Its primary aim is

<sup>39</sup> Cf. n. 32.

<sup>40</sup> That is title by which his *gsung 'bum* is commonly referred to, as its original xylographic edition was printed in nine volumes.

<sup>41</sup> It seems but superfluous to mention just a few of these writers, among which mKhyen-brtse points out most of the names we have been considering so far. As he did in connection with *gter ma* and *dag snang* categories, mKhyen-brtse counts as rNying-ma literature a number of works penned by masters officially ascribed to other denominations. That is the case of 'Bri-gung Rin-chen-phun-tshogs (1509-1557), the Fifth Dalai Lama, and others.

<sup>42</sup> See, for example, the subtle differences which occur among three genres of commentarial literature (*rnam bshad*, *mchan*, *mtha' dpyod*), as glossed in Vostrikov, Andrew (1935), «Some Corrections and Critical Remarks on Dr. Johan van Manen's Contribution to the Bibliography of Tibet», *BSOAS* VIII.1, 72-4; or the elucidation of the *mkhas 'jug*, and *bshad mdzod* literary genres, in Smith, E. Gene (1969), Introduction to *A 15th Century Tibetan Compendium of Knowledge. The bShad mdzod yid bzhin nor bu by Don-dam-smra-ba 'i-sengge*. New Delhi (Śata-piṭaka Series 78), 6.

<sup>43</sup> Because of the lengthy treatment it gives to the *gter ma* category and to the religious lineages of the rNying-ma-pas, mKhyen-brtse (*gDan rabs*, 22v) draws attention to the *bsTan pa 'i snying po gsang chen snga 'gyur nges don zab mo 'i chos kyi 'byung ba gsal bar byed pa 'i legs bshad mkhas pa dga' byed ngo mtshar gtam gyi rol mtsho*. It was written (1807-1809) by sTag-sgang *mKhas mchog* Ngag-dbang-blo-gros, nicknamed Gu-ru bKra-shis. This work has been reproduced thrice lately (Paro, 1979, 1986; Koko Nor, 1990).

<sup>44</sup> The inception of the polemic tradition may be seen in the Tibet Council (792-794). Those debates about the «simultaneous» (*[g]cig c[h]ar 'jug pa*) and «gradual» (*rim gyis 'jug pa*) approaches to Buddhahood, and the outcom-

the elucidation and discussion of controversial or obscure doctrinal points held by followers of the different traditions, schools and denominations of both Tibetan religions, but it has all too often been ensnared in the narrow confines of sectarianism. From among the early writers who levelled criticism at the rNying-ma tenets, 'Gos *Lo tsā ba* Khug-pa-lhas-btsas (11th century), 'Bri-gung dPal-'dzin (14th century), and the Eighth Karma-pa, Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje (1507-1554), are the best known. Theirs and others' critiques were opposed by the responses of some of the keenest rNying-ma-pa – and occasionally bKa'-brgyud-pa – thinkers, such as the above-mentioned Klong-chen Rab-'byams-pa and Sog-bzlog-pa, and mNga'-ris Paṇḍita Padma-dbang-rgyal (1487-1543), the Second dPa'-bo, gTsug-lag-phreng-ba (1504-1566), bSam-gtan Gling-pa alias sTag-sham-nus-ldan-rdo-rje (1655-?), etc.<sup>45</sup>

Partial yet significant attempts have already been made to classify and catalogue the fertile field of Tibetan literature.<sup>46</sup> It is desirable that further steps be taken towards a systematic formulation of the guiding principles and dominating lines necessary to establish point by point a coherent, comprehensive classification of that literary treasury, for it is one of the richest mines of the imposing legacy of Tibetan humanities.

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ing literature in particular, fostered the age-old controversy between the upholders to both trends, to which the Ancient and New Traditions of Tibetan Buddhism might loosely be paralleled.

<sup>45</sup> See Kapstein, «The Purificatory Gem...», 229-31.

<sup>46</sup> Among the most commendable attempts are those found in the books *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke*, of the series «Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band XI» (Wiesbaden, and Stuttgart, started 1966), signed by M. Taube, D. Schuh, etc. Other major contributions are due to L. Chandra (see *i.a.* his three-volume *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature*, New Delhi [Śāta-piṭaka Series 28-30], 1963). Yet none of these endeavour to give a comprehensive – though reduced to the most general categories – classification of Tibetan literature. This is instead the purpose in Tulku Thondup Rinpoche 1987, where we have it roughly delineated and summarized (see. n. 2 above). To meet its own needs, an interesting draft plan for an overall classification was worked out by the China Library of Nationalities: see Sun Wenjing (1988), «Remarks on the Cataloguing and Classification of Tibetan Classics and Literary Texts: A Preliminary Survey of the Tibetan Collection in the China Library of Nationalities in Beijing», *SCEAR* 1, 98-101. A different system was devised by the National Library of China: Hwang sMin-zhin [Huang Mingxin] (1988), «Pe cin dpe mdzod che mor bzhus pa'i bod yig gi gna' dpe'i mtshan tho 'god lugs brjod pa [Ancient Books and Writings in the National Library of China]», *China Tibetology* 2, 96-129.



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## APPENDIX: Draft scheme of tentative classification

### I. SCRIPTURES: CANONICAL COLLECTIONS

#### A. *Ring brgyud bka' ma*

(*gsang sngags nang rgyud sde gsum:*)

1. *bsKyed pa rgyud mahāyoga*
  - a. *rGyud sde*
  - b. *sGrub sde*
2. *rDzogs pa lung anuyoga*
3. *rDzogs chen man ngag atiyoga*
  - a. *Phyi sems sde*
  - b. *Nang klong sde*
  - c. *gSang man ngag sde*

#### B. *Nye brgyud gter ma*

1. Teachings (*gter chos*)
  - a. Groupings and cycles (*chos skor*)
  - b. Basic texts (*gdams skor*) [this part can follow the same arrangement of I. A.]
  - c. Subsidiary works (*rgyab chos*) [it might correspond, in broad lines, to the classification of III.B.1, with specific addenda]
2. Miscellanea (*dpe tshan sna tshogs*) [do. of III.B.2. and 3, with relevant additions, like the following:]
  - a. Historical literature
    - i. Hagiographies of Padmasambhava (*bka'i thang yig*)
    - ii. Prophecies (*ma'ongs lung bstan, gter lung, lung byang*)
    - iii. Reports, and stories of *gter ma* recoveries (*gter byung*)
  - b. Varia
    - i. *Gter ma* catalogues, guides to their rediscovery (*gter byang*)

#### C. *Zab mo dag snang* [similar arrangement of I. B.]

#### D. Canonical collections of combined origin (*bka' ma, gter ma, and dag snang*)

### II. SCRIPTURES: PARACANONICAL COLLECTIONS

[Collections of «Scriptures» cum subsidiary «Compositions», like the *Rin chen gter mdzod*. Their structure might practically duplicate that of I, with some addenda from III.]

### III. COMPOSITIONS

[What follows is just a condensed list of their types]

#### A. Collections

1. Collected writings (*bka' 'bum, gsung 'bum*)
2. Collected minor writings, analecta (*bka' thor bu, gsung thor bu*)
3. Sets and cycles (*skor*)

#### B. Single Works

1. Doctrinal literature
  - a. Syllabuses for monastic colleges, manuals (*yig cha*)
  - b. Songs of spiritual realization (*gsung mgur, rdo rje'i glu*)
  - c. Reverential petitions (*gsol 'debs*)
  - d. Esoteric instructions and precepts (*gdams ngag, man ngag*)
  - e. Instructional texts (*khrid yig*)

- f. Aspiration-prayers (*smoṅ lam*)
  - g. Treatises on comparative doctrinal systems (*grub mtha'*)
  - h. Propædeutics, preliminaries (*sngon 'gro*)
  - i. Exegeses, commentaries, hermeneutics, scholia, analyses  
(*rnam bshad, dgongs 'grel, gzhung 'grel, dka' 'grel, mchan 'grel, mtha' spyod*)
  - j. Liturgical texts (*chos spyod*)
  - k. Instructions on the performance of rituals (*chog yig*)
  - l. Monastic compendia on Mahāyāna scholarship (*mikhas 'jug*)
  - m. Replies to doctrinal questions, catechisms (*dris lan*)
  - n. Doctrinal manuals for layman (*bshad mdzod*)
  - o. Polemic writings
    - i. Doctrinal queries levelled at the rNying-ma-pas (*rtsod gleng, dgag pa*)
    - ii. rNying-ma refutations, and critical retorts (*rtsod zlog, dgag lan, rab lan*)
2. Historical literature
- a. Sacred history (*chos 'byung*)
  - b. Hagiographies, biographies, autobiographies (*rnam thar*)
  - c. Stories, biographies, autobiographies (*rtogs brjod*)
  - d. Stories of successive rebirths (*'khrungs rabs, skyes rabs*)
  - e. Chronicles and lineages of religious schools (*gdan rabs*)
  - f. Religious chronology (*bstan rtsis*)
  - g. Records, annals, chronicles (*yig tshang, lo rgyus, deb ther*)
3. Varia
- a. Records of received teachings (*gsan yig, thob yig*)
  - b. Catalogues, registers, reports, guides, indexes, tables of contents  
(*dkar chag, kha yang*)
  - c. Memoranda, reminiscences, recollected notes (*zin bris*)
  - d. Lists, registers, notes, surveys (*mtshan tho, mtshan sdom, mtshan byang*)
  - e. Glossaries, nomenclatures, lexicons (*ming gi rnam grangs*)
  - f. Topic outlines, synopses, tables, tabulated words (*sa bcad, re'u mig*)
  - g. Guides to holy places (*gnas yig, gnas bshad*)
  - h. Traditional arts and sciences (*rig gnas*)



# NOTES SUR LES RITUELS AGRAIRES AU ZANSKAR TERRE, TERROIRS, TERRITOIRES

by

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Tous les noms communs, tibétains et zanskari, sont donnés en italiques (Ex. *lha*) et se conforment aux règles de translittération du système proposé par T. V. Wylie (1959). Parmi eux, les termes zanskari dont les orthographes ne sont pas arrêtées sont transcrits phonétiquement: ces formes parlées sont signalées par la marque distinctive "°" (Ex. *yultsa°*). Quant aux noms propres (notamment les toponymes), ils sont systématiquement gardés sous leurs formes phonétiques et ne sont donc pas suivis de marque (à leurs premières occurrences, ces noms propres sont accompagnés de leurs orthographes correctes entre crochets; Ex. Zangla [bZang lha]). Qui plus est, de même que j'écris "Zanskar" et "Ladakh", j'adopte "Zanskarpa" et "Ladakhpa" (noms que se donnent les habitants du Zanskar et du Ladakh) et les adjectifs "zanskari" et "ladakhi" sans les marquer d'un "°".

Serti d'imposants massifs montagneux (l'arc himalayen au Sud et la chaîne dite "du Zanskar", qui le sépare au Nord du Ladakh [La dvags]), le Zanskar [Zangs dkar] est un petit pays rural habité par quelque 8000 personnes dont les villages s'étagent entre 3500 et 4000 mètres d'altitude.<sup>1</sup> En dépit d'un certain nombre de Zanskarpa employés dans la fonction publique,<sup>2</sup> tous n'en persistent pas moins à exploiter leurs domaines agricoles familiaux. La terre demeure donc l'enjeu central quant à l'organisation économique et sociale du pays: l'unité économique minimale reste constituée de la "maison", dont le domaine foncier est en règle générale préservé indivis.<sup>3</sup> Traditionnellement, les terres exploitées par une maison étaient souvent en la propriété d'un roi ou d'un monastère, cultivées, en fermage, contre paiement de taxes: aujourd'hui, les monastères restent les seuls gros propriétaires fonciers, la législation de 1950 (The Jammu and Kashmir Big Landed Estates Abolition Act, Act No. XVII of 2007), qui aboutit au démantèlement des domaines privés, les ayant épargnés.

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<sup>1</sup> Aujourd'hui partie intégrante de l'État indien du Jammu & Kashmir, le Zanskar n'en demeure pas moins profondément tibétain sur le plan culturel. Dès le VII<sup>e</sup> siècle, les succès militaires remportés par les troupes du roi tibétain Mang srong mang btsan avaient amené les Tibétains vers les confins occidentaux de leur royaume en pleine expansion (confins dont on pense qu'ils étaient alors habités par les 'Darada', Indo-aryens, ancêtres de la minorité darde actuelle). Et ce sont ces mêmes contrées que les descendants de la monarchie tibétaine défaite choisirent au Xe siècle pour réasseoir leur pouvoir politique, créant ainsi un foyer de résistance du bouddhisme tibétain et de promotion de la culture tibétaine, par le biais des élites dirigeantes. Dès lors, l'empreinte tibétaine ne cessa de marquer très profondément la société du Zanskar comme du Ladakh, y compris au niveau de la langue, puisque l'on y parle aujourd'hui deux variantes d'un dialecte tibétain.

<sup>2</sup> Les fonctions dans l'administration indienne sont nombreuses: enseignement, assistance médicale, responsabilité d'un relais postal local, responsabilité de l'irrigation de plantations gouvernementales, services dans l'armée, gardiennages en tous genres, etc.

<sup>3</sup> La maisonnée regroupe une "grande maison" (*khang chen*), dont hérite le premier né des fils, et une "petite maison" (*khang chung*), qui lui est adjointe (habitation plus modeste qui n'exploite que quelques champs), où se retirent ses parents et ses frères et soeurs cadets. Désormais, les fils cadets accédant au mariage, ils fondent à leur tour de nouvelles *khang chung*.

Au Zanskar, la prospérité de l'année agricole est assurée par l'exécution de deux rituels printaniers: l'ouverture cérémonielle, à l'échelle villageoise, du premier labour (*sa kha*), alors que les champs demeurent enneigés (ouverture réitérée au niveau domestique) et, plus tard, à l'époque où les premières pousses verdissent, la circumambulation de l'espace cultivé d'un (ou plusieurs) village(s) (*'bum 'khor*).

Le rituel de *'bum 'khor*, sous des noms variés, est attesté dans bon nombre de populations de l'aire de culture tibétaine: nombreux sont les auteurs qui en rendent compte (le plus souvent succinctement, il est vrai).<sup>4</sup> Par contre, la littérature tibétologique ne dit rien des éventuelles cérémonies qui accompagnent l'ouverture du premier labour, à l'exception des travaux qui concernent le Ladakh.<sup>5</sup>

Pour ma part, je prends le parti délibéré d'examiner ces deux rituels concurremment, confrontation d'autant plus stimulante à mes yeux que les acteurs de chacun d'eux sont radicalement distincts: alors que le *sa kha* est une célébration laïque, le *'bum 'khor* est exécuté par des moines (occasionnellement accompagnés de nonnes).

Pour commencer, considérons donc les déroulements de chacun de ces deux événements rituels.<sup>6</sup>

### ***Sa kha*, "La bouche de la terre"**

Au sortir de l'hiver, la terre est ouverte cérémoniellement dans la plupart des villages zanskari,<sup>7</sup> en une date variable selon les localités (entre la première et la troisième lune) et déterminée en dernière instance en fonction de l'astrologie. Toutefois, plusieurs villages du centre du pays célèbrent le *sa kha* en une date constante: le 8e jour du 3e mois lunaire (*gsum pa'i tshes brgyad*). Ce jour-là, de nombreuses communautés villageoises célèbrent conjointement le puissant dieu montagne gZhon nu mdung lag. À peine de retour de l'autel (*lha tho*) du dieu, certains des bourgs mobilisés exécutent en fin d'après-midi leurs *sa kha* respectifs: l'exécution du culte rendu à gZhon nu mdung lag le matin-même semble garantir la saison agricole.<sup>8</sup>

La célébration du *sa kha* prend toujours place à l'échelle d'un village (désigné du terme *yul*, en tibétain le "pays" ou la "région"). Au Zanskar, le *yul* ne constitue pas une unité politique (la juridiction d'un chef de village concerne en moyenne deux ou trois villages voisins) mais une

<sup>4</sup> Pour le Tibet, on consultera Bell, C. (1992), *The people of Tibet*. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers. [1ère édition: Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1928]: 270; Stein 1959: 451 [*dbyar kha'i chos 'khor*]; Thupten Sangay (1974), *Bod ky'i dus ston – Festivals of Tibet*. Dharamsala, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives [en langue tibétaine]: 55-56 [*'ong bskor*]; de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 478; Richardson, H. E. (1993), *Ceremonies of the Lhasa year*. London, Serindia Publications: 108 [*'ong bskor*]. Concernant le Népal, C. Jest évoque semblable circumambulation [appelée *iten skor*] au Dolpo (1975: 335-336) et S. R. Mumford décrit une procession similaire [appelée *yum 'khor*] dans la communauté tibétaine de Gyasumdo (1989: 98-99).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. notamment Brauen, M. (1980), *Feste in Ladakh*. Graz, Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt et Dollfus, P. (1990), qui voit dans les modalités du *sa kha* ladakhi les indices d'influences culturelles non tibétaines (centre asiatiques).

<sup>6</sup> Je donne ici leurs déroulements types, sur la base de plusieurs rituels auxquels j'ai assisté au printemps 1994, en signalant les variantes locales constatées.

<sup>7</sup> Certains villages ne célèbrent pas de labour cérémoniel, sans motif apparent.

<sup>8</sup> À propos de *gsum pa'i tshes brgyad* et du rapport de gZhon nu mdung lag à la fertilité, voir Riaboff, I. [à paraître] "gZhon nu mdung lag, mountain god of Zanskar – A regional scaled divinity and its cult's territorial ordering". Actes de la table ronde franco-autrichienne, *Le culte des montagnes sacrées de l'aire tibétaine et tibéto-birmane*, sous l'égide du C.N.R.S., les 29 et 30 Septembre 1994.

unité géographique (les habitations d'un village sont regroupées, de même que ses champs) et une unité rituelle (chaque village honore la/les divinité(s) qui lui est/sont propre(s)). Le jour voulu, les hommes des "grandes maisons" du village (de tout ou partie du village, selon l'organisation matérielle du *sa kha* propre à chaque localité) se réunissent pour confectionner diverses préparations (dont les ingrédients ont été prélevés antérieurement auprès des "grandes maisons" du village): un gros cône de pâte (*tumbik<sup>o</sup>* ou *lha sbon*),<sup>9</sup> surmonté de trois épis (de blé, d'orge et de pois) plantés en son sommet; un mélange liquide de farine et de bière (dit *ldaldok<sup>o</sup>* ou *ru ma*);<sup>10</sup> enfin de petites figurines de pâte dites *skyin*, "bouquetins" (modelées, en dépit de leur appellation, à l'image d'animaux domestiques: chèvres, moutons ou yaks), qui serviront de cibles lors d'une course de chevaux, au terme de la journée.

En fin d'après-midi, tous les villageois (hommes, femmes et enfants) se regroupent dans le bourg: réunis dehors, ils consomment de la bière d'orge (*chang*). Chaque personne de l'assistance reçoit une marque du mélange *ldaldok<sup>o</sup> / ru ma* sur le front; dans certains villages, elle se voit remettre un peu de laine cardée (*bal stod*), qu'elle accrochera à son couvre-chef (bonnet ou chapeau). Dans le village de Zangla [bZang lha], une fois la marque de *ldaldok<sup>o</sup> / ru ma* apposée, une pincée de farine est lancée du doigt au cri de "combien sortiront?" (*tsam 'bing ngo*). Question à laquelle chacun se doit de répondre: "cent mille fois dix millions sortiront" (*bye ba 'bum phrag 'bing ngo*). En fonction de déterminations astrologiques, un villageois (toujours un homme ou un garçon dans la force de l'âge) est choisi pour ouvrir le sillon (dans quelques villages, toutefois, il n'est pas besoin de désigner le laboureur car un même homme endosse le rôle chaque année):<sup>11</sup> il sera le laboureur du jour (spécifiquement dénommé *thong pa*). Certains des adolescents ou des jeunes adultes qui feraient l'affaire se dérobent parfois, car le rôle de *thong pa* expose aux moqueries: sitôt désigné, le laboureur est grimé (son visage est barbouillé de *ldaldok<sup>o</sup> / ru ma* et saupoudré de farine),<sup>12</sup> pour le plus grand amusement de l'assistance. Pendant ce temps, au milieu de l'hilarité générale, un homme (dans l'idéal le moine en poste au village, mais plus souvent, dans les faits, un laïque) lit deux textes de prières (invariablement, les textes de *gNam sa snang brgyad* et *bKra shis brtsegs pa*).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Lha sbon* [phon?] ("nourriture [bouquet?] [pour les] dieux *lha*"). Le terme de *tumbik<sup>o</sup>*, énigmatique, n'est guère usité en dehors du labour rituel. Toutefois, il désigne parfois des offrandes de pâte (*mchod pa*) constituées de cônes lisses, qui s'opposent alors aux *mchod pa* qui ont des arêtes; ce qui suggère que le terme de *tumbik<sup>o</sup>* est composé de *ldum po*, "arrondi" (Das 1983: 710) et de '*big*s, "qui perce" (pointu?), par référence à la forme d'un cône lisse. Lors du *sa kha* ladakhi de Hemis shug pa can, dont rend compte P. Dollfus, il n'est question ni de *tumbik<sup>o</sup>* ni de *lha sbon*: à la place du cône zanskari est confectionné un '*brang rgyas*, "pièce montée de plusieurs étages faite de pâte crue et décorée de beurre, représentation symbolique du Mont Meru" (1990: 224); bien que certains rituels zanskari fassent intervenir de semblables '*brang rgyas* (qui symbolisent l'offrande de nourriture par excellence via le sein maternel [ '*brang rgyas* signifie littéralement "poitrine"]), il n'est jamais question de '*brang rgyas* lors des *sa kha* zanskari.

<sup>10</sup> Au Tibet Central, *ldag pa* est synonyme de '*dag pa* et désigne un mélange d'argile et d'eau; quant à la syllabe *ldok*, elle est peut-être une forme corrompue de *mdog*: "couleur, teint du visage" (Das 1983: 676-677). Au Zanskar, le *ldaldok<sup>o</sup>* est de consommation courante; H. Jäschke le donne pour équivalent du *phe srul* tibétain (Jäschke, H. (1992), *A Tibetan-English Dictionary with Special Reference to the Prevailing Dialects*. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers) [1ère édition: London 1881]: 289). Quant au terme *ru ma*, il est le nom tibétain donné au lait caillé, qui sert de ferment (Jäschke, *op. cit.*, 1992: 531).

<sup>11</sup> Lors du *sa kha* du village ladakhi de Hemis shug pa can, le laboureur est un enfant, en l'occurrence le propre petit-fils de l'astrologue, lui-même chargé de la lecture des prières (Dollfus 1990: 224).

<sup>12</sup> Au Ladakh, selon P. Dollfus, le laboureur, pareillement enduit, est dénommé *dkar rtsi bskus mkhan*, "couvert de blanc" (1990: 224).

<sup>13</sup> Le premier d'entre ces deux textes (*gNam sa snang brgyad*, "Les huit Lumières de Ciel et Terre") consiste en une invocation aux divinités. R. A. Stein a consacré certains de ses cours dispensés au Collège de France à l'examen de ce

Puis, c'est le départ pour le *sa kha* proprement dit. Sur le champ du *sa kha*, un peu de fumure est étalé: le labour peut commencer. La procession est toujours composée comme suit: en tête, marche parfois le lecteur des deux prières (moine ou laïque); derrière lui, trois enfants déambulent en file, porteurs d'encens (*pog*), d'un pichet de bière (*chang*) et du cône de pâte dit *tumbik<sup>o</sup> / lha sbon* (ces enfants doivent être *pha ma tshang mkhan*, c'est-à-dire avoir "père et mère"); ils sont suivis du semeur qui devance les bêtes et leur guide; enfin viennent le laboureur<sup>14</sup> et, fermant la marche, des femmes ou de jeunes garçons, chargés de herser derrière eux tous. Il arrive que le cortège soit clos par l'ensemble des cavaliers de la course, imminente. Le sillon cérémoniel dessine un cercle et un demi-cercle (qui symbolisent le soleil et la lune) ou bien suit un tracé rectiligne, trois fois parcouru. Habituellement, à l'époque de la célébration du *sa kha* il y a encore beaucoup de neige et le "labour" est alors tracé sur la croûte blanche qui recouvre le champ. L'encens, la bière et le sommet du *tumbik<sup>o</sup> / lha sbon* sont finalement jetés dans le sillon, en tant qu'offrandes aux entités *sa bdag* (les "maîtres de la terre"). Le reste du cône *tumbik<sup>o</sup> / lha sbon* est partagé entre les membres de l'assistance, après que l'on a appliqué un peu de sa pâte sur les fronts des bêtes du labour: le joug est également marqué d'une noix de beurre (signe coutumier d'une offrande précieuse). Tout à coup, par surprise, le laboureur est renversé au sol, immobilisé sur le dos, provoquant l'hilarité générale, et on le presse de clamer des vers qui invoquent la fertilité. Il se contente de réciter hâtivement les quelques vœux connus de lui. Chaque individu connaît quelques formules de bénédiction stéréotypées, qui, mises bout à bout, pourraient être traduites comme suit:

"Dans le ciel, une bonne étoile / Sur la terre, un dessin complet / Sur la montagne sans herbe, que l'herbe pousse / Dans la vallée sans eau, que l'eau jaillisse / Que sortent des fruits doubles aux épis doubles / Que ne poussent pas de feuilles de poison / Que ne soient pas envoyées de maladies aux hommes / À ceux [celles? La formulation zanskari ne permet pas de trancher] qui n'ont pas d'enfants, que naissent des enfants / Longue vie à tous les vieux / Gloire à tous les jeunes / Haute la religion des moines / Haut le casque du roi!"

Dans certains villages, une boule de pâte est enfournée dans la bouche du laboureur, qui, bâillonné de la sorte, s'égosille avec peine.<sup>15</sup> Finalement, très promptement, sur le champ-même du labour, une cible (simple boule de neige ou figurine de pâte) est déposée sur le sommet d'un talus ou d'un assemblage de pierres rapidement dressé. Les hommes qui le souhaitent (jeunes hommes pour la plupart) peuvent maintenant concourir: il s'agit de renverser la cible d'un coup de cravache du haut d'un cheval au galop. La neige cependant ralentit la course et fait perdre tout sérieux à l'épreuve; au demeurant, à voir les facéties de certains cavaliers, le but recherché semble être, plus encore que de faire montre de dextérité, de faire rire. Mais le soleil se couche tout juste et l'ombre envahissante met fin à la course de chevaux (*rta rgyug*).<sup>16</sup>

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"*sūtra* des huit *buddha*", considérés de concert avec les *sūtra* des sept, dix ou douze *buddha* (cf. R. A. Stein 1981: 554). Le second texte (*bKra shis brtsegs pa*, "Accumulation de bons présages") attire de bons auspices sur l'événement: il est par ailleurs lu communément à l'occasion de toutes sortes d'entreprises humaines, telles que coupes de cheveux, mariages, départs pour de longs voyages, etc.

<sup>14</sup> Au Zanskar, tout labour est précédé des semailles.

<sup>15</sup> P. Dollfus explique qu'au Ladakh le laboureur, dont le discours est ainsi rendu difficilement intelligible, est appelé *han ldang*, "discours confus" (1990: 229).

<sup>16</sup> Au Ladakh, les courses de chevaux ont lieu au Nouvel An et non au terme du *sa kha*.



Le soir, les réjouissances battent leur plein: jusque tard dans la nuit, les villageois (réunis dans quelque maison du village ou dehors, bravant la nuit et le froid) passeront de longues heures à festoyer.

Dans la bourgade royale de Zangla,<sup>17</sup> le *sa kha*, s'il se conforme bel et bien aux séquences habituelles, est néanmoins beaucoup plus complexe que partout ailleurs: une mascarade nuptiale met en scène la venue au palais royal d'une jeune mariée, donnant lieu à toutes sortes de bouffonneries; deux labours cérémoniels prennent place, l'un sur le plus grand champ (champ mère) du palais, l'autre sur un second champ royal, dit "champ de la déesse Jo mo sal byak°" (figure divine énigmatique à laquelle sont adressées prières et offrandes juste avant l'ouverture de la terre);<sup>18</sup> enfin, le *sa kha* de Zangla est encadré par les festivités du tir à l'arc (qui durent plusieurs jours), ce qui là encore lui est spécifique.<sup>19</sup>

Durant les longues semaines qui suivent l'ouverture du premier sillon villageois, l'épaisse couche de neige dont les champs étaient recouverts fond progressivement: les villageois attendent impatiemment que la terre, d'abord détrempée, s'assèche. Sitôt ses terres les mieux exposées prêtes au labour, la communauté villageoise décide collectivement de la reprise des activités agricoles. Dès lors, chaque maisonnée ("grande" et "petite maison" de concert) peut à son tour pratiquer l'ouverture rituelle de la terre. Dans l'idéal, le champ choisi pour l'événement est le plus grand champ du domaine familial, dit "champ mère" (*ma zhing*):<sup>20</sup> à la vérité, bon nombre de *sa kha* ont lieu sur un tout autre champ, soit parce que le "champ mère" n'est pas encore sec, soit par mesure de commodité, le champ mère étant par exemple jugé trop éloigné de l'habitation. Le "*sa kha* de maisonnée" (*grong pa'i sa kha*), proche de par ses séquences du "*sa kha* des villageois" (*yul pa'i sa kha*), est toutefois plus expéditif. Tout se passe sur le champ du labour. Un homme (dans l'idéal le chef de famille) lit les prières de *gNam sa snang bryad* et *bKra shis brtsegs pa* ou bien il se contente de quelques invocations récitées de mémoire (il arrive que ces prières soient proférées après le labour, et non avant). Les membres de la maisonnée (parfois aussi des voisins et parents) entreprennent alors le labour: en tête est le semeur (souvent le père de famille, s'il ne laboure pas; le semeur est nécessairement un homme d'âge mûr car l'habileté aux semailles demande de l'expérience); puis, les porteurs d'encens, de bière et du cône de pâte *tumbik° / lha sbon* (rôles tenus par des femmes ou des enfants "ayant père et mère"); les bêtes et leur guide; le laboureur (généralement, le fils de la famille ou le père, s'il ne sème pas); enfin, une ou plusieurs femmes, qui suivent en hersant. Le labour achevé, le *tumbik° / lha sbon* est partagé: son sommet est jeté dans le sillon (avec l'encens); un peu de sa pâte est appliqué sur le front des deux bêtes de trait, ainsi que sur le joug et sur l'araire; enfin,

<sup>17</sup> Jusqu'à aujourd'hui, la royauté au Zanskar est demeurée présente dans les deux bourgs de Padum [dPa' gtum] et Zangla. Toutefois, au XIXe siècle, la lignée royale de Padum s'est éteinte (faute de descendants) et, quoique de nouveaux souverains (émigrés du Ladakh) aient été installés pour reprendre le flambeau, leur légitimité demeure mitigée aux yeux des Zanskarpa. De plus, Padum étant devenue capitale du Zanskar dans le cadre des instances administratives de l'Etat du Jammu & Kashmir, ses rois perdirent encore de leur importance dans l'échiquier politique local.

<sup>18</sup> Jo mo sal byak°, sKu rgyal, rGyal po et Shar phyogs sont quatre divinités attachées au village de Zangla, célébrées ensemble lors de *lo gsar* (Nouvel An) et de *srub lha* (cérémonie d'offrande aux dieux des prémices des moissons). Néanmoins, si Jo mo sal byak° est bel et bien invoquée lors des cultes de Nouvel An et d'offrande des prémices, son autel n'est le lieu d'une cérémonie spécifique qu'à l'occasion du labour cérémoniel, ce qui suggère un lien particulier entre Jo mo sal byak° et les activités agraires.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Riaboff, I. [à paraître], "Jeux printaniers au Zanskar: le tir à l'arc de Zangla – Bouffons et héros, Rois et étrangers", in *Etudes Mongoles et Sibériennes*.

<sup>20</sup> D'après P. Dollfus, au Ladakh, on parle non pas de "*sa kha* de maisonnée" mais de "*ma zhing*" pour désigner le labour cérémoniel familial (1990: 226).

tous les participants (hommes et bêtes) en mangent une portion. De même la bière est-elle consommée sur place. Après quoi le labour, ainsi initié, est de suite poursuivi et achevé ou reporté au lendemain. L'encensoir est rempli de terre prélevée sur le champ: comparée à de l'or, cette terre sera emportée dans la maison en signe de bon présage (*rten 'brel*).

On le voit, les épisodes spectaculaires du *sa kha* villageois sont absents au niveau domestique: le personnage du laboureur n'a plus rien d'un bouffon (il n'est ni grimé, ni trivialement renversé au sol) et faute de course de chevaux l'événement perd beaucoup de sa tournure ludique.

### '*Bum 'khor*, la circumambulation de l'espace cultivé

Quelques semaines après les semailles, les champs se mettent à verdier. Nous sommes au 4<sup>e</sup> ou au 5<sup>e</sup> mois lunaire,<sup>21</sup> et il est maintenant temps d'exécuter, avant la mise en eau des canaux d'irrigation, la circumambulation de l'espace cultivé.<sup>22</sup>

Bien que les modalités du '*bum 'khor* varient considérablement, certaines caractéristiques demeurent valables toutes localités confondues. La circumambulation des champs, à pied ou à cheval, implique des moines accompagnés de musiciens laïques; quelques laïques supplémentaires peuvent être mobilisés, pour aider notamment à porter les indispensables objets sacrés.<sup>23</sup> Dans l'absolu, le cortège de '*bum 'khor* devrait se munir des douze volumes du *Prajñāpāramitā*, le sūtra de la perfection de sagesse qui comprend cent mille stances (d'où son nom tibétain de '*Bum*, "cent mille"); mais en général seuls un ou deux volumes sont effectivement emportés, souvent assortis de (ou même remplacés par) quelque objet religieux (statue ou reliques). La procession fait halte en divers lieux: ici, auprès d'une pierre dressée dans un champ, là auprès de l'autel de quelque dieu (*lha tho*), mais aussi et surtout auprès des diverses constructions votives bouddhiques (*mchod rten* notamment) essaimées tout autour du terroir villageois. À chacun de ces arrêts, un moine accomplit un rituel de purification (*khru*s): appelées (*spyan 'dren*) sur la surface d'un miroir, les divinités peuplant l'espace qui s'y reflète sont purifiées par une libation d'eau safranée. Le '*bum 'khor* est enfin marqué par la récitation de prières ou par la lecture du '*Bum*: à Karcha [*dkar cha*], par exemple, hommes laïques et moines participent à cette lecture, répartie entre les quartiers.

Zangla encore une fois se distingue radicalement des autres villages zanskari. La célébration de son '*bum 'khor* dure trois jours, durant lesquels moines en poste à Zangla (1 ou plus selon leur disponibilité)<sup>24</sup> et nonnes en grand nombre (une quinzaine) passent de "grande maison" en

<sup>21</sup> Au Dolpo et à Gyasumdo, les processions équivalentes ont également lieu au printemps. Par contre, pour le Tibet, R. A. Stein donne des dates beaucoup plus tardives (15<sup>e</sup> jours des 6<sup>e</sup> et 7<sup>e</sup> lunes) et H. E. Richardson parle de la circumambulation des champs de Lhasa comme d'un "festival des moissons", qui prend place durant la première quinzaine du 7<sup>e</sup> mois. De même des circumambulations du site ont lieu au Baragaon, à l'occasion de la célébration des Yartung (*dbyar ston*, "fêtes de l'été"), qui sont également des "festivals des moissons" (cf. Ramble, Ch. (1987), "Le Yartung à Muktinath: une fête tibétaine de la moisson dans son contexte social et historique", in *L'Ethnographie* 100-101, 1 & 2, 221-246).

<sup>22</sup> De nombreux petits hameaux célèbrent simultanément '*bum 'khor* et *dGe rtsa* (rituel d'accumulation de mérites pour les vivants et les morts).

<sup>23</sup> À l'exception des nonnes, nulle femme ne participe aux '*bum 'khor* zanskari. Au Tibet, de même qu'à Gyasumdo (Népal), les femmes semblent être au contraire les actrices par excellence de la procession: ce sont principalement elles qui portent les volumes de textes religieux (cf. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975 et Mumford 1989).

<sup>24</sup> Sont en poste à Zangla trois officiants (*mchod gnas*), détachés du monastère de Karcha. Deux d'entre eux ont la charge des rituels bouddhiques exécutés pour le compte des villageois (tout village zanskari a un *mchod gnas*, moine

"grande maison": dans chacune des habitations visitées, le(s) moine(s) exécute(nt) une purification *khru* et les nonnes récitent des prières. En contrepartie, tous reçoivent des pains de leurs hôtes. Leur parcours, qui débute le premier jour au réservoir d'eau (*rdzing*) du village, chemine d'une maison à l'autre, mais il est aussi jalonné d'arrêts auprès de divers édifices bouddhiques du village. Le soir de chacune des trois journées que dure le *'bum 'khor*, l'un des trois quartiers successivement organise des festivités, où se réunissent tous les hommes (tous quartiers confondus) et les femmes des seules maisons ce jour-là mises à contribution.

## ANALYSE

### Deux rituels pour la prospérité

Le sens dont est chargé le labour cérémoniel paraît se concentrer sur la figure du laboureur (*thong pa*). Le visage barbouillé d'un mélange de farine et de bière (*ldaldok<sup>o</sup> / ru ma*), finalement renversé par surprise sur le dos, couché à même le champ (tout juste après qu'il a ouvert le premier sillon) et immobilisé dans cette position triviale, c'est lui qui doit invoquer à haute voix la fécondité. Au Tibet, selon R. A. Stein, le visage barbouillé de farine est caractéristique des bouffons tibétains, *'dre dkar* ("démon blanc") et *glud 'gong rgyal po* ("roi rançon"): d'après lui, la farine, symboliquement équivalente à des cendres, renvoie à une ambivalence fondamentale, aspect démoniaque et gage de bonne fortune tout à la fois.<sup>25</sup>

Les vers que clame le laboureur sont sans équivoque, vers pastichés tout bas par d'autres couplets tout aussi intelligibles mais moins convenables, que chacun garde pour soi: "À celles qui n'ont pas d'amant, qu'il soit fourni un amant; à celles qui n'ont pas de pénis, qu'il soit fourni un pénis". On le voit, la fécondité en cause est spécifiquement celle des femmes (il est question d'un manque de pénis et non du besoin d'un sexe féminin)<sup>26</sup> et au même titre le laboureur, culbuté sur le dos, immobilisé, figure vraisemblablement la femme.<sup>27</sup> Il y a donc renversement de sexe, mais un renversement partiel, sinon ambigu, puisque le laboureur n'en demeure pas moins par définition celui qui, au moyen de l'araire, s'introduit dans la terre, acte qui évoque la pénétration masculine: le laboureur s'unit à la terre.<sup>28</sup>

En outre, il est impérieux que les grivoiseries du laboureur fassent rire. De fait, la valeur du rire lui-même est à la vérité moins anodine qu'il n'y paraît peut-être. En zanskari, le verbe "rire" se dit *rgod byed* (tibétain: *rgod pa*); or, on le sait, le radical *rgod*, au Zanskar comme au Tibet, a également le sens de "sauvage" (notamment appliqué à la nature). Ainsi, son impétuosité projette-elle le rire du côté d'une nature indomptée: *rgod byed*, n'est-ce pas littéralement "s'ensauvager"? Notons, à ce titre, que les plaisanteries, qui par excellence catalysent le rire,

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préposé qui officie parfois simultanément dans plusieurs bourgs voisins), tandis que le troisième dessert le culte auprès du sanctuaire royal: il est le "chapelain" du roi.

<sup>25</sup> Stein 1959: 443-444; 558-560.

<sup>26</sup> Fécondité de la nature et fécondité féminine sont liées symboliquement: autrefois, à Padum, il semble que le grain qui restait au terme de la célébration du *sa kha* villageois était distribué entre les jeunes filles, qui le semaient chez elles et portaient ensuite les épis obtenus sur leurs bonnets.

<sup>27</sup> Je suis reconnaissante à Mme Anne-Marie Blondeau qui m'a fait justement remarquer la connotation sexuelle de la position imposée au laboureur, face contre terre.

<sup>28</sup> Dans la bourgade de Zangla, un autre bouffon joue un rôle complémentaire de celui du laboureur, à savoir, parmi les acteurs de la mascarade nuptiale, le personnage de l'oncle maternel (*a zhang*) de la mariée, qui se livre à d'incessantes singeries: lui aussi a le visage blanchi, et, de plus, il porte une peau animale revêtue à l'envers (la fourrure tournée vers l'extérieur).

sont appelées *g.yengs pa*, du tibétain *g.yeng ba* qui signifie précisément "agiter". On le voit, le vocabulaire tibéto-zanskari souligne avant toute chose le caractère fougueux et, de fait, sauvage du rire.

En réponse aux facéties du laboureur, le rire des villageois est nécessaire à l'efficacité du rituel: telle une connivence générale, un "ensauvagement", qui, parce que partagé par le plus grand nombre, rend efficace pour tous l'appel de la prospérité. À cet égard, soulignons que, d'une certaine façon, chaque villageois prend une part active aux bouffonneries du laboureur: chacun reçoit une marque de *Idaldok<sup>29</sup> / ru ma* sur le front (signe de la collusion de tous les participants); et à Zangla, chacun invoque l'abondance en s'écriant: "cent mille fois dix millions sortiront" (*bye ba 'bum phrag 'bing ngo*). Aussi chacun participe-t-il à la farce.

Par ailleurs, la course de chevaux qui clôt le *sa kha* me semble elle aussi en rapport avec l'abondance attendue. Je l'ai dit, les cibles de la course, quand il s'agit de figurines animales, sont appelées "bouquetins".<sup>29</sup> Or, le bouquetin est par excellence l'animal des espaces d'altitude qui sont de surcroît le séjour favori des dieux *lha*. Des sommets sont identifiés à certains *lha*, tel que le dieu montagne *gZhon nu mdung lag*: ce dernier, dit-on, reçoit chaque année un bouquetin que lui envoie en présent la déesse du col voisin, *Omasi Lhamo<sup>o</sup>*. Tuer un animal sauvage, ce pourrait donc être: soustraire du gibier au domaine de quelque *lha*, ainsi qu'il en va souvent en Haute Asie;<sup>30</sup> le succès à la chasse serait alors le signe d'une faveur ou, tout au moins, d'une concession divine.<sup>31</sup> Bien que, à ma connaissance, les Zanskarpa n'invoquent pas expressément les "bonnes grâces" divines, il est vraisemblable que l'issue fructueuse d'une chasse et, symboliquement, le fait de renverser une figurine-"bouquetin" à la course (tout comme le fait de transpercer une cible-proie au tir à l'arc) constituent la démonstration immédiate d'un octroi de viande par la "nature"; témoignage avant-coureur d'une abondance que les villageois escomptent sans doute pour leur avenir agricole et notamment pour la prospérité de leur cheptel: ainsi,

<sup>29</sup> Ces mêmes cibles sont parfois interprétées comme des ennemis (*dgra*): les performances des concurrents sont alors martiales.

<sup>30</sup> Dans les manuscrits tibétains de Dunhuang, plusieurs épisodes mythiques racontent comment le meurtre d'un animal (yak sauvage ou cerf) à la chasse suscite les représailles (sous la forme de maladie ou de mort) d'un être démoniaque. Pour R. A. Stein, le ressort commun à de tels incidents réside dans

"le défi de l'homme troublant la "nature" par son désir de chasse, son orgueil ou sa démesure. Sa mort résulte du fait qu'il s'est opposé à un représentant des "propriétaires du sol" qui lui sont antérieurs ou, si les deux ont toujours existé en même temps, sur les domaines desquels il empiète" (Stein, R. A. (1971), "Du récit au rituel dans les manuscrits tibétains de Touen-Houang", in *Études tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*. A. Macdonald (ed.), Paris, A. Maisonneuve, 479-547: 520).

La chasse constitue donc une scène où hommes et divinités du sol s'affrontent via la mainmise sur l'animal sauvage.

<sup>31</sup> Pour sa part, Ph. Sagant parle d'élection divine (cf. notamment son travail sur la région népalaise de Nyi shang (Sagant, Ph. (1990), Les tambours de Nyi-shang (Népal). Rituel et centralisation politique, in *Tibet – Civilisation et société*. Paris, M.S.H., 151-170), ainsi que l'étude qu'il a menée en collaboration avec S. Karmay sur la chasse au cerf en pays sharwa (Tibet oriental)). Selon Ph. Sagant, toute action au résultat aléatoire relève d'une même "morale de l'exploit", son succès étant également le signe de l'élection divine: aussi analyse-t-il d'un même mouvement le triomphe dont sont l'objet

"le vainqueur du tir à l'arc, de la course de chevaux, le chef élu par tirage au sort, et bien d'autres encore qui l'emportent dans des compétitions d'un domaine plus quotidien, le médiateur qui réussit, l'homme qui gagne son procès, etc." (Sagant, *op. cit.*, 1990: 157)

Toutefois, selon M. Calkowski (1993), "Contesting hierarchy: on gambling as an authoritative resource in Tibetan refugee society", in *Anthropology of Tibet and the Himalaya*. Ch. Ramble, M. Brauen (eds.), Zurich, Ethnological Museum of the University of Zurich, 30-38), le pouvoir (*dbang thang*), qui perdure, n'est précisément pas confondu avec la chance (*rlung rta*), signe d'une élection divine, aux conséquences sociales temporaires.

répétons-le, les figurines *skyin* des courses de chevaux sont modelées à l'image non pas de bouquetins mais d'animaux domestiques (chèvres, moutons ou yaks).

Au Tibet, certaines courses de chevaux ont lieu lors de la circumambulation de l'espace cultivé, ce qui souligne la proximité des enjeux de cette circumambulation avec le *sa kha* (Stein 1959: 451).

Mais l'abondance que vise le *'bum 'khor* est plus spécifiquement celle de l'eau. Certains Zanskarpa qualifient le *'bum 'khor* de "cérémonie de l'eau" (*chu'i sku rim*). De plus, n'est-il pas significatif que le *'bum 'khor* de Zangla débute au réservoir qui alimente en eau les canaux d'irrigation du village. Enfin, à Karcha, la lecture du *'Bum* est alors répartie entre toutes les habitations dont l'eau d'irrigation provient d'une même vallée, au-dessus du village: de façon révélatrice, quelques maisons situées loin en contrebas, pourtant rattachées au village de Yulang, participent à cette lecture en vertu de la provenance commune de leur eau d'irrigation. Les matériaux relatifs au Tibet et aux communautés du Népal, quoique succincts, n'en sont pas moins unanimes sur la question: la circumambulation printanière de l'espace cultivé est exécuté en vue de faire venir la pluie. Dans certaines communautés, ce rituel n'a d'ailleurs lieu qu'en cas de sécheresse (de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975 et Jest 1975). De plus, dans certaines régions, la circumambulation s'accompagne d'un "jeu de l'eau": R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz explique que

"hommes et femmes se pressent dans les rues et dans l'hilarité s'aspergent d'eau les uns les autres",

tandis qu'à Gyasumdo (au Népal), selon S. R. Mumford, la procession étant parvenue à un étang,

"les enfants quittent leurs vêtements et 'jouent dans l'eau' (*chu brtse*). Cela favorise également la pluie disent-ils, dans la mesure où les divinités-serpents se trouvent dans les étangs".

Conformément à sa problématique générale, S. R. Mumford confronte ce rite avec ce qui se passe chez les Gurungs du voisinage:

"Sur la rive opposée de la rivière, cependant, les chamanes Ghyabre portent un cerf sur leurs dos. Quand ils offrent son cœur aux êtres du monde souterrain, ils amènent eux aussi la pluie pour la même vallée. Les lamas considèrent le mode textuel d'appel de la pluie comme la réponse bouddhiste au sacrifice Ghyabre. [...] L'argumentation des lamas avec la reconsécration des stupas met en avant le fait qu'il y a beaucoup plus en jeu que le seul problème de la pluie et de l'abondance. Le message additionnel est celui de l'hégémonie bouddhiste sur la rive tibétaine de la rivière". (Mumford 1989: 98)

Le *'bum 'khor* serait donc un rite populaire dont l'enjeu premier, à savoir l'appel de l'eau, serait masqué par un verni bouddhique? Au Zanskar, les seuls acteurs indispensables au *'bum 'khor* sont aujourd'hui les moines. Toutefois, soulignons que ces derniers disent agir alors non pas pour eux-mêmes, mais en tant que simples exécutants, au service des villageois (*yul pa'i phi'a*): spontanément, les Zanskarpa distinguent radicalement entre ceux qui accomplissent un rite (les officiants, ici des moines) et ceux au bénéfice de qui ce rite est exécuté (que j'appellerai les "impétrants" [du latin *impetrare*, obtenir], les villageois).<sup>32</sup> Aussi le *'bum 'khor*, quoique

<sup>32</sup> À mon sens, l'opposition officiant vs impétrant est homologue à la dichotomie qu'ont préconisée M. Mauss et H. Hubert entre celui qui exécute un sacrifice (le sacrificateur) et celui qui en recueille les bienfaits (le sacrificiant) (Hubert et Mauss (1897-1898), "Essai sur la nature et les fonctions du sacrifice", *Ann. Sociol.*). Cette distinction est également opératoire quand il s'agit d'analyser les rituels rendus aux divinités tutélaires de villages et de clans (*yul*

son exécution soit aux mains des moines, demeure-t-il un rituel "populaire" aux yeux de ses acteurs eux-mêmes. Pour autant, l'importance de la mainmise monastique sur l'exécution du *'bum khor* ne doit pas être minimisée; d'autant moins que le *sa kha* est, lui, célébré par les villageois.

### Terre, terroirs, territoires

Plusieurs textes anciens, au premier chef desquels le *Mañi bka' 'bum*, affirment que les Tibétains sont les descendants d'un singe et d'une démonsse des rochers (émanations du Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara et de la déesse Tārā). Tout d'abord conduits par leur père dans une forêt, les rejetons du singe et de la démonsse s'y reproduisirent à leur tour: "ce n'étaient plus des singes et ce n'étaient pas encore des hommes". Jusqu'à ce que Avalokiteśvara, pris de compassion pour ces créatures dépourvues de nourriture et de vêtements, confie au singe leur père (émanation de son propre esprit) cinq [ou six] espèces de graines.<sup>33</sup> Le singe s'en fut planter ces graines au milieu du Tibet, créant les premiers champs, à Zo thang ("plaine de la nourriture"): ainsi sa progéniture accéda-t-elle progressivement à l'humanité en se nourrissant des fruits de cette agriculture.<sup>34</sup> Répétition annuelle de cet acte civilisateur premier que constitue la mise en culture, le *sa kha* réaffirme sans doute de manière cyclique l'importance du champ, espace humanisé par excellence, par opposition aux espaces sauvages (symbolisés, au niveau légendaire, par la forêt). L'accent est mis non sur les semailles mais sur le labour.<sup>35</sup> Exécuter le *sa kha*, n'est-ce pas littéralement "ouvrir la bouche de la terre" (*sa kha 'bye byed*)? Au Zanskar, les maîtres du sol (*sa bdag*, contraction de *sa'i bdag po*, littéralement les "maîtres de la terre"), là où ce ne sont pas des êtres humains, sont soit des *klu* (êtres aquatiques ou souterrains), soit des dieux *lha*. Bien sûr, le soc métallique de l'araire risque de blesser les divinités qui séjournent dans le sous-sol. Le texte du rite tibétain de *Clôture de la porte de la Terre* comprend un exposé de son précédent mythique dont la cause serait précisément

"les travaux des hommes (labour, irrigation, construction et coupe de bois) [qui] ont dérangé les "propriétaires du sol" (*sa bdag, klu, gnyan*, etc.) [...] La Porte de la Terre fut ouverte, les *sa bdag* envoyèrent les maladies qui empoisonnent et les épidémies". (Dollfus, P. (1994), "Porte de la Terre, porte du Ciel", un rituel de rançon au Ladakh", in *PIATS Fagernes 1992*, 178-196: 180-181)

Mais, si porter atteinte à l'intégrité des êtres surnaturels expose à leur courroux, labourer impunément, sans repréailles des entités surnaturelles, n'est-ce pas afficher l'emprise des hommes sur la terre, contre les êtres surnaturels, leurs rivaux potentiels? Mieux encore: l'un des termes tibétains qui dénote l'action de labourer n'est autre que *'dul ba*, qui a pour sens premier "soumettre" (Das 1983: 686); vraisemblablement le labour, doublet de l'acte de pénétration

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*lha et pha lha*).

<sup>33</sup> Le *Mañi bka' 'bum* parle de "cinq sortes de bijoux et de graines", que Avalokiteśvara aurait confiés au singe en lui disant: "Donne à manger à tes descendants. Lorsque tes descendants se transformeront en hommes, les pierres précieuses, l'or, l'argent, etc., vivront finalement elles aussi, et de temps en temps l'entrée des mines de pierres précieuses s'ouvrira" (Macdonald, A. (1959), "La naissance du monde au Tibet", in *La naissance du monde*. S. Sauneron, J. Yoyotte, M. Lambert (eds.), Paris, Seuil, 419-452: 438).

<sup>34</sup> Cf. notamment Stein, R. A. (1987), *La Civilisation tibétaine*. Paris, L'Asiathèque. [1ère édition: 1962]: 20-21 et Macdonald, *op. cit.*, 1959: 433-439, qui donne une traduction *in extenso* du passage du *Mañi bka' 'bum* qui nous intéresse.

<sup>35</sup> Au niveau du *sa kha* domestique, toutefois, si le chef de famille est présent, il endosse inmanquablement l'un des deux rôles du semeur ou du laboureur: ce qui témoigne de l'importance comparable des semailles et du labour.

masculine, constitue-t-il un acte de domination vis-à-vis des êtres surnaturels qui font obstacle à l'installation humaine.<sup>36</sup>

La Généalogie des rois de Dergué [sDe dge] fait état d'une anecdote significative que rapporte R. A. Stein. Le roi d'alors, bSod nams 'bum avait trois fils, dont un dénommé Bo thar :

"Bo thar était fort et sage; il avait une fille appelée mDzes ldan. Le roi de gLing, qui avait le pouvoir d'un *zhal ngo* (préfet), lui dit: "comme prix de ta fille, je te donnerai les champs que tu auras labourés pendant un jour et les villages et villes d'à côté". Bo thar se mit à labourer en conduisant un homme fort du chef de gLing et deux mdzo. Commençant à l'aube, à 'Khor lo mdo, il arriva le soir à sNyan mda' de lCags ra. Aussi reçut-il tout ce territoire du chef de gLing". (Stein 1959: 221)

De même que pour Bo thar le labour fut le moyen de se rendre maître politique d'un territoire, de même le *sa kha* offre-t-il aux hommes de pouvoir zanskari l'occasion de réaffirmer leurs autorités. Ainsi, dans la bourgade royale de Zangla, le laboureur était autrefois un roturier au service du roi (*chun pa*), donc son serviteur sur le plan économique: au Ladakh, à l'époque royale, le roi en personne exécutait l'ouverture de la terre (Ribbach, S. H. (1940), *Drogpa Namgyal: ein Tibeterleben* ["*Drogpa Namgyal: the life of a Tibetan*", traduction anglaise, New-Haven: H.R.A.F., 1955]: 149-151). Aujourd'hui encore, quoique la personne du laboureur soit quelconque (le statut de *chun pa* ayant été aboli), les deux bêtes de trait du *sa kha* sont des bêtes du palais. De plus, les deux champs labourés cérémoniellement sont tous deux en la propriété du roi; les préparatifs du *sa kha* ont lieu sur le toit du palais; les ingrédients nécessaires sont fournis par la maisonnée royale. Enfin, le jour de *sa kha*, juste avant le labour, un culte est rendu au nom du roi auprès de la divinité Jo mo sal byak°, dont l'autel est précisément attenant à une habitation qui était autrefois une dépendance du palais, habitée par des manants. Le culte rendu à Jo mo sal byak° incombe à l'un des chefs de maisonnées du clan *lha bdag* ("maître des *lha*"), qui sont les officiants auprès des *lha* (*lha gsol mkhan*) par excellence, et dont la divinité tutélaire n'est autre que sKu rgyal (divinité clanique du roi et divinité principale du village de Zangla). Le plus expérimenté d'entre eux est un vieil homme (aujourd'hui relégué à la tête de sa "petite maison") dont la famille était autrefois *chun pa* (famille de roturiers) du palais. Sans doute en cette double qualité de parent clanique et d'ancien tenancier au service du roi, il est le plus fréquemment sollicité pour officier. Le jour du labour rituel, il adresse les offrandes royales à Jo mo sal byak°, puis endosse le rôle de semeur.

On le voit, les modalités du *sa kha* villageois de Zangla affirment la primauté du roi, puissant parmi les hommes parce que maître de la terre.<sup>37</sup> À leur tour, lors des *sa kha* de maison-

<sup>36</sup> L'empalement des figures féminines (les êtres masculins étant eux mis à mort) apparaît dans les textes de l'école *Mādhyamika* comme une variante fréquente des récits de pacification des *numina* locaux (Macdonald, A. W. (1990), "Hindu-isation, Buddha-isation, then Lama-isation or: what happened at La-phyi?", in *Indo-Tibetan Studies*. T. Skorupski (ed.), Tring, Buddhica Britannica, 199-208).

<sup>37</sup> À Padum, seconde bourgade royale, les modalités du *sa kha* sont moins clairement en rapport avec la lignée royale (dont le poids politique, il est vrai, s'est éteint depuis bien longtemps): le champ ouvert lors du *sa kha*, au centre du village, est bel et bien l'ancien "champ mère" du palais: il n'est désormais plus cultivé, mais continue d'être le théâtre du *sa kha*, tout comme à Leh (au Ladakh), dont la rue principale, ancien *ma zhing* des rois, demeure le lieu du *sa kha*. Mais les éventuels liens des acteurs du *sa kha* de Padum avec le roi sont hypothétiques: le labour n'est certes pas le fait de n'importe quel individu (son exécutant doit appartenir au clan des *Shali pa*) mais ce clan ne semble pas avoir de statut particulier vis-à-vis des rois de Padum; à moins qu'il n'ait eu quelque relation avec la lignée antérieure des rois, éteinte au XIXe siècle (faute de descendants)? À Karcha, le champ du *sa kha* est en la possession du monastère du village (qui est le plus gros monastère de tout le pays); mais les préparatifs du *sa kha* de Karcha ont

nées, les chefs de familles réitérent le geste initiateur. L'ouverture de "la bouche de la terre" est donc l'occasion d'une réaffirmation des pouvoirs séculiers, pouvoirs qui ne s'épuisent pas dans le pouvoir royal mais dont celui-ci est l'archétype: les chefs de maisonnées sont au niveau domestique ce que le roi est sur un plan régional.

Lors du *'bum 'khor*, pareil enjeu est-il de mise? Le nom-même du rituel l'indique: foncièrement, le *'bum 'khor* consiste à tourner (*'khor ba*, tourner).<sup>38</sup> Toujours, le trajet suivi par la procession contourne l'espace villageois par la gauche, exactement comme l'on circum-ambule un édifice votif. Or, la circumambulation (sanskrit *pradakṣiṇā*) sacralise l'objet qu'elle encoint:

"On connaît bien la valeur isolante de ce rite [la *pradakṣiṇā*] qui cherche à abstraire du monde profane une zone qu'il délimite par un parcours". (Macdonald, A. W. (1957), "Notes sur la claustration villageoise", *Journal Asiatique* 235, 185-210: 202)<sup>39</sup>

Ainsi l'exécution du *'bum 'khor* sanctifie-t-elle l'espace circonscrit. Qui plus est, le circuit du *'bum 'khor* est marqué de haltes auprès de divers édifices religieux, qui font l'objet de rituels de *khrus*: ces purifications répétées sur le pourtour du terroir contribuent à la resacralisation périodique de lieux qui dessinent une géographie sacrée. Le périmètre délimité est le plus souvent celui d'un seul village et de ses terres, l'espace civilisé par excellence, par-delà lequel une femme hésite à s'aventurer: partir seule aux champs, quand bien même ils sont hors de portée de vue des habitations, ne pose problème à nulle d'entre elle, alors que se rendre aux moulins, situés souvent non seulement à l'écart du village mais encore hors du périmètre cultivé, est redouté par toute femme. Il arrive que le tracé du *'bum 'khor* englobe d'un même mouvement les hameaux et terroirs de plusieurs localités contiguës, qui constituent par ailleurs des fédérations dites *skyid sdug*, par référence aux noces (*skyid po*, "[événement] heureux") et aux funérailles (*sdug po*, "[événement] malheureux") que leurs membres célèbrent ensemble. Mais, qu'il concerne un ou, plus rarement, plusieurs villages, le *'bum 'khor* est le théâtre exemplaire d'une claustration villageoise:<sup>40</sup> l'espace habité des hommes (villages et champs) se ferme à l'espace sauvage qui l'entoure.

Bien plus: comment ne pas voir dans les édifices bouddhiques qui jalonnent la procession (aux limites du terroir) l'équivalent des chapelles dont la littérature tibétaine dit qu'elles soumettent (*gnon*) la démons originelle, ainsi fichée au sol? Plusieurs textes tibétains (datant de la "Seconde diffusion du bouddhisme" au Tibet, soit après le Xe siècle) racontent comment, du temps du roi Srong btsan sgam po, le Tibet tout entier était occupé par le corps d'une démons, *srin mo*, que le roi dut 'fixer' au sol par douze temples bouddhiques plantés en différents points de son corps (cf., entre autres, Stein 1987: 25 et Gyatso 1989: 36). Et ce n'est que bien plus tard que le yogi tantrique Padmasambhava paracheva l'implantation du bouddhisme en lui soumettant les entités immanentes qui continuaient de peupler le pays. La *Chronique zanskari* publiée

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lieu sur le toit de la maison du chef de village (le *mokdam*°).

<sup>38</sup> J'adopte la forme résultative (*'khor ba*), comme le font Stein 1959: 451 (*dbyar kha'i chos 'khor*) et Mumford 1989: 98 (*yum 'khor*). C. Jest, lui, écrit *nten skor* (1975: 335), de *skor ba*, forme volitive (faire tourner). Enfin, Thupten Sangyay 1974: 55 et Richardson 1993: 108 donnent tous deux *'ong bskor*, de *bskor ba*, forme causative (faire tourner).

<sup>39</sup> Sur la *pradakṣiṇā*, voir Nakamura, S. W. (1951), "Pradakṣiṇā, a Buddhist form of obeisance", in *Semitic & Oriental Studies* XI, 345-354.

<sup>40</sup> Les rites de claustration villageoise, répandus en Asie du Sud-Est ainsi qu'en atteste le riche article de A. W. Macdonald (*op. cit.*, 1957) consistent en la fermeture d'un village à toute pénétration étrangère (une mise en quarantaine), dans le but de tenir les attaques démoniaques à distance.



par A. H. Francke combine les deux épisodes de soumission du corps de la démonsse et de soumission des entités malveillantes en un seul: en sorte que Padmasambhava (U rgyan Pad ma) devient, en même temps qu'il est l'exorciseur des démons, celui qui soumit la démonsse *sa dgra*, "terre ennemie"<sup>41</sup> (Francke, A. H. (1926), *Antiquities of Indian Tibet, part II, The chronicles of Ladakh and minor chronicles*. Calcutta, Archaeological Survey of India: 152, 156). Sur la tête de cette dernière, il planta le monastère de Sani, sur son coeur, celui de Pi pi ting (au Zanskar, le terme de *pi pi* désigne les mamelons) et à ses pieds le monastère de Byams gling, Tsazar.

Alors qu'au Tibet le roi Srong btsan sgam po fixe la démonsse par des temples, au Zanskar, Padmasambhava, personnage religieux, la cloue au sol par trois monastères.<sup>42</sup> Aussi les édifices bouddhiques témoignent-ils du pouvoir politique des puissants, rois ou religieux.<sup>43</sup> Or, à mon sens, si monastères ou temples fixent la démonsse à l'échelle d'un pays, *mchod rten*, murs de pierres gravées de *mantra* et autres constructions votives en sont les répliques à l'échelle de chaque terroir: réactivant leur sacralité, le '*bum 'khor* garantit de façon cyclique la soumission (locale) de la "terre ennemie" (et de tous les êtres surnaturels qui peuplent les champs) et permet à ses acteurs, les moines, de réaffirmer leur pouvoir.

Les rituels agraires zanskari mettent donc en scène deux motifs de légitimation du pouvoir: pénétrer la terre (*sa kha*) et borner le terroir (*'bum 'khor*), tous deux à la fois témoignages d'une maîtrise de la terre et instruments de cette mainmise face aux entités surnaturelles. Se rendre maître du sol (*sa bdag*), c'est avoir autorité sur ceux qui l'habitent: ainsi, l'épopée tibétaine raconte que le héros Gesar, ayant tué le roi des démons-marmottes qui infestaient le pays de son exil, devint le souverain légitime des paysans et des marchands et leur protecteur, en échange de l'impôt (Stein, R. A. (1956), *L'épopée tibétaine de Gesar dans sa version lamaïque de Ling*. Paris, P.U.F.: 75-85). Aussi les rituels agraires contribuent-ils à légitimer la puissance (économique et politique) des rois et des monastères.

<sup>41</sup> Le manuscrit, "dont l'orthographe laisse beaucoup à désirer", ainsi que le soulignait A. H. Francke, parle de *sa bkra / krin mo*, à l'évidence formes corrompues de *sa dgra / srin mo*: au Tibet, ce dernier terme est communément usité pour désigner la démonsse originelle, mais *sa dgra* est également attesté (Gyatso 1989: 43).

<sup>42</sup> Pour autant, la *Chronique zanskari* ne nie pas l'intervention de la royauté dans le scénario de la maîtrise originelle du pays: ainsi, avant de narrer l'épisode de soumission de la démonsse *sa dgra*, il est dit que le roi mythique Gesar, justement lui, foula du pied le Zanskar, et qu'"il soumit la terre entière sous son pied" (*sa thams cad zhabs kyis bcags*) (Francke 1926: 152, 156).

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Macdonald, A. W. (1984), "Religion in Tibet at the time of Srong-btsan sgam-po: Myth as History", in *Tibetan and Buddhist Studies*. L. Ligeti (ed.), volume 2, 129-140: 136-138. J. Gyatso rappelle que les premiers rois bouddhistes tibétains faisaient ériger des colonnes afin de "marquer leur possession d'un lieu et leur domination sur le monde souterrain" (Gyatso 1989: 42).

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# THE RIME MOVEMENT OF JAMGON KONGTRUL THE GREAT

by

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In the 1970's I was doing research work on the Rime (*ris med*) movement. This gave me the opportunity to meet and interview a number of prominent Tibetan lamas, including His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, and the heads of the four main schools of Tibetan Buddhism. I prepared a questionnaire. One of the questions I asked was whether they believed that other schools of Buddhism showed the way to attain Buddhahood. I have never been so rebuked in my life as when I asked that question! All of them, without exception, were shocked and felt insulted, deeply saddened that I, a monk, could ever have such doubts. They would not speak with me until I persuaded them to believe that this was one of those unimportant, procedural questions that are part of the modern university system.

“How can you say such a thing?” they rebuked me. “All schools of Buddhism practise the teachings of the Lord Buddha. Moreover, the schools of Buddhism in Tibet have even more common ground. They all base their main practice on the Anuttaratantra of Vajrayāna. Madhyamaka is their philosophy; they all base their monastic rules on the Sarvāstivādin school of Vinaya.” (s. Appendix, no. 1)

One of the unique features of Buddhism has always been the acceptance that different paths are necessary for different types of people. Just as one medicine cannot cure all diseases, so one set of teachings cannot help all beings – this is the basic principle of Buddhism. (s. Appendix, no. 2)

One chooses the most appropriate sūtras and/or tantras from the Buddhist canon and bases one's own practices on these. This is the origin of different schools in Buddhism. There are no ‘sects’ in Buddhism because there are no break-away groups from the main school. Different lineages came into being even among those who practised the same teachings.

In Tibet, like other places, these different schools practised and studied in their own isolated environments and thereby lost much of the contact with other schools and lineages. Non-communication breeds misunderstanding. Even where there was no misunderstanding or disrespect to other schools, some practitioners, in their ardent enthusiasm to keep their own lineages pure and undiluted, went so far as to refuse any teachings from the masters of other lineages, and would not study the texts of other schools. Ignorance is the most fertile ground for growing doubts and misconceptions. This is the area where the Rime movement of Jamgon Kongtrul (1813-1899) and Jamyang Khenpse (1820-1892) had most to contribute.

## **What is Rime?**

*Ris* or *phyog ris* in Tibetan means ‘one-sided’, ‘partisan’ or ‘sectarian’, *med* means ‘no’. *Ris med*, or Rime, therefore means ‘no sides’, ‘non-partisan’ or ‘non-sectarian’. It does not mean ‘non-conformist’ or ‘non-committal’; nor does it mean forming a new school or system that is different from the existing ones. A person who believes the Rime way almost certainly follows one lineage as his or her main practice. He or she would not dissociate from the school in

which he or she was raised. Kongtrul was raised in the Nyingma and Kagyu traditions; Khentse was reared in a strong Sakyapa tradition. They never failed to acknowledge their affiliation to their own schools.

Rime is not a way of uniting different schools and lineages by emphasising their similarities. It is basically an appreciation of their differences and an acknowledgement of the importance of having this variety for the benefit of practitioners with different needs. Therefore the Rime teachers always take great care that the teachings and practices of the different schools and lineages and their unique styles do not become confused with one another. To retain the original style and methods of each teaching lineage preserves the power of that lineage experience. Kongtrul and Khentse made great efforts to retain the original flavour of each teaching, while making them available to many.

Kongtrul writes about Khentse in his biography of the latter: (s. Appendix, no. 3)

“Many people these days become involved and confused in the assertion and negation of so-called philosophical differences such as Rangtong and Shentong, etc. They try to win everybody over to their side to the point of breaking their necks! When he (Khentse Rinpoche) taught, he would give the teachings of each lineage clearly and intelligibly without confusing the terms and concepts of other teachings. He would then advise his students and would say:

‘The ultimate subject we need to define is the ultimate nature, or *dharmatā*, of phenomena. The Prajñāpāramitāsūtra says: “*Dharmatā* is not knowable (with the intellectual mind) and cannot be perceived in concepts”. Even Ngog Lotsawa, the jewel on the head of all Tibetan logicians, says: “The ultimate truth is not only beyond the dimension of language and expression, but it is also beyond intellectual understanding”. The ultimate nature cannot be fully measured by our samsaric mind. The great saints (*siddha*) and scholars examined it from different aspects, and each of the ways outlined by them has many reasons and logical sequences. If we follow the tradition of our own lineage and study our own lineage masters in depth, we shall find no need to feel sectarian. However, if we confuse the terms and systems of different traditions, or if we try to introduce the ways of other systems because we do not have a deep understanding of our own tradition, we shall surely make our minds as muddled as the yarns of a bad weaver. The problem of being unable to explain our own traditional teachings arises out of ignorance of our own studies. If this happens, we lose our confidence in our own traditions; neither are we able to copy from others. We become a laughing stock for other scholars. Therefore it is best to understand thoroughly the teachings of our own school.’

In this way we can see the harmony of all paths. All teachings can be seen as instructions and therefore the roots of sectarian feelings should shrivel and die. The Lord Buddha's teachings will take root in our minds. The doors to the 84,000 groups of teachings will open up at one time.”

The Rime concept was not original to Kongtrul and Khentse – neither were they new to Buddhism! The Lord Buddha forbade his students even to criticise the teachings and teachers of other religions and cultures. The message was so strong and unambiguous that Candrakīrti had to defend Nāgārjuna's treatises on Madhyamaka by saying: “If, by trying to understand the truth, you dispel the misunderstandings of some people and thereby some philosophies are damaged – that cannot be taken as criticising the views of others” (Madhyamakāvātāra). A true Buddhist cannot be but non-sectarian and Rime in his approach.

### Doctrinal disputes

Why then, are there so many debates and criticisms among the different schools of Buddhism? There is an old saying in Tibetan:

*Ita ba mthun na mkhas pa min*  
*dgongs pa ma mthun na grub thob min*  
 If two philosophers agree, one is not a philosopher.  
 If two saints disagree, one is not a saint.

It is accepted that all realised beings have the same experience but the problem is how to describe this to others. Almost all debates are basically concerned with ways of using language. For example, the main debate between Svātantrika and Prāsaṅgika Mādhyamika is whether to use *don dam par* (ultimately), or not. For example, whether to say: “the form is empty” or “the form is ultimately empty”.

The legendary, ten-year debate between Candrakīrti and Candragomin is a good example. Both of these masters are regarded as realised beings by all sides. What were they debating then? They debated on how to phrase the teachings to present the least danger of misinterpretation.

### Rangtong and Shentong

There has been a great deal of heated debate in Tibet between the exponents of Rangtong (*rang stong*) and Shentong (*gzhan stong*) philosophies. The historic facts of these two philosophies are well known to the tibetologists. This is what Kongtrul has to say about the two systems:

“Rangtong and Shentong Mādhyamika philosophies have no differences in realising as *śūnyatā* all phenomena that we experience on a relative level. They have no differences also, in reaching the meditative state where all extremes (ideas) completely dissolve.” (s. Appendix, no. 4)

Their difference lies in the words they use to describe *dharmatā*. Shentong describes *dharmatā*, the mind of Buddha, as ‘ultimately real’; while Rangtong philosophers fear that if it is described that way, people might understand it as the concept of ‘soul’ or ‘ātma’. The Shentong philosopher believes that there is a more serious possibility of misunderstanding in describing the enlightened state as ‘unreal’ and ‘void’. Kongtrul finds the Rangtong way of presentation the best to dissolve concepts and the Shentong way the best to describe the experience.

### Nyingma and Sarma

Kongtrul dealt in the same way with the problems of the old and new translation of tantras. Kongtrul said that there are two reasons why these tantras are genuine. Firstly, the original Sanskrit versions were found, and secondly, both, the old and the new translations of tantras have the same perspectives and understanding. Kongtrul has made this very clear in his work entitled *ITa ba'i 'bel gnam* (vol. Ta of his *Collected Works*). (s. Appendix, no. 5)

“Thus the Mahāmudrā path was clearly stated in all sūtras and tantras. It is the same as the *sems sde* teachings of Zogpa chenpo. The five great Sakyapa lamas also stood for the ultimate Madhyamaka philosophy and the Mahāmudrā view. Although Sakya Paṇḍita criticised (some aspects of Kagyu way of practices) his actual views are clearly stated in bDag med btod 'grel. The final view of Je Tsong-

khapa is also indisputably the same as Zogpa chenpo. Please refer to Shus len bdud tsi sman mchog.”

The Rime understanding of Buddhist paths is clearly described by a highly respected Nyingma master of the eleventh century, Rongzom Chokyi zangpo: (s. Appendix, no. 6)

“All the teachings of Buddha are of one taste, one way – all leading to the truth, all arriving at the truth. Although there are different *yānas*, they neither contradict each other nor reject the basis of each other. The things that are fully made clear in the lower *yānas* are neither changed nor rejected by the higher *yānas* but accepted as they are. The points that are not made completely clear in the lower *yānas* are made clear in the higher *yānas* but the basic structure is not changed and none of the points that are already clear are contradicted. Therefore different *yānas* and schools do not go in different directions and they do not arrive at different conclusions”. (Rough translation)

*bstan pa thams ced 'gal med du rtogs*

*gzung lugs thams ced gdams par shar*

“See harmony in all doctrines.

Receive instructions from all teachings.”

This is one of the most important sayings of the Kadampa masters.

If we examine the lives of the great masters of any school we find how many teachers of different schools and lineages they studied with and how much respect they had for them.

The conflicts between lamas and monasteries, and sometimes regions of Tibet, are often presented these days as religious or doctrinal conflicts. However, almost none of them have anything to do with basic doctrinal or even philosophical disagreements. Most of these conflicts were based on personality problems or mundane establishment rivalries.

The Rime movement of Kongtrul and Khenkse was not a new concept, but it was a timely and unique movement with great consequences. A great portion of Buddhist literature would have been lost but for the efforts of these two luminaries to preserve it. Although Khenkse was the source of inspiration and greatly contributed towards this effort, it was Kongtrul who actually put together the gigantic work, “The Five Great Treasures”. The compilation and transmission of the teachings of “The Five Great Treasures” of Kongtrul, together with the sGrub thabs kun btus and the rGyud bde kun btus, broke the isolation of single lineage teachings in the majority of Tibetan Buddhist schools. A tradition of receiving the teachings of various lineages and schools from one teacher in one place became established.

Take the example of the gDams ngag mzod. A compendium of most of the essential teachings of all the eight practice lineages (*sgrub brgyud shing rta brgyad*) is now preserved in one lineage. Teachings of these kinds have become not only common, but popular among the masters of all schools of Tibetan Buddhism.

The great success in this field also goes to the fact that Kongtrul gave these teachings himself, many times over, to a wide range of students, from the heads of schools to the humblest of lay practitioners. There were many among his wide range of students who could spread the lineage in their own schools and monasteries. Kongtrul was also able to have almost all of his major works published (wood blocks) while he was still alive. When Tibetans came out of India in 1959, the full set of “The Five Great Treasures” of Kongtrul was available. H.H. the Karmapa and H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche started to give the teachings of different collections in India from 1960-61 onwards. The only Tibetan books Chogyam Trungpa brought to Europe

when he and Akong Rinpoche first came to England in the early 1960's, were a set of Kongtrul's She bya dzod ("Treasury of Knowledge") besides their daily practices.

His Holiness, the 14th Dalai Lama, has been strongly influenced by some great Rime teachers such as Khunu Lama Tenzin Gyatso, Dilgo Khentse Rinpoche and the 3rd Dordrupchen Tenpe Nyima. Due to their efforts in recent years, there has been more interchange of teachings amongst different schools of Tibetan Buddhism than ever before. Following the traditions of Rime, the Dalai Lama has been receiving and giving teachings of all schools in their respective traditions and lineages.

APPENDIX

1. ཀོང་ལྷུལ་ཡོན་ཏན་རྒྱ་མཚོས་གངས་ཅན་གྱི་ལྗོངས་སུ་བྱུང་བ་ལྟན་འགྲུབ་ལྷན་དུ་བསྐྱབ་པའི་རུལ་ལ་དབྱེད་པ། རི་མགུལ་རྒྱལ་སྐྱེས་བཅུ་མཇུག་པ། (Sikkim National Press, Gangtok) ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༣༣༣  
 བོད་ཡུལ་དུ་བྱོན་པའི་ནང་པའི་བསྐྱེད་པ་འདི་ལ་འགལ་འདུ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་འབྱུང་བའི་གཞི་ཡང་མ་གྲུབ་ཤི། ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱང་གཞི་སོ་སོར་ཐར་པའི་སྒྲིམ་པ་ཡོད་སྲིད་སྲིད་ལྟའི་སྒྲིམ་པ་ལྟར་བྱོན་པའི་སྒྲོན་མ། ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་བསྐྱབ་བཅུ་མཇུག་ལ་སྦྱོད་ཅིང་། ལྷ་ཐོགས་ཀྱི་ཤིང་རྟ་ཆེན་པོ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་རབ་དུ་བྱངས་པའི་དབུ་མའི་ལྷ་བའོ་ནས་དོན་དམ་པའི་.....བཞུགས་རུལ་འཚོལ་བ་དང་། གངས་རྒྱགས་ལྷ་མོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་དུ་སྒྲིམ་པ་ལྟར་ཐུགས་ཅེ་མི་གཉིས་པའི་རུལ་གྱིས་ཐུགས་དམ་གྱི་མཐེལ་དུ་མཛད་པ་ལ་ལྷག་ཡིན་པའི་ཤིང་། ཞེས་ཀོང་ལྷུལ་གྱིས་གསུངས།
2. བསྐྱེད་པའི་མདོ་ལས། བཟུང་དཔལ་དམ་པའི་ཚོས་སྦྱོང་བའི་ལས་ཀྱི་སྒྲིབ་པ་ནི་ལྷོ་དེ་བཞེན་གཤེགས་པས་གསུངས་པའི་བཀའ་ལ་ལ་ནི་བཟང་བར་འདུ་ཤེས། ལ་ལ་ནི་དན་པར་འདུ་ཤེས་པ་ནི་ཚོས་སྦྱངས་པའོ། གང་ཚོས་སྦྱངས་པ་དེས་ཚོས་སྦྱངས་པས་དེ་བཞེན་གཤེགས་པ་ལ་སྐར་བ་འདེབས་པ་ཡིན། དགེ་འདུན་ལང་ལ་དུ་བཞེད་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། འདི་ནི་རིགས་སོ། འདི་ནི་མི་རིགས་སོ། ཞེས་ཟེར་ན་ཚོས་སྦྱངས་པའོ། ཞེས་སོགས་གསུངས།
3. ཀོང་ལྷུལ་གྱིས་མཛད་པའི་མཐེན་བཟེད་རྣམས་ཐར། ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༦༥་པར། ལྷ་ལི་པར་མ་ལས།  
 འགའ་ཞིག་སྤྱིར་གྲུབ་མཐེད་དགག་སྐྱབ་མང་པོའི་སྤྱ་སྤྱད་ཚ་པོ་དང་། ལྷག་པར་རང་སྤོང་དང་གཞན་སྤོང་ཨམ་ཞིག་གི་ཕྱོགས་ཞེན་སྐྱེ་ཆད་ཆད་འཐེན་པ་མང་མོད། རྗེ་ཉིད་ནས་རང་རང་གི་གྲུབ་མཐེད་གསུངས་པའི་སྐབས་ཚོས་སྐད་མ་འདྲེས་པར་ཐད་ཀར་གོ་སྒྲི་ཞིང་འདུམ་པ་རེ་གསུངས།  
 སྤྱིར་བཏང་བཞུབ་མཐས་གཏན་ལ་དབབ་བྱའི་སྤིང་པོ་ནི་ཚོས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཚོས་ཉིད་ཡིན་དེ། དེ་ནི་ཤིར་ཕྱིན་ལས། ཚོས་ཉིད་ཤེས་བྱ་མ་ཡིན་དེ། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་མ་ཟད། བོད་ཡུལ་གྱི་རྟོག་གི་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་རྒྱུག་གི་རྟོར་བུ། རྗེ་ལོ་ཆེན་པོ་ལྷ་བུས་ཀྱང་། དོན་དམ་སྒྲིལ་གྱི་ཡུལ་ཡིན་པ་ལྷ་ཞོག། ཞེན་པའི་ཡུལ་ཅམ་ཡང་མིན་པར་བཞེད་ན། གནས་ལུགས་མཐར་ཐུག་ནི་རྩ་ལོ་མཚོང་བའི་སྒོ་ཇི་ཅམ་ཟབ་ཀྱང་གཏན་ལ་འབེབས་མི་རུས། གནས་སྐབས་ཕྱོགས་རེ་ནས་གཞལ་བའི་དབང་དུ་བྱས་ན། མཐས་གྲུབ་ཆེན་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་རྣམ་པར་བཞག་པའི་ཚོས་སྐད་རེ་རེ་ལ་ཡང་སྐབ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་གཏན་ཚིགས་དང་འཐད་པ་མང་དུ་སྦྱང་བས། རང་རང་གི་ལུགས་སྲོལ་གང་ཡིན་པ་དེའི་རྗེས་སུ་འབྲངས་དེ། ལྷ་མ་གོང་མའི་བཞེད་པ་རྟེན་རྒྱུགས་པ་ཞིག་བྱུང་ན། ཏུ་ཅང་ཕྱོགས་ཞེན་རང་མི་དགོས། འོན་ཀྱང་ཚོས་སྐད་དང་གྲུབ་མཐེད་ཐར་རྒྱུན་བསྐྱེད་པ་དང་། རང་གི་གྲུབ་མཐེད་རྟེན་མ་ཟེན་པས། གཞན་གྱི་ན་ཡམ་རྒྱབ་

ནིན་དུ་ཁྱེར་པ་དང་། ལྷ་ལྷོ་མ་སྤོང་འབྲས་ཀྱི་ལུང་ཐམས་ཅད་མོང་ན་མའི་ཐག་རྩ་འཇོངས་པ་བཞིན་བསྟེན། ལུང་དོན་རིགས་པས་  
 རྒྱལ་འཁྲུལ་མི་རྣམས་པ་དེ་འདྲ་ནི། རང་གི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ལ་ཡིད་མ་ཆེས། གཞན་གྱི་ཇི་ཇི་སྤྲོད་པ་ལྟོགས་པ་ལྟོགས་པ་  
 མཐོང་ན་བཞུགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་ལས་མ་འདས་པས་རང་རྩུགས་རེ་ཟིན་པ་བྱུང་ན་དེ་ལྟོགས། ཞེས་གསུངས་པས་མཚོན།  
 མདོར་ན་བལྟན་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་འགལ་མེད་དུ་རྟོགས། གཞུང་ལུགས་ཐམས་ཅད་གདམས་པར་ཤར། དེ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་ཕྱོགས་རིས་  
 དང་ཆགས་སྣང་གི་ཉེ་བ་སྐྱེས། སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་བལྟན་པ་མང་གི་ཐེངས། ཆོས་ལུང་བརྒྱུད་ཁྲི་བཞི་སྟོང་སོགས་ཇི་སྟེན་ཅིག་  
 གསུངས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་སྤོང་མོ་བརྒྱ་ཕྱག་དུས་གཅིག་ལ་བྱེ་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། ། (Kongtrul's Biography of Khentse,  
 Delhi, p. 65)

4. ཀོང་སྤུལ་ཤེས་བྱ་མཛོད། དེལ་མཁའ་ན་པར་མ་ལྔ་ ༡༡༩

གཞན་སྟོང་རང་སྟོང་ཀུན་རྫོབ་སྟོང་ཚུལ་དང་། །མཉམ་བཞག་སྤོས་མཐའ་འགོག་ལ་བྱུང་པར་མེད། །  
 ཇིས་ཐོབ་ཐ་སྟོང་ཆོས་ཉིད་ཡོད་མེད་པར། །དབྱེད་མཐར་ཡི་ཤེས་བདེན་གྲུབ་མ་གྲུབ་བྱུང། །

5. ཀོང་སྤུལ་བཀའ་འབྲམ་། ལྷ་བའི་འབེལ་གདམ།

དེ་ལྷའི་གནས་ལུགས་ལྟགས་ལྟག་ཆེན་དེའང་། །མདོ་རྒྱུད་ཀུན་དུ་གསལ་བར་གསུངས། །  
 རྫོགས་ཆེན་སེམས་སྡེའི་གྲུབ་མཐར་མཐུན། །ས་སྤྲིའི་རྗེ་བཙུན་གོང་མ་ལྷས། །  
 གྲུབ་མཐའ་བྲ་བའི་དབྱེ་མ་དང་། །ལྷ་བ་ལྟག་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་བཞེད། །  
 འོན་ཀྱང་གནས་སྐབས་དགོས་དབང་གིས། །དུགས་བརྒྱུད་ལྟག་ཆེན་ལ་སོགས་པ། །  
 སྤོམ་གསུམ་རབ་དབྱེར་བཀག་མཛོད་ཀྱང་། །རང་བཞིན་བདག་མེད་བསྟོད་འགྲུལ་ལགས། །  
 ཇི་ཡི་བཞེད་པའི་མཐེལ་ཉིད་ཀྱང་། །རྫོགས་ཆེན་གྲུབ་མཐར་ཚོད་མེད་པ། །  
 ལུས་ལེན་བདུད་ཅི་སྟེན་མཚོག་གསལ། །ཞེས་སོགས་གསུངས།

(*Ita ba gtan la 'bebs pa las 'phros pa'i gdam skabs lnga pa lung dang rig pa'i me tog rab tu dgod pa*, in *rGya chen bka' mdzod, A Collection of the Writings of 'Jam-mgon Koñ-sprul blo-gros-mtha'-yas*. Dingo Chhentse Rimpoche (ed.), vol. 9, Paro 1976, 29-67. Fol. 18b5-19a2, 19a4)

6. རོང་ཚོམ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོའི། ལྷ་བའི་བཞེད་བྱུང་། དེབ་༡༠་པ་ལས།

ནང་པ་སངས་རྒྱལ་པའི་གཞུང་དུ་གྲུབ་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལྷ་བ་གོང་འོག་གི་བྱི་བྱག་དབྱེ་བ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། གོང་མ་གོང་མ་རྣམས་འོག་མ་  
 འོག་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྤོས་པ་ཆོད་པའི་རིགས་ལས་བོག་མི་འདོན་ཕྱིར་མི་ལྡོག་གོ། །སྤོས་པ་མ་ཆོད་པའི་རིགས་ལས་སྤོས་པ་བཅད་པར་  
 བྱ་བ་ཡོད་ཅིང་། གཙོད་ཀྱང་གཞི་བྱུང་དུ་མི་གསོད་ཕྱིར་མི་ལྡོག་གོ། །དེ་བས་ན་སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་གསུངས་པའི་ཆོས་ཐམས་ཅད་ནི་རོ་  
 གཅིག་པའི་རྒྱལ་གཅིག་ལས། འདི་ལྟར་དེ་བཞིན་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཇི་སྤྲོད་པ་ལྟོགས་ཀྱི་ཐོག་དུ་འབབ་པ་ཤ་སྟག་སྟེ། ཞེས་  
 སོགས་ཀྱི་།

(*Dha rma bha dra mdzad pa'i Ita ba'i brjed byang chen mo*, in *Selected Writings (gSun thor bu) of Roñ-zom Chos-kyi-bzan-po*. 'Khor-gdon Gter-sprul 'Chi-med-rig-'dzin (ed.), Leh 1974, 187-246. Fol. 10b3-11a1)



# བོད་མི་རིགས་ཀྱི་ཐོག་མའི་འབྲུང་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་འཕེལ་ཁྲིམས།

བསྐྱེད་འཛིན་བསམ་འདེམ། Paris

པོ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་དབང་ཏུ་བྱས་ནས་བོད་མི་རིགས་ཀྱི་ཐོག་མའི་འབྲུང་ཁྲིམས་བཤད་ལ། དེ་ནི་ཡར་ལྷན་གཙང་པོའི་ཚུ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་འགས་ཚལ་དང་འགྲུབ་ཏུ་གནས་པའི་སྤྱི་དང་འགྲུབ་སྤྱོད་མོ་གཉིས་ལས་མཆེད་པར་མངོན། བཤད་ཚུལ་དེ་ནི་བོད་ཚོས་གང་གི་ཤུ་མེད་པར་གསལ་བར་རྟོགས་ཏུ་བྱེ། དེ་ཡང་གཡུང་དུང་བོད་ཀྱི་ལྷགས་ལྟར་ལྷན་ལྷན་གྱི་པོ་དེ་བསེ་རུ་འོག་ལ། (1)

འབྲུང་བ་ལྟ་ཡི་སྤྱི་པོ་ལས། སྤྱོད་ཚེན་པོ་གཅིག་ཡོང་བ། སྤྱི་པོ་སྤྱོད་ལྟ་ལ་ལྟ་བུ་དཀར་པོ་ཆགས། བད་གི་སྤྱོད་ཚུལ། དུང་མཚོ་དཀར་མོར་འབྱེད། བར་གྱི་སྤྱོད་འཛིན་ཆ་ལ། རིགས་དུག་སེམས་ཚན་ཀུན་ཏུ་གྲོལ།

ཞེས་བཤད་ཡོད།

ཡང་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་མཁས་པ་སློབ་དཔོན་བདེ་སྤྱོད་བཟང་པོས་མཛོད་པའི་ལྟ་ལས་ལུགས་འབྲུང་གི་འབྲེལ་པ་དང་། སློབ་དཔོན་གེས་རང་གོ་ཆས་གསུངས་ལྟར་ན་སྤྱི་བསེང་གི་སྐབས་དུ་པ་དེ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དཔུང་གི་ཚོགས་དང་བཅས་གཡུལ་གྱི་སྐབས་དུང་མེད་ཀྱི་ཆས་སུ་བྱས་ནས་རི་ཁ་བ་ཚན་ཏུ་སློབ་ཏེ། སྤྱི་པོ་སྤྱོད་དེའི་རིགས་ལ་བོད་ཚོས་དུང་བར་བཤད་ཅིང་མཁས་མཚོ་གྱི་སློབ་ཀྱི་ཚོས་འབྲུང་དུ་འདྲེད་དེ་ལྟར་གསལ་ཡོད། འོན་ཀྱང་ཚོས་འབྲུང་མཁས་པའི་དགའ་སློབ་འོག་༡༥༤ བར། (2) དེ་དག་ནི་བོད་དང་ཉེ་བ་མཚོ་ལུལ་ཁ་ཅིག་ལ་བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་པོ་བྱས་པ་དུ་མ་སྤང་བའི་དེ་ལྟ་བུ་ཞིག་ཏུ་ཟད་དོ། ཞེས་གསལ།

ཡང་བོད་ཀྱི་པོ་རྒྱལ་ཚོས་འབྲུང་བཀའ་ཚེམས་ཀ་ཁོ་མ་དང་ཉང་གི་ཚོས་འབྲུང་དེ་བཞིན་མཁས་པའི་དགའ་སློབ་སོགས་མང་ཆེ་བར་ཚོས་ཀྱི་ལྟ་ཚུལ་དང་མཐུན་པར། སྤྱི་དེ་སྤྱོད་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་སྤྱུལ་པ་དང་འགྲུབ་སྤྱོད་མོ་དེ་ཚེ་བཅུན་སྤྱོད་མའི་སྤྱུལ་པར་དོས་འཛིན་བྱས་ཡོད།

(1) 1846 ལོར་བོད་སྤྱོད་མེད་མངས་དཔེ་སྤྱོད་ཁང་ནས་བསྐྱེད་པ།

(2) 1844 ལོར་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྤྱོད་ཁང་ནས་བསྐྱེད་པའི་སྤྱོད་ཆ།

ལོན་ཀྱང་དང་སྐབས་ཀྱི་མཁས་པ་མང་པོའི་དབྱུང་ཚུལ་ནང་སྲིད་ཀྱི་ལོ་སྟོང་གྲག་མང་པོའི་སྟོན་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རྣམས་  
 དང་གི་ཚིན་རིག་གམ་རིག་གསར་ཀྱི་ལྟ་བུ་དང་དེ་བཞིན་སི་ཐ་ལིན་དང་མ་ལོ་སོགས་དམར་པོའི་ལྟ་བུ་དང་གང་མཐུན་  
 མཐུན་ལའང་ཁྱེད་ཀྱིས། ཚོས་ཀྱི་བརྟ་རྒྱུ་དང་མཐུན་པར་བཤད་ན་ལྟ་སྤྱོད་ལྟ་སྤྱོད་བརྩིས་ནས་སྤངས་ཏུར་བཤད་པ་  
 དང་། དེར་མ་ཚད་རྒྱ་སྟོན་མོ་ཞེས་པ་དང་འདྲེ་སྟོན་ཀྱི་རིགས་མེན་པར་རྒྱ་ཁྱེད་དང་ས་ཁྱེད་ཏུ་གནས་པའི་སྤྱི་མོ་  
 ཞིག་ལ་ངོས་བཟུང་བྱེད་འདུག།

དེ་ཡང་སྤྱི་མོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་འཆད་པ་ལ་དངོས་པོར་སྤྱི་བའི་ལྷགས་གཙོ་བོར་འཛིན་ཅིང་མིག་གི་གང་མཐོང་ལ་ཚད་  
 མར་བཟུང་སྟེ་བཤད་ན་ཅུང་ཟད་མི་མཚམས་པ་དང་རིགས་པའི་མ་འདངས་པར་མངོན་ཏེ། དའི་བསམ་པར་རྒྱ་  
 སྟོན་མོ་ཏུ་བཤད་ཏུང་འགྲོའི་རིགས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་མོ་ཞིག་ལ་མི་གོ་བར་འདྲེ་སྟོན་མོ་མ་ཡིན་ཀྱི་རིགས་ཞིག་ཡིན་ནམ་སྟེ། དེ་  
 ཡང་ལྟ་འདྲེ་ཞེས་པ་འདི་གནའ་སྤྱི་མོ་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བསམ་སྟོན་ནང་རང་བཞིན་གྱི་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་ཡོད་པར་སྤྱོད་སྟེ། དགོ་  
 འདུན་ཚོས་འཕེལ་གསུང་ཚུལ་དེ་གཉེས་པའི་ཤོག་ ༡༥ ལས། <sup>(1)</sup> འདྲེ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ལ་དབྱེད་པ་ན་མིག་གཅིག་དང་།  
 འདྲེ་མོ་རྣམས་ལ་ཟངས་ཀྱི་མཚུ་རིང་པོ་ཡོད་པས་མིའི་གྲང་པ་ལྷག་ནས་ཟ་བར་སྤྱོད། གཏམ་རྒྱུད་འདི་གཉེས་བོད་ཀྱི་  
 མིའི་བསམ་པ་ལ་ལྷན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན། ཞེས་དོན་ཏུ་རང་ཉིད་གང་དང་འདྲིས་ན་པམ་ཐོག་གི་ལྷན་པ་དང་སྤྱོད་  
 སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་རིགས་བྱེད་པ་དེ་ལ་ལྟ་རམ་གཉེན་ཞེས་འབོད་པ་དང་དེ་ལས་སྤོགས་པ་ལ་འདྲེ་དང་གདོན་སོགས་བཏགས་པར་  
 སྤྱོད། དེ་ཡང་གནའ་མའི་མི་རྣམས་ཉོན་མོངས་རྒྱུང་ཞིང་སེམས་རྣལ་ཏུ་གནས་པར་བརྟེན་དབང་ཤེས་རྣམས་ཤིན་ཏུ་  
 ཚོར་སྤྱོད་པོ་ཡོད་ཅིང་ལྟ་འདྲེ་སོགས་མི་མ་ཡིན་ཀྱི་རིགས་རྣམས་དང་མཐོང་ཚོར་འདྲེལ་འདྲིས་ངེས་མེད་ཏུང་བ་  
 དང་། ཚོས་ཀྱི་གཞུང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ནང་ཏུ་འདྲེ་དང་འཁྲིལ་གྱི་འཛིན་པའི་གཞི་རར་འཛིན་དེ་སྟོང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ལྟ་བུ་སྤངས་སྤངས་བཞིན་  
 པའི་གནས་སྐབས་ན་ཉོན་མོངས་མངོན་གྱུར་སྤངས་པའི་རྒྱུ་ཀྱིས་སྟོང་ཞེས་ལྟ་འདྲེའི་ཚོ་འཕྱུལ་མཐོང་ཚོར་ཏུང་  
 ལུག། དེ་བཞིན་མི་ལ་དབང་པོའི་རྩ་བཟང་དམ་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་དང་རྒྱུ་དང་སྤྱགས་ཀྱི་ལྷན་པས་ལྟ་འདྲེ་མི་མ་ཡིན་རྣམས་  
 མཐོང་ལུག་བོ། དེ་ཡང་སྟོང་གི་སྟོང་གཉེས་ཀྱི་སྐབས་བྱིས་པ་བོད་ཏུའི་རྣེ་བ་ཙན་ལོ་བཅུ་གཉེས་ལོན་པ་ཞིག་ལོ་བཅུ་  
 གཉེས་རིང་འདྲེས་བྲིད་ནས་སྤྱོད་ལོག་ཚེ་ལུག་འདི་ན་འདྲེ་འདི་དང་འདི་ཏུ་བ་ཡོད་སོགས་བཤད་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡོད་  
 པ་དང་། དེར་མ་ཚད་ད་ལྟའི་སྐབས་སུ་རང་བོད་ཀྱི་མཐའ་མཚམས་ལུང་པ་མང་པོར་གི་འདྲེ་དང་གསོན་འདྲེ་ངེས་  
 མེད་མིའི་ཁོག་པར་བཞུགས་ཏེ་ལོགས་ཉེས་ཀྱི་ལུང་བསྟན་དང་རང་ལ་མ་དགའ་བ་བྱེད་མཁམ་ཚོར་སྤང་སེམས་ཀྱིས་  
 ཚིགས་ངན་དང་བསྐྱོགས་ར་སོགས་བསྐྱེད་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དངོས་སུ་ཡོད། དེ་བཞིན་བོད་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དག་  
 བཟོས་ལས། བོད་ཏུ་ཉོན་མོ་སྤྱགས་ལྷག་གི་རྒྱེ་བོ་རྣམས་རི་ལ་གཅིག་ལུར་ཉལ་བ་དང་མཚན་ལ་གཅིག་ལའང་བྱེད་ན་

(1) ༡༧༧༩ ལོར་བོད་བོད་མོང་ས་བོད་ཡིག་དཔེ་རྒྱུང་དཔེ་སྤྱུག་ཁང་གིས་བསྐྱེད་པའི་དགོ་ཚོས་གསུང་ཚུལ་དེ་གཉེས་པ།

འདྲེས་ཁྲིད་པའི་སྐོར་གྱི་གནམ་མང་པོ་བཟང་རྒྱ་རྒྱུག་པ་འདིས་གསལ་པོ་ཤེས་ཤུག། དེར་བརྟེན་སྐྱེས་སྐོར་གྱི་བ་  
 དེའང་འདྲེ་སྐོར་མི་མ་ཡིན་གྱི་རིགས་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཞེས་སྒྲུབ་པ་ལ་བོམ་ཚོས་གང་གིའང་བཟང་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་མི་དགོས། ལོ་  
 རྒྱུས་རྒྱུས་ལུ་སྐྱེས་སྐོར་དེ་ལལ་པ་ལྷན་འགྲུབའི་རིགས་ལུ་མི་འགྲེལ་བར་སྒྲུབ་བསྐྱུར་གྱི་ཉུས་པ་ཡོད་པའི་འདྲེ་སྐོར་  
 གྱི་རིགས་ཞིག་ལ་གསལ་པོར་ངོས་འཛིན་བྱེད་ཡོད། དེའང་རྩོམ་མི་ལའི་རྣམ་མཁུར་གཙང་སྒྲོམ་ཉེ་དུ་གསལ་མཛོད་  
 པའི་ཤོག་༡༡༨ ལས། (༤) སྐྱེས་སྐོར་དེ་དང་པོ་སྐྱེས་གི་སེར་ཁ་ལས་གཤུག་སྒྲོན་ཚེར་བ་དང་དེ་ནས་འོད་ཚེན་པོ་  
 ལྷན་བའི་སྣ་ལ་མི་དམར་པོ་གྲུབ་པ་ནས་པོ་ལ་ཞེན་པའི་སྣ་ལྷན་མེད་བཟང་མོ་གཅིག་གིས་ཁྲིད་པ་ཞིག་བྱུང་ནས། མི་  
 དེས་རྩོམ་མི་བཅུ་ལ་བྱུ་མོས་ལུ་ལ་དེག་ཅིག་བྱས་ནས་སྐྱེད་ཚུབ་ཞིག་བྱུ་ཡལ། ལྷན་མེད་དེ་ཁྲི་མོ་དམར་མོ་ཞིག་བྱུ་སོང་  
 བས་ཞབས་གཡོན་པའི་མཉེ་བོང་བཟུང་སྟེ་གཏོང་བྱུ་མི་ཉམ་པས། རྩོམ་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རྩོམ་མཛོད་ཀྱང་མ་ཉམ་པས་མཉམ་  
 ལྷ་འདྲེ་སེམས་ཀྱི་ཚོ་འཕྲུལ་བྱུ་ཤེས་ཤིང་སེམས་ཉེད་སྒྲོང་པར་རྟོགས་པའི་ལྷ་པའི་གདོང་གིས་ཟེལ་གྱི་མཚན་ཉེ་དམ་ལ་  
 བཏགས་སྐབས། སྐྱེས་སྐོར་རྩོམ་མི་བཅུ་གྱི་ཞབས་ཀྱི་མཉེ་བོང་གཏོང་སྟེ་སྐྱེད་གྱི་ལྷན་མེད་ཀྱི་ལུས་ལུ་བསྐྱུར་ནས་  
 འདི་སྐྱེད་ཅེས། བཀ་ཆགས་ངན་པས་ཁ་བསྐྱུར་ནས་བསམ་པ་ངན་པས་མཐོ་འཚམས་ཉེ་ལས་ངན་དབང་གིས་འཛམ་  
 རྒྱིང་ཀླུ་བྱུ་ལུ་ཞིང་། ལུས་ངན་སྒྲོག་ཚོར་ཆེ་བས་ཟས་ལུ་གཟུག་ཟ་བ། མི་དཀྱུས་མའི་སེམས་ལ་བཏགས་ནས་  
 གཏོང་པ་སྟེར་བ་དང་སྟོད་ས་སྐྱེས་ལུ་ལ་ཡིན་པ་སོགས་གསལ་པོ་བཟང་ནས་མཉམ་འཇུག་ལུ་ཡལ་བ་ཡིན་ཚུ་ལ་  
 གསལ་ཡོད། དེར་བརྟེན་དེར་སང་ཡང་བོད་ཀྱི་མི་རྣམས་གཟ་བ་ལ་དགའ་བ་དང་སྒྲུབ་འདྲེ་ཁོག་ལྷགས་སོགས་དངོས་  
 ལུ་ཡོད། དེས་ན་བོད་བྱུ་མི་བརྒྱུད་གྲགས་ཚེན་མང་ཆེ་བའི་པ་མ་ཡང་མཉམ་གཅིག་བྱུ་ཚུར་མཐོང་མིག་གི་སྒྲིབ་ལུ་ལ་  
 ལྷན་པའི་འགྲོ་བ་ཞིག་མིན་པར་མི་མ་ཡིན་གྱི་རིགས་ཀྱང་མང་བྱུ་སྒྲུབ་སྟེ། དཔེར་ན་ལོ་ངམ་རྩ་རྩིས་རྒྱལ་པོ་གྱི་  
 བུམ་བཟོངས་རྩིས་བཅུ་མོ་ལྷ་གཅིག་ལ་རྩ་རྩི་བཅོལ་ནས། རྩ་འཚོ་དུ་ཕྱིན་ནས་གཉིད་བྱུ་སོང་བའི་མི་ལམ་དུ་མི་པོ་  
 མཛོད་པ་ཞིག་དང་བཤོས་པ་མིས། གཉིད་སང་ཙན་གཡག་དཀར་པོ་ཞིག་བྱུ་སོང་བ་དེ་ཡང་སྒྲུབ་གཤམ་པོ་ཡིན་ཅིང་  
 དེ་ཡང་དུ་ལས་སྒྲུས་ཀྱི་ཡབ་ཡིན་པར་གསལ་ཡོད། དེ་བཞིན་བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་བུ་དུ་བར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་  
 ལུ་མ་རྣམས་སྒྲུ་མོ་དང་སྒྲུ་མོ་འབའ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཅིང་ལྷོས་ལུ་སྐྱེད་གཤམས་སྐབས་སྐྱེད་མེད་པའང་དེའི་རྒྱ་མཚན་གྱི་ཡིན་  
 པར་མཁས་པའི་དགའ་སྟོན་དང་སྒྲུ་པ་ཚེན་པོའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་སོགས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་དེས་མེར་མང་ཆེ་བར་གསལ་ཡོད།  
 དེར་མ་ཚད་དེར་སང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དག་བཟོས་སྐྱེད་ན། སྒྲུ་མོ་བོད་ཀྱི་ལྷང་པ་མང་པོར་གཞི་བཏག་དང་བཅུ་  
 གྱི་སྒྲུ་གྱུ་མེད་ཟེར་པ་རང་བཞིན་མིས་བསྐྱེད་མི་ལེགས་ཞིང་ལུས་ལ་མཚོན་སོགས་གང་ཡང་མི་འགྲོ་བ་དེ་འདྲའི་ལོ་  
 རྒྱུས་ཡང་མང་པོ་ཐོས། དེ་བཞིན་བོད་མིའུ་གཏུང་བྱུ་གི་ཡ་རྒྱལ་སྐྱེད་པའི་གཏུང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ནང་། འབྲུ་རྩོམ་སྐྱེད་དབང་

(༤) ༡༩༩༠ ལོར་བོད་གཏུང་ཤེས་རིག་སྒྲུར་ཁང་ནས་བསྐྱེད་པ།

ཐོད་དཀར་ལ་སྤམ་འགྲུ་སྟག་ཚོད། དེ་ལ་སྤམ་བུའུ་ཡོད་ཅིང་། དེ་རྣམས་ནས་རང་གི་པའི་ན་བཟའི་ཚེད་སྤམ་གྱི་  
 སྤོང་པ་སྤྱི་ཐོག་ཏུ་བསྐྱེད་པ་བྱུང་གིས་འཁྲུང་ནས་མཚོ་ནང་ཏུ་སྤྱང་། དེ་འདོད་སྤོང་ཏུ་བུའུ་གཅིག་གི་གཅིག་ལ་  
 ལག་པ་སྤྱི་ནས་ཏུ་མཐའ་མས་ལག་གིས་མཛོའི་སྤྱི་ཐོག་ལ་འཇུག་ཏེ་མཚོ་ནང་ཏུ་འཇུག་སྐབས་མཛོའི་སྤྱི་རལ་ནས་ཏུ་  
 བུའུ་མཚོ་ནང་ཏུ་ཤོར། འགྲུ་སྟག་ཚོད་ཀྱིས་པོར་གྱུར་ཀྱང་ཏུ་བསྐྱེད་སྤོང་པའི་ཚེད་ཏུ་སྤྱར་རོང་བཟའ་སྤོང་སྤམ་ནས་  
 ཏུ་ཉི་མ་འག་པོ། ཉི་མ་སྤྱི་པོ། ཉི་མ་དཀར་པོ་དང་གསུམ་སྤྱང་། ཉི་མ་དཀར་པོ་ལ་ཏུ་དཔའ་བོ་སོ་གས། ལ་གས། མ་  
 གན་གསུམ་སྤྱང་བའི་ཚེ་བ་སོ་གས་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུར་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ་  
 སྤོང་པ་ན་ནས་མཐའ་ནས་ཏུ་ཚོད་མང་པོ་ཞིག་ཞུས་ཀྱི་ཚེད་ཏུ་དེར་བབས་ཏེ་ཚོད་ཀྱི་སྤོང་ཏུ་རྣམས་སྤྱང་པས་ལྟའི་ཏུ་  
 མོ་གཞུགས་སྤྱང་མཛོའི་པ་མང་པོ་སོ་ལྟོ་ནས་ཏུ་སྤམ་ཏུ་སྤམ་ཏུ་སྤམ་ཏུ་སྤམ་ཏུ་སྤམ་ཏུ་སྤམ་ཏུ་སྤམ་ཏུ་སྤམ་ཏུ་སྤམ་ཏུ་སྤམ་ཏུ་སྤམ་ཏུ་  
 ཀྱིས་སྤོང་ཏུ་གཅིག་བཟའ་བས་ལྟའི་ཏུ་མོ་ཞིག་སྤྱང་བར་འགྲོགས་ཚེས་ཏུ་མོ་དེ་སྤོང་ཏུ་ཞུགས་ནས་སོ་གས་ལ། དེ་  
 རིང་ནས་སྤྱི་དག་ཏོ་བུའུ་ཉི་ཚེས་ལ་འདིར་ཏུ་ལེན་ཏུ་ཤོག་ཅེས་ཟེར་ནས་འཕྲུང་སོང་ངོ། དེ་ནས་ཉི་མོ་དེར་སོ་  
 གན་གསས་དེར་སྤོང་པས་ཐོག་མར་སྤོང་སྤམ་བཀགས་པའི་སྤྱི་སྤོང་འཕངས་ནས་འདིས་བཟའ་ཅིག་ཅེས་པའི་སྤྱི་སྤྱང་།  
 དེ་ནས་ལྟའི་ཏུ་རྒྱ་ཚས་ཏུ་མའི་སྤམ་པ་ཞིག་ནས་མཐའ་ནས་འཕངས་པ་སྤྱི་ཏུ་ཡིན། དེ་བཞིན་མོ་མཁའ་བུ་བུ་ལེ་  
 ཤེས་དོ་ཚེད་རྣམ་ཐར་ཏུ། མཚོ་ལོག་གི་མི་བསྐྱེད་དེ་སྤོང་མངའ་རིས་ནས་འོང་བའི་སྤོང་ཚེན་ཐར་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་  
 གྱིས། བུའུ་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ཐོག་དེ་མངའ་སྤོང་པས་བསའ་ཅིང་དེའི་ཏུ་དགར་མཚོ་ལོག་གི་ཚོ་དོར་གཞུང་པོ་གཡུ་ཕྱེད་མ་གཞུང་  
 བདག་གཞོན་སྤོང་ཐོད་པ་ཕྱལ་གྱིས། རང་གི་སྤམ་མོ་ཚེ་ཤོས་གཟེ་འོད་སྤྱི་རྒྱལ་གཞུང་སྤམ་སྤམ་སྤམ་སྤམ་སྤམ་སྤམ་སྤམ་སྤམ་  
 དེ་ལས་སྤམ་དཔའ་ཐར་འཕྲུམ་སྤྱང་ཞིང་མཚོ་ལོག་གི་མི་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱང་དེ་ལས་རིམ་བཞིན་མཚེད་དེ་སྤོང་སྤྱང་གྱི་སྤམ་སྤྱང་  
 བར་བཤའ་ཡོད། དེ་བཞིན་དོ་གྲུབ་སྤྱི་སྤོང་གཉིས་པ་འཇིགས་མེད་སྤོང་ཚོགས་འཕྲུང་གཞུང་དོ་ཡལ་ཏུ་ལོངས་  
 སྤམ་མི་རོ་མང་པོ་གཅེས་ཏུ་བཀའ་པའི་དུས་ཏུ་སྤྱི་སྤོང་འཇིགས་སྤྱི་སྤོང་བ་མི་བཟའ་པའི་ཉམས་དང་ལྷན་པ་  
 ཞིག་གཞུང་འཕྲུག་པར། སྤོང་ཚེ་ཚད་མེད་ཞིག་བསྐྱེད་པས། ལྷ་མོ་མཛོའི་མ་ཞིག་ཏུ་གྱུར་ནས་གཏེར་རྒྱས་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་  
 བསྐྱེད་པ་དང་། ལྷ་ས་བཟང་དམ་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་དང་མ་འོངས་པར་དགོན་པ་བཀོད་གཞུང་གཞུང་སོགས་སྤྱང་བསྐྱེད་མང་པོ་དང་  
 གཞུང་བ་ད་ལྟའི་དོ་གྲུབ་རིན་པོ་ཚེ་ནས་བསྐྱེད་གཞུང་བའི་དོ་གྲུབ་སྤྱི་སྤོང་གི་རྣམ་ཐར་ནང་<sup>(1)</sup> གསལ་བ་བཞིན་  
 དང་། ས་སྤྱི་ལོ་ལོ་གྱི་གྲུང་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱང་འོད་གསལ་ལྷ་ལས་མཚེད་པ་ལ་སོགས་དེ་ལྟ་ཏུ་ཏུ་བ་རྣམས་སྤྱང་གྱི་  
 ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཞུངས་མ་མང་པོར་གསལ་བས་དེ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ལྷ་སྤྱང་ལྷ་སྤྱང་བསྐྱེད་ན་ཏུ་དམ་ལོགས་པར་སོམས་ཤིག།  
 དེ་བཞིན་བོད་ཀྱི་ཡལ་འདིར་མིའི་རིགས་མ་སྤྱང་བའི་སྤོང་པ་འདྲེ་སྤོང་མི་མ་ཡིན་གྱི་ཡལ་ཏུ་གྱུར་ཏུ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཚེན་

(1) 1976 ལོར་སྤྱང་ཐོག་བོད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་རིག་ཉམས་ཞིབ་ཁང་ནས་བསྐྱེད་པའི་གསལ་བཤེས།

མོ་ལས་དྲངས་པ་བཞིན་ཚོས་འབྲུང་མཁམས་པའི་དགའ་སྟོན་སོགས་མང་ཆེ་བར་དེ་ལྟར་གསལ་ཡོད། འོན་ཀྱང་  
 མངས་ཀྱིས་རིན་ཚེན་གྱི་དབྱེད་ཚུལ་ལོག་ཀྱང་འདྲ།<sup>(1)</sup> དེ་ལྟ་བུའི་གཞིན་སྟོན་བཅུ་ཡིས་དངང་བྱས་ཟེར་བ་དེ་བོད་ཏུ་  
 མིའི་འགྲོ་བ་བྱུང་ཚར་བའི་རྗེས་སུ་གོངོང་མའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ནས་སྣེ་གཡོག་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་སུ་འཕེལ་ཀྱས་ཤིན་པའི་དུས་  
 རིམ་བརྟན་པ་ཡིན་ཚུལ་འགྲེལ་ཡོད། དེ་ཡང་དེ་སྐབས་སུ་བྱུང་བའི་མདའ་གཞུང་དང་སྟེ་མེ་རྒྱུ་གསལ་ཞགས་པ་  
 མཉུང་བྱལ་ལ་སོགས་པ་མིའི་བོད་སྤྱོད་བཞིན་པའི་ཡོ་བྱེད་ལ་དཔག་ཏེ་དེ་དག་མི་རང་མཚན་པ་ཞིག་ལ་འགྲེལ་མི་བྱུང་  
 ཏེ། དེ་ཡང་བོད་ཏུ་གཏེར་མའི་རིགས་ཇི་སྟེན་ཅིག་མཚེས་པ་རྣམས་དང་པོ་མི་མ་ཡིན་གྱི་བདག་ཏུ་བཟུང་བ་ལས་ཐོབ་  
 བས་མིའི་ལོངས་སུ་སྤྱད་པ་ཡིན་ཅིང་། དཔེར་ན་གྱི་གུམ་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ཏུང་ཅོང་ཡིག་རྙིང་ཏུ། ཏུང་ནས་ལོ་ངམ་གྱིས་  
 གསོལ་པ། དེ་ལྟར་མྱི་གཞན་ན་སྟེ་དགོང་མཉུང་རང་འདེབས་དང་རལ་གྱི་རང་གཅོད་དང་ཁྲབ་རང་བྱུང་དང་།  
 དུལ་རང་བཟུང་ལ་སྟོགས་པ་འདྲེལ་གྱི་དགོང་ཚོད་པོ་མངའ་བའི་རྣམས་བདག་ལ་སྤུལ་ན་པོད་ཅེས་གསོལ་ཏེ། ཞེས་  
 ཀྱུལ་པོས་ལོ་ངམ་ལ་སྟེ་འདྲེལ་གྱི་མཚོན་ཆ་རྣམས་སྟོན་པར་བརྟེན་ཀྱུལ་པོ་བཏོངས་པ་དང་། སྐས་གསུམ་ཡང་  
 དགོང་མཚོན་ནས་སྟེ་གྲང་བྱ་འདྲེལ་གསལ་ཅན་ཞེས་ཅན་ཞེས་ནས་ཀོང་པོ་སོགས་སུ་རྩོས་ཚུལ་གསལ་ཡོད། དེ་བཞིན་དེ་  
 གསལ་སྐབས་ཀྱི་གྲིང་གི་དཔེར་བྱུལ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་པོ་མཚོན་གྱི་རིགས་པལ་ཆེ་བ་སྟེ་མི་མ་ཡིན་གྱི་ལག་ནས་བྱུང་བ་  
 རྣམས་དེང་སང་ཡང་དེའི་གཞན་རྗེས་ལ་མཚན་པ་འགའ་ཞིག་མཐོང་བྱུང་ཡོད། དེ་བཞིན་སྤྱི་རའི་གྲུང་བཟུང་སོགས་  
 ཀྱི་སྐབས་ནས་མཁའ་ནས་མཁའ་འགྲོ་མས་གཞན་བ་དང་། དེ་བཞིན་མགོ་ལོག་མི་བཟུང་གྱི་ཐོག་མ་རྟོང་ཚེན་ཐར་པ་  
 ཀྱུལ་མཚན་གྱི་ཏུང་མ་བསྟེན་ཚེན་ཐོང་པ་ལྟལ་གྱི་སྐས་མོ་གཞི་འདྲ་སྟེ་ཀྱུལ་མ་ཚེན་སྟེ་རལ་འདྲིག་ཏུ་ཡོང་སྐབས་  
 གཞི་བདག་དེའི་འཁོར་མི་མ་ཡིན་ཞིག་གི་རལ་གྱི་གཡམ་པ་དང་བྱིས་སུ་བྱུང་ཚེན་པོ་ཆགས་སྐབས་གཞི་བདག་གི་འོར་  
 བསྟེན་ཆ་ཚོང་བ་སྤྱད་པ་ལྟ་བུའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མང་། བོད་ཏུ་མིའི་འགྲོ་བ་མ་བྱུང་གོང་དུས་དང་འདྲེན་དང་བྱུལ་པོ་དང་  
 འགོང་པོ་དང་བྱུང་བ་ཅན་ལ་སོགས་པ་ནི་དེང་སྐབས་ཀྱི་བོད་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བསམ་ཚུལ་ལའང་མིའི་འགྲོ་བ་མིན་པར་  
 མི་ལ་གཞོན་འཆེ་བྱེད་པའི་མི་མ་ཡིན་གྱི་རིགས་ཞིག་ཡིན་པར་འཇིན་ཅིང་། སྐབས་ལ་ལམ་དངོས་སུ་མཐོང་ཚར་  
 བྱུང་བ་སྐབས་སྐབས་མིའི་སྤྱིང་ལ་ཞུགས་ནས་གཞོན་འཆེ་བྱེད་པ་དང་བྱུལ་འགོང་གི་སྤུལ་པ་ཁ་གསལ་སྟོན་ལམ་ལོག་  
 པའི་དབང་གིས་མིར་སྤྱོད་བྱུང་སྐབས་བསྟན་འགྲོལ་གཞོན་འཆེ་ཚེན་པོ་བྱེད་པར་བྱ་བྱས་མ་འོངས་ལྱང་བསྟན་བྱུ་  
 གསལ་པ་བཞིན་དེ་ལྟ་བུ་བོད་ལ་དངོས་སུ་བྱུང་ཅོང་། ཡང་བྱུལ་པོ་སྤོང་བ་ཅན་གྱི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་བཟུང་བོད་ཀྱི་སའི་  
 དབྱེད་གཞིགས་པ་ན་ཁ་གསལ་ཅན་གྱི་ལུལ་དེ་སྟོན་མོ་གཞི་སྤུལ་བྱུ་འགྲེལ་བ་འདྲ་བར་གཞིགས་པ་དང་། ཀྱུལ་པོ་ཁྱི་སྤོང་  
 གི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་བྱུ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་བོད་ཏུ་པེབས་སྐབས་ལམ་བྱ་བོད་ཀྱི་ལྟ་སྟོན་མང་པོས་གཞོན་པ་བྱུང་བ་པད་མ་བཀའ་ཐང་

(1) 1958 ལོར་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྟེན་ཁང་ནས་བསྟན་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་རིག་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཚོད་ཚུལ་བདམ་བསྟོགས་དེབ་དང་པོ།

ཤོག་ནུལ་ནས།<sup>(1)</sup>

མཐའ་འཁོབ་མོད་འདི་འདྲེ་ཡི་ཡུལ་ཏུ་འདུག། ལམ་ལ་ལྟ་འདྲེ་གཏུག་པ་མང་ཏུ་བཏུག།

ཞེས་གསལ་ཡོད། དེ་བཞིན་བསམ་ཡས་དང་པོ་བཞེངས་སྐབས་ཉེ་མོ་མེས་བཞེངས་པ་མཚན་མོ་ལྟ་འདྲེས་བཞིག་  
 ཏུང་གུ་ཏུས་ལྟ་འདྲེ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་མཐུན་བཞེད་ནས་ཉེ་མོ་མེས་བཞེས་པ་ལས་མཚན་མོ་ལྟ་འདྲེས་བཞེས་པ་མཐོ་བ་ཏུང་  
 རྒྱལ་བཀའ་མང་ཏུ་གསལ་བར་ཡོད། འོན་ཀྱང་དེ་ལ་མཁམས་པ་རང་འགོས་དཔུང་རྩོམ་གྱི་ཤོག་ ༣༠ ལས།<sup>(2)</sup> དོན་  
 ཁྲི་སྲོང་གི་སྐབས་བཅ་པོའི་བར་འགལ་བྱུང་ཡོད་པར་བརྟེན་མཚན་མོར་མོའི་པོ་ཚོས་བཞིག་ནས་ས་རྩོ་རང་གནས་སུ་  
 བསྐྱལ་བ་མེད་ཞེས་བརྗོད་འདུག་ཏུང་། བར་སྐབས་བསམ་ཡས་གྱི་གཏུག་ལག་ཁང་ལ་ཉམས་ཆགས་ཏུང་སྐབས་  
 རྩོག་པའི་སྟེང་ཏུ་མི་མ་ཡིན་གྱི་རྒྱུ་ལའི་རྗེས་སུ་གཅིག་ལྟག་ཙམ་ཡོད་པ་རྟེན་པ་སོགས་ཀྱིས་མི་མ་ཡིན་གྱི་རྩོགས་  
 ཡིན་པར་ངེས་པ་བརྟན་པོ་རྟེན་ཡོད། དེ་བཞིན་དཔུང་རྩོམ་ཞིག་གི་ནང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་གི་གྲུམ་གྱི་སོ་ཉལ་ཁྲི་མོ་ཉལ་གྱི་རྣ་  
 གསང་བུ་བ་ལོ་ངམ་གྱི་སར་ཉལ་རྣམ་གཏང་བ་དེ་མི་མའི་སོ་ཉལ་བ་ཡིན་པ་ལས་ཁྲི་མོ་མེན་པར་བཤད་ཡོད། འོན་  
 ཀྱང་ངའི་བསམ་པར་སྐབས་དེ་ཏུས་ཏུང་འགྲོའི་རིགས་གྱི་སེམས་ཙན་མང་པོ་མེད་སྟེད་ཉེད་པར་སྤང་སྟེ། དཔེར་ན་  
 ལོ་ངམ་གྱིས་རྒྱལ་པོ་གི་གྲུམ་བཞེངས་ཏུས་མ་རོ་དང་ཁྲི་མོས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་མགྱུར་ལྟ་དང་དགྲ་ལྟ་པོ་ལྟ་གསུམ་ལལ་བ་  
 དང་། གྱི་གྲུམ་གནམ་ཏུ་གདན་འདྲེན་པར་བརྩམ་ཏུས་ལོ་ངམ་གྱི་མཚན་ནས་སྟེ་ཏུ་ཏུང་བས། རྗེ་སྤྱི་གྱུང་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་  
 དྲངས་མ་ཐུབ་པར་གངས་ཏེ་སེར་འཕངས་པ་ལྟ་ཏུ་དང་། དེ་བཞིན་ཏུ་ལས་སྟེས་ཀྱིས་ཁྲིའི་སྤྱུ་ལ་ཏུག་ཏུག་ཏེ་ལོ་ངམ་  
 གྱི་སར་གཏང་བ་ཁོས་མ་ཚོར་བར་གྱིའི་སྤྱུ་ལ་ལག་པས་ཏུག་ཏུག་ཏུས་པས་ལོ་ངམ་བསའ་དེ་དགྲ་གསལ་པ་  
 སོགས་ཏུང་འགྲོའི་རིགས་མེད་སྟེད་ཉེད་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མང་པོ་ཡོད།

དེས་ན་ཚོས་འདྲུང་སོགས་གྱི་ནང་ཏུ་གསལ་བའི་མོད་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རྟེན་པ་རྣམས་ལ་མཐའ་གཅིག་ཏུ་ཚོས་གྱི་བསྟེ་  
 བརྟན་ཞུགས་པའི་ལྟ་སྟངས་ལྟ་ཏུ་མེད་ཞེས་བརྟན་ནས་སྤང་བར་མི་བྱ་ཏེ། མོའི་ཚོས་གང་གི་འདུང་གན་མ་ཞུགས་པའི་ལོ་  
 རྒྱུས་གཙང་མ་གཙང་རྒྱུང་ཞིག་ལོ་ལྟ་རྟེན་དཀའ་ཏེ། དགོ་ཚོས་གྱི་གསུང་རྩོམ་དེབ་གཉིས་པའི་ཤོག་ ༥༥ པར།<sup>(3)</sup>  
 མང་ཡིག་སྟེ་ལྡར་གསལ་པ་འདྲིའི་བྱིངས་རྣམས་ཚེས་གཟའ་ཏུས་སུ་བྲིས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པར་གོར་མ་ཆག་ལ། འོན་  
 ཀྱང་ཚིག་སྟོར་པལ་ཚེར་ཉམས་པ་དང་། ལྷན་འཆར་གྱི་རྒྱུན་ལང་མང་ཏུ་བསྟེས་པས་ཡི་གར་འོང་བ་ཞིག་མི་འདུག་  
 ལའང་། སྟོན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རྣམས་ལ་དེ་འདྲ་རྒྱུང་མང་ཞིང་འགོ་ནས་འདུག་པར་རྒྱུན་ཚིག་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མ་འདྲེས་པ་ཞིག་

(1) ༡༩༥༥ ལོར་སི་ཁྲོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང་ནས་བསྐྱུན་པ།  
 (2) ༡༩༥༥ ལོར་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང་ནས་བསྐྱུན་པའི་མོད་གྱི་ཤོག་རིག་ཞེས་འདུག་ཚེད་རྩོམ་བཅའ་བསྐྱུགས་དེབ་གཉིས་པ།  
 (3) ༡༩༧༤ ལོར་མོད་མྱོང་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང་ནས་བསྐྱུན་པའི་དགོ་ཚོས་གྱི་གསུང་རྩོམ་དེབ་གཉིས་པ།







NOTES ON THE LATE TWELFTH OR EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURY  
COMMENTARY ON THE ABHISAMAYĀLAMKĀRA:  
A Preliminary Report of a Critical Edition

by

Jampa Samten, Sarnath

This paper is an attempt to establish this manuscript as a work of gNyal zhig 'Jam dpal rdo rje and to highlight the significance of gNyal zhig pa and his work, as a synthesis of the 'Bre Ar and Phya pa traditions – the two major traditions in the development of Abhisamayālamkāra studies in Tibet.

This late twelfth or early thirteenth century work, written by gNyal zhig 'Jam dpal rdo rje (c. 1160-1220), is one of the earliest extant Tibetan commentaries on the Abhisamayālamkāra. Fortunately, the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamsala, possesses a manuscript copy of this extremely rare work entitled *rGya gar skad du / Mahāyanāvātara nāma / Bod skad du / theg pa chen po la 'jug pa*. The text has 249 folios, each of which measures 68×10 cm. Each folio has nine lines written in cursive *dbu med* script with many abbreviations (*skung yig*).

The colophon of the text reads as *mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi 'grel pa theg pa chen po la 'jug pa zhes bya ba yul dbus kyi slob dpon chen po 'Jam pa'i rdo rjes shyar ba*. A khu Shes rab rgya mtsho's (1803-1874) list of rare works (*dpe rgyun dkon pa'i tho*) also records a work with an identical title attributed to *yul dbus kyi slob dpon chen po 'Jam pa'i rdo rje* as having about 500 folios. He further remarks that according to his teacher, dPal mang dKon mchog rgyal mtshan (1784-1853), this could be gNyal zhig 'Jam dpal rdo rje's commentary. The reason for such uncertainty was probably the ambiguous nature of the colophon. As it was not the tradition to praise oneself as *yul dbus kyi mkhas pa chen po* (the great master of central land), we might presume that the colophon was appended or partially edited by his disciples. Regarding the identification of 'Jam dpal rdo rje, some later unidentified reader of the Dharamsala manuscript appended two remarks at the end: *gNyal pa zhig pos mdzad pa* (written by gNyal pa zhig po) and *gNyal 'tika* (gNyal's commentary). This indicates that the 'Jam dpal rdo rje and gNyal zhig pa were the same person. These two notes were certainly appended after the writing of the main body of the text, because the handwriting and density of ink vary considerably from that in the rest of the text that precedes the notes.

dPal mang's attribution of this text to gNyal zhig is also supported by the fact that the citations attributed to gNyal zhig in Shakya mchog ldan's (1428-1507) *rGya mtsho'i rba rlabs kyi phreng ba*, Bu ston's (1209-1364) *Lung gi snye ma* and Nya dbon Kun dga' dpal's *Yid kyi mun sel* can be found in the Dharamsala manuscript. Shakya mchog ldan's *rGya mtsho'i rba rlabs kyi phreng ba* written at gSang phu sne'u thog in *dnegos po'i lo* (1454 A.D.) explicitly refers to the position of 'Brom ston pa, *lo tsa ba* (rNgog lo), Ar, 'Bre, Khyung, 'Dul 'dzin dkar mo, gNyal zhig, Chu mig, *Dar 'tika snying po'i rgyan*,<sup>1</sup> bCom ldan rig pa'i ral gri's *mNgon par rtogs*

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<sup>1</sup> Shakya mchog ldan, *dBu ma'i byung tshul gyi gtam yid bzhin lhun po* (hereafter referred to as *dBu ma'i chos byung gtam*) 238,4 says that Lho bran pa Dar ma seng ge was one of the three brilliant (*shes rab can*) disciples of Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge. He received ordination from Phya pa at the age of 17 years. He compiled a commentary

*pa'i rgyan gyi me tog* (449,1), Bu ston's *Lung gi snye ma*, the *g.Yag tika* and Rin po che Blo bzang grags pa in his attempt to elucidate the difficult topics of Abhisamayālaṅkāra. This is an important source for the study of the position of these earlier scholars whose works are not available for us.

### Textual evidence

Shakya mchog ldan's *rGya mtsho'i rba rlabs kyī phreng ba* (242,7) quotes:

*dn̄gos po brgyad kyī yang dag bshad* / (The text perfectly expounded by the eight phenomena) *brgyad po gang zhe na* / (if you ask what are the eight) *rn̄am kun mkhyen nyid sogs so* / (the omniscient mind and so on) *brgyad po de mdo las bstan pa med do snyam na* / (you might think that there is no mention of these eight phenomena in the sūtras) *mdo las sems bskyed sogs chos bcu gsungs pa de rn̄am mkhyen shugs la ston byed yin no zhes 'chad pa ni* / *sems bkyed pa dang nas thub pa'i rn̄am kun mkhyen pa nyid kyī bar ro* / *de bzhin du lhag ma rn̄am la sbyor* / (the ten topics that characterize the omniscient mind such as enlightened mind etc. are mentioned in the sūtras. This implies that omniscience is mentioned indirectly. Apply the same to the other seven phenomena).

Following this (243,3), he cites gNyal zhig:

*gnyal zhig ni* / *'di bstan bcos kyī bshad par dam bca' yin par bzhed* / (gNyal zhig asserts this as the intended topic of thesis of the treatises).

This citation of gNyal zhig in the *rGya mtsho'i rba rlabs kyī phreng ba* is to be found in the *Theg pa chen po la 'jug pa* (Dharamsala manuscript) on page 31b2, which reads:

*dn̄gos po brgyad kyī bshad pa ste brjod bya dn̄gos po brgyad du phye ba'i sgo nas bshad pa'o* / *des rtsa ba rgyas 'bring gsum du de ltar bshad ces dn̄gos su brjod pas rtsa 'grel yin pas bstan bcos 'dir yang 'chad ces shugs las bstan to* / (expounded by the eight phenomena means that the subject matter has been explained by classifying it into eight phenomena. Because this has been stated in the three fundamental texts [the Perfection of Wisdom Sūtras], where it is stated directly, it can be assumed that here in this treatise, which is a commentary to the former texts, the same thing is stated indirectly).

Following this, we find the same citations referred to in Shakya mchog ldan's *rGya mtsho'i rba rlabs kyī phreng ba* (243,3) in slightly different wording:

*des na de ni 'chad par dam bcas pa'o* / (thus, this is the topic of the thesis).

Shakya mchog ldan's *rGya mtsho'i rba rlabs kyī phreng ba* (381,2) cites gNyal zhig as:

*mNyal zhig* / *byed pa can gyi sgom lam la dbye ba bstan te mtshams sbyar dang so so'i rang bzhin phye ste bshad pa gnyis* / *dang po ni* / *byed pa'i 'og tu sgom pa'i lam ste zhes sogs so* /

Shakya mchog ldan mentions various assertions with regard to the classification of the path of meditation:

*'dir 'phags seng gis zag bcas sgom lam dang zag med sgom lam gyi rn̄am gzhaḡ mdzad* / (Haribhadra categorizes the path of meditation as contaminated and un-

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on the Abhisamayālaṅkāra based on the teachings received from Phya pa. He was also known as Lho pa Thams cad mkhyen pa.

contaminated). *Śantipa 'jig rten dang 'jig rten las 'das pa'i sgom lam zhes 'chad/* (Śantipa asserts the mundane and transcendental paths of meditation). *Sangs rgyas zhabs dag pa 'jig rten pa dang 'jig rten las pa zhes 'chad/* (Buddhapāda refers to the perfect mundane and transcendental paths of meditation). *mNyal zhig snang bcas dang snang med sgom lam zhes gsung/* (gNyal zhig refers to the paths of meditation with appearance and without appearance).

This citation of gNyal zhig included in *rGya mtsho'i rba rlabs kyi phreng ba* is found in the Dharamsala manuscript on page 139b7 which reads:

*drug pa 'di bsgom lam snang bcas snang med gnyis ka'i dbye ba yin no |....rnam pa gnyis te zag pa dang bcas pa'i bsgom pa'i lam dang zag pa med pa'i bsgom lam zhes 'dod/ 'di 'ang snying po med pa zhig te |ji ltar zhe na / zag pa dang bcas pa'i bsgom pa'i lam mi 'thad/ zag pa med pa'i bsgom pa'i lam mi 'thad pa'o/* (Some assert that the path of meditation is of two kinds – the contaminated and uncontaminated paths of meditation. This assertion is meaningless. If you ask why? [It is because] the contaminated path of meditation is incorrect. The uncontaminated path of meditation is also incorrect). *des na gang dbye' ba'i ngo bo ni snang ba dang bcas pa'i bsgom lam zhes bya ba'm ji snyed pa rtogs pa'i bsgom lam zhes bya'o/ snang ba med pa'i bsgom lam mam ji lta ba rtogs pa'i bsgom lam zhes bya'o/* (Thus, the path of meditation should be categorized as the path of meditation with appearance or the path of meditation realizing the true nature of all conventional phenomena and the path of meditation without appearance or the path of meditation realizing the ultimate truth).

Bu ston's *Lung gi snye ma* (151,5) refers to gNyal zhig where it reads:

*gsum pa la / {gNyal zhig nas} (annotation inserted later) mtshan nyid des sangs rgyas kyi sa'i sems bskyed la ma khyab bo/* (gNyal zhig says this criterion of the mind of enlightenment (*cittotpāda*) does not encompass the enlightened mind at the stage of the Buddha). *zhe na / khyed rdzogs pa'i byang chub kyi sgrub pa khyad par can sems bskyed kyi mtshan nyid du 'dod pa la 'ng sangs rgyas kyi sa la ma khyab pa mtshungs so/* (The distinctive accomplishment of perfect enlightenment as the criterion of enlightened mind asserted by you also does not exist at the stage of Buddha).

In the *Theg pa chen po la 'jug pa* (49b,8) gNyal zhig holds forth on his position. There is no explicit mention of the distinctive accomplishment of perfect enlightenment (*byang chub kyi sgrub pa khyad par can*) as the criterion of the mind of enlightenment. Nevertheless, he asserts the wish to perfectly accomplish enlightenment for the benefits of others as the criterion of aspirational mind of enlightenment and the twenty-two categories of mind of enlightenment as the subdivision of aspirational mind of enlightenment. As the generality of the wish to perfectly accomplish enlightenment for the benefit of others does not exist at the stage of Buddha, the existence of its subdivision is out of question. (*dang po ni {sems bskyed kyi mtshan nyid} spyir rtogs ldan mthar thug gi 'bras bu 'dod pa thams cad de'i rgyu la 'bad pas 'jug te de la rag las par shes pa'i phyir/ 'dir byang chub sems dpa' gzhan gyi don du yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub thob par 'dod pa 'ng smon pa'i sems bkyed kyi mtshan nyid de gzhan don de byang chub la rag las par shes phyir ro / de nyid kyi phyir/ sems bskyed pa ni gzhan don phyir/ yang dag rdzogs pa'i byang chub 'dod/ ces gsungs so/* Ms. p.51a3: *sems bskyed pa ni gzhan don phyir/ yang dag rdzogs pa'i byang chub 'dod/ ces gsungs pa de yin pas sems bskyed nyi shu rtsa gnyis po thams cad smon pa'i sems bskyed pa'i dbye' bar gsungs pas rdzogs pa'i sangs*

*rgyas kyi sa la de gzhan don du rdzogs pa'i byang chub 'dod pa'i spyi'i mtshan nyid med pas bye brag yod pa mi srid do* f). Nya dbon's *Yid kyi mun sel* (95,3) also incorporates later inserted references to gNyal pa, Chu mig and Bu ston.

These citations clearly demonstrate that the work entitled *Theg pa chen po la 'jug pa*, attributed in the Dharamsala manuscript to 'Jam dpal rdo rje, is the same text that they have attributed to gNyal zhid pa. We can confidently conclude that gNyal zhid pa and 'Jam dpal rdo rje were the same person as discussed below.

### Historical background

In 1092, rNgog lo tsa ba Blo ldan shes rab (1059-1109) was the pioneering founder of the study of Prajñāpāramitā (*phar phyin*), Madhyamaka (*dbu ma*) and Pramāṇa (*tshad ma*) in Tibet. He resided at gSang phu ne'u thog instituted by his uncle rNgog Legs pa'i shes rab in 1073. Over a period of seventeen years, he worked to develop philosophical studies in Tibet. He translated and wrote many exegeses including such of the Abhisamayālaṅkāra and of Maitreya-nātha's four other works (*Byams chos sde lnga*); of the Mūlamadhyamaka and its commentary Prajñāpradīpa (*Shes rab sgron ma*); of the Madhyamakālaṅkāra (*dBu ma rgyan*); of the Madhyamakāloka (*dBu ma snang ba*); of the Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra (*rNam 'grel rgyan gyi 'grel pa*); as well as many others as listed in the *Bu ston chos 'byung* and by Shakya mchog ldan.<sup>2</sup> Of these the *Shes rab pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos kyi don bsdus pa*, bKra shis 'khyil edition in 99 folios, and the *Theg chen rgyud bla'i don bsdus pa*, Zur khang edition of 1918, have been recently reprinted by the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamsala.

'Bre Shes rab 'bar, Zhang Tshe spong chos kyi bla ma, Gro lung pa Blo gros 'byung gnas and Khyung Rin chen grags were rNgog's four chief disciples, who further developed the tradition of philosophical studies started by their teacher. In 1109, Zhang Tshe spong chos kyi bla ma succeeded to the throne (*gdan sa*) of gSang phu ne'u thog after rNgog's death. 'Bre wrote a commentary on the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā and the Abhisamayālaṅkāra and introduced philosophical studies at gNas rnying monastery in upper Nyang. 'Bre also held the earlier *phar phyin* traditions of 'Brom ston pa, Khu chen po Lha sdings pa and Atiśa.<sup>3</sup> 'Bre's disciple Ar Byang chub ye shes wrote commentaries on the Abhisamayālaṅkāra, the Sañcayagāthā (*sDud pa*) and the Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya (*Shes snying*) and propagated the *phar phyin* teachings at gNam tse ldan and rGyal lha khang until his old age. Khu Shes rab brtson 'grus studied *phar phyin* with both 'Bre and Ar and composed three commentaries (*che 'bring chung gsum*) on the Abhisamayālaṅkāra, mainly based on Ar's explanation. Zhang g.Ye pa<sup>4</sup> sMon lam tshul khirms, a disciple of Khu Shes brtson composed a commentary on the Sphuṭārtha of Haribhadra (*'Grel pa don gsal*). Thus, the 'Bre and Ar tradition of *phar phyin* emerged as one of the major traditions in Tibet.

Gro lung pa also composed commentaries on the Abhisamayālaṅkāra and the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā, based on rNgog's teachings. Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge studied *phar phyin* with Gro lung pa. He composed a commentary on the Abhisamayālaṅkāra and developed a tradition

<sup>2</sup> Shakya mchog ldan, *rNgog lo tsa ba chen pos bstan pa ji ltar bskyangs tshul mdo tsaṃ du bya ba ngo mtshar gtam gyi rol mo* (hereafter referred to as *rNgog lo'i bstan pa bskyangs tshul*); Nishioka 1975.

<sup>3</sup> Zhu chen Tshul khirms rin chen, *Record of Teachings received; the gsan yig of Zhu chen Tshul khirms rin chen*. D. Gyaltsan (ed.), Dehradun 1970, vol. 1, 134.

<sup>4</sup> *Yar lung jo bo'i chos 'byung* 132 and *Tshal pa'i Deb dmar* 69 spell *Zhang E pa*.

quite distinct from that of 'Bre and Ar.

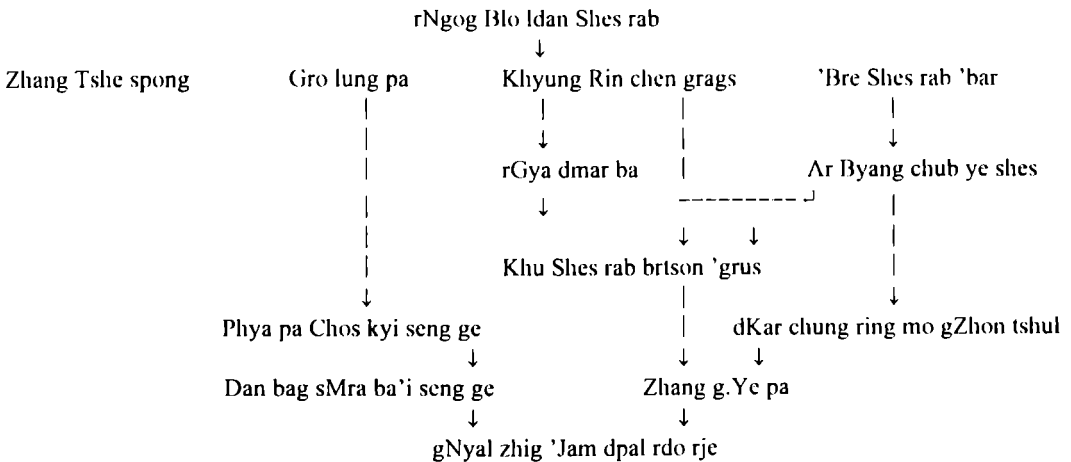
### gNyal zhiḡ pa and his disciples

gNyal zhiḡ pa 'Jam dpal rdo rje, whose real name was Shes rab blo gros (*mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 731,3) studied the 'Bre and Ar tradition with Zhang g.Ye pa sMon lam tshul khriḡs, and Phya pa's tradition with Dan bag pa sMra ba'i seng ge, one of the eight disciples of Phya pa.

gNyal zhiḡ's commentary on the Abhisamayālaṅkāra, entitled *Theḡ pa chen po la 'jug pa*, therefore, synthesizes the two major traditions as indicated by the stemma of the teaching lineage of *phar phyin*. This is further supported by Shakya mchog kdan's *Lung rig rol mtsho* (14,1) written in *gser 'phrang gi lo* (1477 A.D.), which reads:

*rje btsun 'Jam dpal rdo rje gsung grub pa'i / mkhyen pa'i dbang phyug gsung rab kun gyi mdzod / mthar 'dzin 'khrul pa dbyings su zhiḡ gyur pa | gang des sher phyin bshad pa ma lus bsduḡ / ('Jam dpal rdo rje, whose extremist mistakes have dissolved (zhiḡ) in the sphere of reality brought all the Prajñāpāramitā explanations or traditions together).*

### Stemma of teaching lineage (*slob rgyud*) of *phar phyin*



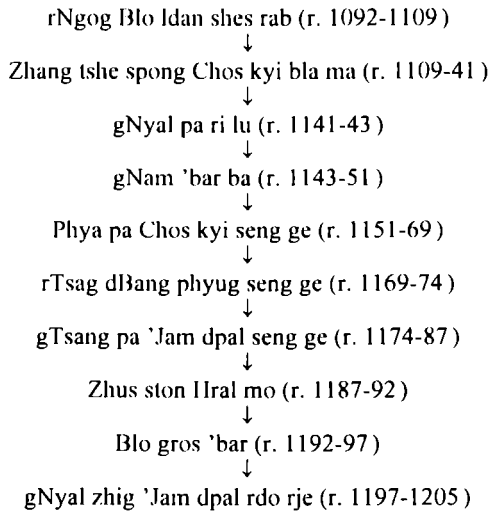
### How did gNyal zhiḡ came by his name, 'Jam dpal rdo rje

"gNyal" is the name of his native place to the southeast of Lhasa, "*zhiḡ po*" means a person who has overcome the conception of ultimate existence and attachment (*bden 'dzin dang gces 'dzin thul ba'i gang zag*)<sup>5</sup> and acquired miraculous power as a result. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (731) records that gNyal zhiḡ is said to have attained high realization. He could pass through the mountains between gSang phu and sNon unobstructedly while the ordinary monks had to go around them on foot (*gra pa rnams mda' skor*). It is also said that he used to leave his tea-cup and scriptures (*phyag dpe*) resting in space while involved in discussion. He expelled demons with miraculous powers and cured diseases with his urine. As we have noted that gNyal

<sup>5</sup> *rGya bod tshig mdzod chen mo.*

zhig's real name was Shes rab blo gros, we may ask how he came by his other name, 'Jam dpal rdo rje. 'U yug pa bSod nams seng ge<sup>6</sup> came to be known in later years as Rigs pa'i seng ge as a tribute to his command of logic. Similarly, g.Yag phrug pa Sangs rgyas dpal came to be known as Mi pham Chos kyi bla ma, because people regarded him as an emanation of rJe btsun Mi pham (Maitreyañātha). Likewise, bCom ldan ral gri in later year was known as Rigs pa'i ral gri because of his prominent position in the field of *tshad ma* studies. It may be that gNyal zhig pa 'Jam dpal rdo rje acquired his name as a result of his miraculous power. It may further be assumed that he had such power either because he was regarded as an emanation of Vajrapāṇi or because he had relied on him in meditation. As for gNyal zhig's disciples, for nine years gNyal zhig confined himself at 'U zhang rdo temple and taught mainly *phar phyin* and *tshad ma* to nine chief disciples known as his nine sons (*bu dgu*). Shakya mchog ldan records that gNyal zhig had eighteen disciples capable of writing commentaries on *phar phyin* and *tshad ma*.<sup>7</sup> gNyal zhig served as the throne-holder (*gdan sa pa*) of gSang phu sne'u thog for approximately eight years from 1197-1205 according to the *Blue Annals*.

**Successive throne-holders (*gdan rabs*) of gSang phu gling stod  
according to the *Blue Annals***



The recorded sources indicate that Sakya Paṇḍita (1182-1251) and gNyal zhig pa both prided themselves on their high scholarship and did not seem to get on well with each other. The *Sakya gdung rabs* records that "the great contemporary scholars such as gNyal zhig 'Jam pa'i rdo rje and his disciples, who earned their living by selling valuable teachings (*'chad nyan smar zhing*) and claimed to be scholars (*mkhas par grags pa*), also offered honour and respect to Sakya Paṇḍita. gNyal zhig, unable to tolerate Sapaṇ's fame, sent 'U yug pa Rig pa'i seng ge, the most intelligent (*rig pa bzang ba*) of his nine disciples to debate with the Sakya Paṇḍita. 'U yug pa, having failed to contradict Sapaṇ became his disciple."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Jackson 1987: 143 also gives a minor transmission lineage where 'U yug pa is recorded as bSod nams seng ge.

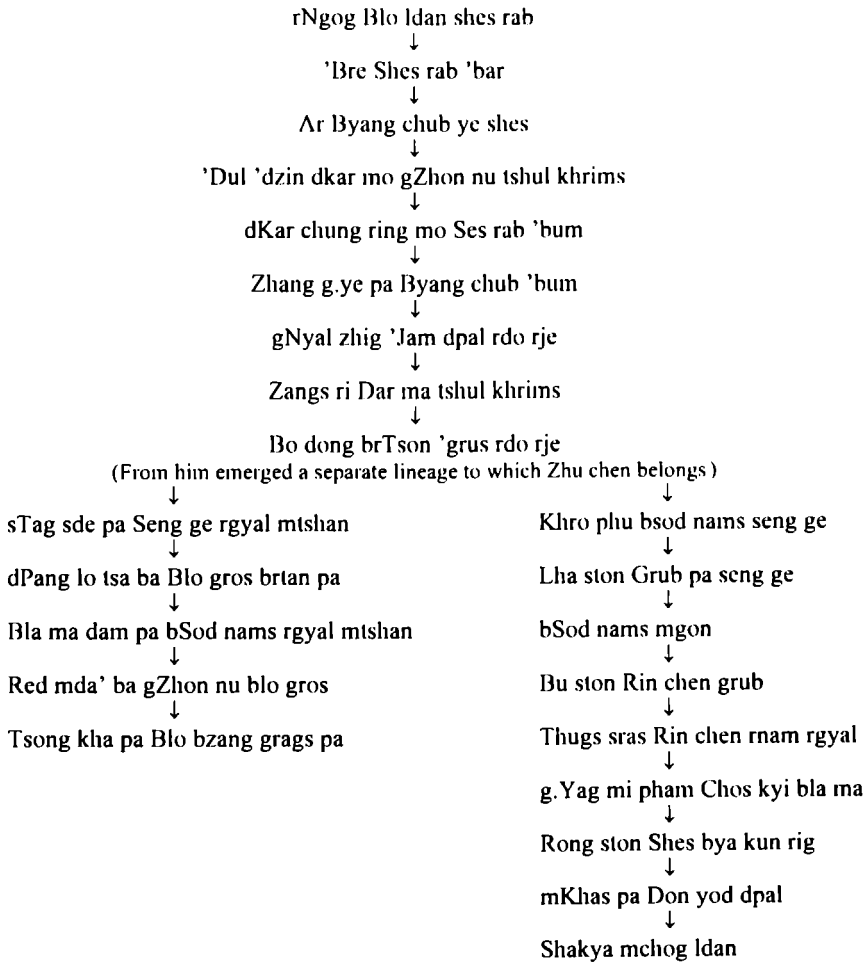
<sup>7</sup> *dBu ma'i byung tshul gtam* 237.

<sup>8</sup> Ngag dbang kun dga' bsood nams, *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod* 115.

Shakya mchog ldan also records<sup>9</sup> that during the period of gNyal zhig, Sakya Paṇḍita visited gSang phu and taught the Pramāṇaviniścaya (*Tshad ma rnam nges*). Sapaṅ is said to have remarked that gNyal zhig was a qualified teacher. However, he himself did not receive teachings from gNyal zhig.

gNyal zhig's command of the Abhisamayālaṅkāra (*mNgon rtogs rgyan*), Pramāṇaviniścaya (*Tshad ma rnam nges*), Nyāyabindu (*Rigs thigs*), Hetubindu (*gTan tshigs kyi thigs pa*), Sambandhaparīkṣa (*'Brel ba brtag pa*), Saṃtānāntara (*rGyud gzhan grub pa*) and Vādanyāya (*rTsod pa'i rigs pa*) is clearly indicated by the presence of his name in the recorded transmission lineages of these works.

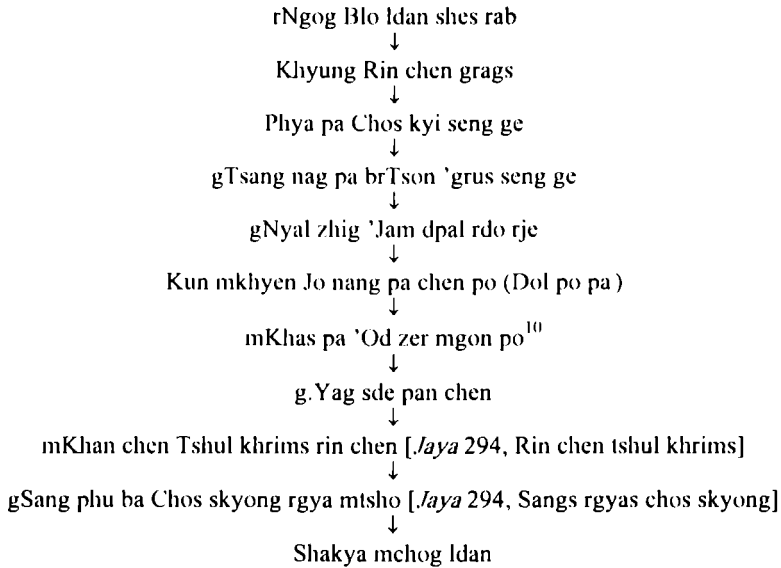
The major transmission lineage of Abhisamayālaṅkāra and its commentary Sphuṭārtha by Haribhadra as recorded in the *gsan yig* of the Fifth Dalai Lama, Klong rdol bla ma and Jaya Paṇḍita of the Gelugpa, and Zhu chen Tshul khriṃs rin chen of the Sakya tradition is as follows:



<sup>9</sup> Shakya mchog ldan, *rNgog lo'i bstan pa bskyangs tshul* 453.

Se ra rje btsun Chos kyi rgyal mtshan's commentary *Klu dbang rol mtsho* also records an identical lineage up to Bo dong brTson 'grus rdo rje in his salutation to the Indian and Tibetan commentators on the Prajñāpāramitā (*Phar phyin gyi 'grel byed rgya bod kyi pan grub kun la bstod phyag*). From Bo dong seem to have emerged a number of other lineages.

The transmission lineage which includes the Pramāṇaviniścaya (*Tshad ma nam nges*), Nyāyabindu (*Rigs thigs*), Hetubindu (*gTan tshigs thigs pa*), Sambandhaparīkṣa (*'Brel ba brtag pa*), Saṃtānāntara (*rGyud gzhan grub pa*), and Vādanyāya (*rTsod pa'i rigs pa*) as recorded in the *gsan yig*s of the Fifth Dalai Lama, Klong rdol bla ma and Jaya Paṇḍita is as follows:



The exact dates of gNyal zhig 'Jam dpal rdo rje remains unknown. Nevertheless, the above recorded sources indicate that he lived between the late twelfth century and the early thirteenth century. Therefore, we can place the writing of his text in the later part of his life, presumably the early thirteenth century.

The contribution of gNyal zhig's nine chief disciples in the development of *phar phyin* and *tshad ma* is substantial, as will be demonstrated below. bZang rings, Phu thang Dar dkon and gTsang pa Gru gu were the three who matured early (*snga tshar*); 'U yug pa bSod nams seng ge, Bu dong Rin rtse and gTsang pa Jo nam were the three who matured in the middle (*bar tshar*); rGya mching ru ba, 'Jam gsar and sKyel nag Grags seng were the late maturing (*phyi tshar*) disciples.

bZang rings Dar ma tshul khirms (*dBu ma'i byung tshul bshad pa'i gtam*, 237,3) being the disciple of Khro phu lo tsa ba Byams pa dpal (b.1173) set up a seminary (*bshad grwa*) of *phar phyin* and *tshad ma* at Khro phu monastery founded in 1171 by rGyal tshab Rin chen mgon, a disciple of Phag mo gru pa. dPang lo tsa ba, Grags pa bsod nams mgon po and Bu ston studied in this tradition. Nya dbon Kun dga' dpal specifically eulogized his chief teachers, Bu ston and Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan, in his *Yid kyi mun sel* (1978,4) which reads:

<sup>10</sup> *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, stod cha 731.



*mtha' yas gsung rab rgya mtsho'i pha rol son / mtha' yas 'gro la legs bshad dga' ston spel / mtha' yas phyogs su bstan pa rgyas mdzad pa / mtha' yas rgyal sras thu bo Bu ston rgyal /* (Victory, Bu ston, the elder son of the Buddha; Whose wisdom crossed beyond the vast ocean of scriptures; And who spreads the elegant speeches to the limitless beings; And flourished (Buddha's) doctrine to all the directions.) *gang gi blo gros nam mkha'i khams las yangs / de slad gsung rab nges don rdzogs par dgongs / dam chos ched du srog kyang gtong nus pa / Dol po par grags bla mchog la 'dud /* (Salutes to the supreme teacher, known as Dol po pa; Whose wisdom is wider than the space; And thus, perfectly comprehends the absolute knowledge of the truth; And also prepare to sacrifice life for the sake of Dharma.)

Dol po pa studied *phar phyin*, *tshad ma* and *mngon pa* with sKyi ston 'Jam dbyangs grags pa rgyal mtshan, a disciple of sNar thang pa bCom ldan rig ral (*Yar lung jo bo'i chos 'byung* 134,2).

Phu thang gave discourses on *phar phyin* mainly in the sTod lung mtsho smad and Yar lung areas and trained disciples such as gNyan Dar ma seng ge and Bya yul pa dKar mo.

gTsang pa Gru gu introduced the study of *phar phyin* based on gNyal zhig's commentary at Zhu lu monastery which had been established by bCe btsun Shes 'byung. In 1320 when Bu ston was invited to Zha lu, he received the oral transmission (*lung*) of gNyal zhig and Bu ston Seng ge 'od zer's Abhisamayālaṅkāra commentaries from *slob dpon* bKra shis bzang po.<sup>11</sup> Bu ston revived the study of *phar phyin* at Zha lu and used the *gNyal ṭika* and his *Lung gi snye ma* as the textbooks.

'U yug pa bSod nams seng ge went to Sakya and studied Pramāṇavārttika (*Tshad ma rnam 'grel*) with Sakya Paṇḍita. He wrote a commentary on the Pramāṇavārttika entitled *Tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi 'grel pa rigs pa'i mdzod*. It is possible that he come to known as Rigs pa'i seng ge after he had gained recognition for his prominence in the field of *tshad ma* studies.

Bu dong Rin chen rtse mo founded a seminary (*bshad grwa*) at Brag ram monastery. Bu ston Grags pa seng ge and Grub thob O rgyan pa Rin chen dpal (1230-1309) studied *chos mngon pa*, *tshad ma* and *dbu ma* with him. In 1250, Grub thob O rgyan pa took *bhikṣu* ordination from Bu dong Rin chen rtse and received the name Rin chen dpal.

rGya mching ru ba founded sNye thang bde ba can monastery in 1205. Tsong kha pa studied the Abhisamayālaṅkāra based on 'Jam skya Nam mka' dpal's commentary in this monastery.<sup>12</sup> He succeeded gNyal zhig to the throne (*gdan sa*) of upper college of gSang phu gling stod for 18 years according to the *Blue Annals*.

'Jam dbyangs gsar ma wrote a commentary on the Pramāṇaviniścaya (*Tshad ma rnam nges*) and set up a seminary at rKyang 'dur. sKel nag Grags pa seng ge founded a seminary at sNar thang monastery built by gTum ston Blo gros grags in 1153. sKyi ston 'Bum grags and Chu mig pa Seng ge dpal studied with him. bCom ldan Rig ral studied with sKyi ston 'Bum grags. Chu mig pa is recorded as having composed the *Tshad ma bsodus pa*.

<sup>11</sup> He was disciple of Jo nan pa, one of the nine disciples of gNyal zhig. He served as *gdan sa pa* of lower college of gSang phu sne'u thog for thirty five years.

<sup>12</sup> Gung thang Blo gros rgya mtsho, *bsTan bcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi 'brel chung don gsal ba'i mchan 'grel dun bzang shing gi nyi ma thar 'dod mun sel*, mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe bskrun khang 1991, p.3 says that Tsong kha pa's *Legs bshad gser phreng* is mainly based on Nya dbon, who himself is mainly based on Bu ston.

Shakya mchog ldan's *dBu ma 'i byung tshul gtam* (237) records that Jo bo Nam mka' dpal ('Jam skya), another disciple of gNyal zhig, established a seminary at Nyang stod and trained mKhas pa 'Od zer mgon po who served as a *gdan sa pa* of gSang phu gling smad for thirty-two years. Shakya gzhon nu and Byang chub gzhon nu were his disciples. Shakya gzhon nu set up a seminary at Tshal Chos 'khor gling. Karmapa Rang byung rdo rje (1284-1339) studied in this tradition.

The study of a commentary such as gNyal zhig's is important because the great commentators of the 14th and 15th centuries were students of the earlier tradition of which gNyal zhig was a member. These commentators and their works, such as Bu ston's *Lung gi snye ma*, Dol po pa's *rNam bshad*, Nya dbon's *Yid kyi mun sel*, Red mda' ba's *Nyi ma 'i 'od zer*, g.Yag ston's *Rin po che 'i bang mdzod*, Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal's *dKa ' 'grel chen mo*, Tsong kha pa's *gSer phreng* and Karmapa Mi bskyod rdo rje's *Tika chen* have eclipsed gNyal zhig's *Theg pa chen po la 'jug pa*, and their other predecessors. However, these later commentaries refer to the earlier ones as *snga rabs pa* or *kha cig* only when they disagree with their positions. Otherwise, these later commentator's positions are in harmony with those taken by their predecessors. In the light of this, the study of these earlier commentaries is crucial for a clear understanding of the development of the *phar phyin* studies in Tibet. gNyal zhig's commentary, which is appearing for the first time, would be of great help for understanding the earlier tradition of *phar phyin* in Tibet.

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# THE VAJRAYĀNA IN THE CONTEXT OF HIMALAYAN FOLK RELIGION

by

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In my paper at the Fagernes conference I suggested that the particular traditions of inquiry which have developed in relation to Buddhism in Tibetan societies, and which have constituted the specific approaches to the subject within which research has been carried out, have led to certain aspects of Tibetan religion being emphasised and others neglected (Samuel 1994).

At the methodological level, one can point to the relative lack of mutual knowledge by textual and anthropological scholars. This has been particularly noticeable in the English-speaking world. The by now very large and very valuable body of work on Tibet by American students of religion and Buddhism has included little reference to anthropological research. At the same time, the smaller but also very useful body of work done by British and American anthropologists working within societies mostly on the Tibetan borderlands has tended to refer only tangentially to the work of textualist scholars. The separation is not total; a younger generation of Anglophone scholars is more ready to read and synthesise both kinds of approach, and elsewhere in the world, particularly in France, scholars have generally been more ready to constitute their item of inquiry as the practice of a living religious tradition, including its textual and philosophical aspects. Nevertheless, it seemed to me in writing *Civilized Shamans* (Samuel 1993) that I was trying to reconstitute a complex object which had been only partially grasped by these various incomplete perspectives. Using a familiar image, I was trying to sketch the elephant which a succession of blind people had variously described! Put like that, it was a rather quixotic undertaking, since I have no real claims to be less blind myself, only perhaps to have a wider context than some of the authors on whose shoulders I was clambering – to shift the metaphor a little.

One of the particular issues I was trying to make sense of was that of Vajrayāna or Tantric Buddhism. I thought then, and still think, that this central element of the Tibetan religious scene has been hard to grasp properly. I believe that this is because we have taken it very much in terms of the Tibetan lamas' own presentation. That presentation is of course informed by an historical depth and a degree of contemporary involvement with Tantric practice that Western scholars, even Western Tantric practitioners, can scarcely begin to imitate. Yet it is still an interpretation, or a set of interpretations, of the Vajrayāna, which in its turn is dependent on a particular place which Vajrayāna has come to occupy within Tibetan religion and Tibetan society. Consequently, I think that the attempts of Western scholars such as say David Snellgrove (Snellgrove 1987), Per Kvaerne (Kvaerne 1975, 1976) or myself to recover earlier roles for the Vajrayāna and consequently other possible interpretations, clumsy and preliminary as it may often undoubtedly be, is not by definition invalid or inappropriate. There are a variety of possible understandings of what Vajrayāna Buddhism is about, even in the contemporary situation. I think this is gradually becoming more evident – Vajrayāna in Tibet, in Dharamsala, in Switzerland, in Colorado, are not exactly the same things, and this begins to create the space for us to develop interpretations and understandings of our own that are perhaps different again.

I would argue that this is particularly appropriate at present, at a time when the Vajrayāna is becoming a serious and substantial part of the religious life of Western society. Western understandings of the Vajrayāna are beginning to solidify along certain lines, and there is a real risk of incomprehension along the cultural borderline. Anything that helps the process of translation and mutual understanding has something to be said for it. This was part of the point of my emphasis in *Civilized Shamans* on the "shamanic" aspects of Tantra, by which I meant among other things the extent to which Vajrayāna acts as a set of techniques for achieving this-worldly results as well as being the Tibetan technique par excellence for the achievement of the specifically soteriological goal of Enlightenment.

Now, this double orientation of the Vajrayāna is at a superficial level rather familiar to the comparative student of religion, but at a deeper level it is perhaps less easy fully to make sense of. The familiarity comes from the co-existence of pragmatic and soteriological concerns in many other religious traditions. We might mention traditional Christianity, both Catholic and Orthodox, with its coexistence between the exalted mysteries of the Church and what could be called the folk-magical use of the Christian sacraments; at Taoism, with its magical, alchemical and philosophical aspects; at Hinduism, where village ritual, sophisticated urban temple cults, and the practices of *sadhu* aimed at ultimate liberation all form part of a seamless whole with no easy distinctions between its components; and perhaps also at the largely unwritten religions of sub-Saharan Africa which now seem to be revealing more than the pragmatic ritual aspects seen by most of the anthropologists who first described them.

All this is true, but it does not entirely help us to make sense of the Vajrayāna in Tibet. This, I suggested in *Civilized Shamans*, is in part because Tibetan Vajrayāna is the product of a very specific and unusual historical process. Vajrayāna grew up in a society very different from Tibet, that of pre-Islamic India. Its transfer to Tibet and development within Tibetan society were complex and deeply transformative processes. This is evident, for example, if we look at comparative material from the Newars of the Kathmandu Valley or the Hindu-Buddhists of Bali, two societies which help us to reconstruct a very different relationship between Vajrayāna and society (Samuel 1982).

There is now considerably more material available on Newar religion in particular than I was able to use in my earlier writings, and it is I think becoming increasingly clear that the Vajrayāna among the Newars, although historically closely linked with Tibetan Vajrayāna, is both the same and – in some crucial respects – not the same as in Tibet (e.g. Gellner 1992, Owens 1993, Lewis 1989, 1993a, 1993b, Levy 1992, Locke 1980). This is not just a question of the preservation of the Vajrayāna among the Newars or Balinese being marginal, limited or partial compared to its far fuller preservation, development and practice in Tibetan societies. This is undoubtedly true, just as it is also true that the practice of Newar Vajrācāryas, or of the Buddhist priests of Bali (*pedanda*), preserves elements from Indian Vajrayāna that have dropped out in Tibet or survived only in transformed form. However, neither issue should be allowed to conceal a more important point, which is that Vajrayāna simply occupies a different social role, a different place in society, in the Nepal valley or in Bali than it does in Tibetan societies.

In particular, in both Nepal and Bali, to be a Tantric practitioner is essentially to be a hereditary household priest employed by people at the upper levels of the Newar or Balinese caste system. Such an occupation undoubtedly carries prestige and status, but it is in no way the foundation for an autonomous social and political role comparable to that of Tibetan lamas, and it is strictly reserved to people from the appropriate sub-castes and lineages with the hereditary right to receive initiation and to practice. In Nepal and Bali, both the philosophical aspects of

the Vajrayāna and what I have elsewhere called its "shamanic" aspects have been marginalised. There are certainly stories about Vajrācāryas and *pedanda* with magical and occult powers, but the familiar Tibetan emphasis on Vajrayāna training as the peak accomplishment of a spiritual path open to practitioners whatever their social background is not there. Why is this? Here I will sketch a partial answer that leads into a particular set of issues I have been working on intermittently for some years, those relating to Tibetan folk shamanism and Himalayan shamanism.

To begin with we need to consider the nature of the Indian Vajrayāna during the period of its transfer to Tibet. This was one of the hardest chapters to write in *Civilized Shamans* (1993: 406-35). It was difficult because the surviving material presents the Tantric *siddhas*, *kāpālika* ascetics and the like through two very different perspectives, Indian and Tibetan, both of them obviously distanced from the actual historical location and context of the *siddhas*. In addition, Vajrayāna developed over quite a long period in India and surrounding regions, and it is still quite difficult to reconstruct its history. Certain features are nevertheless relatively clear:

- Buddhist monk and Tantric *siddha* were different roles, and for the most part performed by different people;
- there was considerable overlap between Vajrayāna *siddhas* and Śaivite ascetics of the *kāpālika*, *kālāmukha* and similar traditions, including extensive textual borrowing by Buddhists from Śaivites, and probably sharing of ritual traditions;
- many *siddhas* and *kāpālika* ascetics made a living, at least in the earlier period, as travelling ritual performers, but over time there was a growth of permanent centres and of formal patron-client relations between Tantric practitioners and the upper social strata.

In relation to the last point, I am not thinking only of the contemporary Newar and Balinese material, although it certainly demonstrates that this transition took place in both those regions. There are already suggestions that some of the later *siddhas* – Nāropa is I suppose the best known – had permanent study centres where they trained students, while in 13th and 14th century Java both Vajrayāna ritualists and Śaivite ascetics already received land grants and had permanent establishments (cf. Becker 1993: 171). Exactly when this transition from a practice mostly of wandering ascetics to one of settled priests took place is hard to estimate, but my guess is that it was well advanced by the year 1000.

Part of the significance of this material is that, along with the continuing presence of monastic Buddhism in north-east India into the 11th and 12th centuries, it provides one starting point for the Tibetan development of Buddhism. For the other main starting point, we have to turn to the vexed question of the nature of indigenous Tibetan religion. The significance of the contemporary ethnographic material on "shamanism" – as always, I use the term loosely – from Himalayan hill peoples such as the Tamang, Gurung and Magar is that they give us some kind of a purchase as to what Tibetan folk religion at the time of the arrival of Buddhism might have been like. I say "folk religion" advisedly<sup>1</sup> because I am not talking of the court religion to which the Tun-Huang texts and other early historical texts such as those analysed by Haahr (1969), Spanien (1971), and Stein (1985) refer. This may have had some common roots with the folk religion, but in the sources available to us it is a sophisticated imperial cult, and it lost much of its meaning when the early Tibetan empire collapsed and the surviving members of the

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<sup>1</sup> "Folk religion" is itself a somewhat problematic and theory-laden term, but it seems the best label available in the present context.

dynasty rejected non-Buddhist elements of the court religion. I also avoid the term Bon since if this term meant anything at that early period, it referred to elements within the court religion, rather than to the folk religion.

Folk religion survived in Tibet until modern times, in the *bsangs* offering rituals, village festivals linked to the agricultural cycle, and other ideas and practices relating to local deities, but all of these have now been extensively reshaped in Buddhist terms. Occasionally we get hints of practices which seem to have escaped being Buddha-ised, as in the Reb-skong shamanic dances and fertility rituals described by Epstein and Peng (1995), or in the elaborate wedding songs and rituals found in many parts of Tibet (Tucci 1966, Skorupski and Cech 1984) but we would be unwise to assume that these rituals are any kind of direct reflection of Tibetan folk religion as a whole.

Yet "folk religion" is I think a key to what happened when the Vajrayāna came to Tibet, because in the post-840s period in particular it was not as yet a question of Buddhism reshaping folk religion, but of Buddhism, and primarily its Vajrayāna component, surviving *as a part of* folk religion. It was during this period, between the *snga dar* and the *phyi dar*, that Vajrayāna gradually infiltrated itself as an essential part of Tibetan religious life. The effective establishment of Mahāyāna philosophy and of monastic Buddhism in the 12th and 13th centuries onwards could only take place, in my reading of the evidence, *because* the linkage between Vajrayāna and folk religion had already taken place. Mythologically, this is what the stories of Padmasambhava's "taming" of the local deities refer to. By the 12th and 13th centuries, the way that Tibetan village shamans (if I can slip the term in) approached the local deities was through the rituals of what we now know as the Old Tantras or through the similar practices of what was to become "reformed" Bon (*g.yung drung Bon*). Most of these practices were passed mainly through hereditary lineages, and hereditary lineages remained very important throughout the *phyi dar* period and still form a significant part of the Tibetan religious scene today among both Buddhist and Bon-po. While these hereditary lineages can be seen as paralleling and perhaps deriving from developments I alluded to in the Indian context, they must have been quite different from those of the Newars and Balinese in recent times, if only because there was nothing like the Indian caste system or its partial Balinese replica in Tibet, and a very much lower degree of urbanisation.

It is in this context that I suggest that material from peoples such as the Magar, Gurung and Tamang is worth looking at. I emphasise that I am not necessarily suggesting close historical connections with early Tibetan folk religion. Much of the idiom of shamanism today among these people is Indian-derived, and while there are aspects of terminology that suggest connections some of these may be fairly recent borrowings. Thus while the Tamang and Gurung terms for the separable soul or spirit essence probably represent genuine cognates to Tibetan *bla*, the Tamang term *bombo* for shamanic practitioner does not necessarily indicate any survival of *bon po* practices from an early period (cf. Höfer 1994: 18). Nevertheless, these societies in recent centuries were similar technically, in scale of political organisation and often in language and other cultural aspects to the early Tibetans, and it would seem likely that their folk religion is of the same general type. This, at least, is the logic behind the project on which this paper is a preliminary report.

Unfortunately, the project itself is at an early stage at present, and has been further delayed by my recent move from Australia to the United Kingdom, so the most I can offer here are some preliminary conclusions. They are perhaps not much more than guesses on the basis of my partial reading of the material, and may or may not appear justified in the light of more



thorough research. However, they may at least help to stimulate discussion on the topic. I will begin by pointing out some generic features of Himalayan folk religion, noting similarities to contemporary Tibetan folk religion and Buddhist practice, and then discuss briefly what these might suggest about the early Tibetan context.

- Major concerns of Himalayan folk religion include healing; the maintenance of good fortune; the divination and avoidance of misfortune; and the management of death. These are all major concerns for Tibetan lamas as for village-level religious practitioners such as the *lha pa* and *dpa' bo* (Samuel 1993: 195, 268, 291-4; Berglie 1980, 1982, 1983).
- Healing, and good and bad fortune, are dealt with largely in terms of the "soul loss" idiom, found also in the neighbouring regions of Tibet and of Southeast Asia (cf. Samuel 1994). The Tibetan term *bla* has cognates in Tamang and Gurung. Healing and good fortune involves finding, restoring, binding and securing the "soul" (Samuel 1993: 195, 268, Karmay 1987, Mumford 1989: 175-8).
- There is a wide range of divinatory methods, and these have a considerable overlap with methods prevalent in Tibet and India (cf. Chime 1981, Ekvall 1963, 1964). Many of these methods are in fact widespread throughout Eurasia (cf. Orofino 1994 on *pratisenā*) so the detailed techniques are not especially relevant, but the importance of divination is notable.
- Death and the afterlife are typically handled through a "journey" idiom in which the dead are led through a journey to an afterworld; lost "souls" may be recovered through the same journey (Mumford 1989: 186-91, Desjarlais 1989). The similarity to *bar do* and *'pho ba* practices is evident, and suggests that the specifically Tibetan versions of these practices might have replaced older folk-religious forms involving journeys of this kind. The role of Mt. Targo in visionary journeys for Tibetan *dpa' bo* practitioners also supports this contention (Berglie 1976).
- Divination and ritual in general does not necessarily involve states culturally defined as "trance," "ecstasy" or "possession," although it may in specific cases. What is essential is seeing and interacting with the spirit world, but this can be achieved through a variety of techniques. Thus the non-ecstatic nature of Vajrayāna practice does not put it in a different category to folk religious practices (though in point of fact one could identify elements of "ecstasy" or "possession" in Vajrayāna anyway, cf. Allen 1973: 12, Gellner 1992: 263, 276-7, 279-80, 285 on Newars).<sup>2</sup>
- A tripartite cosmos similar to that found in early Tibetan texts (the three worlds inhabited by *lha*, *klu* and *gnyan* respectively) seems to be common in Himalayan folk-religion contexts.

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<sup>2</sup> A point here: I have been criticized for using the term "shamanic" in *Civilized Shamans*, and I retain ambivalences about the term – I wish I had a better one – but it is important to note that, in my usage, the term refers to a function, a role, and not to any particular way of performing the role. What is significant for my argument is that Vajrayāna practitioners (and lamas in particular) carry out similar functions to folk-religion practitioners elsewhere in the Himalayas, and not that specific techniques (e.g. the presence of drumming or the imagery of ritual dismemberment in *geod*) resemble traits elsewhere described as "shamanic". In fact, Tibetan *geod* practices may well represent an indication of affinity with particular (Himalayan or Siberian) shamanic traditions, but this is really incidental to the argument in *Civilized Shamans* for the importance of the "shamanic" aspects of Buddhism in Tibetan societies.

- "Folk shamans" are positioned (or at any rate position themselves) as *allies* of the spirits, as in the Magar myth (found also in neighbouring peoples) of the first shaman and the Nine Witch Sisters (Oppitz n.d., de Sales 1991, Maskarinec 1995). There are no radical discontinuities of level between these characters, and the relations between them are contractual rather than "theological". The shaman is more powerful than the spirits, but he does not destroy them. Instead, he establishes them with a limited and mutually beneficial sphere of operation. The relationship between Padmasambhava and the various "oath-bound" deities of Tibet, or between Milarepa and the Tshe-ring niched-lnga goddesses (van Tuyl 1975), may be seen as analogous.
- As the same Magar myth points out, the shaman is an ally of local rulers, and can also act as an autonomous source of authority. Again, the parallels with the role of lamas in the Tibetan political system is evident.

If we take these generic features, and assume that they also characterised the pre-Buddhist (and pre-Bon) folk religion of Tibet, then we get at least a plausible (if admittedly conjectural) picture of *how* the lamas were able to fit into and take over the role of the local "shamanic" practitioners. As for *why* they were seen as more effective than local practitioners, this is a bit harder to say. Perhaps the opening to the outside world during the First Tibetan Empire gave "Indian" practices a certain cachet, and during the following period of decline the disciples of the Indian *siddhas* offered rituals and techniques that appeared more impressive, more powerful and more sophisticated than those of local practitioners. Folk memories of support for Buddhism by the great figures of the imperial period such as Srong-btsan sgam-po and Khri-srong lde'u-btsan, and the growing legend of Padmasambhava, may also have played a part. Any such suggestions must however remain highly speculative for the present.

As I suggested in *Civilized Shamans*, during the 11th and 12th centuries we can see two major strategies among the surviving descendants of the folk-religion (and perhaps also court-religion) practitioner lineages. Some adopted Vajrayāna techniques directly, studying with Vajrayāna teachers in India or Tibet, while others maintained a pre-Buddhist identity but gradually reshaped their techniques on Vajrayāna models (Samuel 1993: 458-9). These are, of course, what we now see as the *chos pa* and *bon po* options. The lamas, whether *chos pa* or *bon po*, did not, however, entirely replace the earlier folk-religion practitioners. Some of these, the *lha pa*, *dpa' bo* etc., remained as part of Tibetan religious life, but in general subordinate to the lamas. They carried out a kind of adjunct role, dealing with minor problems and acting as mediums for local deities in village and later also monastic contexts. They helped perhaps to maintain a distance between the lamas and the deities which had some pragmatic utility. Occasionally, as in Epstein's Reb-skong material (1995) or Berglie's study of *dpa' bo* from West Tibet now in Nepal (1980, 1982, 1983), one sees suggestions of a more autonomous role. On the whole, though, along with the related *'das log* practitioners (Pommaret 1989) and "inspired" Ge-sar bards (Samuel 1991), they helped to replicate Buddhist values at the level of village or pastoralist encampment, and the process of becoming one of these practitioners was itself theorised in Vajrayāna terms as an "opening of the *rtsa*" of the individual's psychic body.

In emphasising this remarkable historical process of the constitution of a "shamanic" role for Buddhism in Tibetan societies, I am certainly not suggesting that more specifically Buddhist themes such as the need for virtuous action, the unreality of *samsāra* and the achievement of Enlightenment did not also come in time to play vital parts in Tibetan Buddhism. I believe that the later success of Tibetan lamas in institutionalising these more familiar aspects of Buddhism was, however, built on the firm foundation of Tibetan lay

people's support for Tibetan Buddhism as shamanic practice, and that a symbiotic relationship has persisted between Buddhism as shamanic practice and Buddhism as a moral, spiritual, soteriological and philosophical tradition.

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# A NOTE ON THE HISTORY OF THE CULT OF PADMASAMBHAVA ON THE 10<sup>TH</sup> DAY OF THE MONTH<sup>1</sup>

by

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The central position which Padmasambhava occupies in the history and teachings of the rÑing-ma-pa is one of the distinctive features of this orthodox school of Tibetan Buddhism. It even led to the characterisation of the rÑing-ma-teachings as a separate religion called Padmaism.<sup>2</sup> In particular, it is the *gter-ma* tradition which established, promoted and kept alive the cult of Padmasambhava. The whole phenomenon of the *gter-ma* in general is basically linked with and legitimated by this figure. It forms the essential part of the big show which presents the guru as still acting for the sake of Tibet and its human beings. The *gter-ma* are not just seen as something which was created in a remote area of the past out of care for future living beings. They are also a link which connects the believers of the present with a transcendental sphere from where the guru even nowadays is able to respond actively to the needs of those who turn to him.

One of the essential statements in the biographies of Padmasambhava which were brought to light by the *gter-ma* activity and in the history of the cults presented through *gter-ma* is Padmasambhava's testimony that he has not left Tibet for ever but that he will still answer those who offer him their prayers and that the pure will even be able to see him in person.<sup>3</sup> Within the liturgy of the rÑing-ma-pa, special rituals are offered to insure the bilateral communication with Padmasambhava so that his followers still can count on him as a mighty helper in their daily troubles.

In the *Rin-chen gter-mdzod* we find about nine volumes or four hundred texts specifically dealing with the cult of Padmasambhava. This underlines the great role which the *gter-ma* literature plays in promoting his dominant position.

A special part of the Padmasambhava cult is the regular performance of rituals and prayers on the 10th of each month. This is a generally known practice among the rÑing-ma-pa. We find it therefore mentioned in many biographies. It refers to a promise made by Padmasambhava to come on the 10th of each month to grant extraordinary *siddhis*. This promise is transmitted in different *gter-ma*.

When we try to trace it back in time we find sources for it already in the early spread of *gter-ma* literature. In the 12th century Ñang-ral Ñi-ma 'od-zer (1124-1192) wrote in his *Padma 'byung-gnas-kyi rnam-thar gsol-'debs*, which he added to the Padmasambhava-biography from his *gter-ma Zangs-gling-ma*: "O-rgyan, I request that you remember now to protect those who

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<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank Cathy Cantwell for correcting the English.

<sup>2</sup> Hoffmann, H. (1975), *Tibet. A handbook*. Bloomington, Research Center for the Language Sciences, Indiana University: 160.

<sup>3</sup> For example Yeshe Tsogyal (1978), *The Life and Liberation of Padmasambhava. Padma bka'i thang*. Part I: *India*, Part II: *Tibet*. Translated from the French as *Le Dicit de Padma* by Gustave-Charles Toussaint. Translated into English by Kenneth Douglas and Gwendolyn Bays. Emeryville, Dharma Publishing: 676, 732.

have faith by the various emanations of your body, speech and mind on the tenth day of the monkey month in the monkey year and on all tenth days of the year!"<sup>4</sup>

Kong-sprul quotes as a witness for Padmasambhava's promise a statement in the *gter-ma Bla-ma gsang-ba 'dus-pa* of Guru chos-dbang (1212-1270): "On the 10th day of the monkey-month in the monkey-year and on every 10th day of the calendar I shall fill 'Dzam-bu gling with my emanations and I shall give extraordinary and common *siddhis*."<sup>5</sup>

It seems that at the time of Klong-chen rab-'byams-pa (1308-1363) the offering ritual (*tshogs-mchod*) on the 10th of the month was already a well-known practice. Requested by his students he composed a ritual text for the offering ceremony on the 10th day. He wrote the text on the basis of material from the *gter-ma* of Ñang-ral Ñi-ma 'od-zer.<sup>6</sup>

The next *gter-ma* which refers to this idea seems to be from among the *byang-gter*. Kong-sprul gives us the following quotation from the *byang-gter*:<sup>7</sup> "If one wishes happiness to come to Tibet, then at the time when the 10th day of the first half of the month has arisen there will come the emanations of O-rgyan Padma. At that time venerate me (*mos-pa*)!" We find the same idea also expressed in the *bSam-pa lhun-grub-ma* which forms the 7th chapter of the famous prayer called *Le'u bdun-ma*, a *gter-ma* of bZang-po grags-pa ("recovered" 1362) who delivered it to rGod-kyi ldem-'phru-can (1337-1408): "On the 10th day in the first half of the month he will really come. Offer up requests to O-rgyan Padma 'byung-gnas, who possesses the compassion to work powerfully for the sake of human beings!"<sup>8</sup>

For the 15th century, Kong-sprul mentions a *gter-ston* from lHo-brag called mGon-po rin-chen from whom was transmitted a text for this special cult with the title *Tshe bcu'i phan-yan*, "Benefit of the tenth day".<sup>9</sup>

From the 15th century we also have a small *gter-ma* text for the offering ritual on the 10th day from Ratna gling-pa (1403-1479) included in the *Rin-chen gter-mdzod* with the title *O-rgyan tshes-bcu'i bskul-thabs*, "Method for calling O-rgyan to action on the 10th day".<sup>10</sup> Prophecies of Padmasambhava which give the background for the cult of the 10th day can be found in Ratna gling-pa's *gter-ma* called *Thugs-sgrub yang-sñing 'dus-pa*.<sup>11</sup>

In the 17th century sTag-sham nus-ldan rdo-rje (born 1655) also contributed a *gter-ma* describing the performance of the offering ritual on the 10th day.<sup>12</sup> And we find the

<sup>4</sup> TEXT 1.2: 5r-5v. Primary sources are referred to by their number in Schwieger, P. (1990), *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke. Teil 10. (Die mTshur-phu-Ausgabe der Sammlung Rin-chen gter-mdzod chen-mo, Bände 1 bis 14)* Stuttgart (= Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland XI, 10).

<sup>5</sup> TEXT 36: 4r.

<sup>6</sup> TEXT 165.1.

<sup>7</sup> He gives the following title: *mnga 'skyed nor-bu'i bang-mdzod* (TEXT 36: 4r).

<sup>8</sup> I slightly changed Houston's translation. See Houston, G.W. (1983), "gSol 'debs bsam pa lhun grub ma", in: ZAS 9, 7-22.

<sup>9</sup> TEXT 336: 5v. His biography is in TEXT 4: 126v-127r. He is also mentioned in Tulku Thondup Rinpoche (1986), *Hidden Teachings of Tibet. An Explanation of the Terma Tradition of the Nyingma School of Buddhism*. London, Wisdom Publications: 193, No. 115.

<sup>10</sup> TEXT 338.

<sup>11</sup> Quoted by Kong-sprul in TEXT 336, 4r-4v. Texts of this *gter-ma* are Nos. 195-202.

<sup>12</sup> TEXT 262.

corresponding prophecy regarding Padmasambhava's appearance on that special day also in his most famous *gter-ma*, the biography of Ye-shes mtsho-rgyal.<sup>13</sup>

As the offering to Padmasambhava on the 10th day was a regular practice, gTer-bdag gling-pa composed a small ritual precept easy to perform containing only the essential limbs of the ceremony.<sup>14</sup>

Kong-sprul mentions another *gter-ma* referring to the idea of the tenth day's appearance of Padmasambhava by the title of *gSer-phreng*. This is not the Padmasambhava-biography revealed by Sangs-rgyas gling-pa (1340-1396). Kong-sprul styles it as *zhal-gdams*, "oral directions". He quotes it as follows: "On the tenth day of the monkey-month of the monkey year I, O-rgyan, really and for sure shall come to the whole of Tibet. That is my promise. On the tenth day of every month I shall fill the snowland with my emanations. It is my promise, that it is impossible that I shall not come. It is impossible that Padma 'byung-gnas deludes."<sup>15</sup>

Another *gter-ma* connected with this special cult is the *Bla-ma sku bzhi'i sgrub-thabs-kyi skor*. It is told that 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse'i dbang-po received it from the mountain god gÑan-chen thang-lha who acted as the guardian of this *gter-ma*.<sup>16</sup>

The last and most elaborated precepts for performing rituals on that special day which we find in the *Rin-chen gter-mdzod* are based on the *gter-ma gSang-thig sñing-po skor-bdun* which was "revealed" by Kong-sprul himself.<sup>17</sup> It is stated in the history of this cult that Padmasambhava concealed it as the short version of the *gter-ma* of 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse'i dbang-po. According to this history the *gter-ma* of mGon-po rin-chen would be the corresponding middle version. The texts themselves are composed by Kong-sprul and offer a complete practice. They cover *las-byang*, *gsol-'debs*, *dbang-chog*, *khrid-yig* and *mchod-pa*.<sup>18</sup>

What we have gained now mainly by following the hints of Kong-sprul is just an overview, not very systematic – certainly not a complete account of the history of the special idea of Padmasambhava's promise to visit Tibet on the 10th of the month. But this overview clearly shows that this idea is firmly rooted in the *gter-ma* tradition from its earliest times. As typical for the cults which rely on the revealing of treasures it has also been renewed from time to time by the discovery of new *gter-ma*.

The fundamental idea that Padmasambhava's help can be expected especially on the tenth day of the month refers to a promise he is believed to have given before he left Tibet. But the promised actions for future living beings are the continuation of a number of outstanding deeds which Padmasambhava performed during his life. And as he performed his first outstanding action, his supernatural birth as it is told in the *rdzus-skyes* version<sup>19</sup> of the biographies based

<sup>13</sup> See Dowman, K. (1984), *Sky Dancer. The secret life and songs of the lady Yeshe Tsogyel*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul: 130.

<sup>14</sup> TEXT 254.

<sup>15</sup> TEXT 335: 4v.

<sup>16</sup> TEXT 335: 5v. Compare Dargyay, Eva M. (1977), *The Rise of Esoteric Buddhism in Tibet*. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass: 206, Dudjom Rinpoche (1991), *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism. Its Fundamentals and History*. Vol. I: *The Translations*. Translated and edited by Gyurme Dorje with the collaboration of Matthew Kapstein. Boston, Wisdom Publications: 856.

<sup>17</sup> See TEXT 8: 43r.

<sup>18</sup> TEXT 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 342.

<sup>19</sup> See Blondeau, A.M. (1980), "Analysis of the biographies of Padmasambhava according to Tibetan tradition: clas-

on *gter-ma* tradition, on the tenth of the month, there developed the idea that each tenth of the month was a special date in Padmasambhava's life for the performance of outstanding actions. And because Padmasambhava has done so during his lifetime he is by his supernatural power also able to perform similar actions in the present and the future. It is said explicitly by Kong-sprul that because all these special twelve days of the year are blessed by Padmasambhava through the performance of miraculous deeds, it is particularly effective to give offerings and prayers on these days of the year.<sup>20</sup> So in his *Gu-ru rin-po-che'i tshes-bcu'i rnam-thar gsol-'debs*<sup>21</sup> Kong-sprul combines the requests made to Padmasambhava with a reminder of the heroic actions he has performed always on the tenth of the month during his actual lifetime. Kong-sprul included this prayer in the set of his *gter-ma gSang-thig skor-bdun*. But the prayer itself is composed based on the corresponding *gter-ma* of 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse'i dbang-po and the above mentioned *gter-ma* text of lHo-brag mGon-po rin-chen. The prayer starts with a reminder of Padmasambhava's greatest deed: his supernatural birth in the centre of a lotus in the lake of Dhanakośa on the tenth of the monkey month in the monkey year. Then in the tiger month he arrived in the capital of Uḍḍiyāna, in the hare month he renounced the opportunity to rule as the king and left for the cemetery of bSil-ba'i tshal (Śítavana). In the dragon month he became a monk under Ānanda. In the serpent month he accomplished the miracle of transforming his funeral pyre which had been erected by the king of Za-hor into a lake. In the horse month he demonstrated the miracle of not being hurt by the pyre erected by the evil minister of Uḍḍiyāna. In the sheep month he destroyed a heretic in South India. In the month of the bird he was thrown into the river Ganggā by a heretic from Zangs-gling and he drove back the water by performing a dance. In the dog month he transformed the poison of a heretic into nectar. In the pig month he tamed the *lha* and *'dre* from Nepal. And finally in the mouse month he tamed the *lha* and *'dre* of Tibet.

This list of the twelve outstanding actions performed by Guru rin-po-che on the tenth day of each month is the only one which is included in the *Rin-chen gter-mdzod*. In this collection we still find one other *gsol-'debs* containing a different list of eleven outstanding actions of Padmasambhava. This text was composed by the *gter-ston* Ratna gling-pa.<sup>22</sup> But there is no mention that these actions were performed by the guru on the tenth day.

It is well known that the Tibetans especially favour numbers and enumerations. Therefore these twelve *dus-chen* of the year naturally have for them something in common with other enumerations containing twelve limbs. So we find them connected with the twelve links of dependent origination (*rten-'brel bcu-gñis*) which have to be purified, the turning of the twelve different wheels of the Buddha-speech equivalent to the twelve branches of the scriptures,<sup>23</sup> the spread of twelve kinds of truth, twelve wonders, the show of the twelve deeds of the emanational body and the granting of twelve *siddhis*.<sup>24</sup>

Because the tenth of the month was established by Padmasambhava as an auspicious day especially for everything which can be expected from the guru, we naturally find this day often

sification of sources" in *PIATS Oxford* 1979 : 46.

<sup>20</sup> TEXT 335: 3r; TEXT 336: 3v-4r.

<sup>21</sup> TEXT 335.

<sup>22</sup> TEXT 1.3.

<sup>23</sup> *yan-lag bcu-gñis gsung-rab chos-'khor*. See Gyurme Dorje, Kapstein, M. (1991), *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism. Its Fundamentals and History*. Vol. II: *Reference Material*. Boston, Wisdom Publications: 169.

<sup>24</sup> TEXT 335: 1r.



mentioned as the very day when certain *gter-ma* were found by a *gter-ston*, for instance rDo-rje gling-pa, Ratna gling-pa, bKra-shis stobs-rgyal dbang-po'i sde, Rol-pa'i rdo-rje, mChog-gyur gling-pa, 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse'i dbang-po and bDud-'dul rdo-rje.<sup>25</sup> And of course it is also an auspicious day for composing ritual precepts connected with the cult of Padmasambhava.<sup>26</sup>

The tenth of the waxing moon has a counterpart in the tenth of the waning moon. This shall be the special day when the *mkha'-'gro-ma* are active, the *mkha'-'gro rgyu-ba'i dus-bzang*.<sup>27</sup> So this is also an auspicious day for performing rituals connected with the *mkha'-'gro-ma* and especially with the *mkha'-'gro Ye-shes mtsho-rgyal* as the consort of Padmasambhava. Therefore the *gSang-thig skor-bdun*, the special *gter-ma* of Kong-sprul which contains the practice for the tenth day, has as its counterpart, his *yum-bka'*, the precepts for the practice of rituals relating to Ye-shes mtsho-rgyal. To this practice Kong-sprul added a *nam-thar gsol-'debs*. He composed it on the basis of the biography from the *gter-ma* of bSam-gtan gling-pa alias sTag-sham nus-ldan rdo-rje. But here we do not find the combination of certain outstanding actions in Ye-shes mtsho-rgyal's life with special days of the calendar.

While in general we can say that the Buddhist idea of time is more an abstract one where time is seen as an endless process of formation and elapsing we observe in our context the turn to a concrete idea of time.

And just as in the view of the believers Padmasambhava gave to certain times their special quality by which they differ from other ordinary times so it is well known that he is also believed to have endowed certain places in space through his meditation practice, his efforts in subduing demons and the concealing of treasures, with a special quality which also enables others to perform their yoga practice there with more success.

In keeping with the mythological way of thinking where time and space receive a special colour and are explained by certain events of a mythical past Padmasambhava too just like a cultural hero, gives to certain times and places their quality and origin, gives them a holy character which distinguishes them from the profane times and places.<sup>28</sup> They are seen as part of a drama and its pattern was laid down with the biography of Padmasambhava.

<sup>25</sup> TEXT 191, 73, 221, 269 and 491, 304, 314, 170, 433.

<sup>26</sup> It is perhaps worth mentioning that sTag-sham nus-ldan rdo-rje's *gter-ma* fixed the day of Ye-shes mtsho-rgyal's birth also on the tenth day of the monkey month. Dowman (see foot note 12): 11. Likewise it is mentioned in a prayer for Ye-shes mtsho-rgyal: TEXT 340: 1v.

<sup>27</sup> Mentioned for instance in TEXT 343: 2r.

<sup>28</sup> Compare Samuel, G. (1993), *Civilized Shamans. Buddhism in Tibetan Societies*. Washington and London, Smithsonian Institution Press: 19.



# THE PRECEPTOR-DONOR (*YON MCHOD*) RELATION IN THIRTEENTH CENTURY TIBETAN SOCIETY AND POLITY, ITS INNER ASIAN PRECURSORS AND INDIAN MODELS

by

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## I

This paper is concerned with a set of Tibetan concepts and their corresponding terminology which pertain to the relationship between the religious or spiritual order on the one side and the secular or temporal order on the other side in so far as they are found either coordinated or joined together especially in thirteenth-century Tibetan society and polity. Within Tibetan and Indian Buddhist thought, the two general categories most relevant to this set of concepts are probably the 'supramundane' or 'transmundane' (*'jig rten las 'das pa = lokottara*) as opposed to the 'mundane' (*'jig rten pa = laukika*). To refer to this pair of concepts or orders, the expressions 'sacred' and 'profane' have often been used in the west, but this antithesis – characteristic as it is of a rather different way of thinking – lends itself poorly to the understanding and analysis of our Tibetan (and Indian) source materials, where these two orders sometimes overlap and where the boundaries between them have in any case been differently drawn.<sup>1</sup> The two western concepts best suited to describe the pair of socio-religious and politico-religious categories under discussion are perhaps spiritual authority and temporal power. The boundary between this pair of ideas is, however, often shifting and somewhat fluid, and their relationship may thus appear as an oscillating and so to say 'kaleidoscopic' one.<sup>2</sup>

## II

The historically and culturally very significant link existing between a *bla ma* as reverend donee (*mchod gnas*) and his princely or royal donor (Tib. *yon bdag*) may be taken both as the point of departure and as the focus for a study of the spiritual and temporal orders in Buddhist thought in Tibet and elsewhere in Inner Asia. At the outset it needs to be emphasized that, in itself, this relation is not an official or institutional one but, rather, an essentially religious and

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<sup>1</sup> On the history of this pair of concepts over the past century, see recently P. Borgeaud, 'Le couple sacré/profane', *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 211/4 (1994), pp. 387-418.

<sup>2</sup> This article is based on the present writer's *Ordre spirituel et ordre temporel dans la pensée bouddhique de l'Inde et du Tibet* (Paris, 1995) of which it provides an English summary together with some additions within the limits of the space available here. In the following, the abbreviation *OSOT* refers to this book; when followed by § and a Roman numeral, the reference is to the Sections in Part I of the same book. Some aspects of the present topic were treated earlier in D. Seyfort Ruegg, 'mChod yon, yon mchod and mchod gnas/yon gnas: On the historiography and semantics of a Tibetan religio-social and religio-political concept' in: E. Steinkellner (ed.), *Tibetan History and Language* (G. Uray Festschrift, Vienna, 1991), pp. 441-53, hereafter abbreviated *HSTC*. [In his new *Empereur et pègre* (Paris, 1995) G. Dagron reexamines the Western, and in particular the Byzantine and Orthodox, materials and subjects the notion of Caesaropapism to a critique.]

Dictionary references are to the following works: Brag g-yab = Brag g-yab Blo Idan šes rab, *Bod brda 'i tshig mdzod* (Dharmasala, 1989); Chos grags = dGe bšes Chos kyi grags pa, *brDa dag min tshig gsal ba* (Beijing, 1981); Tshig mdzod chen mo = Zhang Yisun (ed.), *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* (Zang-Han dacidian, Beijing, 1985).

personal one. For while the *yon bdag* (Skt. \**dakṣiṇā-pati*) is a royal or princely ‘master of offerings’, the *mchod gnas* – literally ‘recipient (worthy) of honour(s)/ritual fees’, and more generally ‘honourable, reverend donee’<sup>3</sup> (Skt. *dakṣiṇīya/dakṣiṇeya*, Pali *dakkhiṇeyya*)<sup>4</sup> – functions as an Officiant/Spiritual Counsellor/Preceptor and as a Guru (*bla ma*) to the donor. The latter is usually a lay householder (*khyim bdag* = *gṛhapati*). And the word *yon bdag* is in effect an honorific form for *sbyin bdag* = *dānapati*, a term that designates the householder who, in the Buddhist structure of society, offers alms (*sbyin pa* = *dāna*, i.e. *āmiṣadāna*) to a monk (*bhikṣu* = *dge sloṅ*).

As for the two words *yon mchod* and *mchod yon* – ‘(relationship of) *mchod gnas* and *yon bdag*’ – they designate both the two components in the relation between the spiritual and temporal orders and this relationship itself. Grammatically, the terms are copulative compounds each made up of the terms *yon bdag* and *mchod gnas*, and despite the difference in sequence of their two component elements they have the same reference.

In several modern publications dealing with this theme, *yon mchod/mchod yon* have been translated by the phrase ‘patron-priest (relationship)’. This rendering is, however, somewhat misleading because it obscures the real nature of the terms of this relation between a monk as religious donee and a prince or king as lay donor. For in Buddhist society the monk (Skt. *bhikṣu*, Tib. *dge sloṅ*) in his capacity as preceptor-donee worthy of honour (*dakṣiṇīya*) is hardly a priest in any usual meaning of this word, being literally a person worthy of ritual gifts (*dakṣiṇā*). As for the householder donor (*sbyin bdag* = *dānapati*), if he might reasonably be compared – in particular in the case of a munificent royal donor or *yon bdag* – with a Maecenas or princely patron, in the context of Buddhist ideas on the link between a donor (royal or otherwise) and a religious (*pravrajita* = *rab tu byuñ ba*) or monk, the notion of ‘patron’ is at the very least problematical in so far as it may, altogether inappropriately, imply the subordination of the religious to the temporal (as for instance in Caesaropapism or Erastianism). That is, the translation of *yon bdag* by ‘patron’ entirely obscures the very fundamental matter of the place in Buddhist society of the householder *dānapati* in relation to the *bhikṣu*.<sup>5</sup> For this reason the alternative rendering of *yon mchod* by ‘donor-chaplain (relationship)’, also to be found in some recent publications, is no doubt preferable, provided of course that this choice of words does not lead to prejudging as a foregone conclusion the still open question as to whether the *mchod gnas* was historically the Tibetan successor of the Indian *purohita*, i.e. the court chaplain who functioned as a royal officer at the court of an Indian king.<sup>6</sup>

Probably the closest English equivalent for the copulative compound *yon mchod* is ‘(relationship of) Donor and Officiant/Spiritual Preceptor-Donee’. Similarly, *mchod yon* may be rendered by ‘(relationship of) Officiant/Spiritual Preceptor-Donee and Donor’.

<sup>3</sup> The lexeme *mchod gnas* is explained in the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* as *mchod pa 'bul yul gyi zññ nam mchod bya* ‘field that is the object of paying honour, or to be honoured’.

<sup>4</sup> Skt. *dakṣiṇīya/dakṣiṇeya* (cf. Pali *dakkhiṇeyya*) – represented in Tibetan either by *mchod gnas* or *yon gnas* (*su gyur pa*) (see below) – is known as an epithet of the Buddha, the Pratyekabuddha and the Saṃgha or religious community. On the meaning of the expression, cf. F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*.

<sup>5</sup> On the unsuitability of the renderings ‘priest’ and ‘patron’, see also *HSTC*.

<sup>6</sup> See *OSOT* § XI, where it is shown that the functions of the Tibetan *mchod gnas* and the Indian *purohita* have been rather different, the latter being a somewhat more official and institutionalized one. To Skt. *purohita* corresponds Tib. *mdun na 'don* (registered in the *Mahāvīyutpatti* [ed. Ishihama and Fukuda, Tōkyō, 1989] 3680), which is not normally regarded as a synonym of *mchod gnas/yon gnas*.

## III

Historically, the best-known example of the socio-religious and politico-religious relation between a spiritual preceptor and a ruler has perhaps been the one established, from about 1253/1254, between the Tibetan *bla ma* 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan dpal bzañ po (1235-1280) – Hierarch of Sa skya, *chos rgyal* (Skt. *dharmarāja*) and 'gro mgon (Skt. *jagannātha* or, so to say, 'ethnarch') – and Qubilai Qayan (*rg.* 1260-1294) – the emperor of the Sino-Mongol Yüan dynasty.

Some immediate historical precursors of this relation may already be found in the links established by earlier Tibetan *bla mas* and hierarchs with other Mongol – and in particular Chinggisid – rulers as well as with rulers of the Tangut kingdom of Xixia (Tib. Mi ñag) in the region of the upper Yellow River. Thus, in the capacity of a spiritual counsellor and preceptor of a king of Mi ñag, Tibetan sources mention gTsañ pa Duñ khur ba (a disciple of Žañ g.Yu brag pa brTson 'grus grags pa, 1123-1193), gTsañ so ba dKon mchog señ ge (a disciple of Karma pa I Dus gsum mkhyen pa, 1110-1193) and Ti śri ras pa (also a disciple of Žañ g.Yu brag pa brTson 'grus grags pa).<sup>7</sup> In addition, the Sa skya hierarch Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147-1216) was linked with the Tangut king known to Tibetan sources as rDo rje, and Sa skya Pañdi ta Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182-1251) with the Tangut king known as 'Bum sde. After the conquest of the Tangut kingdom by the Mongols in 1227, Rañ 'byuñ rdo rje (Karma pa III, 1284-1339) is stated to have revived the Buddhist teaching in Mi ñag. Much earlier, Pa tshab sGom nag (1077-1158, a disciple of Pa tshab Ņi ma grags born in 1055) and the Kāśmīri master Jayānanda (an associate of Pa tshab Ņi ma grags) may have occupied the function of spiritual counsellors in Mi ñag. And there are even indications that the *bla chen* dGe ba gsal (dGoñs pa rab gsal) may have filled such a function in the country of Mi ñag Gha as early as the ninth/tenth century.<sup>8</sup>

It may be noted that the function filled by these masters has usually been referred to in our sources not as that of *mchod gnas* but as that of *bla ma* or *bla mchod*.<sup>9</sup> These three terms, and in particular the first and third, are very frequently employed as equivalents to designate the officiant and spiritual preceptor of a ruler.

The above-mentioned gTsañ pa Duñ khur ba has, in addition, been linked with the Mongols by Tibetan sources which place this *bla ma* in the time of Činggis Qan (died 1227). The relation between him and Činggis is in fact stated by the historian gTzug lag phreñ ba to have constituted the first contact (*phrad pa*) between a Mongol ruler and a Tibetan monk, and also the first time a Tibetan was recognized as a *bandhya/bande* 'reverend (monk)' by a Mongol ruler.<sup>10</sup> Among other earlier Tibetan masters who acted as officiants and preceptors of Mongol rulers prior to 'Phags pa, Tibetan sources mention the master Tshal Guñ thañ pa, who functioned as the *bla ma/bla mchod* of the consort of the Great Qayan Ögödei (*rg.* 1229-1241), and

<sup>7</sup> For further details on gTsañ pa Duñ khur ba and gTsañ so ba (or gTsañ po pa?) dKon mchog señ ge, see OSOT § V. In his *Central Tibet and the Mongols* (Rome, 1990), p. 6, L. Petech considers these two names to refer to a single person. – On the 'Ba' rom pa Ti śri ras pa Sañs rgyas ras chen (1164/5-1236) and on rTsa mi, see recently E. Sperling, 'rTsa-mi lo-tsä-ba Sangs-rgyas-grags-pa and the Tangut background to early Mongol-Tibetan relations', *PIATS Fagerness 1992* (Oslo, 1994), pp. 801-24, especially p. 804.

<sup>8</sup> For further details see OSOT § V.

<sup>9</sup> In the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* the relevant sense of the lexeme *bla mchod* is explained as *mchod yul gyi bla ma*.

<sup>10</sup> dPa' bo gTzug lag phreñ ba (1504-1566), *Chos 'byuñ mKhas pa 'i dga' ston* (Beijing, 1986), pp. 1414-15. See OSOT § IV.

Karma Pakśi (Karma pa II, 1206-1283) who was the *bla ma* of the Great Qayan Möngke (rg. 1251-1259). In the middle 1240s, 'Phags pa's uncle Sa skya Paṅḍi ta (1182-1251) maintained a relationship with the Chinggisid prince Köden/Ködön (Tib. Godan) who was stationed in the Byañ ños (Liang-chou) region. In general, among the Tibetan religious orders (*chos lugs*), the 'Bri khun/guñ pas have been linked in this function with Möngke, the Tshal pas with Qubilai, the sTag luñ pas with Ariq Böke (rg. 1260-1264, died in 1265), and the Phag mo gru pas with Prince Hülegü (the founder of the Ilkhān dynasty in Iran who died in 1265). As for the Sa skya pas, they were of course linked first with Prince Köden and then with Qubilai and his imperial successors.<sup>11</sup>

Interestingly, the relation between Sa skya Paṅḍi ta and Köden has been regarded by certain sources as having in some fashion continued the earlier one that existed between Tibetan masters (including Sa skya Paṅḍi ta himself) and the kings of Mi ñag, whose realm had been subjugated by Činggis in 1227. Indeed, it is even stated that Köden was a rebirth (*skye ba*) of King rGyal rgod, the founder of the Mi ñag royal dynasty (*i.e.* Ching-tsung, rg. 1032-1048). And, very curiously, when speaking to Qubilai 'Phags pa is reported to have referred to a *bla mchod* relation having previously existed between himself and the king of Mi ñag among other rulers. In this view of things, the Mongol empire was seemingly a kind of successor state – as it were by *renovatio* – of Mi ñag.<sup>12</sup>

An early Tibetan example of the preceptor-donor relation going back to the second half of the eighth century was that existing between Khri Sroñ lde b(r)tsan and Śāntaḡhoṣa – *i.e.*, presumably, the Indian master Śāntarakṣita – who is referred to as being the Tibetan ruler's *dge ba'i bśes gñen* (Skt. *kalyāṇamitra*). Thus, particularly in earlier times, the term *dge ba'i bśes gñen* may well have been used to designate what came later to be called the *bla mchod/mchod gnas*. The latter terms are in fact not included in the Mahāvvyutpatti dating to the early ninth century, which also does not register the term *yon bdag* (although it does list *sbyin bdag* = *dānapati*). But both *mchod gnas* and *yon bdag* are words found in other texts dating back to the Old Kingdom. As for the terms *yon mchod/mchod yon*, they also are not listed in the *Mahāvvyutpatti*.<sup>13</sup>

#### IV

Among the sources available for the present study it is in Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje's *Deb ther dmar po* (otherwise known as the *Hu lan deb ther*, dated 1346, but with later additions) that the expression *yon mchod* is clearly and unambiguously attested for the first time as a copulative compound designating the relation between a donor and preceptor, the reference in the relevant passage being to Qubilai as *yon bdag* and 'Phags pa as *mchod gnas*.<sup>14</sup> Already in the previous century (at the latest) the expression *yon mchod* was in use, but in what are (for us) rather less clear contexts (where the expression may not be a copulative compound).<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> OSOT § IV.

<sup>12</sup> OSOT §§ IV and VI.

<sup>13</sup> OSOT § III. The word *mchod yon* in the meaning of *argha* is however listed in the *Mahāvvyutpatti* (ed. Ishihama and Fukuda, 4338).

<sup>14</sup> Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje (1309-1364), *Hu lan deb ther* (ed. Duñ dkar Blo bzañ 'phrin las, Beijing, 1981), p. 48. See OSOT § VII.

<sup>15</sup> OSOT § VII (with note 64).

As for the copulative compound *mchod yon* of identical reference with *yon mchod*, among the sources accessible it has been found in somewhat later texts such as Paṅ chen bSod nams grags pa's (1478-1554) *Deb ther dmar po'i deb gсар ma* (the *rGyal rabs 'phrul gyi lde mig*, dated 1538).<sup>16</sup>

To express what is known as the *yon mchod* relation, the Tibetan language possesses an extensive vocabulary, but one that is sometimes ambivalent and oscillating depending on the particular concrete circumstances of the individual participants in this relationship. The general idea of the close relation between the spiritual and temporal orders is especially clearly expressed by the expression *chos srid zuñ 'brel* '(dyarchic) conjunction/coordination (literally 'syzygy') of Dharma and Regnum'. Other frequently used equivalent terms are *lugs zuñ/lugs gñis* 'two/twin orders' and *tshul gñis* 'two/twin systems'. In addition, but more rarely, there are attested the terms *gtsug lag gñis* 'two/twin sciences' and *khirms (chen po) gñis* 'two/twin (great) rules'. Further terms and concepts relating to the respective features of the two orders are *bla ma'i bya ba* 'activity (or duty) of the Lama' and *chos kyi bya ba* 'activity of the Dharma' or *chos khirms* 'Dharma-rule' in contrast to *'jig rten gyi/pa'i bya ba* 'activity of the world (*loka*)', *khirms kyi bya ba* 'activity of rule' and *rgyal khirms* 'governance-rule'. The copulative compound *bla dpon* 'Lama and (civil) Officer' may be cited as another expression closely related in meaning to *yon mchod*.<sup>17</sup> The renderings 'twin' and 'coordination' are appropriate in cases where both the spiritual and temporal orders are being thought of as located at more or less the same level (as in the case of the two coordinate branches of the Tibetan government below the Dalai Lamas), whereas these translations will not be suitable when the spiritual order is on the contrary regarded as superordinate to the temporal (as has indeed been the case in very many instances).<sup>18</sup>

Equivalents (at least partial) of *mchod gnas* are *sbyin gnas* 'recipient of alms' (in relation to a *sbyin bdag* = *dānapati* 'donor'), *yon gnas*<sup>19</sup> (= *dakṣiṇīya*) 'recipient [worthy] of offerings, ritual gifts/fees (*yon* = *dakṣiṇā*; cf. Pali *dakkhiṇā*)', and *bla mchod* 'honourable (*dakṣiṇīya*) *bla ma*, reverend donee'. To the extent that these personages are all eminent *bla mas* – i.e. Gurus – functioning as officiants and preceptors, the high honorific expression *dbu bla* is applicable to them.

## V

In order fully to understand the real nature and the conceptual background of the relation in question between the spiritual and temporal, and of both its terms individually, it is necessary to take into account the old Buddhist concept of alms-giving (*dāna* = *sbyin pa*, i.e. *āmiṣadāna* = *zañ ziñ gi sbyin pa*) by a householder (i.e. lay) donor to a monk, who on his part dispenses the

<sup>16</sup> OSOT §§ II, VII.

<sup>17</sup> OSOT §§ I, VIII; cf. § XVII. In the *Tshig mdzod chen mo*, the lexeme *bla dpon* is defined as (1) *bla ma dañ dpon po gñis ka yin pa žig*; (2) *bla ma dañ dpon po gñis kyi bsdus miñ*; and (3) *dpon po 'i že sa* (honorific for *dpon po* 'chief, [civil] officer'). For the expression *bla dpon sbrag pa* 'to combine [the functions of] Lama and officer', see OSOT n. 15 and § VIII.

<sup>18</sup> OSOT §§ I (especially p. 24 ff.), XVI.

<sup>19</sup> In the *Tshig mdzod chen mo*, the lexeme *yon gnas* is explained as *mchod yul gyi gnas...* '(worthy) recipient who is the object of honouring' (cf. the explanation of *mchod gnas* quoted above, note 3); and under *yon gnas nam bzi* the same dictionary explains *yon nam mchod pa 'bul ba'i gnas*. Chos grags gives *mchod pa'i gnas*, and Brag g-yab gives *mchod yul gyi gnas bla ma lta bu*.

gift of Dharma (*dharmadāna* = *chos kyi sbyin pa*). There has thus existed a kind of mutuality and socio-religious solidarity between monk and donor.

But it has to be observed that, in terms of this theory, the monk does not simply teach the Dharma in return for the alms he receives from a donor as a sort of advance payment for his teaching. On the contrary, it is the monk's very nature to be one who realizes and eventually teaches the Dharma. And in Buddhist thought what the donor is deemed actually to receive for his alms is in fact not the Dharma but something rather different, namely religious good (*puṇya* = *bsod nams* 'merit'), the wholesome roots of which he has as it were planted by means of his *dāna* in the good 'field' (*kṣetra* = *ñiñ*) represented by the monk.<sup>20</sup>

With respect to the Officiant/Spiritual Preceptor as donee (*mchod gnas* = *yon gnas*), it is necessary to attempt to determine the extent to which it might be historically and ideologically legitimate to regard him as the successor, or the substitute, of the Indian *purohita* 'chaplain' (Tib. *mdun na 'don*) – the title of a category of official listed in the Mahāvīyutpatti (3680) which is not, however, normally counted as equivalent to the *mchod gnas* = *bla mchod* – who came to function as an official at the court of Indian kings.<sup>21</sup>

The same question arises in relation to the offices of Master of the Realm (Tib. *gu śrī* < Ch. *kuo-shih*) and of Imperial Master (Tib. *ti śrī* < Ch. *ti-shih*) in the Sino-Mongolian bureaucracy of the Yüan dynasty. A *mchod gnas* could indeed be appointed a *kuo-shih* or *ti-shih*, as 'Phags pa for example in fact was. But this does not imply that, *per se*, the function of *mchod gnas* can be automatically equated with the official and institutionalized positions of *kuo-shih* and *ti-shih*. For, as already observed above, the relation between *mchod gnas* and *yon bdag* is essentially a socio-religious and personal one whereas that between *kuo-shih/ti-shih* and emperor was evidently an official one of bureaucratic character in the Yüan administration.<sup>22</sup>

Our enquiry thus comes to engage the vexed problem of what Robert Lingat has called the 'functionarization' of the Buddhist clergy – *i.e.* its officialization, institutional bureaucratization and quasi secularization.<sup>23</sup>

## VI

Also requiring attention is a process opposed to this 'functionarization' of the clergy, namely the process that counteracted the officialization and politicization latent in the *yon mchod* relation (and in other parallel relationships between monks and monarchs) – and to which the *mchod gnas* was thus exposed in his capacity of officiant to a royal donor – by favouring what might be termed a 'neutralization of the political'. This neutralization was achieved, with greater or lesser success, according to the historical and personal situation in which the individual actors actually found themselves at a given time.<sup>24</sup>

The tension – latent or manifest – in the *yon mchod* relation between politicization accompanied by secularization and strict Buddhist observance found expression in the thirteenth century in an epigram which the young scholar bCom ldan Rig ral is reported to have directed against 'Phags pa's ambiguous situation and in the latter's reply. In his epigram Rig ral blames

<sup>20</sup> OSOT §§ XIII and XVIII (p. 81).

<sup>21</sup> OSOT § XI (and above, p. 858).

<sup>22</sup> OSOT §§ X-XI.

<sup>23</sup> R. Lingat, *Royautés bouddhiques* (Paris, 1989), pp. 227, 239. See OSOT § XVIII.

<sup>24</sup> OSOT § XVIII.



'Phags pa's position in the following words:

'The Teaching of the Buddha is obscured by a cloud of obedience to [imperial] commands [?], the well-being and happiness of beings falls into the hands of the ruler, and the religious of this Iron Age adopts the behaviour of an official: it is known that he who [like 'Phags pa] is ignorant of these three things is no Noble (*'phags pa = ārya*).'

To this biting criticism 'Phags pa is stated to have replied:

'The Jina has declared that his Teaching is subject to increase and decline, the well-being and happiness of beings depend on their karmic action, and one gives teachings to the one destined to be one's disciple: it is known that he who is ignorant of these three things is no scholar.'<sup>25</sup>

Thus, against Rig ral's traditionalist, and 'Vinayist', conception of the matter, 'Phags pa has pointedly, and very tellingly, invoked the idea of a Guru's being bound to teach those disciples who are karmically linked with him.<sup>26</sup>

Now, in a comparable – but clearly not altogether identical – situation in the following century, a parallel difficulty was met by the traditionalist and 'Vinayist' attitude adopted by Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364), who managed to escape an invitation – no doubt rather a summons – from the Mongol court in Dadu (Tai-tu, Beijing) and to remain in Tibet to devote himself to the activities and duties normally deemed suitable for a learned monk.<sup>27</sup> Although he thus avoided having to obey the emperor's summons – and risking becoming involved in what could have been a politico-religious relationship of the *yon mchod* type with the emperor Toyon Temür (*rg.* 1333-1368[1370]) –, Bu ston was nonetheless prepared to maintain a more traditionally Buddhist socio-religious link with the *sku žaŋ* ruler of the Ža lu myriarchy based on the ancient precedent of the relation existing between the Buddha and the lay donor Anāthapiṇḍada.<sup>28</sup> It would doubtless have been much less problematic for Bu ston – and for Tibetan *bla mas* in general – to establish and maintain the link between the spiritual and temporal orders with a fellow Tibetan Buddhist than to entertain one with a Mongol emperor descended from the great conqueror Činggis Qan.

## VII

With regard to spiritual authority and temporal power in Tibet, these two orders have not only been represented separately by two different persons – the *mchod gnas* = *bla mchod* and the *yon bdag* – but they have also sometimes been conjoined, and exercised together, by one and

<sup>25</sup> The text is to be found, e.g., in Gu śri Blo bzañ tshes 'phel 'Jigs med rig pa'i rdo rje (18th-19th century), *Hor chos 'byuñ* (ed. Huth), pp. 98-99: *sañs rgyas bstan pa bka' phyag sprin gyis bsgribs/ |sems can bde skyid mi dpon lag tu śor/|sñigs dus dge sbyon dpon po'i brtul žugs 'dzin/|'di gsum ma rtogs 'phags pa min par go/| – bstan la 'phel 'grib yod pa rgyal bas gsuñs/ |sems can bde skyid rañ rañ las la rag/ |gañ la gañ 'dul de la de ston byed/ |'di gsum ma rtogs mkhas pa min par go/| See OSOT, pp. 83-84.*

<sup>26</sup> OSOT, § XVIII.

<sup>27</sup> OSOT § XVIII. See sGra tshad pa Rin chen rnam rgyal (1318-1388), *Bu ston rnam thar*, f. 23a (cf. f. 35a). Cf. D. Seyfort Ruegg, *Life of Bu ston Rin po che* (Rome, 1966), p. 121 (and p. 156).

<sup>28</sup> OSOT §§ XIII, XV. For the relation between Bu ston and the myriarch (*khri dpon*) of Ža lu – the *sku žaŋ* Grags pa rgyal mtshan, who was regarded as the emanation of the *lokapāla* and *mahārāja* Vaiśravaṇa –, see *Bu ston rnam thar*, f. 15a-b (cf. D. Seyfort Ruegg, *Life of Bu ston Rin po che*, p. 93).

the same person. This person was the Bodhisattva-King in a hierocratic – or, more precisely, ‘Bodhisattvacratic’ and ‘Bodhisattva-centric’ – polity.

Thus, within the frame of Tibet taken by itself, ‘Phags pa – regarded as he was as the manifestation (*sprul pa = nirmāṇa*) of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara-Lokeśvara – functioned both as a great *bla ma* and as the ruler of Central Tibet, thus combining in himself as hierarch the two functions or orders. Moreover, within Tibet, he was also associated dyarchically with the Sa skya *dpon chens* or Great (civil) Officers, who took on certain executive functions of rulership. And for a time he was associated with his layman younger brother Phyang na rdo rje (1239-1267) – regarded as the nirmāṇic manifestation of the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi – who filled a temporal function as Prince of Pai-lan.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, in the larger frame of the Mongol empire, ‘Phags pa was dyarchically linked in a *yon mchod* relationship with Qubilai, himself regarded as a nirmāṇic manifestation of the Bodhisattva Mañjuḥṣa.<sup>30</sup>

It is these shifting and multilayered links between a Bodhisattva-King or Hierocrat and various levels of temporal power that justify describing the relation between the spiritual and temporal order as oscillating and kaleidoscopic.

This structural ambivalence in the function of sovereignty appears to be reflected on the linguistic level in the lexeme *bla dpon*, which may be used to designate either a dyarchically linked pair of persons, one of whom is a *bla ma* and the other is a chief or civil official, or a single person who is both a *bla ma* and a chief thus combining the two functions.<sup>31</sup>

It is to be noted that the idea of the Bodhisattva-King or Hierocrat is by no means reducible to that of theocracy, the Ārya-Bodhisattva – who has entered the transworldly Path of Awakening (*lokottaramārga = ’jig rten las ’das pa’i lam*, starting with the *darśanamārga = mthoñ lam*) – having of course nothing whatever to do in Buddhist thought with a *theos* of any kind. Indeed, in Tibetan as well as in Indian Buddhism, the idea of a ‘god’ (Tib. *lha*, Skt. *deva*) is connected very much less with a Bodhisattva (and *a fortiori* a Buddha) than with a king. As for the concept of the Bodhisattva-King taking on the function of a ruling monarch as the nirmāṇic manifestation (*sprul pa*) of a Bodhisattva – such as the Dalai Lamas or ‘Phags pa himself as manifestations of Avalokiteśvara-Lokeśvara, the Mahākāruṇika or ‘Great Compassionate’ –, it is at least in principle distinct from that of the King-as-Bodhisattva – in other words the ruler identified with a Bodhisattva. This latter idea also is found in Tibet – for example in the cases of the kings Sroñ btsan sgam po, Khri Sroñ lde btsan and Ral pa can regarded as manifestations respectively of Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi – as well as in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Presumably, however, neither the Sa skya dpon chen nor Phyang na rdo rje as Prince of Pai-lan could be properly described as a *yon bdag* of ‘Phags pa, so that here we have cases of the relationship of the spiritual and temporal orders without the copulative compound *yon mchod* being strictly speaking applicable.

On the title *pa’i len dbañ*, see L. Petech, ‘Princely houses of the Yüan period connected with Tibet’, in T. Skorupski (ed.), *Indo-Tibetan studies* (Snellgrove Felicitation Volume, Tring, 1990), p. 258. The spelling *sa len dbañ*, found in the *Sa skya ’i gduñ rabs* of Nāg dbañ kun dga’ bsod nams (Beijing, 1986, p. 233), appears to be an error for *pa[’i] len dbañ* ‘Prince of Pai-lan’, the letters *pa* and *sa* being rather easily confused in Tibetan cursive script.

<sup>30</sup> OSOT §§ 1, IX, XVI. – It is to be observed that the three Bodhisattvas in question – Avalokiteśvara, Vajrapāṇi and Mañjuḥṣa – are sometimes known as the *rigs gsum mgon po*, i.e. the heads of a triad of spiritual families (*kula*).

<sup>31</sup> OSOT § VIII. On this and the expression *bla dpon sbrag pa*, see above, n. 17.

<sup>32</sup> OSOT §§ 1, IX. In the case of a King-Bodhisattva, an individual king would be the focus and central figure, who is then identified with a Bodhisattva; whereas in the case of a Bodhisattva-King it is evidently the Bodhisattva who is the central figure, who then manifests himself, nirmāṇically, as a king. But the frontier between the two concepts is not always absolute.

## VIII

An attempt has next to be made to identify in Indian and Tibetan Buddhist thought what may be either historical precedents – or, in the case of the Legend of King Aśoka, a quasi historical precedent – or theoretical models which could have helped underpin the idea of a ‘constitutional’ relation between a Spiritual Preceptor, or Guru, on the one side and the King of/by the Dharma (*dharmarāja = chos rgyal*) or Universal Monarch (*cakravartī-rāja = ’khor los sgyur ba’i rgyal po*) on the other. Particular attention has also to be given to the situation already mentioned in which the spiritual and temporal orders have been combined together in a single person, the Bodhisattva-King or Hierocrat.

The search for theoretical models and ancient Indian historical precedents which might have served Tibetan thinkers is, however, no straightforward matter, for our Tibetan sources are not as explicit on the subject as we would wish. Moreover, in view of the many demands doubtless made on their time and energy and of their numberless practical day-to-day concerns and responsibilities, it is likely that neither ’Phags pa in his relation with Qubilai Qayan nor his uncle Sa skya Paṅḍi ta in his relation with Prince Köden was ever in a position to compose a full theoretical treatise on the ‘constitutional’ relation between the two orders represented by the Officiant/Spiritual Preceptor and the Donor-Ruler. It has to be remembered besides that ’Phags pa died in 1280 at the quite young age of 45.

To be noted in the first place is the fact that the Indian emperor Aśoka does not figure among the precedents and models for the Dharmarāja-Donor of a Spiritual Preceptor which have been identified in our sources. In this way, the significance in Tibet of Aśoka was rather less than it was in the Theravādin world of South Asia, where this ruler has been regarded as an exemplar for the Dharmarāja-Donor.<sup>33</sup>

One precedent for the relation between a religious and his donor attested in our Tibetan sources has been that of the link between the Buddha and Anāthapiṇḍada, the munificent householder (*grhapatī*) and merchant (*śreṣṭhin*) of Śrāvastī. As already pointed out above (p. 863), this particular relationship has been cited by sGra tshad pa Rin chen rnam gyal as the model for the one obtaining between his master Bu ston and the *sku zan* prince of Za lu in the fourteenth century.

A second precedent is that of Nāgārjuna as the spiritual counsellor of a king. This rôle is found in two texts ascribed to this master, the *Suhylleka* (where the Śātavāhana ruler bDe spyod is named) and the *Ratnāvalī* (where no king's name is specified). Nāgārjuna is also credited with having composed treatises on morals and statecraft (*nītiśāstra*) such as the *Prajñāśataka*, the \**Janapoṣaṇabindu* and the *Prajñādaṇḍa*. And the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (liii.867-9) describes him as an ascetic concerned with affairs of the realm (*rājyavṛttin*). A passage from the *Ratnāvalī* (ii.26-28) has been cited in Tshe ’phel's *Hor chos ’byuñ* in respect to the relation between ’Phags pa and Qubilai.<sup>34</sup>

These two precedents are subsumable under the model of the spiritual counsellor and his Dānapati, the latter being a wealthy and munificent merchant in the case of the Buddha and a king in the case of Nāgārjuna.

<sup>33</sup> OSOT §§ XIV, XVI.

<sup>34</sup> Gu śri Blo bzang tshe ’phel ’jigs med rigs pa’i rdo rje, *Hor chos ’byuñ* (ed. Huth), pp. 86-87. See OSOT §§ XV-XVI.

A further, closely related, model for the relation between the spiritual and temporal orders is the particularly significant one of the Vajrayānist Guru and his ruler-disciple. Indeed, according to Tibetan historical traditions, 'Phags pa owed his rulership and temporal power over Tibet in the frame of the Mongol 'universal empire' to the ritual *dakṣiṇā* (*dbañ yon*) or gift which he received as Qubilai's Guru for Consecrations (*dbañ [bskur]* = *abhiṣeka*) he conferred on this Mongol emperor.<sup>35</sup>

The matter of the link between the spiritual and temporal orders is, however, complicated by the fact that they were not invariably represented by two different persons in a dyarchic relationship (either in the coordination of two parties or in the superordination of one party to the other). As already observed above (pp. 863-864), spiritual authority was on occasion invested together with temporal rule in a single person, as in the case of 'Phags pa who – as the nirmāṇic manifestation (*sprul pa*) of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara-Lokeśvara – was considered, within the frame of Tibet, as both a *bla ma* hierarch and the ruler of Tibet (in much the same way as the Dalai Lamas have been afterwards).

In summary, beside the (quasi) historical precedents of the Buddha's relation with Anāthapiṇḍada and of Nāgārjuna's relation with contemporary kings, it appears possible to distinguish at least three main theoretical models for the 'constitutional' relationship between spiritual authority and temporal power in Tibet at the time in question:

1. the dyarchic model of the Dānapati (*yon bdag*) – a Dharmarāja (*chos rgyal*) sometimes viewed also as a Cakravartin king ( *'khor los sgyur ba'i rgyal po*) – and his Officiant and Spiritual Preceptor (*mchod gnas*) – often considered a Bodhisattva –, the two orders being thus represented by two separate persons;
2. the model of the Vajrayānist Guru and his neophyte disciple, namely the ruler recipient of a Consecration from a Guru to whom he presents a ritual gift or *dakṣiṇā* (*dbañ yon*) (structurally, this model presents itself as a special case of the first, non-Vajrayānist, model);
3. the hierocratic and nirmāṇic one of the Bodhisattva-King combining in himself both spiritual authority and temporal power – even when, additionally, this hierarch in turn stands in a *yon mchod* relation to a 'universal emperor' (e.g. Qubilai in the larger frame of the Mongol empire), or in a dyarchical relationship with a civil officer (e.g. the Sa skya *dpon chens* in the frame of the smaller unit of Central Tibet), or even associated with a relative (such as in the case of 'Phags pa's relation to his younger brother Phyag na rdo rje, Prince of Pai-lan). In the case of the Bodhisattva-King as Hierocrat, the use of the terms *yon mchod* and *mchod yon* as copulative compounds referring to two separate persons is not appropriate, as it would evidently also not be when 'Phags pa was associated either with the Sa skya *dpon chen* or with his brother. But its employment will be relevant when this hierarch is linked with a *yon bdag* in the way 'Phags pa was with Qubilai.

Another *bla ma* who filled the role of officiant and preceptor to a Mongol prince at approximately the same time as 'Phags pa was sGa A gñan Dam pa Kun dga' grags (died in 1303). Considered a manifestation of Gur gyi mgon po – *i.e.* Mahākāla, a *yi dam* form of Avalokiteśvara – he may be supposed to have functioned as a Vajrayānist Guru. Also, like 'Phags pa, he is reported to have received the title of *kuo-shih* from the Yüan emperor.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> OSOT § XVI.

<sup>36</sup> OSOT §§ I (p. 18), VII (pp. 39-40), X, XII (p. 54). On sGa A gñan Dam pa, see OSOT, p. 82.

The fact that both 'Phags pa and A gñan Dam pa have been regarded as *nirmāṇic* manifestations (*sprul pa*) in some way connected with Avalokiteśvara is likely to be significant in view of this Bodhisattva's well-known identity as Lokeśvara = 'Jig rten dbaṅ phyug. (Compare the more or less synonymous epithet, and proper name, 'jig rten mgon po = *lokanātha* applied to Avalokiteśvara, and also the title 'gro mgon = *jagannātha*, literally 'ethnarch', which was given 'Phags pa and other hierarchs.<sup>37</sup>)

Although the theoretical models that have been identified above are conceptually distinct, in practice they do not exclude each other. And each of them has been found applicable, in some particular respect, to 'Phags pa's functions and rôles as described in our various sources.<sup>38</sup>

## IX

When examining here the relationship of the spiritual and temporal orders, and the *yon mchod* link, our task has above all been to study cultural and religious phenomena, as well as socio-religious and politico-religious ideas, rather than the political and military history of Inner Asia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The latter task has already been carried out by several historians of the empire of Činggis Qan and his successors, of the Sino-Mongol Yüan dynasty and of the relations between Tibetans, Mongols and Chinese at that time. Reference may be made in particular to the recent book by Luciano Petech entitled *Central Tibet and the Mongols* (Rome, 1990).

In the recently published sixth volume of the *Cambridge History of China* (1994) it has been observed (pp. 706-07) that 'the contributions of the Tibetan Buddhist monk 'Phags-pa have not been accorded a full-scale study ... [M]ore research is needed on 'Phag-pa's influence.' That 'Phags pa did exercise considerable influence in Inner Asia, and even at the Sino-Mongol court, indeed appears likely. As already noted, however, the Tibetan documentation available does not include any detailed contemporary treatise on his 'constitutional' position as the *mchod gnas* of Qubilai, any more than it does on his uncle Sa skya Paṅḍi ta's politico-religious thinking in the relation into which he entered with Prince Köden.<sup>39</sup> And it appears probable that neither Sa skya Paṅḍi ta nor 'Phags pa found the opportunity to theorize in a special treatise this relation as it was developing between them and Mongol rulers in the middle of the thirteenth century.

One thing however appears abundantly clear. As envisaged in the thirteenth century, and also in succeeding centuries, in Tibet and elsewhere in Inner Asia, the *yon mchod* relation linking an officiant and spiritual preceptor with a donor-ruler was in fact considered possible and meaningful exclusively between a *bla ma* or Guru on the one side and a monarch who was a *chos rgyal* – i.e. a King of/by the Dharma (*dharmarāja*) – on the other side. The officiant and preceptor (*mchod gnas/bla mchod*) might, like 'Phags pa, be a powerful abbot-prince considered to be the *nirmāṇic* manifestation of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara-Lokeśvara; or, like Bu ston, he might be a monk who was highly regarded above all by reason of his eminence as a learned *bla ma*. As for the donor-ruler (*yon bdag/sbyin bdag*), he might be a great emperor and 'universal monarch' like Qubilai (who was, moreover, sometimes himself considered to be a

<sup>37</sup> OSOT §§ 1, IX.

<sup>38</sup> OSOT § XVI.

<sup>39</sup> In the Tibetan historical literature accessible to me, I have been able to find little that is directly comparable to, e.g., the Mongolian *Čayan teüke*. In this text are to be found several of the Mongolian equivalents of the terms and concepts discussed in this paper. See K. Sagaster, *Die weisse Geschichte* (Wiesbaden, 1976).

manifestation of a Bodhisattva); or he might be a king like the Mi ñag rulers who appointed Tibetan masters as their *bla mas* (without either of them being stated in our sources to be the nirmāṇic manifestation of great Bodhisattvas); or again he might be a princely myriarch like Bu ston's *sku žaṅ* donor (considered an emanation of the *lokapāla* and *mahārāja Vaiśravaṇa*). But at all events, in the relationship between the spiritual and temporal orders, the temporal power had to be held by a ruler considered to be a true Dharmarāja, a King of/by the Dharma.

Furthermore, as already noted, the link between donee and donor was accordingly – and virtually by definition – a religious and personal one rather than an official and bureaucratically institutionalized one. It thus differed significantly from the institutionalized relationships into which the Sino-Mongol *kuo-shih* and *ti-shih* – and even the Indian *purohita* as a royal officer – entered.

## X

In summary, the *yon mchod/mchod yon* relation as well as the spiritual and temporal functions of the *mchod gnas* and *yon bdag* constituting it can be seen to be rooted – if sometimes only at more than one remove – in certain Buddhist socio-religious concepts, and in what might be called an emerging politico-religious ideology influenced by Buddhist concepts.

Of special importance was in the first place the above-mentioned Indian Buddhist concept of alms-giving (*sbyin pa = dāna*) in the relation between an alms-giver (*sbyin bdag = dānapati*) and a religious (*rab byuṅ = pravrajita*) and almsman (*dge sloṅ = bhikṣu*) worthy of being honoured (*dakṣiṇīya = mchod gnas, [su gyur pa]*). The donor was of course usually a layman who supplied the monk with material gifts (*āmiśadāna = zaṅ ziṅ gi sbyin pa*), i.e. alms. For his part the monk is characterized by his gift of the Dharma (*dharmadāna = chos kyi sbyin pa*).

As for the gift, or ritual fee (*dbaṅ yon*), received by the Guru from the neophyte at the time of a Vajrayānist Consecration (*dbaṅ [bskur] = abhiṣeka*), it was evidently not considered to have the effect of placing the Guru in a position of subordination to his disciple.

Technically, the term *mchod gnas* and its equivalent *yon gnas (dakṣiṇīya)* may denote a recipient worthy of receiving such ritual gifts (*yon : dakṣiṇā*). The ritual gifts, known as *dbaṅ yon*, of rulership over Tibetan provinces that 'Phags pa is stated to have received for the Consecrations he conferred on Qubilai are famous examples. More generally, however, the terms *mchod gnas* and *yon gnas* denote a religious to be honoured, a 'reverend donee' in the Buddhist structure of society.<sup>40</sup>

If he is a king or a person of high rank, the donor (*sbyin bdag = dānapati*) is commonly (though not invariably) referred to as *yon bdag* 'master of ritual offerings' – corresponding literally to Skt. *\*dakṣiṇā-pati*, a term that does not, however, appear to be actually attested in Sanskrit sources.

Now, it is doubtless true that the participants in the Inner Asian *yon mchod* relation – the *yon bdag* and the *mchod gnas* – differ in certain important respects from the participants – the *dānapati* and the *bhikṣu* – in the ancient Indian structure of society just outlined which is founded on the relation between a lay giver of material gifts (*āmiśadāna*) and a religious, who is the provider of Dharma-teaching (*dharmadāna*). Still, as noted above (p. 858), in a Buddhist society and polity the concept of the *yon bdag* is hardly rendered adequately by 'patron' (at

<sup>40</sup> There can therefore be no question of the *mchod gnas* either being a 'sacrificial priest' ('Opferpriester') or standing to his *yon bdag* in a more or less feudal tribute relationship; see *OSOT* § 11, n. 27. – On whether feudalism can serve as a relevant heuristic or analytical concept in the present context, see *HSTC*, pp. 441-2, 453 n. 37.

least in most uses of this word) when the relationship into which the preceptor-donee enters with the ruler-donor is based on the dyarchical model of the spiritual preceptor in relation to his Dānapati, or on the somewhat more specific model of the Vajrayānist Guru and his disciple. This question does not of course arise at all in the case of the Bodhisattva-King, who combines in himself both the spiritual and temporal orders, and in whom the rulership aspect of sovereignty is subordinate to his religious function.

## XI

For any full and well-founded understanding of what, in Tibetan civilization and history, is at stake in the relationship between the spiritual and temporal orders, there is required not only a 'rectification of names and terms' but in addition a historical-philological analysis of socio-religious and politico-religious concepts and of the corresponding terminology as used in the sources.

This kind of investigation inescapably raises a number of difficulties of a conceptual and historical nature, as well as many a vexed problem of methodology. Not only are generalizing and comparative – and hence 'etic' – analyses to be proposed, but, in addition, a sustained effort needs to be made to take into account categories and terms proper to the Buddhist civilization from which our materials come. Being systemic and structural – and hence 'emic' – in nature, these latter categories and terminologies may indeed be expected to be at least as appropriate (if not more so) as the former for the purpose of shedding light on the cultural and intellectual structures inherent in the materials being examined. Indeed, generalizing and comparative, *i.e.* 'etic', interpretations need to be solidly anchored in analyses founded on indigenous, *i.e.* 'emic', categories. Such analysis has moreover to be not only descriptive but also historical, according due importance to the diachronic axis alongside the synchronic one.<sup>41</sup>

In Tibetan and Indian Buddhist thought, two 'emic' categories that come close to situating and defining the concepts of spiritual and temporal invoked here are in certain contexts 'supramundane' or 'transmundane' ('*jig rten las 'das pa = lokottara*) and 'mundane' ('*jig rten pa = laukika*).<sup>42</sup>

With regard to the links connecting Tibetan and Indian civilization, beside Indian borrowings (in the proper and strict sense of the word 'Indian') Tibetan civilization embraces what can be termed Indic (as distinct from Indian) components. These are elements that (in our present stage of knowledge at least) are not actually attested in India, but which the Tibetans have themselves developed by creatively adopting, adapting and further elaborating ideas – and also terms – that are ultimately of Indian origin. In other words, these Indic elements are *typologically* and *structurally* Indian without having actually been borrowed ready-made from India.<sup>43</sup>

Thus, whilst Tib. *mchod gnas/yon gnas* are known to translate Skt. *dakṣiṇīya/dakṣiṇeya* (cf. Pali *dakkhiṇeyya*), the idea expressed by these Tibetan terms is, in its full religio-political development, something more than what is actually known under this Sanskrit designation from our Indian sources. No established Sanskrit term is, moreover, known to correspond precisely to the copulative compounds *yon mchod/mchod yon*.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>41</sup> On this see *OSOT*, Part II, p. 140 ff.

<sup>42</sup> See *OSOT*, pp. 22f., 90f., 138f. (with bibliography).

<sup>43</sup> On this see *OSOT*, Part II, p. 141 ff.

<sup>44</sup> Compare however the Sanskrit copulative compound *ṛvig-yājyau* 'officiant and beneficiary of the sacrifice'; see *OSOT*, p. 56.

When investigating such concepts and terms it will, then, be necessary methodologically to steer clear both of the Scylla of radical relativism that deems it right to enclose each civilization hermetically within the boundaries of its categories and concepts – something that represents a distortion of the genuinely systemic, and ‘emic’, approach – and of the Charybdis of ethnocentrism (European or Asian) which, Procrustes-like, would superimpose its own standards and categories on another culture while judging the latter by imposed interpretative grids and templates – something that is a travesty of any truly comparative, and ‘etic’, analysis.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> See *OSOT*, Part II. On ethnocentric (Eurocentric, etc.) interpretations in modern international law of the *yon mchod* relation between a Lama and a ruler, as well as in some modern ideas about so-called Tibetan feudalism, see *HSTC*, pp. 441-2, 443-4, 451-2 and n. 37.



## GLOSSARY OF TIBETAN TECHNICAL TERMS

- khriṃs (chen po) gñis* 'two (great) rules' (said of the spiritual and temporal orders).
- chos srid zuñ 'brel* '(dyarchic) coordination (literally 'syzygy') of Dharma and Regnum (said of the spiritual and temporal orders).
- mchod gnas* (determinative compound) '(spiritual) officiant/counsellor/preceptor-donee' (literally 'recipient [worthy] of honour/honoraria; reverend donee'; *Tshig mdzod chen mo: mchod pa 'bul yul gyi žiñ ñam mchod bya*); translates Skt. *dakṣiṇīya/dakṣiṇeya* (cf. Pali *dakkhiṇeyya*) 'worthy of honour/an honorarium/ritual fee' and, more generally, 'honourable, reverend donee' (cf. *yon gnas*, and also *sbyin gnas*).
- mchod yon* (1) (copulative compound) '(spiritual) officiant/counsellor/preceptor-donee (*mchod gnas*) and donor (*yon bdag*)' (cf. *yon mchod*) [no Indian source for this term is known, but compare the Sanskrit copulative compound *ṛtvig-yājyau* 'officiant and beneficiary of the sacrifice' (see *OSOT*, p. 56)];  
 (2) (determinative compound) '(ritual) water (offering)' (cf. *yon chu/yon chab*) (*Mahāvvyutpatti* 4338 and *Abhidhāna-Viśvalocana* 1480 have *argha*; *Amarakoṣa* ii, *Brahmavarga* 32 has *arghya*; *Brag g-yab* gives *argha*; *Chos grags* indicates both *yon chab* and *žal bsil*; but *Tshig mdzod chen mo* interprets the expression as a copulative compound: *mchod pa dañ yon chab* 'offering (*pūjā*) and ritual water offering (*argh[ya]*)', and gives the additional meaning of *sku yon* 'offering; emolument, fee');  
 (3) = *aghnyā* 'not to be killed (cow, as something holy)' (*Amarakoṣa*, ii, *Vaiśyavarga* 67) [misreading of *aghnyā* as *arghya* by the Tibetan transl. ?].
- bla mchod* (1) (appositional compound) 'honourable/reverend *bla ma*-donee' (*Chos grags* and *Brag g-yab: mchod pa'i gnas la'añ*; *Tshig mdzod chen mo: mchod yul gyi bla ma*) (cf. *mchod gnas*);  
 (2) (determinative compound) = *bla ma mchod pa* (= *gurupūjā*) (according to the *Tshig mdzod chen mo*).
- bla dpon* (1) (copulative compound) '*bla ma* and chief/(civil) officer (*dpon po*)';  
 (2) (appositional compound) '*bla ma* who is (also) a *dpon po*';  
 (3) (honorific for) *dpon po* (according to the *Tshig mdzod chen mo*) [see above, note 17].
- dbañ yon* (determinative compound) 'gift/ritual honorarium/fee ('*dakṣiṇā*') offered to the Guru by a neophyte disciple on receiving a Vajrayānist Consecration (*dbañ [bskur]* = *abhiṣeka*)'.
- dbu bla* (high honorific) 'Lama' (in his capacity of officiant/counsellor/preceptor of a person of high status).
- sbyin bdag* (determinative compound) 'almsgiver, donor' (literally 'master of *dāna*') (*Mahāvvyutpatti* 2866: *dānapati*).

- sbyin gnas* (determinative compound) ‘(religious) donee’ (in relation to a *sbyin bdag*) (literally ‘recipient [worthy] of *dāna*’) (*Mahāvvyutpatti* 6798: *dakṣiṇīya*).
- gtsug lag gñis* ‘two sciences’ (said of the spiritual and temporal orders) (*gtsug lag* = *śāstra* [also *ārṣa/ārṣabha*]).
- tshul gñis* ‘two systems’ (said of the spiritual and temporal orders).
- yon* (honorific for *gla cha* and *sbyin pa*) ‘gift, offering, ritual honorarium/fee’ (Skt. *dakṣiṇā*; also translates Skt. *argh[ya]* ‘water offering’, etc.).
- yon mchod* (copulative compound) ‘donor (*yon bdag*) and (spiritual) officiant/counsellor/preceptor-donee’ (cf. *mchod yon*). [There also exist uses of the lexeme *yon mchod* where reference does not appear to be made to two different (sets of) persons, in other words where the compound is not a copulative one (but an appositional one?; cf. the uses of the word *bla dpon* listed above, and the Skt. word *rājarṣi* ‘king-sage’, i.e. a royal Ṛṣi). See *OSOT*, p. 39 n. 64.]
- yon bdag* (honorific for *sbyin bdag* = *dānapati*) ‘donor’ (literally ‘master of offerings, ritual honorarium/fee’, Skt. \**dakṣiṇā-pati* [term not attested in the dictionaries]; *Abhidhāna-Viśvalocana* 898 has *sattrin* ‘performer of a *sattra* ceremony’).
- yon gnas* ‘recipient [worthy] of *dakṣiṇā*; honourable, reverend donee’ (*Tshig mdzod chen mo*: *mchod yul gyi gnas te dkon mchog gsum lta bu*; cf. s.v. *yon gnas rnam bži*: *yon nam mchod pa ’bul ba’i gnas bži ste | bla ma dañ | ’jam pa’i dbyaṅs | dbyaṅs can ma | sruñ ma bcas so*); translates Skt. *dakṣiṇīya* and equivalent to *mchod gnas* (cf. also *sbyin gnas*).
- lugs gñis* ‘two orders’ (said of the spiritual and temporal orders).
- lugs zuñ* ‘(dyarchic) coordination of the two orders’ (spiritual and temporal).

# THE FIRE DRAGON *CHOS 'KHOR* (1076 AD)

by

Lobsang Shastri, Dharamsala

It is a commonly known fact that Buddha Śākyamuni set in motion in this world the three *chos 'khor*s for the three levels of living beings, dealing with the cause, result and the suchness of the nirvana as his principal subject matter. The definition of *chos 'khor*, according to the Prajñāpāramitā and the Abhisamayālaṅkāra, is "any speech on *dharma* that principally deals with the cause, result or the suchness of the nirvana."<sup>1</sup> Now, this being the definition of *chos 'khor*, it can be safely said that a chain of *chos 'khor*s have taken place in India, in the course of time from Buddha Śākyamuni down to each of his seven successors, and several other *paṇḍitas* and *siddhas* in later periods. In Tibet also, several learned masters, *lo tsa bas* and *paṇḍitas* have set in motion a chain of *chos 'khor*s in the life times of the past Tibetan emperors; this is a fact recorded in the Tibetan annals.<sup>2</sup> For example, in the life time of the 28th Tibetan emperor, lHa tho tho ri gnyan btsan, Buddhism reached Tibet for the first time; in the life time of Emperor Srong btsan sgam po, Buddhism spread far and wide there, and in the life time of Emperor Khri srong lde'u btsan, *mahopadyaya* Śāntarakṣita and *ācārya* Padmasambhava reached Tibet on a royal invitation and set in motion the great *chos 'khor* at bSam yas, which inaugurated the early propagation of the doctrine. Then, as a result of the efforts made by *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od and his nephew Byang chub 'od, the rulers of mNga' ris, Western Tibet, the later propagation of the doctrine took place in Tibet in the mid 10th century, followed by setting in motion of several *chos 'khor*s all over Tibet, especially in the three regions of mNga' ris. From among them, the one that took place in the year Fire-male Dragon (*i.e.* A.D. 1076) is treated as the most important of all in the annals. For this reason, I have chosen this *chos 'khor* for the present discussion.

The meaning of the term *chos 'khor* as set in motion by Buddha Śākyamuni is different from that of the Fire-male Dragon's. Buddha Śākyamuni was able to read the thoughts, intentions and the hidden mental dispositions of the three levels of living beings. Thus, he set in motion the *chos 'khor*s with the aim, principally, to lead those living beings to the realm of the omniscient. According to Paṅchen Sha kya mchog ldan (1428-1507), the term *chos 'khor* means all the *dharma* activities that have taken place from Buddha Śākyamuni down to the initial propagation and the spread of Buddhism in Tibet. He says:

Generally, this phrase "setting in motion the *chos 'khor*" is used [by the people] in this sense: to keep up the sun of the doctrine from going down, when it is above the horizon; and to make wise and vigorous efforts to bring it back, when a part of it has already gone down.<sup>3</sup>

According to some other people, the term *chos 'khor* also means the monasteries, the objects for prostration and offering, and the places for pilgrimage; they have considered the term *chos*

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<sup>1</sup> *rNam bshad snying rgyan* 27.

<sup>2</sup> This includes *lDe'u chos 'byung*, *Nyang ral chos 'byung*, and Sha kya mchog ldan's *Chos 'khor rnam gzhang*.

<sup>3</sup> *Chos 'khor rnam gzhang* 458.

*'khor* a synonym of *gnas bskor* (pilgrimage). Although, this is doubtful we cannot deny this notion completely.

The meaning of the term *chos 'khor* under discussion here is slightly different. Under the patronage of the king of mNga' ris, many learned masters and *paṇḍitas* gathered; some did the discussions on *dharmā*; others did the teachings; and still others did the translations. Accordingly, this gathering was named *chos 'khor*. Furthermore, the name "*chos 'khor* monastery" is rightly given to the monasteries, where the translations of the "words" and the commentaries, the revisions of the translations, the teachings and discussions on holy *dharmā* by Indian *paṇḍitas* and *siddhas* – who had arrived on invitation – took place during the later propagation of the doctrine. Such monasteries, for example, are mNga' ris mTho lding, Mar yul Al ci, and sPi ti Ta po monastery.<sup>4</sup> Concerning how many *chos 'khors* had taken place in Tibet before and after the *chos 'khor* under discussion, who their patrons had been, and so forth, no detailed discussion will be made in this paper. However, I must mention the two well-known *chos 'khor*<sup>5</sup> held after the Fire-Dragon *chos 'khor*: the first is the *chos 'khor* of fire-ox (1277) held at Chu mig ring mo of gTsang during the second arrival of *chos rgyal 'Phags pa* (1235-1280) in Tibet, and the other one is known as *rTsed thang chos 'khor*, held during the 14th century and patronised by second Phag gru ruler Gu shri 'Jam dbyangs shakya rgyal mtshan (1372-1384).

Translations from Sanskrit to Tibetan did take place on a large scale at sGra bsgyur gling in bSam yas during the early propagation of the doctrine.<sup>6</sup> However, on the question whether *chos 'khors* such as the one under discussion had taken place in those days or not, I have not yet been able to find any reliable source. The sources do speak of several *chos 'khors* that followed this one,<sup>7</sup> but, as I have said above, this *chos 'khor* is treated the most important of all. The importance of this *chos 'khor* can be dealt with in terms of the following points:

1. the aim or the purpose of the *chos 'khor*
2. the patron
3. the number of *lo tsa bas*, Indian *paṇḍitas*, Tibetan masters present
4. the date
5. the duration
6. the venue
7. the impact

### 1. The aim or the purpose of the *chos 'khor*

The colophon of the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra* says,<sup>8</sup> under the patronage of mNga' bdag Zhi ba 'od and mNga' bdag Khri bkra shis brtse lde, the wrong translations were corrected; the ones not translated until then were translated anew; the holy *dharmā* was taught far and wide; and the *dharmas*, which were not in harmony, were examined. It further says that with a great

<sup>4</sup> Tucci 1988: 30, 72.

<sup>5</sup> *Srid don rgyal rabs* 341 (regarding *Chu mig chos 'khor* see *Tshal pa'i Deb dmar* 63 and Dung dkar Rinpoche's annotated note no.328).

<sup>6</sup> For more information, see *rBa bzhed zhabs btags ma*, *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*, *bKa' thang sde lnga* and *dPa' bo gtsug lag 'phreng ba*.

<sup>7</sup> *Yar lung jo bo'i chos byung* 78.

<sup>8</sup> sNar thang bstan 'gyur, Vol. The, 327,2; sDe dge bstan 'gyur, Vol. The, 282,5.

concern for the Tibetans, many learned masters, the holders of the *tripiṭaka*, from dBus gTsang, Khams, mNga' ris, and India were invited; thus a big gathering of learned masters took place. Now, from this descriptions, we can understand that a *chos 'khor* had taken place then. Although, there is no mention of the word *chos 'khor* in this colophon, there are the patrons' names mentioned; and it becomes clear from these names that it is, certainly, a description of the *chos 'khor* under discussion. This text was translated during this *chos 'khor* by *lo tsa ba* rNgog with the help of *paṇḍita* sKal ldan rgyal po from Kashmir. The colophon says:

Under the order of the praise worthy, the great lord, the king,  
the ruler whose mind is virtuous,  
lord dBang sde,  
this Alaṅkāra, which has become the world wide scholars' ornament, is translated;  
So that the diligents, the high level practitioners, the teachers,  
the listeners, the fors, and the againts may understand the meanings  
and enjoy the flavours of the discussions.

It is clearly specified in the colophon that rNgog with the help of *paṇḍita* sKal ldan rgyal po of Kashmir, translated the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra* before the *chos 'khor* and presented it during the *chos 'khor* for discussion. Later on or during the *chos 'khor*, Zangs dkar Lo tsa ba revised the translation. This fact is also mentioned in the same colophon (see Appemdix I). Due to this activity, we find in the religious history of later period that Zangs dkar Lo tsa ba translated the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra*, which is to some extend misleading.

We also have the translation of the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāraṭīkā* of the great *lo tsa ba*, Mang 'or bande Byang chub of Zhang zhung.<sup>10</sup> It is not certain whether this translation was done during this *chos 'khor*. But one point is very clear from the colophon (see Appendix 2), namely that this text was translated at mTho lding gTsub lag khang.

*Rwa lo 'i rnam thar* says:

Since that was the time when mNga' bdag rtse lde invited all the senior *tripiṭaka* holders of dBus gTsang and held the *chos 'khor*, there were the people, both local and non-local, continuously coming to receive and set off. They received him (*Rwa Lo tstsha ba*) at the *chos 'khor*. Also, rNog Lo tsa ba Blo ldan shes rab arrived there along with gNyan Lo tsa ba Dar ma grags, bTsan kha bo che, Khyung po Chos brtson, Mar thung Dad pa shes rab, Mang 'or Byang chub shes rab, and Dwags po dBang rgyal. A profound setting in motion of the wheel of dharma took place there. It was then that Zangs mkhar Lo tsa ba translated the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra*.<sup>11</sup>

According to what is quoted here, the only senior *tripiṭaka* holders of dBus gTsang were invited to this *chos 'khor*; but this piece of information is not found in the colophon of rNgog's translation. The generally known number of the *lo tsa bas*, who were said to have been present in this *chos 'khor*, was six and not what this biography suggests, *i.e.*, seven. *Rwa lo 'i rnam thar* further suggests that Zangs dkar Lo tsa ba 'Phags pa shes rab revised the rNgog and Kashmiri *paṇḍita* sKal ldan rgyal po's translation of *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra* during this *chos 'khor*.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> sNar thang bstan 'gyur, Vol. The. 327,2; sDe dge bstan 'gyur, Vol. The. 282,5.

<sup>10</sup> sNar thang bstan 'gyur, Vol. Ne, 321; sDe dge bstan 'gyur, Vol. Ne, 312.

<sup>11</sup> *Rwa lo 'i rnam thar* 91.

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.*, 91.

*lDe 'u chos 'byung* says:

When *paṇḍita* Sarahete arrived on an invitation from *lo tsa ba* gZhon nu mchog rab, about one hundred Tibetan masters gathered there; *paṇḍita* Gomi 'chi med and *lo tsa ba* rNgog were also present. Also, rTse lde offered his services to *paṇḍita* Sunayaśrī, *paṇḍita* Bal po Za hum, and *lo tsa ba* Dar ma grags etc.<sup>13</sup>

In this passage, there is no mention of the word *chos 'khor*; nor is there a clear account on the number of *lo tsa bas* present; the only *lo tsa ba* mentioned is gNyan chung dar ma grags. However, there is one indication, which, probably, implies that this passage is a description of the *chos 'khor* under discussion: that *paṇḍita* Sarahete arrived on an invitation and that one hundred learned Tibetan masters gathered there.

*Deb ther sngon po* says:

It was during the reign of his [?] son rTse lde that the one called the *chos 'khor* of the Fire male Dragon [took place]; almost all the *tripitaka* holders from all the three regions of dBus, gTsang, and Khams gathered [there]; and the profound setting in motion of the wheels of dharma took place, discipline wise. It was then that Zangs dkar lo tsa ba translated the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra*. The *lo tsa bas* present in that *chos 'khor* were Rwa Lo tsa ba, gNyan Lo tsa ba, Khyung po chos brtson, bTsan kha bo che, rNgog Blo ldan shes rab, and Mar thung dang ba shes rab; Dwags po dBang rgyal also followed them to that *chos 'khor*.<sup>14</sup>

According to what is quoted here, this *chos 'khor* was held under the patronage of mNga' bdag rtse lde, and was attended by many learned masters, *siddhas* and *tripitaka* holders, who set in motion the wheel of *dharma* according to their respective discipline.

According to the *Chos 'khor nam bzhas*, the learned *lo tsa ba* Rin chen bzang po translated many *dharma*s from sūtras as well as from tantras, and wrote polemical books on incorrect tantras; lHa bla ma and Pho brang Zhi ba 'od examined the practices of the then tantrists, and issued the *bka' shogs* (decrees);<sup>15</sup> and a huge number of monks gathered there to celebrate the revival of the doctrine. During the gathering, they produced the written records on how long the doctrine has existed and will exist, how many years have passed from the time Buddha Śākyamuni died, and for how many years the doctrine will live on this earth.<sup>16</sup> In short, this description agrees with that of rNgog's colophon. The descriptions on this *chos 'khor* are also found in the *Nyang ral chos 'byung*,<sup>17</sup> *Yar lung jo bo 'i chos 'byung*,<sup>18</sup> *Chos 'byung mkhas pa 'i dga' ston*,<sup>19</sup> *Tshal pa 'i deb dmar*,<sup>20</sup> *rGyal ba lnga pa 'i deb ther*<sup>21</sup> and others.

<sup>13</sup> *lDe 'u chos 'byung* 383.

<sup>14</sup> *Deb ther sngon po* 644; also see Roerich 1976: 325 and Tucci 1988: 30.

<sup>15</sup> See Karmay 1979: 150-162.

<sup>16</sup> *Chos 'khor nam gzhag* 464,4.

<sup>17</sup> *Nyang ral chos 'byung* 558.

<sup>18</sup> *Yar lung jo bo 'i chos 'byung* 127.

<sup>19</sup> *mKhas pa 'i dga' ston* 739.

<sup>20</sup> *Deb dmar* 63.

<sup>21</sup> *rDzogs ldan gzhon nu* 50.

In short, it is clear from the colophons of the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra* and the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāraṭīkā* that the main purposes of this *chos 'khor* were to commemorate the mNga' bdag's past ancestors, *i.e.*, *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od and his immediate successors, for their remarkable achievements in the revival of the doctrine, and to examine the translations by holding discussions on them, especially the ones that were either incorrect or not in harmony. In this way, not only an invaluable activity of refining the doctrine, but also a series of turning the wheels of *dharma*, involving the teaching and learning, took place in this *chos 'khor*.

## 2. The patron

According to the colophon of translation of the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra* and the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāraṭīkā*, *Rwa lo'i rnam thar*, *Deb ther sngon po*, *Chos 'khor rnam bzhas*, *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*<sup>22</sup> and *lHa sras dar ma dang de'i rjes su byung ba'i rgyal rabs*,<sup>23</sup> this *chos 'khor* took place during the lifetime of mNga' bdag rtse lde alias Khri bkra shis rtse lde, the nephew of *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od and Byang chub 'od, under his patronage. He was said to have ascended to the throne in the year A.D. 1055. Beside being the patron of this *chos 'khor*, he had served the doctrine to a great extent.<sup>24</sup> The fact that mNga' bdag rtse lde was the patron of this *chos 'khor* does not need any further examination.

## 3. The number of *lo tsa bas* present

"Six *lotsawas*<sup>25</sup> attended this *chos 'khor*". This is what is generally known from the available textual as well as oral sources. Yet, a closer examination is needed in this respect to bring to light the exact number of *lo tsa bas* present, and their names, in this *chos 'khor*. The colophon to rNgog's translation does not mention the *lo tsa ba*'s names; it simply says, "from the Upper,

<sup>22</sup> *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* 36.

<sup>23</sup> Karmay 1980: 51.

<sup>24</sup> Also see *lDe'u chos 'byung*, *Yar lung jo bo'i chos 'byung*, *Deb ther sngon po*, *rGya bod yig tshang*, and *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*.

<sup>25</sup> bTsan kha bo che, born in 1020 and studied in Kha che (Kashmir);

Khyung po Chos brtson, a *lo tsa ba* of the late 14th century, attended the Fire-Dragon *chos 'khor*;

Mar thung Dad pa shes rab, attended the Fire-Dragon *chos 'khor*;

Zangs dkar 'Phags pa shes rab, born in mNga' ris Zangs dkar attended the Fire-Dragon *chos 'khor*. He studied under the Kha che dGon pa ba and Kha che Jñānaśrī etc. He introduced the teachings of Vaiśravaṇ and renovated about fifteen *gtsug lag khang* including Lha sa, bSam yas and mTha' 'dul. He could not follow the *lo chen* Rin chen bzang po, but studied under *lo chung* Legs pa'i shes rab. This *lo tsa ba* has translated about 13 titles in the *bka' gyur* and *bstan gyur*. He died at Chu mig Ring mo.

gNyan Dar ma grags, a *lo tsa ba* of the late 11th century, attended the Fire-Dragon *chos 'khor*. For 12 years he studied in India mainly under Pan chen Ma ti. He translated Guhyasamājālaṅkāra etc., and introduced the teachings of four-faced Mahākāla.

Rwa rDo rje grags, attended the Fire-Dragon *chos 'khor*, translated mainly the teachings related to Yamantaka.

rNgog Blo ldan shes rab (1059-1109), studied mainly under six *paṇḍitas* in Kha che (Kashmir). He spent 17 years for studies in India. After his return to Tibet, he translated and revised many texts from the *bka' gyur* and *bstan gyur*. (For more details see David Jackson, "An early biography of rNgog Lo-tsa-ba Blo-lDan-shes-rab", in *PIATS Fagernes* 1992, 372-392; see also D. Jackson's introduction to the *Lo tsa ba'i bsdus don*, Dharamsala, LTWA, 1994).

The life account of all above *lo tsa bas* has been extracted from *Deb ther sngon po*, *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, *bsTan rtsis* of Mang thos Klu sgrub rgya mtsho and *Dus rabs bdun pa nas/dus rabs bcu bdun pa'i bar rgya gar gyi pandita bod du rim byon dang/bod kyi mkhas pa rgya gar du rim par byon pa'i mtshan tho dang/lo dus mdzad b'jod rag bsdus bcas phyogs bsdebs rin chen nor bu'i do shal* compiled by Tibetan Religious Affairs, 1968.

Lower and Middle Tibet, three learned *lo tsa bas* came."<sup>26</sup> So does the *IDe'u chos 'byung*; no exact number or the names is given. It ends up saying, "Lo tsha ba rNgog and sNyan chung Dar ma grags etc. ...."<sup>27</sup> According to the *Deb sngon*, the number of *lo tsa bas* present was not six, but seven; it says that the six *lo tsa bas*, viz. Rwa Lo tsa ba, gNyan Lo tsa ba, Khyung po Chos brtson, bTsan kha bo che, rNgog Blo ldan shes rab and Mar thung Dad pa shes rab, together with Dwags po dbang rgyal attended this *chos 'khor*. In Roerich's translation, rDo ston Lo tsa ba is added to the above list; thus making the number of *lo tsa bas* eight instead of seven.<sup>28</sup> I have not yet been able to trace out the source he had used for his translation. Panchen Shwa kya mchog ldan in his *Chos 'khor rnam bzhag* names three *lo tsa bas* viz. *lo tsa ba* Dwags po dbang rgyal, bTsan kha bo che and rNgog Lo tsa ba; and nothing about the other *lo tsa bas*. According to the *Rwa lo'i rnam thar*, the number of *lo tsa bas*, who were present in this *chos 'khor*, was eight; and this includes Rwa Lo tsa ba also: rNgog Lo tsa ba Blo ldan Shes rab, gNyan Lo tsa ba Dar ma grags, bTsan kha bo che, Khyung po chos brtson, Mar thung dad pa shes rab, Mang ngor Byang chub shes rab, Dwags po dBang rGyal and Rwa Lo tsa ba. In this way, the number of *lo tsa bas* present in this *chos 'khor* and their names vary from source to source. Although it is generally believed that there were six *lo tsa bas* present in this *chos 'khor*, it is difficult to say anything definite on this matter. Samten Gyaltsen Karmay has rightly pointed out this fact.<sup>29</sup>

Not only *lotsabas* but Tibetan masters also participated in this *chos 'khor*. They included rGyal ba shes rab of Zhang chung, Dar ma snying po of sBrang ti and *dge shes* Ar Byang chub ye shes of dBus gTsang (*mNga' ris rgyal rabs*).

We cannot at the same time forget Indian *paṇḍitas* who participated in this *chos 'khor*. However, it is difficult to trace out names of all the *paṇḍitas*. The names of few of the *paṇḍitas* are mentioned, such as: *paṇḍita* Sunayaśrimitra of Vikramaśīla and *paṇḍita* Kumaraśrī of Kashmir (rNgog's colophon), *paṇḍita* Sarahete, Gomi chi med, Sunaya shri, Bal po za hum (*IDe'u chos 'byung*), *paṇḍita* Prajna na or Pranja nala (*Rwa lo'i rnam thar*). Jnana shri mitra, Atisha mitra Deva rgya, Kha che Ra han ta, Gag tra ka, Atisha rges (*mNga' ris rgyal rabs*). *paṇḍita* Zhi ba bzang po, *mkhas pa* Dzana shri, 'Chi ba med pa sa ra he ta, *paṇḍita* Gayadhara, bTsun mo can, *paṇḍita* Punya shri, Suryasiti, *paṇḍita* Sumatikirti, *paṇḍita* gZhon nu bum pa, gSer gyi go cha, Bal po bha lendra, Kha che *paṇḍita* Shakyashri (*rGya bod yig tshang* and *g. Yu'i phreng ba*).<sup>30</sup>

#### 4. The date

Although the colophons of rNgog and Mang 'or Byang chub shes rab make no mention of the date of this *chos 'khor*, it is clear from the *Rwa lo'i rnam thar*, *Deb sngon* and others that it was held in the Fire-male Dragon year (i.e., AD 1076).<sup>31</sup> I think, the fact that it was held in that year is clear enough and does not need any further examination.

<sup>26</sup> sNar thang bstan 'gyur, Vol. The, 327,2; sDe dge bstan 'gyur, Vol. The, 282,5.

<sup>27</sup> *IDe'u chos 'byung* 383.

<sup>28</sup> Roerich 1976: 325.

<sup>29</sup> Karmay 1980: fn. no. 44.

<sup>30</sup> *rGya bod yig tshang* 317 and *g. Yu'i phreng ba* 558.

<sup>31</sup> See *Rwa lo'i rnam thar* 91 and *Deb ther sngon po* 64.



## 5. The duration

Except *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*<sup>32</sup> none of the *chos 'byung* or chronicles discuss the duration of this *chos 'khor*. The *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* confirms that this *chos 'khor* was held for a period of three years. But, the calculation of this three-year period is a problematic one. The Tibetan calendrical calculation can be done on the basis of two; *i.e.* *sgang lo* (12 months for one year) and *bgrod lo* (6 months for one year). The duration of the *chos 'khor* has been calculated on the basis of *bgrod lo*, that means first six months of 1076 AD + second six months of 1076 AD + first six months of 1077 AD.<sup>33</sup> This date exactly coincides with the return of rNgog Lo tsa ba from India after completion of his 17-year studies, which falls on 1094 AD.

## 6. The venue

Concerning the venue of this *chos 'khor*, it is clear from the two contemporary sources (*i.e.*, the colophons of rNgog and Mang 'or) that it was the mTho lding dPal dpe med lhun gyi grub pa monastery, the sanctuary of the ancestors, the uncle and nephew of mNga' ris.

## 7. The impact

As I have said above, this *chos 'khor* has played a vital role in re-affirming the procedure for examining the translations and the commentaries by holding discussions on them, especially the ones that were questionable, but also brought under control the doctrinal differences, which were then rife. Under the influence of this *chos 'khor*, mGos lHa btsas circulated his polemic works of short and extended version.

Not long after this *chos 'khor*, the monastic establishments re-emerged; the lineage of the seven holy *dharma*s of bKa' gdams tradition flourished; and the traditional discourses on Pramāṇa, Madhyamaka and Vinaya took place. As a result, many Buddhist schools began to emerge and the various fields of learning of Tibet developed. It is also assumed that a genuine writing by Tibetan scholars began after this *chos 'khor*.

Above all, we can definitely say that this *chos 'khor* has paved a new way in converging Indian *paṇḍitas*, Tibetan masters and *lotsabas* and most importantly in holding a discussion on doctrine, mode of translation, and revision of translation. To sum up, this *chos 'khor* was a religious conference of a very high standard.

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<sup>32</sup> *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* 36. This *rgyal rabs* is a rare one and unpublished. The mention of this *rgyal rabs* was first made by Dung dkar Rinpoche in his *Chos svid zung 'bral*. I am indebted to Mr. Tashi Tsering, a Senior Research scholar of LTWA, for allowing me to go through his personal copy of this *rgyal rabs*. At the same time, I must thank Roberto Vitali for the information he gave me concerning the duration of this *chos 'khor* after the Seggau conference.

<sup>33</sup> The problem of duration has been solved by Prof. Dakthon Jampa Gyaltzen, Head of Astrology Department of TMI; I am very much thankful for his valuable suggestion.

## APPENDIX 1

The Translation Colophon of the Pramānavārttikālaṅkāra<sup>1</sup>

tshad ma'i bshad pa chen po rnam 'grel gyi rgyan las | slob dpon chen po Shes rab 'byung gnas sbas pa'i zhal mnga'<sup>1</sup> nas kyi<sup>2</sup> mdzad pa rdzogs so || || bam po drug cu lhag chad med par yod | kha che'i pandita sKal ldan rgyal po dang | lo tswa ba dGe slong blo ldan shes rab kyis bsgyur | slad mi kha che'i mkhan po pandita Kumara dang | zhu chen gyi dge slong 'Phags pa shen<sup>3</sup> rab gyis<sup>4</sup> zhus shing bcos te gtan la phab pa || || bod kyi dpal lha btsan po | rigs gsum mgon po'i sprul pa | byang chub sems dpa'i gdung brgyud | mi rje lhas mdzad pa | 'phrul gyi rgyal po chen po shwa kya'i dge slong lha bla ma Zhi ba 'od kyi zhal snga nas dang | dbang phyug dam pa'i mnga' bdag chen po Khri bkra shis rtse lde btsan gyi zhal snga nas rgyal po'i yang rgyal po'i chen po khu dbon gyi sku ring la khod kyi rgyal khams su bstan pa rin po che dar shing rgyas par mdzad pa'i slad du | yon gyi bdag po chen po mdzad de | 'gyur ma dg pa kun bcos shing | ma gyur ba rnams bsgyur ba dang | dam pa'i chos rgya cher bshad cing | chos mi mthun pa rnams gtan la dbab pa'i sgo nas khod<sup>5</sup> 'bangs yongs la drin bzhag pa'i thugs dgongs kyis rgya gar dbus bharamse<sup>6</sup>la'i (Vikramaśīla) gtsug lag khang chen po mkhas pa mang po 'gyur<sup>7</sup> pa'i gnas nas | pandita mkhas pa chen po Sunayasrimita<sup>8</sup> dka' ba chen pos spyang drangs | kha che'i grong 'khyer dpe med nas kyi pandita mkhas pa Kumarasri spyang drangs khod nas dbus gtsang ru bzhi dang | khams rgya'i so yan chad kyi ston pa ma lus pa dang | stod mnga' ris 'khor<sup>9</sup> gsum gyi ser chags ma lus pa tsam zhab drung chen por tshogs | stod smad kyi lo tsa ba mkhas pa yang drug bsogs<sup>10</sup> nas yab mes khu dbon gyi thugs dam | sa'i snying po tho ling dpal dge med lhun gyis gyub pa'i gtsug lag khang chen por pandita dang gzhis<sup>11</sup> byed<sup>12</sup> kyis mkhas pa rnams kyis theg pa phyi nang gi cho mo grwa<sup>13</sup> mang por dpal ldan dam pa'i las la mngon dgyes pa | smad med che ba'i bdag chen rgyal po mchog | | dge ba'i thugs mnga' de bas sa skyong ba | | mi'i mdag po dbang sde'i bka's bskul nas | | brtson ldan lhag par spyod ldan 'tsad<sup>14</sup> po dang | | nyan po rgol dang phyr rgol don nges dang | | 'bol<sup>15</sup> gtam dga' ston rgya cher myong bya'i phyr | | 'dzam gling mkhas pa'i rgyan gyur rgyan 'di bsgyur | | lta ngan kun sel gnyis su med pa yi | don dam rnam dpyod llhur len bstan bcos 'di | | gzhung man don mang bsgrub par dka' na yang | | 'bras bu che phyr 'bad par rigs pa yin | log pa'i rgyun phyogs rjes su gzhol gyur pa | | te<sup>16</sup> ba'i chu bo bzlog par dka' mod kyi | yang dag rigs pas legs par brda sprad na | | dga' yi yid la ci ste 'bab mi 'gyur | | sgra don gnyi ga nyams su bdor<sup>17</sup> lon te | | mun sprul gyis ni ma bslad legs bsgyur ba | | sngan<sup>18</sup> gyi sgyur byed dam pa de dag gis | | dri tsam bro ba da ltar kho bor zad | dpal ldan kha che'i rigs pa yi | | gtsug gi nor bu skal ldan 'di | rgyal po zhes bya las thos nas | blo ldan bzang pos 'di bsgyur ro | | grong khyer dpe med shar phyogs na | yul 'khor lo 'dzin ces bya ba grub<sup>19</sup> pa'i gnas rab grags pa yod pa'i 'dabs | | rnam par rgyal pa'i zhing zhes bya bor kha che'i pandita chen po sKal ldan rgyal po dang | bod kyi lo tsa ba Blo ldan shes rab kyis bsgyur ba | | slad kyi pandita Sumatira dang | lo tsa ba Blo ldan shes rab kyis zhus chen byas pa'o ||<sup>20</sup> || mangalam |<sup>2</sup>

<sup>14</sup> The present text is from sNar thang bstan 'gyur, Vol. The, 327; I have compared it with the copy in the Japanese reproduction of the Peking *bsTan 'gyur*, Vol.132. For its English translation, see Karmay 1980: 8.

The *Blue Annals* and most of the *chos 'byung* texts mention that Zangs dkar Lo tsa ba translated Pramānavārttikālaṅkāra during this *chos 'khor*. It certainly brings to mind the possibility of there being two different translations of this text. When I checked the sNar thang, sDe dge and Peking editions of the *bsTan 'gyur*, I could not find a translation by Zangs dkar Lo tsa ba separately. The fact is that rNgog Lo tsa ba translated this text with the aim of gathering suggestions during the *chos 'khor*; later on during the period of the *chos 'khor*, Zangs dkar Lo tsa ba revised rNgog's translation. It clearly confirms the colophon of Pramānavārttikālaṅkāra itself and also reconfirms the *Rwa lo'i rnam thar*, *Yar lung jo bo'i chos 'byung* and *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*.

<sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> snga - <sup>2</sup> kyis - <sup>3</sup> shes - <sup>4</sup> kyis - <sup>5</sup> bod - <sup>6</sup> shi - <sup>7</sup> 'byung - <sup>8</sup> tra - <sup>9</sup> skor - <sup>10</sup> bsogs - <sup>11</sup> gzhi -

## APPENDIX 2

The Translation Colophon of the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāraṭikā*

bcom ldan 'das rigs gsum mgon po'i sprul pa byang chub sems pa'i gdung rgyud mi rje las mdzad pa bod kyi lha btsan po Shwa kya'i dge slong lha bla ma Zhi ba 'od kyi zhal snga nas dang bod kyi lha btsan po dbang phyug dam pa'i mnga' bdag chen po Khri bkris rtse lde btsan gyi zhal snga nas rgyal po'i yang rgyal po chen po 'phrul gyi lha btsan po khu dbon gyi bkas thugs dam sa'i snying po tho gling dPal dpe med lhun gyis grub pa'i gtsug lag khang du rgya gar gyi mkhan po dpal vikramalashila'i mkhas pa chen po pandita Sridipamkararakshita dang zhang zhung gi lo tstsha ba chen po bande Byang chub shes rab kyis nan tan snying por byas nas gtan la phab par bsgyur ba'o ||

It was translated with great care by the Indian *upadyaya* of Vikramaśīla, the learned *paṇḍita* Śrīdīpamkārarakṣita and the *lo tsa ba* of Zhang zhung, Mang 'or bande Byang chub shes rab at Thugs dam sa'i snying po Tho gling dpal dpe med lhun gyi grup pa monastery under the order of the *tathāgata*, the emanation of the protectors of the three families, the descendant of bodhi-sattva, the god who acts as the lord of mankind, the *lha btsan po* of Tibet, the *bhikṣu* of Sakya clan, *lha bla ma* Zhi ba 'od and the *lha btsan po* of Tibet, the mighty, noble, Great Lord Khri bkris rtse lde btsan the uncle and nephew who are kings of kings, the *lha btsan pos* of great sagacity.

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<sup>12</sup> byes - <sup>13</sup> chos - <sup>14</sup> 'chad - <sup>15</sup> 'brel - <sup>16</sup> lta - <sup>17</sup> bdeng - <sup>18</sup> sngon - <sup>19</sup> sgrub - <sup>20</sup> bkra shis par gyur cig

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# RANGRIG RTSE: AN EARLY BUDDHIST TEMPLE IN KINNAUR – WESTERN HIMALAYAS

by

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This brief communication is intended to present a preliminary report of an investigation of a Buddhist temple called Rangrig rtse situated in a remote and rugged valley of a border district Kinnaur in Himachal Pradesh, India. For the first time this small but historically important temple was investigated by the author in 1979 and a brief report on the wall paintings was published (Singh 1985: 131-135) and later by a joint Indo-Norwegian team in 1993 under a project on antiquities in Kinnaur valley sponsored by the Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, Oslo, Norway. The temple Rangrig rtse preserves artefacts of the artistic culture that prevailed in the medieval period all over the Western Himalayas including Western Tibet. The most exclusive of those artefacts are a group of medieval wooden sculptures *in situ* which may be regarded as a new breakthrough in reconstruction of the history of Indo-Tibetan and Western Himalayan art. Hence, this paper mainly attempts to focus on the wooden icons preserved in the temple.

The Buddhist temple Rangrig rtse is situated in Tidong valley near the village Charang at an altitude of approximately 3,600 metres and about 36 km from the village Thangi. It is approachable only by strenuous trekking of a whole day from Thangi. The temple derives its name from the goddess Rangrig Srungma (self born Rakṣika) whose small wooden equestrian image in relief is found underneath the sculpture of Vairochana. Stylistically, the image appears to be of later date than that of the temple. For all practical purposes Rangrig rtse is still little known to the scholarly world although a cursory note was presented by Professor Tucci in his monumental work *Indo-Tibetica* (Tucci 1988: vol.III.1, 14), though he never happened to visit the site. The local tradition states that the temple was erected by the great *lotsava* of Guge, Rinchensang po (Rin chen bzang po, 958-1055 AD), who was a zealous patron and propagator of Buddhism in Western Tibet (mNga' ris). An inscription referring to Rinchensang po's association with the temple is found painted on the exterior wall near the entrance which reads that the temple Rangrig rtse was constructed in the sacred memory of Rinchensang po's deceased mother. However, the inscription is an addition of recent time and was inscribed in 1970 on the suggestion of a Tibetan Lama Tondup Nyima who lives in Dehra Dun.

In this connection, the biography of Rinchensang po studied by Tucci does not record precise information except for a reference to a list of 21 minor religious foundations attributed to him, and amongst them Charang and Rangrig rtse are included (Tucci 1988: vol.II, 57, 73). However, the informations are too insufficient to help us reach any precise conclusion. It is known that during the second diffusion of Buddhism in the Western Tibetan regions the higher reaches of Kinnaur bordering Tibet felt the impact of Rinchensang po's prolific temple building. The foundations of the temples of Tabo (Ta pho), Nako (Na go), Lhalung, Ribba, Ropa etc. in the 10th-11th century substantiate this fact. Most probably the construction of Rangrig rtse was a result of the same activity and can be counted amongst one hundred and eight temples attributed to him.

A traditional folk song of Charang village describes that long ago when shepherds of Charang were returning home one evening with their flocks from the pastures, they noticed a man on the flat ground of the present temple who was measuring the land. They informed the village chief about this, and the next day, when the chief went to investigate, he found there was built a grand temple. It is believed that the man was Rinchensang po who possessed supernatural powers and constructed temples overnight. It is, of course, fabulous but such myths are associated with all the early Buddhist temples of Kinnaur built during the revival of Buddhism in Western Tibetan provinces. Probably, these sayings metaphorically signify the expeditious process of temple building in the region.

The Rangrig rtse temple is a small establishment (Plate 1) presently, belonging to the Dugpa sect and originally consisting of a small hall erected on a square ground plan (9.5×9.5 metres and about 6 metres high) and facing east with a pentroof supported on four wooden columns (Drawing 1). As per the tradition of the period, the temple was initially dedicated to the cult of Vairocana. The front wall shows tacked life-size clay images of the five Dhyānibuddhas and Bodhisattvas. The central panel enshrines the images of Vairochana as chief deity flanked by Amitābha and Akṣobhya. On the right wall Amoghāsiddhi and on the left Ratnasambhava are positioned. The life-size clay sculptures of Hayagrīva and Vajrapāṇi are installed as guardian deities on either side of the entrance inside the temple. In all, 20 clay images are in the temple, all tacked and supported by lotus pedestals projecting from the walls. The general scheme of architecture and decoration of the temple and the style of clay images concur with the paradigm prevalent in the 10th-12th century AD. The shrine of Vairochana is decorated with scrolling vines in relief made of clay which immediately reminds of similar decorations in early Buddhist temples in Ladakh, Spiti and elsewhere, inspired by the Kashmiri tradition.

The temple seems to have undergone repairs and repainting many times since its foundation but the wooden threshold of the entrance preserves old carvings while the rest of the frame and the door are replaced. The wall paintings at Rangrig rtse represent different levels of chronology and style. Fortunately, a few original panels of wall paintings have survived the crude repainting. The paintings, covered with smoke and dust are in a poor state of preservation. Considering the style, early painted panels present an affinity with those of the Tsug Lhakhang and the Lotsava Lhakhang at Nako and some painted panels of Tabo attributed to the Indo-Tibetan style (12th-13th century AD).

The most impressive and exclusive of all the art collection preserved in this temple is a group of seven magnificent wooden sculptures gathered in a dark corner. The sculptures represent the culmination of art creativity achieved by the marginal societies in medieval period. Specially the technical skill in modelling the plastic mass and the serene facial expressions are hallmarks of the tradition. A careful study of the stylistic features assign them as the creation of master artists of some accomplished artistic tradition with roots outside the region. We know that prior to the eighth century these far off regions of the Western Himalayas and Western Tibet had no significant tradition of artistic culture. For this reason, the very first phase of artistic creativity began with the dissemination of Buddhism in the region by Indian artists, initially Kashmiri Buddhist missionaries and later by others (Tucci 1973: 177-183). Rinchensang po's biography clearly records that on the way back to Western Tibet, after having received education in the Sanskrit language and Buddhist theology from Kashmir, he brought back with him 32 Kashmiri artists (Tucci 1988: vol.II, 67), and with their help he started the challenging task of temple building in his native country Guge and adjoining regions (Francke 1914: vol.I, 40).

The second diffusion of Buddhism due to the efforts of Rinchensang po and Lama king Ye

she 'od changed the cultural scenario of the region. In the formative years, the neighbouring state Kashmir, then a prodigious centre of art, culture and Buddhist learning, functioned as a vital source of artistic and religious inspiration, of which indelible impressions have still survived. Under the powerful Karakota and Utpala dynasty Kashmir developed its own classicism in artistic creativity by imbibing the best from all sources (Goetz 1969: 68).

This steered the syncretistic character of art, and with the spreading political and cultural influences of Kashmir the art tradition permeated far afield in the Western Himalayas and Tibet, particularly in Western Tibet, in the 10th-12th centuries. Hence, Kashmiri art became the main prototype, and contributed to the evolution of Western Tibetan/Indo-Tibetan art style (Goetz 1969: 68-76).

The wooden sculptures clipped up here for an overview represent two successive phases of a style, the first classical and the second metamorphosed. Before describing the individual details of each, a list of sculptures follows.

1. Dharmavajra
2. Vajrasattva
3. Maitreya
4. Mañjuśrī
5. Śveta Tārā
6. Avalokiteśvara
7. Buddha Śākyamuni

### 1. Dharmavajra (Tib. rDor je chos), Plate 2

The image of Dharmavajra (height 57.5 cm) made of cedar wood is round-carved. The image bears a veneer imparting lustre and shows a preference for graceful naturalistic modelling of physiognomy. Seated in *padmāsana* on a lotus pedestal, the deity is shown holding a stylised crossed thunderbolt (*viśvavajra*) in the right hand against the chest while his left hand rests on the hip in a gesture of holding the bell. His image is not painted. He is identified as Dharmavajra, an Ādi-Buddha form of Vajradhāra (Getty 1978: 4, 5). His threepointed crown specially, the crescent motif, the facial type, the customary ornaments and the overall treatment of naturalistic modelling of the shoulders, chest and soft contours of belly and pectoral muscles assign this as a masterpiece and relate it to the classicism of Kashmir style.

### 2. Vajrasattva (Tib. rDor je sems dpa'), Plate 3

The well preserved image made of cedar wood and painted represents a deity seated in *padmāsana* on a lotus pedestal (height 60 cm). The deity holds a bell in the left hand resting on the hip and balances a thunderbolt (*vajra*) in right which is missing. His body colour is red and he is provided all the customary ornaments and three-pointed crown as in the previous case. He may be identified as Vajrasattva (Getty 1973: 6), but in our example the body colour does not correspond to the prescribed iconometric standard. However, elegantly proportionate physiognomy and the style ascribe it to be a creation of the same artist or the same workshop attributed to the first example.

### 3. Maitreya (Tib. Byams pa), Plate 4

The image carved in cedar wood (height 66 cm), fully intact except for slight damage to the lotus throne, is polychrome. The deity is presented seated cross-legged. His face is serene and calm, his eyes are downcast; his right arm makes the gesture of protection (*abhaya*) and the left

that of munificence (*varada*). A miniature stūpa carved in his three-leafed crown, an antelope skin shown as sash and the vase supported on a plant he holds are distinctive marks which should identify him as Maitreya (Getty 1973: 21-23). The style again connects this image to the earlier one.

#### 4. Mañjuśrī (Tib. 'Jam dpal), Plate 5

The icon made of cedar wood, polychrome and carved in high relief presents a deity enshrined (height 85 cm) and seated in meditative posture on a lotus cushion supported by the lions throne. Its body colour is red and a miniature image of Akṣobhya is carved in his three-pointed crown which identify him as Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (Getty 1973: 110-111). He is depicted wearing all the traditional ornaments and a cape of Central Asian origin. The *makara toraṇa* motif of his shrine is typical Northern Kashmiri as encountered in the murals of three-tiered temple at Alchi in Ladakh.

#### 5. Śveta Tārā (Tib. sGrol ma dkar po), Plate 6

The image of the goddess (height 59 cm) is carved in walnut wood of light weight and is neither painted nor does it bear a veneer. Its lotus throne and right hand are partly damaged. The goddess, seated cross-legged, holds a full bloomed lotus with her left hand resting on the hip. Her facial type is calm and serene but the aesthetical as well as stylistical properties differ from the earlier examples and register a low profile in the execution of fine details and expressions. The deity may be identified as Śveta Tārā of the Buddhist pantheon. The image of the goddess is depicted with the customary ornaments and jewellery.

#### 6. Avalokiteśvara (Tib. sPyan ras gzigs), Plate 7

The sculpture carved in walnut wood is in poor state of preservation. Its nimbus and background screen are damaged, only the main icon remains almost intact. The figure of the Bodhisattva (height 92 cm) is shown seated on a raised double lotus pedestal in *lalitāsana* posture. His hands are drawn, right in *vitarka*- and left in *varadamudrā*. He is depicted as an ascetic with hair drawn up to the *uṣṇīṣa* and attended by a devotee who may be the patron who commissioned the sculpture. The god can be identified as the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Getty 1973: 62) since he bears a small image of Dhyānibuddha Amitābha in his *uṣṇīṣa*. Stylistically, the image resembles some painted panels of the 'Du khang at Tabo and appears to have a connection with the style under transformation.

#### 7. Buddha Śākyamuni (Tib. Shā kya thub pa), Plate 8

This image (height 71 cm) again is made of walnut wood and shows no trace of paints. Carved in one piece the image is almost intact. The image represents Gautama Buddha in the meditative posture and *dhyānamudrā*. The lotus throne is double. The figure is proportionate, but the emphasis has not been paid to the naturalistic modelling as in the case of earlier pieces, and the facial type also marks simplification. This image forms, together with the other two just described above, a separate stylistic group.

The high aesthetic merits and excellent craftsmanship displayed in the wooden sculptures prove their definite importation from workshops of some other centre than Kinnaur since cedar wood of fine grain has been a rare medium for art production in the region. The sculptures from 1st to 4th stylistically form a group which display close analogy with the art style of the post Karakota Kashmir (8th and 9th centuries). Besides technical perfection, the sculptures show a



sweet facial type imbued with expressions of meditative transformation. Oval chubby faces are marked with crescent eyebrows, half-closed inward looking eyes, aquiline noses, prominent chins with sensuous full lips. The most exclusive feature of Kashmiri style can be seen in the modelling of chests, pronounced abdominal muscles and strong shoulders like Olympian athletes. Other elements like wavering scarves attached to crowns, jewelled triangular crowns, pointed nimbuses and lotus thrones with inverted petals again relate them to the art of Kashmir (Singh 1985: 34, 35). This particular trend seems to have developed in the far Northern Kashmir, possibly in the Gilgit region. We know that on the North-western peripheries of Kashmir empire, Hindu Shahi kings, the allies of Kashmir, nurtured Kashmiri art and culture from the 10th century onward, when the necessary patronage in Kashmir proper was withdrawn (Postel 1985: 83, 84).

Another group consisting of sculptures from 5th to 7th represent the later development of the previous style which started to evolve in the hands of successive generations of artisans perhaps novices allowing insemination of indigenous elements. This phase is dated to the 11th/12th century. A close resemblance of this can be seen in the clay figures of the 'Du khang at Tabo and Nako and even in the painted figures in surviving Tibetan manuscripts found from many places in Western Tibet and Western Himalayas.

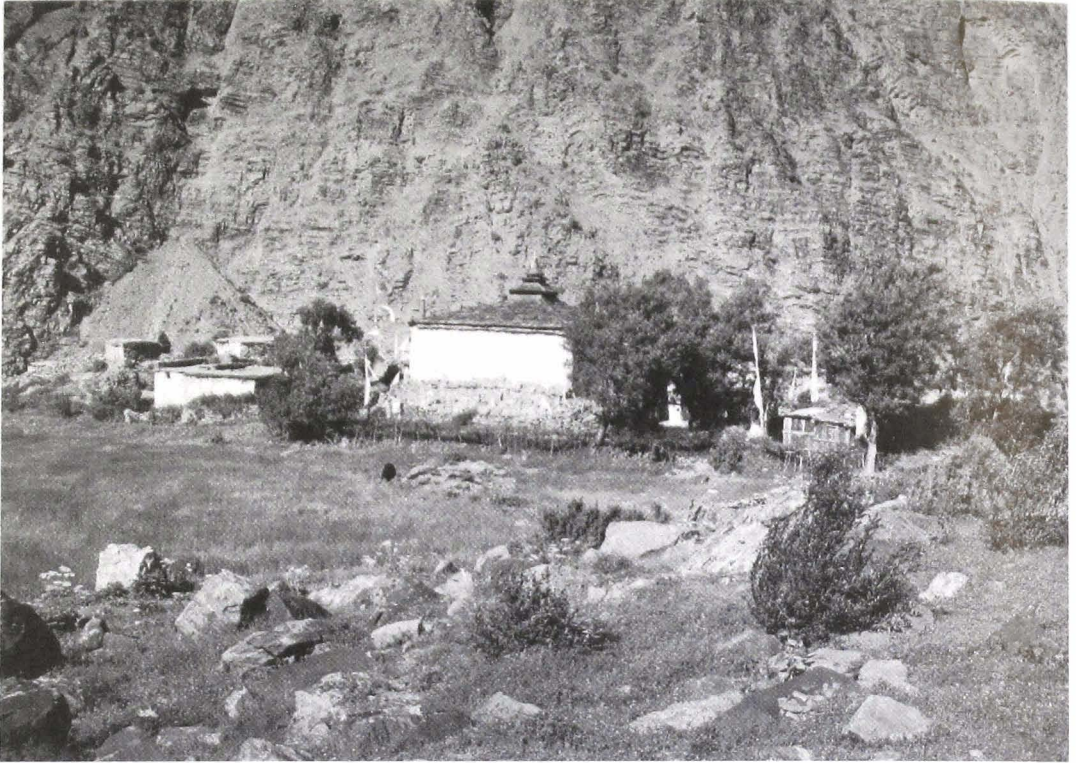
Beside sculptures in clay and wood and wall paintings, Rangrig rtse also preserves interesting metal icons of Buddhist deities. Eight brass images were reported by our team. Of those are gilt copper Buddhas 2, Buddha in *bhūmisparśamudrā* of brass 2, Padmapāṇi in brass 1, Maitreya in brass with inscription 1, a Brahmanical god Śiva sitting on a bull in brass of folk origin, and one brass repoussé showing a Jātaka story. All these ritual metal icons register differing provenances, dating from the 14th century onwards.

In addition, 86 hand-written manuscripts lying preserved in the temple need a careful examination. Many of them are quite old and important and a few are illustrated.

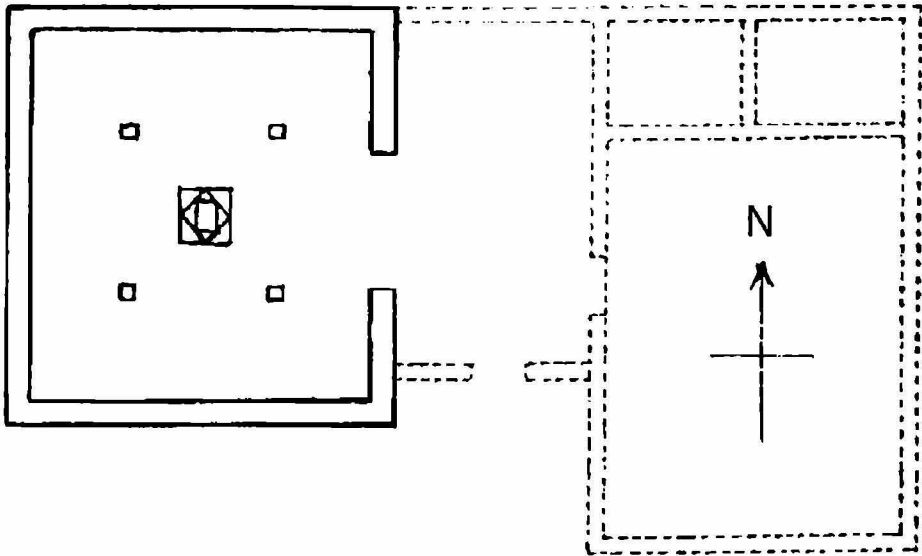
This paper concludes that the temple of Rangrig rtse is an old establishment of the period when Buddhism was establishing a stronghold in the region in the 11th century. Till now this temple has survived the ravages of time and has preserved an invaluable heritage of Indo-Tibetan and Himalayan art, which need immediate attention for their better conservation and preservation.

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Plat 1: General view of the temple Rangrig rtse



Drawing 1: Ground plan of the temple Rangrig rtse



Plate 2: Dharmavajra



Plate 3: Vajrasattva



Plate 4: Maitreya

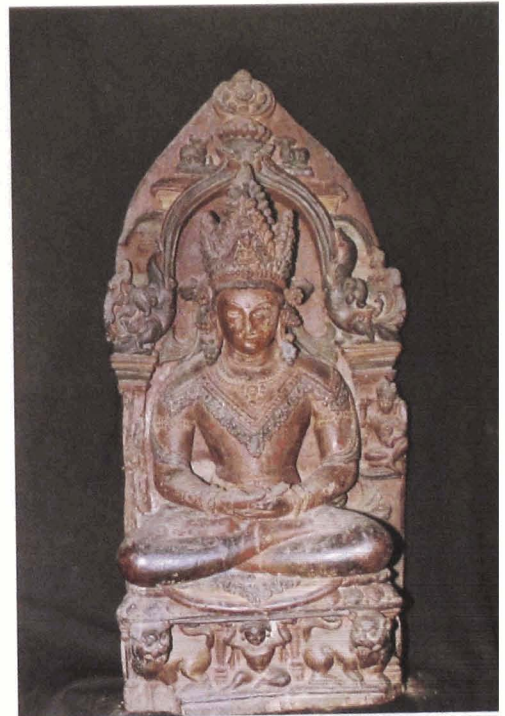


Plate 5: Mañjuśrī



Plate 6: Śveta Tārā



Plate 7: Avalokiteśvara



Plate 8: Buddha Śākyamuni

PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE  
THREE-VOW THEORIES (*SDOM PA GSUM*)  
OF TIBETAN BUDDHISM<sup>1</sup>

by

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Although in the history of Tibetan Buddhism all schools accepted the existence of three systems of vows or ethical rules, the Buddhist theories of how these three vows coexisted often became the subject of intense scholastic discussion and even of sharp controversy. One of the first Tibetan texts which advanced a theory about the coexistence of the three vows was the *rTsa ltung 'khrul spong* by the Sa-skyapa scholar rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147-1216). It became the object of a refutation that was presumably written by his contemporary, the Indian master Vibhūticandra.<sup>2</sup> Vibhūticandra's refutation and his own thesis regarding the three vows, the *sDom gsum 'od phreng*, was answered and refuted two centuries later by the Sa-skyapa scholar Go-rams-pa bSod-nams-seng-ge (1429-1489). Go-rams-pa's refutation, contained in one of his commentaries on Sa-skyapa Paṇḍita's (1182-1251) famous *sDom gsum rab dbye*, the *sDom gsum spyi don*, again led to a reply by one of his contemporaries, the 7th Karma-pa Chos-grags-rgya-mtsho (1454-1506). At least some of the Karma-pa's reply is at present only available in the "Replies to Questions" (*dris lan*) of his contemporary and disciple Karma-'phrin-las-pa.<sup>3</sup>

The above represents only a part of one single strand that developed from Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's text. Many further strands branched off into different directions. Other theories of the three vows, too, such as those of the bKa'-gdams-pas or the 'Bri-gung-pas, triggered off an abundance of refutations and counter-refutations which, as a whole, constitute the so far unexplored genre of the Tibetan three-vow literature. But no matter how elaborate these theories are, they all boil down to one main point: all but one source agree that all practitioners, whether *Śrāvakas* or tantric adepts, have to avoid the *kleśas* by all means.

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<sup>1</sup> I am gratefully indebted to Prof. Dr. David P. Jackson, who kindly took the trouble to read through my manuscript and to correct my English, and who gave me many fruitful suggestions. I would also like to thank Ms. Anne MacDonald for correcting the final manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> On Vibhūticandra we are awaiting the publication of an important paper by Cyrus Stearns, "The Life and Tibetan Legacy of the Indian *Mahāpaṇḍita* Vibhūticandra." In this paper he writes that Vibhūti's *sDom gsum 'od phreng*, which was probably written in Tibet, was his most controversial work. He furthermore argues against Tāranātha's belief that it was not composed by Vibhūticandra.

<sup>3</sup> Karma-'phrin-las-pa was also a contemporary of the 4th Zhwa-dmar-pa, Chos-grags-ye-shes (1453-1524). Karma-'phrin-las-pa furthermore received teachings from Situ bKra-shis-dpal-'byor (?-1512) and is known to have been one of the teachers of the famous 8th Karma-pa, Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje (1507-55). See Khetsun Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism*, vol. VII, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamsala 1977, pp. 397-403. His full name is given there as Karma-'phrin-las Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal.

The main topic I would like to investigate in this paper are the three vows in tantric literature. But to begin with, I would like to examine briefly three related topics in order to clarify the doctrinal background of the problem: 1. the meaning of the term 'Three Vows' (*sdom pa gsum*), 2. the three vows in the *Abhidharmakośa*, and 3. the morality of the bodhisattvas.

### 1. The meaning of the term 'Three Vows' (*sdom pa gsum*, skt. *trisaṃvara*)

Tibetan authors have noted that the term 'Three Vows' (*sdom pa gsum*) has different connotations in different Buddhist canonical contexts.<sup>4</sup> According to them, in the *Vinaya* the term relates to the vows of *upāsakas*, *śrāmaṇeras*, and *bhikṣus*. The *Abhidharmikas* employed the term for three moral observances, i.e. the observances of individual liberation (*so thar gyi sdom pa*), the observance of [guarding against] evil influences (*zag med kyi sdom pa*), and the observances of concentrative absorption (*bsam gtan gyi sdom pa*).<sup>5</sup> Finally, in the *vajrayāna* the term is to be understood as designating the vows of *prātimokṣa*, of the bodhisattva, and of the tantric adept. Although these examples are taken from quite distinct contexts, they have more in common than the mere designation 'Three Vows' (*sdom pa gsum*).

### 2. The Three Vows in the *Abhidharmakośa*

From early on Buddhist authors have felt the need to demonstrate the compatibility of the three vows in their given contexts. An example is a passage in the *Abhidharmakośa* (*bhāṣyam*) which explains the manner of coexistence of the *upāsaka*, *śrāmaṇera*, and *bhikṣu* vows: "[The three vows exist] separately, [but] they are not incompatible."<sup>6</sup> These three are unmixed (*ma 'dres pa*, skt. *avyāmiśrā*), and they have separate defining characteristics (*mtshan nyid tha dad pa*, skt. *prthaglakṣaṇā*). Their difference lies in the different occasions [of transgression] (*gzhi'i khyad par*, skt. *nidānaviśeṣādviśeṣaḥ*). That is, by a greater number of rules (*bslab pa'i gzhi*) one avoids a greater number of occasions of transgression. If the three vows would not exist separately, i.e. if the lower vows would be included (*'dus pa*) in the higher ones, it would follow that a monk who returns his vows would lose all three vows (*gsum char yang btang*). But this is not so (*mi 'dod*). On the other hand, if an *upāsaka* takes higher vows, he does not lose the preceding vow. Therefore the vows are also not incompatible (*'gal ba med*).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> See sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas-rgya-ntsho: 475ff., and Karma-'phrin-las-pa: 100.

<sup>5</sup> The *prātimokṣasaṃvara*, *anāsravasamvara*, and *dhyānasamvara*. See Ak(Bh), iv, 13cd: *saṃvaraḥ prātimokṣākhya dhyānajo 'nāsravastathā* // (P. Pradhan 1967: 205; for the Tibetan texts, see Peking Tripitaka, vol. 115, no. 5591, *gu* 202bff.).

"The observance of *prātimokṣa* are the moral rules of the beings of the spheres of desire" (*prātimokṣasaṃvara ihatyānām kāmāvacaraṃ śīlam* /, loc.cit. 205/16). "The observance of *dhyāna* are the moral rules of the spheres of form" (*dhyānasamvarō rūpāvacaraṃ śīlam* /, ibid.). It is possessed by "the one who possesses that which is produced by *dhyāna*" (*dhyānājena tadanvītaḥ* /, Ak(Bh) IV,17b). "The persons who are *Āryās* are provided with the observance which is without evil influence" (*āryapudgalā anāsraveṇa saṃvareṇasamanvāgatāḥ* /, Pradhan 1967: 208/8). See also, U. Pagel 1995: 168, fn. 226, who includes some interesting remarks on these three categories. For a discussion of the *so thar*, *bsam gtan*, and *zag med kyi sdom pa* in a Tibetan work of the 19/20th century, see the *mKhas 'jug* by Mi-pham rNam-rgyal-rgya-ntsho (1846-1912), mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1988, p. 181ff.

<sup>6</sup> Ak(Bh), IV,14d, P. vol. 115, no. 5591, *gu* 203b: *tha dad de dag 'gal ba med* // See also, Pradhan 1967: 206: ... *prthag te cāvirodhinaḥ* // For a Tibetan discussion of this point, see Sangs-rgyas-rgya-ntsho, sDe-srid: 475-6.

<sup>7</sup> See P. vol. 115, no. 5591, *gu* 202b-3b. Technically this means for a lay person who becomes a *śrāmaṇera* that although he still possesses the previous *upāsaka* vows consisting of five rules, he receives additionally the same five rules again, but with a greater number of occasions to observe them, plus five more vows which are specifically

### 3. The morality of the Bodhisattvas

As in the *Abhidharmakośa* and in its commentaries, in the bodhisattva literature, too, we find many passages in which the authors are eager to show that the conduct of the bodhisattvas is based on and compatible with the *Vinaya* rules.<sup>8</sup> But here the situation is much more complicated, because the evaluation of the moral practice based on *prātimokṣa* underwent quite some change during the several centuries in which the bodhisattva doctrine emerged and developed. A good example for the bodhisattva's new epistemological propositions that modified the appreciation of this moral code of long acquaintance are these words of Candrakīrti:<sup>9</sup>

If he sees [in] moral purity an own-being  
By that very reason, his morality is not pure.

The new emphasis on the bodhisattva's skillful means through which he is to bring about universal salvation has also contributed to this revolutionary change of view, which is perhaps best illustrated through these words of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*:<sup>10</sup>

Even in the case of [a transgression that] is sinful by nature, the bodhisattva acts  
with such skillful means that no sin is committed; rather, great merit arises.

Now, while it is certain that new cognitive propositions and salvific means were introduced, this does not mean that this constituted a fundamental reassessment of the basic elements of morality. It should be kept in mind that at least at the end of the process of the emerging of the bodhisattva doctrine, and definitely from the point of view of the tantric commentatorial literature the practices of the bodhisattva and bodhisattva-tantric adept were understood as being deeply rooted in the basic Buddhist morality that was formulated in the rules of the *Vinaya* and in the *prātimokṣa* vows.

### 4. The Three Vows in tantric literature

In general, Tibetan Buddhist scholars conceived of the 'Three Vows' according to the tantric tradition. In the following I would like to summarize some of the tantric three-vow doctrines from Tibetan sources. These sources do not necessarily refer to the theoretical aspect of how the different vows coexist, but sometimes rather technically describe how to follow each individual rule.<sup>11</sup> Theoretical considerations regarding the manner of coexistence, however, are sometimes presented as a separate chapter,<sup>12</sup> or even in the form of an individual text.<sup>13</sup>

*śrāmaṇera* vows. Nevertheless these vows are usually counted as ten vows.

<sup>8</sup> A recently published study by Ulrich Pagel, *The Bodhisattvapiṭaka*, discusses the sometimes very complicated nature of the relation between the bodhisattva's practice and the *Vinaya* code at length.

<sup>9</sup> *Gal te de ni khrims dag rang bzhin Ita / de phyir de ni tshul khrims dag mi 'gyur //*. See, Louis de La Vallée Poussin, *Madhyamakāvātāra par Candrakīrti*, St.Petersburg 1907-12 ( Bibliotheca Budhica 9 ), p. 37.

<sup>10</sup> U. Wogihara, (ed.), *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, Tokyo, 1930-36, p. 165,26ff. Translation by Pagel 1995: 173.

<sup>11</sup> An example of this type of text seems to be the *sDom pa gsum gyi rgyan* by Padma-dkar-po (1527-1592). Here, in the root text, he describes the way to obtain, maintain, and repair what he calls the *nyan thos kyi 'dul ba* (580-604), the *byang chub sems dpa'i 'dul ba* (604-611), and the *de bzhin gshegs pa'i 'dul ba* (611-625). At least in the *rtsa ba* he does not refer to any system in which an attempt is made to harmonize the vows.

<sup>12</sup> A good example for a separate chapter in which a system of the three vows is presented is the *sDom gsum mam nges* by mNga'-ris-pan-chen (1487/8-1542/3). After introducing the theme (pp. 5-9), he explains *Vinaya* and *prātimokṣa* vows (pp. 9-23), the production of the thought towards awakening of the bodhisattvas (pp. 23-30), the vows of the tantric adepts (pp. 30-38), and finally he presents in the fifth chapter the rNying-ma-pa's system of the three vows (pp. 38-40). These chapters are presented in verse and they are very difficult to understand. A detailed and

#### 4.1. The tantric milieu in Tibet before Atiśa

When Tibetans came into contact with Indian Buddhism, they received monastic ordination, the bodhisattva vows,<sup>14</sup> and tantric initiations. Very soon the question whether these vows were always correctly transferred became a topic of debates.<sup>15</sup> The 17th century master Karma-chags-med (1613-78)<sup>16</sup> for example recorded an instance of an incorrect transmission of the three vows. According to him, some rNying-ma-pas of a very early period erroneously believed that they had received the three vows merely by obtaining the initiations of the Nine Vehicles (*theg pa dgu*). As a consequence, they carefully maintained and observed the *prātimokṣa* vows without actually having received them. This error, however, is not considered to be a big defect since the *Vinaya* rules were observed, but it "does possess one fault, [in so far as] no great benefit will arise [from practising so]."<sup>17</sup> In the same text he also informs us about a correct system which was followed by Padmasambhava, King Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan, and (twenty-four of) his subjects (who were actually considered to be great *siddhas*):<sup>18</sup>

The three vows are gradually received and separately maintained.

At the time when one has acquired adroitness in [the practice of] channels and winds,

one does not lose the *prātimokṣa* vows

even if one has dwelt in such [practices] as the path of desire;

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comprehensible commentary was written by Lo-chen Dharma-śrī (1654-1717), see especially his chapter v = pp. 633-661.

<sup>13</sup> An example might be rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's (1147-1216) *rTsa ltung 'khrul spong*. His text is mainly devoted to the correct understanding of the fourteen pledges of mantra, but throughout the text there are a number of references to the manner in which the three vows exist together. These remarks ultimately led to the formulation of the Sa-skyapa theory of the three vows by Go-rans-pa bSod-nams-seng-ge (1429-1489) in his *sDom gsum spyi don*. (The *rang lugs* begins on p. 234, f. 70vff.) Sa-skya Paṇḍita's (1182-1251) *sDom gsum rab dbye*, however, does not directly allude to the manner of coexistence of the three vows, but does implicitly presuppose such a theory.

<sup>14</sup> According to Bu-ston's History of Buddhism, it was Śāntarakṣita who ordained the first seven Tibetans (*sad mi mi bdun*). See, János Szerb, *Bu ston's History of Buddhism in Tibet*. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990 (Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 569. Band), f. 141b. Śāntarakṣita, who was referred to by Tibetans as *mKhan-po* Bodhisattva, also transmitted the bodhisattva vows, for example to gSal-srang of Mang-yul (f. 140a). See also, E. Obermiller, *History of Buddhism*, vol. I+II. M. Walleser (publ.), Heidelberg 1931 (Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus, Heft 18), pp. 187ff.

<sup>15</sup> R.A. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, London 1972, 334 p., presents an interesting law decreed by the king Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan, which already displays a conflict between monks and tantric adepts (p. 144). See also fn. 20.

<sup>16</sup> Karma-chags-med is best known for his fusion of the Mahānūdrā and rDzogs-pa-chen-po traditions (*phyag rdzogs zung 'jug*). His presentation of the three vows in his *sDom gsum srung tshul* is very interesting, since it provides us with the pith of different Tibetan systems. Where I was able to investigate his descriptions further, I found that he presented the most essential points. However, his sketches do not include citations, but rather seem to be recapitulations of the oral teachings he had received. (This teaching was given through a hole of the wall of his cave to one of his disciples.)

<sup>17</sup> Karma-chags-med, f. 27v (p. 76): *ma dag snga 'gyur rnying ma'i chos lugs la // mdo dbang la sogs theg dgu'i dbang thob nas // sdom pa gsum ka thob par rlom nas kyang // 'dul khrims sdom pa gzhan ni mi zhu bar // chos gos snam sbyar gyon nas srung sdom gzabs // de ni o rgyan chen po'i lung bstan las // sdom pa dbang gi(s) thob par rtsi ba yin // 'dul ba'i bsten (bstan) pa nyams pa'i rtags su gsungs // 'di la nyes 'gal chen po ma mchis te // 'dul khrims ma zhus 'dul khrims srung ba des // phan yon chen po mi 'byung skyon cig gda' // 'di ni mdo khams shar phyogs mtha' nas dar //*

<sup>18</sup> *O rgyan rje 'bangs [nyer lnga]*, the names of these twenty-four "subjects" are listed in BG, p. 910. "rJe" denotes the king, thus this compositum is to be understood as "Padmasambhava [and the] twenty-five [disciples, i.e.] the king [and] the subjects."



and the monk's vows are not lost  
[even] if the ten fields [*i.e.* an enemy of the teaching] have been killed through  
wrathful mantras [and] black magic.<sup>19</sup>

This is, of course, hard to swallow for a person whose natural disposition is completely opposed to such rather "unorthodox" behaviour, and it is not surprising that tantric practice of this type was not accepted with unanimous approval. In fact we know that reservations about tantric practice were formulated by some important figures in early Tibetan Buddhist history, such as the former king of mNga'-ris, Ye-shes-'od, the translator Rin-chen-bzang-po, the Indian master Atiśa, and his disciple 'Brom-ston. That is, they either had doubts about the authenticity of mantra practices in general,<sup>20</sup> or they intended to restrict such practices in some way.<sup>21</sup> In particular, several authors voiced their concern over a certain Ācārya dMar-po and his followers.<sup>22</sup> In the period shortly before Atiśa's coming to mNga'-ris (presumably 1042), Ācārya dMar-po spread the three vows in that area.<sup>23</sup> Karma-chags-med describes his system of

<sup>19</sup> Karma-chags-med, f. 27r (p. 75): *sdom gsum rim gyis zhushing so sor srung // rtsa rlung las su rung ba de yi tshe // chags lam la sogs biten par byas na yang // so sor thar pa 'i sdom pa mi 'chor zhing // drag sngags ngan mithus zhing bcu bsgral ba na // dge slong sdom pa 'chor bar mi 'gyur ba //*. Evidently the practice of sexual union and mactation (*sbyor sgröl*) is referred to. Mactation, or "ritual slaughter," is here linked with the term *zhing bcu*. In the *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* we find the following explanation (p. 2389): "It is necessary that ten conditions are fulfilled in an enemy of the teachings who is to be liberated (*i.e.* killed, *bsgral byar gyur pa*) according to the tantric teachings." These ten conditions are then listed as: *bstan pa bshig pa dang / dkon mchog la smad pa / dge 'dun gyi dkor 'phrog pa / theg chen la smod pa / bla ma 'i sku la bsngo ba / rdo tje spun grogs sun 'byin pa / sgrub la bar gcod byed pa / brtse ba snying tje gtan nas med pa / dam tshig sdom pa dang brial ba / las 'bras la log lta /*. It is interesting to note that this kind of practice is associated with the same King Khri-srong-lde-'u-btsan who also issued the decrees which restricted tantric practice. See footnotes 15 and 20.

<sup>20</sup> Tibetan historians repeat again and again the story that Lha-bla-ma Ye-shes-'od became dissatisfied with the nature of the Buddhist practice in Tibet in his time, and that as a consequence he sent Rin-chen-bzang-po (958-1055) to Kashmir to investigate the authenticity of tantric teachings. See Samten G. Karmay, "The Ordinance of Lha Bla-ma Ye-shes-'od," in *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson*, (Proceedings of the International Seminar on Tibetan Studies), Michael Aris and Auung San Suu Kyi (eds.), Oxford 1979, pp. 150ff.; see also, Seyfort Ruegg 1981: 224ff.; Chattopadhyaya 1967: 291ff.

Rin-chen-bzang-po returned to Tibet as a mantra practitioner himself, but he remained a critic of the rNying-ma'i-rgyud-'bum; see, Roerich 1949: I, 102, 204ff.; see also, Chattopadhyaya 1967: 293ff.). See also Khri-lde-srong-btsan's decree on restricting *vajrayāna* practices, reproduced in the *sGRA sbyor bam gnyis* (ed. N. Simonsson, *Indo-tibetische Studien I*, Uppsala 1957), p. 260; and Bu-ston's *Chos-byung* f. 130a-b, for the time of Ral-pa-can = Khri-gtsug-lde-btsan (!); and Padma-dkar-po's *Chos-byung* f. 168b, for the time of Khri-lde-srong-btsan.

<sup>21</sup> Mi-la-ras-pa and sGam-po-pa are said to have expressed their disapproval of 'Brom-ston's attitude to keep the mantra practices secret; see Roerich 1949: I, 261. Atiśa did not allow the *Guhyaḥbhīṣeka* and the *Prajñābhīṣeka* for celibates (*i.e.* Bhikṣu and Brahmācārin); see Atiśa's *Bodhipathapradīpa* (Eimer, H., *Bodhipathapradīpa, Atiśas Lehrgedicht in Tibetischer Überlieferung*, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrasowitz, 1978, Textausgabe, line 259ff.); see also Seyfort Ruegg 1981: 213ff. Other Tibetan authors explain that Atiśa only intended to encourage *Vinaya* practice and that such teachings were intended to attract those of inferior capacity; see, for example, Dri-med-'od-zer: 139v-140r.

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, 'Jig-ten-ingon-po: 2r; Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan: 64r. See also, Seyfort Ruegg 1981: 220ff.; Chattopadhyaya 1967: 291ff. Factual knowledge about the Ācārya dMar-po is scarce and I do not know of any recent publication which goes beyond the facts presented by Seyfort Ruegg. There is an interesting note on a blue-robed monk of the Sammitīya school who practiced sexual union. On this see Giacomella Orofino, "Divination with Mirrors. Observations on a Simile found in the Kālacakra Literature", in *PIATS Fagernes 1992*, vol. II, p. 622, note 27. A blue-robed monk (*shams thabs sngon po can*) was often associated with the Ācārya dMar-po in Tibetan historiographical literature.

<sup>23</sup> For the date 1042, see for example Paṅ-chen bSod-nams-grags-pa, *bKa' gdams gsar rnying gi chos 'byung yid kyi mdzes rgyan*. In *Two Histories of the bKa' gdams-pa Tradition from the Library of Bumniok Athing*, Gonpo Tseten (publ.), Gangtok, Sikkim, 1977, f. 3v. The connection of mNga'-ris with Ācārya dMar-po's activities is made for ex-

obtaining the three vows as a gradual system where higher vows were obtained by transformation (of the lower ones) while the lower vows were completely abandoned.<sup>24</sup> The monks with mantra vows were permitted to associate with women. As a result the Ācārya's following "increased greatly" and these so-called *ser-khyim-pas*<sup>25</sup> spread "everywhere in mNga'-ris, dBus and gTsang." This passage ends with the statement: "All learned ones censure and refute [this doctrine], calling it the 'perverted doctrine of Ācārya dMar-po.'"

As I have already mentioned, the system of Ācārya dMar-po was altogether rejected in Tibet,<sup>26</sup> while this was neither the case with the "correct" nor with the "incorrect system of the rNying-ma-pas." It seems that it is one characteristic in particular which made Ācārya dMar-po's system unacceptable for the Tibetan masters even in theory. According to Karma-chags-med, in this system the lower vows were "completely abandoned" after higher vows were obtained. On the other hand, both rNying-ma-pa systems contain *and* continue separately the vows of *prātimokṣa*, the bodhisattva, and the tantric adept. They have this characteristic furthermore in common with those systems that were developed by rNying-ma-pas of a later period and with the three schools of the Later Spread (*phyi dar*) of the teachings.

#### 4.2. The Three Vow theories of the second spread

Let us now proceed to the rich material on the three vows produced during the second spread of the teachings in Tibet, *i.e.* after about the year 1000. The principle lineages of these theories are presented by Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas in his *Shes bya mdzod (bar cha*, p. 199ff.). He first mentions sGam-po-pa bSod-nams-rin-chen (1079-1153) who maintained five points:

- 1) The three vows are of different natures (*ngo bo tha dad*).
- 2) They are to be followed according to the rules of the authoritative scriptures from which they stem (*'chol par bsrung*).<sup>27</sup>
- 3) The highest vow has to be regarded as the predominant one (*gong ma gtso bo*) when

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ample in 'Jig-iten-ṅgon-po: 2r.

<sup>24</sup> Karma-chags-med: 74: *de nas byang chub sems bskyed zhus pa yis // so thar sdom pa byang sems sdom par 'gyur // de nas 'dul khriṃs gcig kyang srung mi dgos // (...) de nas gsang sngags dbang bzhi zhus pa yis // byang sdom de 'ang sngags kyi sdom par 'gyur // de nas byang sdom bslab pa bsrung mi dgos //*

"Thereafter, by receiving the [ritual of] generation of bodhicitta [*i.e.* the bodhisattva vows], the *prātimokṣa* vows turned into the bodhisattva vows.

After that, none of the *Vinaya* rules had to be maintained. (...)

Thereafter, by receiving the four initiations of the mantra, these bodhisattva vows too turned into the vows of mantra.

After that, the training of the bodhisattva vows did not have to be maintained."

<sup>25</sup> People who wore the yellow robes of a monk but lived like householders, thus corrupting the *Vinaya* rules. It is to be noted that a tradition of *Ser-khyim-pas* may still be found in Ding-ri, where they form one fifth of the entire population. Whether this particular tradition can be traced back to the time of the Red Ācārya is at present unknown. See Barbara Aziz's remarks in her *Tibetan Frontier Families, Reflections of Three Generations from D'ing-ri*, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1978, pp. 76-94.

<sup>26</sup> At least this seems to be the case with regard to the system of the three vows that is ascribed to him. On the other hand it seems that certain teachings of the Red Ācārya have survived in Tibet. See, Seyfort Ruegg 1981: 220. A miniature color picture of him is displayed in the *Secret Visions of the Fifth Dalai Lama*, by Samten Karney, London, 1980, p. xi, picture no. 4. On p. 74 he is referred to as the person who has introduced the cult of dPal-ldan-lhamo (of which the Fifth Dalai Lama had visions) to Tibet.

<sup>27</sup> I understand *'chol ba* as "to appoint" or "to entrust" (*gtam pa 'am gnyer du gtad pa*). The other meanings (*'khrugs pa dang nor ba*, and *brtan po med par g.yo ba*) are negative and can therefore hardly describe sGam-po-pa's own position (*rang lugs*).

the rules of the different vows are in conflict with each other.

- 4) The defects of the lower vows are overpowered (*zil gyis gnon*) as long as one's activities are pervaded by a special motivation [*i.e. bodhicitta*] and by special skilful means. And,
- 5) through such skilful practices not only do the defects not arise, but also higher qualities are possessed (*yon tan yar ldan*).

Kong-sprul then describes the lineage of this theory as being handed down by "the masters of the four major and eight minor [bKa-brgyud-pa] traditions." In particular he refers to the great 7th Karma-pa Chos-grags-rgya-mtsho (1454-1506).<sup>28</sup>

The second Tibetan theory is that of rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147-1216) and Klong-chen-pa Dri-med-'od-zer (1308-1363). Their theory was presented in six topics by such commentators as mNga'-ris-pan-chen and Lo-chen Dharma-śrī:<sup>29</sup>

- 1) The three vows are unmixed (*ma 'dres*) with respect to their distinctive aspects (*rang ldog*), *i.e.* they are obtained from different sources (*blang yul*), by different motivations (*bsam pa*), and through different rituals (*cho ga*).
- 2) Their practice is brought to completion (*yongs rdzogs*) in that in all of them the *kleśas* are the thing to be removed (*dgag bya*), and in that it is the purpose (*dgos pa*) in all three vows that one should never be bound by these *kleśas*.
- 3) On a more theoretical level, the nature of the lower vows is transformed when higher vows are obtained (*ngo bo gnas 'gyur*),
- 4) the key-points of the three vows are not incompatible (*gnad kyis mi 'gal*),
- 5) higher qualities are possessed (*yon tan yar ldan*), and
- 6) in certain circumstances certain vows are to be practised as the predominant ones (*dus skabs gtsor spyad*).

This lineage is furthermore identified as consisting of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's nephew Sa-skya Paṇḍita (1182-1251), Lo-chen Rin-chen-bzang-po (958-1055), and Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po (11th c.).<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> At least some of the Karma-pa's comments are preserved by his contemporary and disciple Karma-'phrin-las-pa (in his *Dris lan*, pp. 101-102, 122-130). Chos-grags-rgya-mtsho's remarks are probably a reaction on Go-rams-pa's *sDom gsum spyi don* which was written in 1461, although Karma-'phrin-las-pa only mentions rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147-1216) by name (referring to the latter's *rTsa ltung rgya(!) cher(!) 'chang(!) [gsal!] byed 'khrul spong*, p. 123). He quotes from Vibhūti's *sDom gsum 'od phreng* and particularly explains the intention of sGam-po-pa's theory (p. 126).

For sGam-po-pa's theory, see also his *Collected Works (gSung 'bum)*, Reproduced from the bKra-shis-chos-rdzong Monastery in Miyad Lahul by Khasdub Gyatsho Shashin, Vol. I-II, Delhi, 1975, here: Vol. II (*ta*), f. 15v - a, f. 16r (pp. 294-5): *bSlab gsum rnam bzhaḡ la sogs pa*; and his *Thar pa rin po che 'i rgyan*, especially f. 61r (of the 'Brug-pa-edition). The *bSlab gsum rnam bzhaḡ*, however, is highly corrupted and needs, like most parts of sGam-po-pa's *gSung 'bum*, very careful editing.

<sup>29</sup> The earliest mention of these six topics that I have been able to find so far is in Klong-chen-pa's *bSam gtan ngal gso* (f. 114v) and in the same author's *'Grel pa* f. 136. They were commented upon by mNga'-ris Pan-chen Padma-dbang-rgyal (1487/8-1542/3) in his famous treatise *sDom gsum rnam nges* and subsequently by mNga'-ris Pan-chen's commentator sMin-gling Lo-chen Dharma-śrī (1654-1717).

<sup>30</sup> The Sa-skya-pa author Go-rams-pa bSod-nams-seng-ge (1429-1489) devotes the last part of his *sDom gsum spyi don* (f. 70vff.) to the Sa-skya-pa's own theory of the three vows. Although he does not use the same terminology, it is quite clear that he follows the same lines of interpretation as the above-mentioned rNying-ma-pa authors. But how these theories are exactly connected may only be established through a comparative study of both theories.

Rong-zom's interpretation can probably be found in the *Rong zom chos bzang gis mdzad pa 'i dam bca'*, in *Selected Writings (gsung thor bu)*, Leh 1974.

Finally Kong-sprul presents a short sketch of the theory of the "dGe-ldan-pas" (*i.e.* dGe-lugs-pas). According to them, there are three distinct types of vows (*tshul tha dad*), because the manner of obtaining the three vows and the causes for their loss are different. They also emphasize the point that the lower vows are the basis of the higher ones (*gong ma 'og ma 'i rten can*).<sup>31</sup>

Kong-sprul has also mentioned briefly the two Indian systems which are "presently the most famous ones in Tibet" (*deng sang bod 'dir grags che ba ni*). The first one is the theory of Abhayākaragupta (*slob dpon chen po 'jigs med zhabs*).<sup>32</sup> His point is demonstrated through a simile: Gold ornaments are of one kind (*rigs gcig*) in that they are made of gold, but they are different in that they are ornaments of the head, of the feet, or of the hands, respectively. Similarly, the three vows are of one kind in regard to their single mind of renunciation (*spong ba 'i sems*), but [still] they are held to be three different vows, (presumably because of the differences that lay in the persons who maintain them).<sup>33</sup>

The second "Indian" system is that of Vibhūticandra. He gave the example of the sun, moon, and stars, according to which the higher vows overpower or outshine (*zil gyis mnan*) the lower ones, which remain on the *ālayavijñāna* in a dormant way (*bag la zha ba*, or *bag la nyal ba*). The natures of the three vows are also held to be different from each other.

#### 4.3. A comparative view of the Three Vows

Considering the many differences in terminology between the various systems and masters, it is rather surprising that under close examination one finds only a few major differences in doctrine. Let us first take a closer look at the theories of Abhayākaragupta and of the bKa'-brgyud-pas, Sa-skya-pas, and rNying-ma-pas (of the later period). It is important to note that all of them refer to one vital element which they consider to be equally contained in all three vows. In the following I shall refer to this as the "unifying factor."<sup>34</sup>

According to Abhayākaragupta's theory, the "unifying factor" in all three vows is the mind of renunciation. This factor was represented in the example by a gold ornament which is always of one kind, no matter whether it is worn as a head ornament or as another sort of ornament. On the other hand, this and other theories also contain a factor through which the vows become three. In the following I shall refer to it as the "distinctive factor." In the case of Abhayākaragupta's theory this is the differing "location" that is decorated by the ornament. According to my understanding this "location" denotes the person who applies this mind of renunciation. In other words, the vows are also different because of the different capacities of the persons who maintain them.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>31</sup> See below, especially footnote 42.

<sup>32</sup> For a bibliography and some chronological remarks on Abhayākaragupta, see Gudrun Bühnemann, "Some Remarks on the Date of Abhayākaragupta and the Chronology of his Works", in *ZDMG* 142 (1992), pp. 120-7.

<sup>33</sup> See below, especially footnote 37.

<sup>34</sup> If not otherwise indicated, I refer in the following presentation of the three vows to Kong-sprul's sketches of the different theories contained in his *Shes bya mdzod*, vol. 2, pp. 200ff.

<sup>35</sup> The details of Abhayākara's theory are not yet known, but they are probably contained in his *Munimatālamkāra*, a commentary on Maitreya's *Abhisamayālamkāra*, see H. Isoda, "Abhayākaragupta: 'Munimatālamkāra'" (Text) (I)+(II), in *Tōhoku Daigaku Bungakubu Kenkyū Nenpō* 34 (1984), pp. 251-320, and 37 (1987), pp. 138-176. See also footnote 37.

Now the "unifying factor" of Abhayākara's theory is very similar to the one in sGam-po-pa's theory. According to sGam-po-pa the vows are of one kind (*rigs gcig*) through their modes (*rnam pa*), such as the controlling of the unwholesome (*mi dge ba sdom*) and the arising of the correct view [as] the antidote (*gnyen po yang dag pa'i lta ba sbye pas*). Therefore he considers the three vows to be one with regard to the key topic of the antidote (*sdom gsum gnyen po'i gnad la gcig*). On the other hand, their "distinctive factors" are the different sections [of the teachings] from which they originate (*byung ba'i sde snod*), their different objects [*i.e.* persons] from which they are received (*len pa'i yul*), their different durations (*das tshod*), intentions (*bsam pa*), rituals (*cho ga*), [rules] to be followed (*bsrung bya*), causes [through which they are] lost (*gtong rgyu*), benefits (*phan yon*), and also their different ways of being restored when damaged (*nyams pa gsor*).

It is perhaps of interest to notice at this point another bKa'-brgyud-pa theory of the three vows, which seems to be as close to Abhayākara's theory as it is to that of sGam-po-pa. According to the "vajra-logoi" (*rdo rje'i tshig*) of the 'Bri-gung-pa 'Jig-rten-mgon-po's (1143-1217) *dGongs gcig*, "the single key point (*gnad gcig*) of all three vows is that the ten unwholesome deeds are what is to be avoided (*spang bya*)."<sup>36</sup> According to the 'Bri-gung-pa, however, "the vows become three since the [vow] possessor changes."<sup>37</sup>

The three-vow theory of the Sa-skyas and of the rNying-ma-pas also contains a "unifying factor": The thing to be removed (*dgag bya*) through all three vows equally are the concrete *kleśas* (*nyon mongs rang gi mtshan pa spong ba*), and it is furthermore the purpose (*dgos pa*) in all three trainings not to be bound by the *kleśas* (*nyon mong pas mi 'ching ba*).<sup>38</sup> The "distinctive factor" of this theory is that the three vows are different (*tha dad pa*) since "[their] distinctive aspects are not mixed (*rang ldog ma 'dres*)" (Lo-chen Dharma-śrī: 635). This means that they have separate objects from which they are taken, separate intentions through which they are taken, and separate rituals by which they are taken.

In sum it can be said that the vital point of all the above theories is that in each of the three vows the *kleśas* are to be removed and the unwholesome deeds are to be avoided. This "unifying factor" was termed the "mode" (*rnam pa*) of the vows by sGam-po-pa, the "nature" (*ngo bo*) by the Sa-skyas and rNying-ma-pas, and the "single key point" (*gnad gcig*) by the 'Bri-gung-pas. On the other hand, to designate the "distinctive factor," the Sa-skyas and rNying-ma-pas used the term "distinctive aspect" (*rang ldog*) while sGam-po-pa used the term "nature" (*ngo bo*). The fact that sGam-po-pa used the term "nature" to designate the distinctive factor might be confusing since the Sa-skyas and rNying-ma-pas employed the same term to designate the unifying factor, but perhaps this only demonstrates a difference in emphasis, *i.e.*

<sup>36</sup> Shes-rab-'byung-gnas, dBon-po, *dGongs gcig yig cha. Detailed Presentation of 'Bri-gung-pa 'Jig-rten-mgon-po's dGongs-gcig Precepts of Mahāyāna Buddhist Philosophy*. D. Tsondu Senghe (ed.), 2 vols, Bir 1975, vol. 1, topic 1.24, p. 431: *sdom pa gsum spang bya mi dge ba'i phyogs spong bar gnad gcig tu bzhed do* /.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, topic 1.25, p. 438f.: *bdag po 'phos pas sdom pa gsum du 'ong bar bzhed do* / . It is not quite clear from Abhayākara's example how to transfer the example of the ornaments worn on different limbs to the theory of the vows. 'Jig-rten-mgon-po appears to have refined that example. According to him, the ornaments are worn by persons of different status, *i.e.* by common people, by ministers, and by the king. The 7th Karma-pa Chos-grags-rgya-mtsho (Karma-'phrin-las-pa: 128ff.) has argued that a specific passage at the end of the 7th chapter of sGam-po-pa's *Thar rgyan* which deals with the transformation of the vows has precisely this intention, *i.e.* that the person who is the support is changing, and not the vow. For the *Thar rgyan*, see footnote 28.

<sup>38</sup> This topic is very much elaborated in the Lo-chen Dharma-śrī's commentary under the heading *dgag dgos yongs rdzogs* (pp. 636-638). Go-rams-pa, too, makes clear that abandoning *kleśas* and not being bound by them is the central theme of all three vows (p. 239, f. 80r.).

it shows that the Sa-skyapa and rNying-ma-pas were underscoring the unity of the vows, while sGam-po-pa may have been emphasising their distinctions at this point. Despite the difference in emphasis it is quite clear that regarding the distinctive factor, sGam-po-pa as well as the Sa-skyapa and rNying-ma-pas referred to one and the same idea, *i.e.* that the vows are obtained from different "objects" (persons), by way of different intentions, and so forth. 'Bri-gung-pa 'Jig-rten-mgon-po and thus perhaps Abhayākara-gupta, too, and (according to the 7th Karma-pa Chos-grags-rgya-mtsho) even sGam-po-pa furthermore maintained that the person, *i.e.* the owner (*bdag po*) of the vow, transforms, and not the vow itself<sup>39</sup> (as maintained by the Sa-skyapa).<sup>40</sup>

The two remaining theories of Vibhūticandra and of the bKa'-gdams-pas have one basic characteristic in common which makes them quite distinct from the theories sketched above. According to Vibhūticandra, the three vows that are possessed as properties of the mental continuum are three separate [and] different substances.<sup>41</sup> According to the bKa'-gdams-pas, too, the most prominent characteristic of the vows appears to be that they are different.<sup>42</sup> In Vibhūti's case this important theoretical presupposition has led to his belief that the higher vows overpower the lower ones, while the lower vows are unmanifest (*mi mngon pa*) or dormant (*bag la nyal ba*). The bKa'-gdams-pas for their part assume that the higher vows are based on the lower ones (*gong ma 'og ma 'i rten can*).

To sum up these two theories, it appears that both take their departure from the same theoretical assumption, *i.e.* that the vows are separate substances, but while the bKa'-gdams-pas and later on the dGe-lدان-pas, too, seem to emphasize the *prātimokṣa* vows as the support of the other vows and thus as the most important ones of the three sets of vows, Vibhūti rather concludes that the substance of the mantra vows overpower the substances of the lower vows in the mental continuum of the tantric adepts. Since this might have led to the assumption that he neglected the lower vows, it is not surprising that the *sDom gsum 'od phreng* is considered to be the most controversial of his works.<sup>43</sup>

## Conclusion

We have seen that all theories (with the possible exception of the last one by Vibhūticandra) emphasize the elimination of the *kleśas*, either by making this elimination their most vital point, or by declaring the *prātimokṣa* vows to be the base of all the other vows. Exactly how the basic morality of the *Śrāvakas* survived in the tantric milieu is another question, but I take it to be significant that the great majority of Tibetan theories of the three vows either emphasize the *prātimokṣa* vows as the basic vow and thus as the most important one, or highly appreciate the

<sup>39</sup> See footnote 37.

<sup>40</sup> Thus the main distinctive factor would be the person. All the other differences exist then only for the sake of the persons with their different capacities.

<sup>41</sup> Vibhūticandra, f. 59r: *shes rgyud gcig la brtsi na ni // gcig tu 'dod kyang gsum du 'gyur // ldan chos rdzas gzhan tha dad phyir //*.

<sup>42</sup> See for example mKhas-grub dGe-legs-dpal-bzang-po (1385-1438), *sDom gsum gyi rnam par bzhag pa mdoz bsdus te gtan la dbab pa 'i rab tu byed pa thub bstan rin po che 'i byi dor*. In *Collected Works (gSung 'bum)*, vol. XI, Ngawang Gelek Demo (publ.), New Delhi 1985 (Gedan Sungrab Minyam Gyunphel Series 126), f. 94rff.

The view that the three vows are separate substances (*rdzas tha dad*) is ascribed by Go-rams-pa (p. 232, f. 67r) to a certain bKa'-gdams-pa teacher lCangs-ra who flourished probably during the 11th century.

<sup>43</sup> See footnote 2 on Cyrus Stearns' forthcoming article.

mind of renunciation as the "unifying factor" of all three vows. It thus seems to me that whatever other differences may exist in Tibetan Buddhist tantric theory and practice, the elimination of the *kleśas* – perhaps the single most fundamental concern of early Buddhism – still has its inherent place in the Tibetan exegetical tantric literature.

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# GENERAL HUANG MUSONG'S MISSION TO LHASA AND THE SINO-TIBETAN NEGOTIATIONS IN 1934

by

Liming Song, Rome

This is not a new topic at all; some studies have dealt with it, and the best ones are those by Goldstein and Lamb.<sup>1</sup> It can be observed, however, that most of the writings are based mainly or solely on British official records, more exactly, on the report of Norbu Dhondup, the British agent then in Lhasa. Norbu Dhondup's work was highly appreciated by his government, who remarked that "the information sent by him of the progress of the negotiations was obtained from very secret sources which could have been entirely closed to any ordinary agent".<sup>2</sup> And Norbu Dhondup himself added that all his news was "strictly accurate".<sup>3</sup> But this is an exaggeration; even his colleagues did not believe it: "We must remember that Norbu Dhondup's information is not always accurate".<sup>4</sup> In fact, though Norbu Dhondup's report is certainly valuable, it is no surprising that there are some errors and negligence in it, and therefore in the studies depending on it.

It should be commonplace that in studying the history of Sino-Tibetan relations in general, and General Huang's mission in particular, Tibetan and Chinese sources have a higher value than British ones. As for the Tibetan sources, Richardson indicates that he has obtained some and used them in his works.<sup>5</sup> But I am sorry to say that all materials that he has shown to us are identical to Norbu Dhondup's report, which are not Tibetan sources, but British sources, or British Tibetan sources. On the other hand, as far as I know, no Tibetan writer has used any Tibetan sources on the subject. Accordingly, it is unknown where, or even whether, Tibetan sources do exist.

While Tibetan sources remain mysterious, Chinese sources seem to have been suspicious. In his quarrel with Li, Richardson points out that "the official Chinese report appears deliberately to ignore the frequent reference by the Tibetan Government to the 1914 Convention as the basis for agreement, or to the need for, associating the British Government in any settlement", and "no hint" of the relationship of patron and priest appears in the Chinese account, and so on.<sup>6</sup> Richardson would be correct if his accusation had been directed against Li's account rather than "the Chinese official report", because contrary to the legend that Li's work is based on the Chi-

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<sup>1</sup> Goldstein, M. C. (1989), *A History of Modern Tibet 1913-1950, The Demise of the Lamaist State*, University of California Press; Lamb, A. (1989), *Tibet, China and India 1914-1950, A History of Imperial Diplomacy*, Roxford Books.

<sup>2</sup> L/PS/12/4175, British policy in Tibet, 20 January 1935.

<sup>3</sup> L/PS/12/4177, Letter from the Political Officer in Sikkim (POS), 22 November 1934.

<sup>4</sup> L/PS/12/4177, Minute Paper, Tibet, Chinese Mission to Lhasa.

<sup>5</sup> Richardson, H. E. (1984), *Tibet and its History*, London, 142; and "General Huang Mu-sung at Lhasa, 1934" in *Bulletin of Tibetology*, 1977, vol. XIV, no. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Richardson 1984: 142-3.

nese official records,<sup>7</sup> Li gathers his information mainly from newspapers and publications.<sup>8</sup> In fact, the Chinese official records have not become available until recently,<sup>9</sup> and they undoubtedly shed new light on the subject. Based primarily on these new documents, this paper tries to give a more accurate account as well as some personal re-interpretations.

The death of the 13th Dalai Lama on 17 December 1933 gave the Chinese Government an opportunity to send an official mission to Tibet. On 12 January 1934 General Huang Musong, Vice Chief of the General Staff, was appointed as special commissioner. He left Nanking on 26 April and the next day reached Chengdu, where he left for Lhasa via Sikang on 7 May. After a long and difficult journey he arrived in Lhasa on 28 August of the same year.<sup>10</sup>

General Huang's mission to Lhasa, as it was declared, was to pay posthumous tribute to the late Dalai Lama; but in reality, Huang also carried out a "secret task" of settling the issues as to Tibet's status *vis-à-vis* China through political negotiations.<sup>11</sup> And on the other part, although the Tibetans did not know the exact objective of Huang's mission, they were ready to have a political discussion with him, as they told the British before Huang's arrival.<sup>12</sup> Consequently, the Sino-Tibetan political negotiations actually began shortly after Huang's appearance in Lhasa.

On 10 September General Huang called on Trimon *Shape* and talked with him for about two hours. Trimon requested that China and Tibet should, on the basis of the Simla Convention of 1914, conclude a treaty by negotiations. Huang replied that if the Tibetans desired a treaty, they could put forward a concrete proposal, so that he might report it to his government to decide; however, he emphasised that the Chinese Government were unwilling to let a third party interfere with Sino-Tibetan internal affairs. Trimon argued that China was too strong and Tibet too weak, without a guarantor it was impossible to keep peace and friendship between them; moreover, it was the late Dalai Lama who asked the British to serve as guarantor to a Sino-Tibetan settlement. Huang replied that good faith was the essential element in negotiations; it would be useless to have a guarantor if good faith lacked; he added that in the past there had

<sup>7</sup> For example, Lamb believes that Li "can safely be taken to reflect the records" of the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission; see Lamb 1989: 235.

<sup>8</sup> Li Tieh-tseng (1956), *The Historical Status of Tibet*, New York, 67-172. In fact, Li has made 11 notes on Huang's mission, and only one of them (e.g. note 170) is said to have been gathered from the official report of General Huang. But in my opinion, even this note is doubtful, since it is not identical with the official report of Huang, but with that of Wu Zhongxin; see *Reports of the Missions on the Tibetan Affairs by Huang Musong, Wu Zhongxin, Zhao Shouyu and Dai Chuanxian* (*Huang Musong, Wu Zhongxin, Zhao Shouyu, Dai Chuanxian fengshi banli Zang shi baogao shu*), China's Centre for Tibetology and the Second Historical Archives (ed.), Beijing 1994 (henceforth cited as *Reports*), 131. On the other hand, Kong Qinzong, an officer in the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission, does use General Huang's report; see Kong, "Account of Huang Musong's Entry into Tibet (Huang Musong ru Zang jishi)", in *Collections of Historical Accounts of Past Events (Wenshi ziliao xuanji)*, Vol. 32, 116-36.

<sup>9</sup> *Selected Files relating to the Memorial Ceremony on the Demise of the 13th Dalai Lama and the Reincarnation and Installation of the 14th Dalai Lama (Shisanshi Dalai yuanji zhiji he shisishi Dalai zhuanshi zuochuang dang'an xuanbian)*, China's Centre for Tibetology and the Second Historical Archives (ed.), Beijing 1990 (henceforth cited as *Files*) and *Reports*. It is interesting to note that the documents in *Files* are not preserved in the archives of the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission, but in those of Executive Yuan, because being Vice Chief of the General Staff, General Huang communicated direct with the President of the Executive Yuan, Wang Jinwei, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, without needing the intermediary of the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission.

<sup>10</sup> *Files* 53-56.

<sup>11</sup> *Files* 64, The Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission to the Executive Yuan, 22 September 1934.

<sup>12</sup> L/PS/12/4177, POS to the Government of India (GOI), 29 August 1934.

been conflicts between Tibet and Great Britain, and it was impossible for the British to guarantee Tibet without getting compensations.<sup>13</sup> Two days later, Huang visited respectively the *Silon* and four *Shapes*, who all expressed their wishes to settle Sino-Tibetan differences by negotiations. The *Silon* furthermore raised the issue of Panchen Lama's return to Tibet. In reply Huang promised that he would try his best to mediate between the Tibetan Government and the Panchen Lama.<sup>14</sup> On 14 September the Regent visited Huang, urging him to resolve the border disputes as soon as possible.<sup>15</sup>

However, the official negotiations took place only on 16 September, when the four *Shapes* called on and conferred with Huang and his staff on all matters in question. The Tibetans began by recalling the long history of Sino-Tibetan relations, and underlined that the border issue was a fundamental one, which should be discussed first; they requested that the Chinese should acknowledge the Kantze Truce of 1932 as a legitimate treaty and evacuate their troops from Hainan and Golok in Qinghai; they proposed that if China did not want the British as guarantor, they would use a different country to play this role; and finally, they insisted that the Panchen Lama should return to Tibet by sea. The Chinese replied that the overall nature of Sino-Tibetan relations should be discussed first, then all other questions could be settled easily; they said that it was difficult for them to acknowledge the treaty of 1932 since afterwards it was replaced by the armistice of Gonchen; as to the question of guarantee, they emphasised that no third party could meddle with the Sino-Tibetan internal affairs; and as to the question of the Panchen Lama, they said that the Panchen Lama could come overland, if he did not bring with him a large army but only a suitable escort.<sup>16</sup>

During this official meeting, the Tibetans insisted that Sino-Tibetan differences should be settled before the memorial and condolence ceremonies. Huang protested that it was the most important duty of his mission to hold these ceremonies, which therefore should be done shortly; however he promised that negotiations should not be suspended because of the ceremonies. After some reluctance, the Tibetans agreed.<sup>17</sup> On 23 September, the ceremony of presentation of a seal and posthumous medal to the late Dalai Lama was held in the hall of the Potala. The next day, at the request of Huang, the *Kashag* sent him an official letter, in which it was stated that both the *Kashag* and the National Assembly regarded the border disputes as a fundamental issue, Huang should try to settle it; as to the overall nature of Sino-Tibetan rela-

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<sup>13</sup> Files 57-8, Huang to Wang Jingwei and Chiang Kai-shek, 10 September 1934.

<sup>14</sup> Files 58-9, Huang to Wang and Chiang, 12 September 1934.

<sup>15</sup> Files 60, Huang to Wang and Chiang, 14 September 1934. Norbu Dhondup reported that "all the powers at Lhasa is at present in the hands of the Regent, the Prime Minister and Trimon Shape, and no one else is of any importance" (see L/PS/12/4177, POS to Foreign Secretary, 22 August 1934); this may explain why the initial Sino-Tibetan negotiations took place between these three and General Huang. During the negotiations, Trimon played a more important role than all others, and in the British eyes, he "is the only high official who is well acquainted with international affairs. He was an assistant to the Tibetan Plenipotentiary at the Simla Conference of 1913, and is probably the only official who could deal more or less effectively with the demands sure to be made by the Chinese Mission" (see L/PS/12/4177, POS to Foreign Secretary, 26 May 1934).

<sup>16</sup> Files 60-1, Huang to Wang and Chiang, 16 September 1934. See also *Reports* 31-33, and L/PS/12/4177, GOI to Secretary of State for India, 24 October 1934. It must be noted that 17 September is a wrong date; and most dates provided by Norbu Dhondup are mistakes, which, according to the British, are due to the fact that "telegrams from Lhasa are often delayed" (see L/PS/12/4177, Letter from POS, 22 November 1934).

<sup>17</sup> Files 62-3, Huang to Wang and Chiang, 21 September 1934.

tions, they said that, if the Chinese had some suggestions, the Tibetan Government would take them into consideration seriously.<sup>18</sup>

Before the condolence ceremony the Chinese raised the issue of the flags, requesting repeatedly that during the ceremony Chinese national flag and the flag of the Nationalist Party should be hanged over the hall of the Potala. The Tibetan refused firmly, explaining that no flags could appear on the Potala or other holy places. At last, the Chinese were satisfied themselves with the flags hoisting over Huang's residence during the ceremony which was held on 1 October.<sup>19</sup> The next day, Huang called on the Regent and the *Silon*. He expressed his gratitude to the Tibetan Government for their co-operation in the ceremonies, and repeated that first of all China and Tibet should resume their traditional relations. The *Silon* said that it had been the late Dalai Lama's idea to settle the border disputes between Sikang and Tibet, therefore they must do it; and since China and Tibet had separated for many years, it would be in vain to discuss too many questions, but if the Chinese had some proposal, they could put forward it to the National Assembly for discussion and decision. Huang replied that the border issue was certainly important, but judged by historical experience, if traditional Sino-Tibetan relations had not been resumed, it would be difficult to work for the well-being of the two parties; he reiterated that the Chinese Government wanted nothing more than Tibetan's declared opinion about the Sino-Tibetan relations.<sup>20</sup>

The Tibetans decided to show their hands first. On 4 October four *Shapes* visited Huang and brought with them a second official letter, which stated that Tibet had been a land of *Avalokitesvara* with dual religious-political system and had had the relationship of priest-patron with China since the times of the 5th Dalai Lama; the recent Sino-Tibetan discords resulted from the disputes on the border; the Chinese would better to return all land where the Tibetans lived; at least they should fulfil the Kantze Truce of 1932, and since Golok had been subjected to Tibet for a long time, Qinghai local government should not threat it with arms; as to Sikang borders, Derge, Nyarong and some zones in Kantze which were now occupied by the Chinese should be handed over to Tibet, so that peace on the borders might be kept and the priest-patron relationship be improved. To Huang's great surprise, in the conversations Trimon asked him whether he brought with him a full power of letter or other certificate for settling the issues in dispute. Huang retorted that since he was not in a foreign country to conduct diplomatic affairs, he needed not any such documents.<sup>21</sup>

For Huang the priest-patron relations were only a kind of religious relations, what he concerned was Tibetan's idea on Sino-Tibetan political relations, and for this purpose, on 6 October he paid a private visit to Trimon and asked him two questions: was Tibet willing to participate in the Republic of five races? And what did the Tibetans think of political relations be-

<sup>18</sup> Files 69, Huang to Wang and Chiang, 25 September 1934; see also L/PS/12/4177, Letter from POS to GOI, 6 October 1934.

<sup>19</sup> Files 72, Huang to Wang, 26 September 1934, and Wang to Huang 28 September 1934. Wang told Huang that it was most important that no flags of other nation should be hanged in the Potala (Files 72, Wang to Huang, 28 September 1934). There is no doubt that here Wang implied Great Britain who was number one enemy in China's Tibetan policy. During Huang's stay in Lhasa, he paid much attention to the visit in Tibet of Charles Bell, who desired to come to Lhasa for paying his last tribute to his old friend the late Dalai Lama, but the Tibetan Government declined and informed him that in view of the presence of the Chinese mission, it would be convenient neither to him nor to them if he were to visit Lhasa (see L/PS/12/41778, POS to Foreign Secretary, 11 July 1934).

<sup>20</sup> Files 76, Huang to Wang, 2 October 1934.

<sup>21</sup> Files 77-9, Huang to Wang and Chiang, 4 and 5 October 1934; see also *Reports* 35-36.

tween China and Tibet? Trimon answered that if the Manchus and the Mongolians had participated in the Republic of five races, Tibet might do the same; he suggested that in foreign affairs China and Tibet could unite all their forces, but in the internal affairs Tibet should maintain the priest-patron relations, and did not allow China to interfere with Tibetans' authority. He emphasised that the border disputes were concerned by all Tibetans, who wished that this issue should be discussed first and settled immediately. He also requested the Chinese Government to remove the corrupt Chinese officers in Sikang from their posts. Huang replied that he respected the wishes of the Tibetans, but the Tibetans should also understand Chinese position. He argued that if Sino-Tibetan political relations had not defined clearly, it was impossible to settle the border disputes.<sup>22</sup>

Now Huang at last understood that the Tibetans were standing for "a complete autonomy". He realised that the traditional policy followed by the Tibetan Government was to extend their territory eastward, or by military or by diplomatic way, that was why the Tibetans paid attention only to the border matters. However he tried to exercise his arts of persuasion. On 8 October he ordered Wu Mingyuan, one of his staff who was born in Lhasa and whose mother was a Tibetan, to send an official letter to *Kashag* for replying their second official letter. Huang wrote that although China was willing to fulfil her obligation as a patron in the priest-patron relations, in order to be fit to the international and national laws and to preserve and propagate Buddhism, China and Tibet should establish a political union under the Republic of five races; he once again said that the Tibetan Government should express clearly their ideas on Sino-Tibetan political relations, then the border issue and other questions could be discussed quickly and be settled easily as if dealing with internal affairs among one family.<sup>23</sup>

This letter was discussed in the National Assembly, and on 17 October the *Kashag* sent Huang a third official letter, in which it was stated Tibet could not co-operate completely with other countries, and could not join the Republic of five races, which was contradictory to Tibetan dual religious-political system; it was stressed that Tibet was an independent state, China should not interfere with her internal affairs, and no Chinese officer and soldiers could remain in Tibet. It was requested that Sino-Tibetan border disputes should be resolved in this way that the Chinese return to Tibet all territories occupied by them, then China and Tibet could continue the priest-patron relations and be united in the external affairs, and Tibet could send permanent representatives in China as at present. It was also promised that Tibet could serve as China's buffer zone and no foreign country was permitted to enter into Tibet.<sup>24</sup> This answer seemed to have depressed Huang, who considered it difficult to have any positive result in further negotiations. Wang Jingwei, President of the Executive Yuan, seemed to have accepted Huang's conclusion, and he ordered Huang to fix a day for return to China on the pretext that he had finished his condolence mission; at the same time, Wang tried to console Huang by saying that it was well-known that Sino-Tibetan traditional relations could not be resumed only by a mission, since China and Tibet had separated for such a long time.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Files 81-2, Huang to Wang and Chiang, 8 October 1934. Huang reported that Trimon was rather nervous at Huang's unexpected visit, and wished that Huang had better not come to his private residence; the reason for this, in Huang's opinion, was that it was rumoured in Lhasa that the *Silon*, Trimon and Bonsho were pro-Chinese (see Files 81, Huang to Wang and Chiang, 8 October 1934).

<sup>23</sup> Files 82, 90, Huang to Wang and Chiang, 8 and 9 October 1934.

<sup>24</sup> Files 89, 91-2, Huang to Wang, 17 October 1934.

<sup>25</sup> Files 93, Huang to Wang, 19 October 1934.

But Huang still desired some success before his return to China. On 24 October he called on and conferred with four *Shapes*. Huang said that there might have been some misunderstanding about his suggestion that Tibet should declare a Republic; he had only meant to suggest that Tibet could admit that the Tibetans were one of the five races of the Republic; the five races would help each other in case of need, and therefore China would help Tibet; it was not necessary that Tibet should adopt republican institutions or a republican form of government, the most important matter was for Tibet to rely on China. He argued that China had been helping Tibet for many years, and therefore other nations considered Tibet to be under China; although the Tibetans should carry on their internal affairs without interference from China, they should admit in writing that Tibet was subordinate to China; if they did so, he would personally guarantee non-intervention in internal matter and surrender by China to Tibet of all Tibetan territories taken by China. The Tibetans replied that as the National Assembly had already decided, Tibet should not become one of the five races of the Republic and should not be subordinate to China, and the relations between China and Tibet should be those of priest-patron. On this point, realising that there was indeed no room for further discussion, Huang proposed that the Tibetan Government should send a highest official to lead a return mission to China and he would leave some Chinese officials in Lhasa to establish an office of communication for further negotiations. The Tibetans promised that they would present Huang's proposals to the Regent, the *Silon* and the National Assembly for decision.<sup>26</sup>

Two days later, the *Shapes* and *Silon* conferred with the Regent for two hours and the matter was then referred to the National Assembly, which insisted on their former position that Tibet had nothing to do with the Republic and was in no way under China. They said that Tibet had no enemy and no one was likely to attack her, so she did not want China's help; no nations except China herself was likely to give trouble to Tibet; Tibet, however, would maintain friendly relations with China and with the British, in view of the fact that the territory of both adjoined Tibet. Tibet would look after her own frontier without Chinese help. As to Huang's suggestion of a Tibetan return mission to China the National Assembly commented that there was no necessity for the *Silon* or a *Shape* to go to China, since Tibet had already her representatives there.<sup>27</sup> As to Huang's second suggestion that some Chinese would be left in Lhasa, it seemed that the National Assembly made no objection to it.<sup>28</sup>

It is most probably that Huang, like Norbu Dhondup, had his own secret and friendly sources in the Tibetan Government. He knew that the National Assembly were gathering in the Potala, and insisting on Tibet's independence as before. While waiting for the unpleasant reply from the *Kashag*, he authorised Wu Mingyuan to talk with the Tibetan authorities in his own personal capacities.<sup>29</sup> In fact, Huang wanted Wu to be the future director of Chinese office in Lhasa, as he had recommended to his government.<sup>30</sup> Wu thus became a key figure at this

<sup>26</sup> Files 94, Huang to Wang and Chiang, 24 October 1934; see also L/PS/12/4177, letter from POS, 22 November 1934.

<sup>27</sup> L/PS/12/4177, letter from POS, 22 Nov. 1934.

<sup>28</sup> L/PS/12/4177, Minute Paper, Tibet, Chinese Mission to Lhasa. As a matter of fact, before Huang had arrived in Lhasa. Trimon and Langcunga told Norbu Dhondup that if the Chinese pressed them to allow an Amban to be posted in Lhasa, they would probably agree, provided that there was no attempt to interfere with the autonomy of Tibet (see L/PS/12/4177, Letter from POS to GOI, 29 August 1934).

<sup>29</sup> Files 95-6, Huang to Wang and Chiang, 29 October 1934.

<sup>30</sup> Files 94-5, Huang to Wang, 25 October 1934. Huang revealed to Wang that Chiang Kai-shek personally instructed him to do so before he left Nanking.

moment, but he seemed to have failed to follow Huang's policy. According to Norbu Dhondup, on 1 November Wu alone called on the *Kashag* and told them that he and another Chinese officer were in Huang's room on 30 October; Huang was very depressed and said that, as all his negotiations had failed, the mission must make preparation to leave; Wu said that he had several ideas in his mind, but Huang did not want to know what they were, but said that he was at liberty to negotiate with the *Kashag* and report the result to him. Wu explained that, having been born in Tibet, he had a great affection for that country and could not bear the thought of leaving before an arrangement had been reached for the mutual benefit of China and Tibet. He then produced a paper in Chinese and the *Kashag* wrote down the 14 articles of agreement he proposed. After Wu's departure, the *Kashag* considered the matter, and their views on each proposed article were then considered by the National Assembly. The articles, with the view of the *Kashag* and the National Assembly respectively on each, are given below:

1. "Relations between the Central Government and the Tibetan Government should be those of benefactor and lama".  
The *Kashag* accepted this on condition that "Chinese Government" should be substituted for "Central Government". The National Assembly agreed.
2. "The Chinese Government should always consider Tibet as a holy and religious country".  
Agreed.
3. "Tibet has religion, men and complete administrative arrangements, therefore China should consider Tibet to be independent and should not interfere in its internal administration".  
Agreed.
4. "No Chinese troops should be kept on any of the frontiers."  
Agreed.
5. "Five thousand troops should be selected from the Tibetan army and called Frontier Guards. They should be posted on the various frontiers and China should pay, arm, equip, and train the troops."  
The *Kashag* said that troops could be posted on the frontiers but there was no need for a specially named force; and no pay or arms were wanted from the Chinese Government. The Assembly said that it was not necessary to post troops on the frontier unless an emergency arose.
6. "A Chinese Officer should be posted at Lhasa to advise the Tibetan Government. He should be given an escort out of the Frontier Force and should control the movements of the whole force."  
The *Kashag* preferred that no Chinese officer should be posted at Lhasa. If one were appointed he should have nothing to do with the Tibetan army but he might have a small escort. The Simla agreement specified 300 men. The Assembly said that 25 servants should suffice for an escort and any Chinese officer should strictly observe the condition of non-interference in Tibetan internal affairs.
7. "The Tibetan Government should consult the Chinese Government before corresponding with other nations about external affairs."  
The *Kashag* said that Tibet is independent and would deal with its external affairs without consulting the Chinese. The Assembly agreed, adding that the Tibetan Government would correspond with all nations, "headed by the British Government," whenever they wanted.
8. "The Chinese Government should be consulted about the appointment of officers of the rank of *Shape* and above."

The *Kashag* refused but said that the Chinese Government could be informed after such appointment had been made. The Assembly agreed.

9. "China should recognise the boundary existing at the time of the Emperor Kuang Hsu."...

Both the *Kashag* and the Assembly accepted that as favourable but demanded additional territory including Nyarong, Batang, Litang and the Golok country.

10. "China should fight or else mediate with any nations that try to invade Tibet."

The *Kashag* and Assembly replied that as Tibet is a religious country no one was likely to attack her. If anyone did, Tibet would deal with him without Chinese help. The question of mutual help could be considered if it arose.

11. "China should be informed when the incarnation of a Dalai Lama is discovered so that she can offer him a seal and a title."

The *Kashag* agreed. The National Assembly said that China should be informed only after the installation had taken place in order to avoid trouble such as was created in the case of the 6th and 7th Dalai Lamas.

12. "The Tibetan Government should invite the Panchen Lama to return at once, should restore to him his former powers, estates and property, and should guarantee that no harm should befall him or his followers. If that were done the Chinese Government would take away his arms and munitions."

The *Kashag* and Assembly replied that the Panchen Lama, being a religious person required no arms or munitions; they would welcome him back and guarantee his personal safety if the Chinese took away his arms. They added that he should be asked to return via India in accordance with the wishes of the late Dalai Lama.

13. "All Tibetan officers in China should receive salaries from the Chinese Government."

The *Kashag* agreed. The Assembly said that it was a matter of indifference to them, but that only officials appointed by the Tibetan Government should attend meetings.

14. "All half-Chinese in Tibet should be under the sole jurisdiction of the Chinese officer at Lhasa."

The *Kashag* and Assembly replied that when the Chinese were turned out in 1912 the Tibetan Government asked all Chinese to return to China. Those born in Tibet asked for permission to remain and signed an agreement to pay taxes and submit to Tibetan jurisdiction. this article was therefore unacceptable.<sup>31</sup>

When the *Kashag* sent General Huang the reply of the National Assembly on 6 November, the 14 articles became 13 articles with some modifications, especially with the absence of article 13. Again through Wu Mingyuan, this reply was known to Huang as following:

1. Relations between the Chinese Government and the Tibetan Government should be equal and be those of benefactor and lama; the Tibetan Government should support the Chinese Government.
2. The Chinese Government should not interfere in Tibet's internal administration, and should not change her dual religious-political system.
3. The Tibetan Government could deal freely with her neighbouring countries with a view to keeping peace and friendship; they might consult the Chinese Government in case of emergency.

<sup>31</sup> L/PS/12/4177, Letter from POS, 22 November 1934.



4. The Chinese Government should be responsible for preserving and protecting Buddhism.
5. The Chinese Government could send an officer to post in Tibet; but he should reach Tibet and return to China via India, and his escort should not exceed 25 men, and he should not interfere with Tibetan political affairs.
6. All Chinese in Tibet should remain to be administrated by the Tibetan Government.
7. The troops defending the frontiers should be trained and conducted by the Tibetan Government themselves, when they needed pay and arms, they would ask the Chinese Government for help.
8. The Tibetan Government should defend themselves in case of invasion by foreign countries; they would request assistance from the Chinese Government only when it was needed.
9. The Chinese Government should not keep any troops in Tibet.
10. The incarnation and installation of the Dalai Lama should be conducted by the Tibetan Government themselves, and after his installation he could be given seal and title by the Chinese Government.
11. The appointment of officers of *Shape* and above might be informed to the Chinese Government, but the Chinese Government had no right to interfere with such appointments.
12. As to the boundary in Sikang, the Tibetan Government lay claims to Derge, Nyarong, Batang, Litang and Golok.
13. The Panchen Lama should return to Tibet via India, and all his arms and munitions should be taken away by the Chinese Government.<sup>32</sup>

It is evident that the 14 articles proposed by Wu to the *Kashag* and the 13 articles replied by the *Kashag* to Huang are roughly corresponded, so there do not exist two versions.<sup>33</sup> However, who was the author of the 14 articles of agreement? Wu said that they were purely his own ideas; but Williamson, Political Officer in Sikkim, thought that this was untrue,<sup>34</sup> and that the draft of the 14 articles "obviously represented the Chinese policy".<sup>35</sup> I think that on this point Williamson was wrong and Wu was right: Wu proposed the 14 articles without the prior approval of Huang, because the 14 articles were basically contradictory to the policy of Huang, who in fact declined the *Kashag's* reply immediately and remarked that these terms were purely partial commitments, and did not serve China's end to regain her territorial sovereignty in Tibet.<sup>36</sup> Wu seemed to have paid a high price for his activity or creativity: after 6 November he actually disappeared from the scene.

Now Huang was preparing his return journey, but the Tibetans asked him to stay a little longer for negotiations. And Huang profited this situation to persuade the Tibetans to make considerable concessions. At the request of the *Shapes*, who paid a surprising visit on him on 9

<sup>32</sup> Files 98-9, Huang to Wang, 6 November 1934. It is worth noting that this document is not mentioned in *Reports*, so both Kong and Li have failed to use it.

<sup>33</sup> Goldstein 1989: 235-6. He says that one version was reported by Norbu Dhondup, and another by Kong and Li.

<sup>34</sup> L/PS/12/4177, Letter from POS, 22 November 1934.

<sup>35</sup> L/PS/12/4177, minute paper, Tibet, Chinese Mission to Lhasa; but this belief seemed to have not been shared by some of his colleagues, who commented that "but it is possible that this is not so" (*ibid.*).

<sup>36</sup> Files 98-9, Huang to Wang, 6 November 1934.

November, he had a written letter sent to the *Kashag* the next day to the effect that: Firstly, Tibet must be an integral part of the Republic of China, and obey the Chinese Central Government. Secondly, Buddhism should be protected and propagated; Tibetan traditional political system should be preserved; Tibet should be granted autonomy, and the Chinese Central Government should not interfere with the internal affairs of Tibet; on foreign affairs, there must be unitary action; diplomacy, national defence, communication and appointments of high officials in Tibet should be administered by the Central Government. Thirdly, the Central Government promised to grant Tibet autonomy, but for the purpose of exercising full sovereignty, the Central Government should appoint a high commissioner to be stationed in Tibet as their representative.<sup>37</sup>

Huang's demands were discussed in the National Assembly once again. On 16 November the *Kashag* sent Huang a written letter, which stated that Tibet was the territory protected by *Avalokiteśvara*, and China by *Mañjuśrī*; the differences between Tibet and China were also reflected on the fact that in the past they had negotiated for many times. Moreover, the Dalai Lama, the master of Tibet, now was not in his throne, and the servants dared not to decide over the matters of the master, so they could not recognise Tibet as part of Chinese territory; but since the Chinese Government were believing in Buddhism, and sent Huang as envoy to Lhasa with a view to keeping friendly relations with Tibet, they found it inconvenient to answer the Chinese in this frank way; and in order to settle all Sino-Tibetan disputes, to improve friendship and keep peace, they were ready to put forward the following 10 articles of agreement:

1. In dealing with external affairs, Tibet would be part of Chinese territory, and the Chinese Government should promise not to convert Tibet into a province.
2. All kind of authorities, laws and regulations, etc. of whole Tibet, might subject to the orders of the Chinese Government, provided the Tibetan dual religious-political system should not be harmed.
3. All internal laws and regulations of the Tibetan dual religious-political system would remain independent as at present, and in accordance with the oral promises made at different times in the past, all Tibetan civil and military powers should not be interfered with by the Chinese Government.
4. In order to keep peace, Tibet should remain friendly with all her neighbouring states and all the peoples believing in Buddhism; but some most important matters that had not be fulfilled by the treaties between Tibet and foreign countries would be settled jointly with the Chinese Government.
5. A representative of the Chinese Government might be posted in Tibet, but his retinue should not exceed twenty-five, no other Chinese officer and soldiers should be sent to Tibet; he must be a true believer in Buddhism, and when he was replaced by a new one, both should travel by sea and not through Sikang.
6. Before the incarnation, recognition and installation and taking over the reins of the dual government of the Dalai Lama, the inauguration of the Regent, and the appointments of officials from the *Shapes* up should be made by the Tibetan

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<sup>37</sup> *Reports* 41-2; see also *Files* 106-7, Huang to Wang and Chiang, 19 November 1934. Huang had sent a telegram to Wang on 10 November, but Wang failed to receive it, so Huang sent another 9 days later. On the other hand, in Norbu Dhondup's report, what Huang asked was reduced into "three demands": (1) Tibet should admit that she is subordinate to China; (2) All direct correspondence between Tibet and "outside nations" should cease; if that is not possible, Tibet should consult China before replying to any communications from "outside nations"; (3) China must be consulted before appointments are made to posts above the ranks of *Shape* (see L/PS/12/4175, Letter from POS, 22 November 1934).

- Government as at present; then the Chinese representative in Tibet would be notified of the proceedings in writing.
7. The Tibetan Government themselves should dispatch troops to defend Tibetan borderlands as at present; only in the case that Tibet should send troops to fight against foreign invasion, the Chinese Government would be consulted.
  8. All Chinese who had long resided in Tibet had been under the jurisdiction of the Agricultural Office since the Chinese-Tibetan War of the year 1912, and had abided by the Tibetan laws and regulations, therefore they should remain governed by the Tibetan Government, and should not be controlled by the Chinese representative in Tibet.
  9. For keeping Sino-Tibetan friendship, for avoiding any dispute forever, and for maintaining peace on the borders, the north-eastern boundary between Qinghai and Tibet should be maintained as proposed the year before last (1932), by which Golok had been under Tibet; and as for the boundary between Tibet and Szechwan, the territory and soldiers within Derge, Nyarong, Targye monastery should be turned over to the Tibetan Government at the earliest possible date.
  10. The Chinese Government should not give asylum to, or acknowledge as representative, etc., any Tibetan, ecclesiastical or secular, who rebelled against the Tibetan Government and escaped to China.

Beside the above 10 articles, this letter also expressed the *Kashag's* willingness to co-operate with the Chinese Government to safeguard the Tibetan and Chinese tradesmen who travelled to and fro between Tibet and China. At the end of this letter, it was stressed that these articles had been agreed in the National Assembly, and the *Kashag* wished to know Chinese decision as soon as possible.<sup>38</sup>

This reply was much more compromising than the precedent one. Huang seemed satisfied with the fact that this time the Tibetans did not insist on the priest-patron relations as before. Although there was still a large distance between his demands and this reply, Huang felt that this reply provided some room for further negotiations. Hopes surprisingly appeared, but time desperately lacked, since he was instructed to come back as soon as possible. Therefore Huang decided to return to China according to the plan. But before his departure, he proposed to leave behind him Liu Puchen and Jiang Zhiyu, respectively as the Director and Vice Director of the Chinese Office in Lhasa, and the Tibetan Government agreed. On 26 November Huang bid farewell to the Tibetan Government on the Potala.<sup>39</sup> On 28 November he left Lhasa, and on 16 February of the next year he finally arrived in Nanking via India.

General Huang's mission to Lhasa presents an important episode in the history of Sino-Tibetan relations. In 1912 all Chinese were expelled from Tibet, whereas in 1934 a full-scale Chinese mission was invited to visit Lhasa, and some Chinese and a wireless station were

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<sup>38</sup> *Files* 103-4, Huang to Wang and Chiang, 16 November 1934; see also *Reports* 42-4. According to Norbu Dhondup, the Assembly considered the matter "until the morning of the 13 November", and expressed the opinions that: (1) Tibet might be considered to be subordinate to China to the extent laid down in the Simla Treaty; (2) Tibet would correspond with all nations direct "headed by the British", and would not consult China on the subject; (3) In view of religious ties, Tibet would inform China after the appointment of officers above the rank of *Shape* (see L/PS/12/4175, Letter from POS, 22 November 1934).

<sup>39</sup> *Files* 111, Huang to Wang and Chiang, 26 November 1934. On 27 November Huang sent a written letter to the *Kashag*, and the next day the Tibetan Government replied him with another written letter, both are polite and courteous; see *Reports* 44-6. The English translation of Huang's letter (perhaps through a Tibetan translation) is very bad; see L/PS/12/4177, Letter from POS, 1 March 1935.

permitted to stay in the capital of Tibet. The British were worried especially by the Chinese representatives remaining in Lhasa, who were regarded as being "extremely unfortunate" for British interests;<sup>40</sup> thereafter they soon sent their own mission to Lhasa to offset China's influence. On the other hand, Tibetans felt that they had conceded nothing to the Chinese, as Trimon told the British in 1935 that "when General Huang was in Lhasa he pressed the Tibetan Government to admit Chinese suzerainty outwardly; the Tibetan Government replied that they would be prepared to do so provided the Chinese would surrender to them Derge and Nyarong on the Eastern Frontier, while as regards the administration of their internal and external affairs Tibet would remain free and untrammelled by China; and since Derge and Nyarong had not been surrendered to Tibet and the Tibetan Government now refused to acknowledge Chinese suzerainty either in theory or in fact".<sup>41</sup> As for the Chinese, they seemed to have been disappointed with the result, or little result, of the negotiations in 1934; in fact, Wu Zhongxin, the Chairman of the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission, commented that by General Huang's mission Sino-Tibetan relations had been transformed from the period of conflict to that of dialogue, but China had not yet regained her sovereignty over Tibet.<sup>42</sup>

In any case, General Huang's mission, to a certain degree, can be regarded as a Chinese diplomatic victory, although this victory does not necessarily mean a defeat on the Tibetan part. But someone does think so and remarks that this mission "succeeded in making a breach in the stone-wall policy pursued by the Government of Tibet";<sup>43</sup> This is a wrong impression. It makes little sense to say that in 1934 the Tibetans pursued a stone-wall policy as they did 30 years before; on the contrary, they were following an open-door policy, since it were they themselves who opened the door for the Chinese. It is a simple fact that without Tibetans' permission General Huang would not have entered Tibet and no Chinese officer would have remained there behind him. When the door of Tibet was closed, there were two possibilities for the Chinese to open it: or they knot it down with arms as the *Generalissimo* Chiang Kai-shek intended to do in 1943, and as Chairman Mao Zedong indeed did in 1950; otherwise they had to wait outside the door and begged the Tibetans to open it for them. In 1934 the Chinese did nothing extraordinary in their effort to open the door of Tibet; it were the Tibetans who decided to make the door opened for them. And the author of this political line was no others than the 13th Dalai Lama, who said in his political testament that "the Government of India is near to us and has a large army. The Government of China also has a large army. We should therefore maintain firm friendship with these two; both are powerful."<sup>44</sup> And the voice of the late Dalai Lama, as mentioned above, was echoed in the National Assembly: "Tibet will maintain friendly relations with China and the British, in view of the fact that the territory of both adjoins Tibet".

However, this policy sometimes becomes the object of criticism; someone believes that there is a "paradox of Tibet's China policy: a refusal to relinquish its *de facto* independence, but at the same time a refusal to make a complete break with China".<sup>45</sup> Frankly speaking, I have failed to see any paradox in it. It is unnecessary for a *de facto* independent Tibet to make a complete break with China, as in the case of the United States with England in the past or the

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<sup>40</sup> L/PS/12/4177, Letter from POS, 22 November 1934.

<sup>41</sup> L/PS/12/4175, British mission to Lhasa, 1935, encl. letter from POS, 18 February 1936.

<sup>42</sup> *Reports* 131.

<sup>43</sup> Rahul, R. (1969), *The Government and Politics of Tibet*, New Delhi, 75.

<sup>44</sup> Bell, C. (1987), *The Portrait of a Dalai Lama, The Life and Times of the Great Thirteenth*, London, 429-30.

<sup>45</sup> Goldstein 1989: 245.

Baltic Republics with Russia in these days. One should not confuse independence with isolation. Anyway, there was urgent necessity for the Tibetans to talk with the Chinese: to settle the issues of the border disputes and the Panchen Lama's return to Tibet; and the settlement of these issues served to strengthen Tibet's safety and her *de facto* independence, and not the other way around. On the other part, the Tibetans must have been dissatisfied with British Tibetan policy, which had neither engaged to support Tibet's full independence, nor to guarantee Tibet's safety, as one British officer commented: "We have for years encouraged Tibet to rely on us, but we cannot give the one thing she really wants, a guarantee of protection against aggression on her Eastern Frontier".<sup>46</sup> To make things worse, Tibet had border disputes not only with the Chinese but also with the British, as in the case of Tawang. Theoretically, in international affairs there are no permanent enemies or friends, but only eternal interests; and in reality, it is always the wisest course for a weak state to balance happily between two powers, receiving rewards from both, and committing itself to neither.<sup>47</sup> In this sense, Shakabpa is right when he says that "by creating a balance of power between China and India, he (the 13th Dalai Lama) was able to maintain Tibet's independence".<sup>48</sup>

It has been generally held that in the Sino-Tibetan negotiations in 1934 the Tibetan Government took their stand on the Simla Convention of 1914. This is true only in a very limited sense. Although the Tibetans did request the Chinese to conclude a treaty like that of Simla with the British as guarantor, but they gave it up after Chinese refusal, and consequently the negotiations went on without any British participation. Williamson remarked that "it was significant that Tibet did not insist on or even ask for a representative of the British Government to be present at these negotiations, as is required under Article 5 of the 1914 Convention".<sup>49</sup> Moreover, there had been direct Sino-Tibetan dialogues even since 1914. Apart from the question of British involvement, it is clear that the value of the Simla Convention was not always appreciated by the Tibetans, and in 1934 what the Tibetans offered was less favourable to the Chinese than the Simla Convention: for example, the Simla Convention stipulated that Tibet was divided into inner and outer parts, but the Tibetans in 1934 desired to get Derge and Nyarong;<sup>50</sup> the Simla Convention specified that a Chinese representative could reside in Lhasa with an escort of no more than 300 men, but the Tibetans in 1934 only permitted an escort of 25 men. It is well-known that the Chinese Government in 1914 did not accept the Simla Convention in spite of the strong pressure from the British Government, so it is natural for the Chinese Government in 1934, who were much stronger than before, to refuse everything less favourable than the Simla Convention.

The Tibetans' position was somewhat distant from that of the Simla Convention of 1914, while the Chinese position was very near to that of the 17-point Agreement of 1951, which

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<sup>46</sup> L/PS/12/4175, Letter from POS, 31 December 1935.

<sup>47</sup> For example, the costs for Huang's mission, including the presents to the Tibetan officials and the donation to the monasteries, were a little more than 430,000 Chinese Dollars (see *Files 70*), on which a British official remarked: "this amount seems, *prima facie*, improbable" (see L/PS/12/4178, Minute paper, Sino-Tibetan relations), and when Williamson prepared his mission to Lhasa in 1935, he said to his government: "I ought to be generously provided with money. Some Rs. 70,000 would be a suitable sum. It is a mere nothing compared to what the Chinese mission have spent" (see L/PS/12/4175, British policy in Tibet, 20 January 1935).

<sup>48</sup> Shakabpa, W. D. (1967), *Tibet, A Political History*, New Haven and London, 271.

<sup>49</sup> L/PS/12/4175, Letter from POS, 31 December 1935.

<sup>50</sup> It was observed by Williamson that "the boundary offered was more favourable to Tibet than that laid down in the Simla Treaty", see L/PS/12/4177, Letter from POS, 22 November 1934.

marked the end of Tibet's *de facto* independence since 1912. As the Chinese communists did in 1950, what the Chinese nationalists asked in 1934 was China's sovereignty over Tibet: Tibet should be part of China; foreign affairs and national defence should be controlled by the Central Government, although Tibet could maintain a certain autonomy. It would be a remarkable phenomenon that all Chinese Governments have the same or similar policy towards Tibet, while their internal policies are often, if not always, contradictory. It is also well-known that the Tibetan Government in 1951 accepted the 17-point Agreement under duress, and it is impossible for them in 1934 to agree to something like the 17-point Agreement only by peaceful negotiations.

Therefore, the failure of the Sino-Tibetan negotiations in 1934 mainly resulted from the fundamental divergence of the views and appetites between the two parties: the Tibetans certainly believed that they had been an independent nation, and they not only wanted to maintain the *status quo* but also to extend their territory; and the Chinese, on the other hand, equally believed that Tibet had been part of China, and tried hard to re-establish their sovereignty over Tibet. Under such circumstances, an agreement through negotiations becomes very difficult, if not impossible. The belief is often different from the reality, but it has always a considerable and even decisive influence on decision-making. Tibet's status in history and in international law is not only of purely academic interests; in practice, it also involves political consequences: it was the fast knot to the Sino-Tibetan negotiations in 1934; it may be also the very one to the current dialogues between Beijing and Dharamsala.

# BRITAIN: PROTECTOR OF TIBET? 1912-1933

by

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There can be little doubt that the loss of Tibet's independence stems directly from the failure of the British Government's Younghusband Mission of 1904 to achieve what the Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon, hoped would result from it. Curzon believed that the only way to guarantee the continuance of Tibet as a buffer was to ensure the predominance of British influence at Lhasa. This was to be achieved by bringing Tibet under some measure of British protection or influence. Curzon believed that British influence was essential because unless Britain laid claim to Tibet, Russia would draw Tibet into its sphere of influence.

After the First World War, Britain again had an opportunity to become Tibet's 'protector', but as was the case after the 1904 Younghusband mission, Britain chose to abandon Tibet to Chinese expansionism. The British, therefore, carry some responsibility for the present state of affairs of Tibet. The question at issue is what responsibility should the British accept and what explanations are there for Britain's inability to prevent the loss of Tibetan independence?

From the viewpoint of the Tibetans, the 1914 Anglo-Tibetan agreement identified Britain as "Tibet's Protector".<sup>1</sup> Yet, in spite of all the discussion on the status of Tibet, the notion of concluding some form of protectorate agreement with the Lhasa government was never contemplated. Instead, Britain proclaimed Chinese 'suzerainty' over an 'autonomous' Tibet. The recognition of Chinese suzerainty was to safeguard British commercial interest in China and the support of Tibetan autonomy was to ensure security of India's northern frontier.

The myth of Chinese suzerainty over Tibet was created by Britain and Russia because of their own mutual suspicion and hostility. Each of them, anxious to nullify the other was 'glad to find an alibi in Chinese suzerainty over Tibet'.<sup>2</sup> The British considered it necessary to open the door for Chinese advancement in order to contain the hypothetical danger of Russian intrigue in Tibet. This provided Britain with informal control of Tibet without involving the granting of responsible government and, at the same time, allowed Britain to continue their stationary economic imperialism in China.

After 1905 China used the term 'sovereignty' to describe its status in Tibet, and Britain insisted that it was 'suzerainty'. Neither Chinese 'suzerainty', 'sovereignty', or 'autonomy' were acceptable to the Dalai Lama's government at Lhasa. Tibet wanted complete independence. These terms were imposed on the Tibetans by Britain. Referring to the 1914 Simla Conference, Hugh Richardson confirmed that the British plenipotentiary, Sir Henry McMahon, 'in order to narrow the gap between irreconcilable claims to independence on the one hand and sovereignty on the other, put forward the concepts of autonomy and suzerainty'.<sup>3</sup>

The important point to emphasise here is that the Simla Conference left the question of the status of Tibet in a hopeless tangle. Consequently, the prime objective of the Dalai Lama from

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<sup>1</sup> PRO: FO371/3181/F2567/143679/10 Letter from Chief Minister of Tibet to P.O.S., 17 May 1918.

<sup>2</sup> S. P. Sen, *The Sino-Indian Border Question*. Calcutta 1971, p. xiii.

<sup>3</sup> PRO: FO371/1929/F270/17253/10 India Office to Foreign Office, 20 April 1914.

1914 was to stabilise Tibet on the basis of a permanent settlement with China. The Dalai Lama knew that Tibet's independence could not be retained without an agreement. The Tibetan reaction at this time was to hold desperately to Britain as the most likely means of protecting the integrity of their country. What the Lhasa government wanted was either China's acceptance of the Simla convention or adequate assistance to keep China at a distance. Britain's policy let Tibet down on both counts.

The Simla Convention had transformed Tibet into an ambiguous buffer-state for the British. The Convention declared that China had suzerainty over Tibet yet insisted on Tibetan autonomy. Tibet was proclaimed 'part of Chinese territory' yet Tibet's separate territorial entity was to be protected. These contradictory elements of British policy towards Tibet caused much uncertainty in the actual implementation of policy. However, there is no doubt that from 1904 onwards Britain was legally bound to protect Tibet. The 1904 Treaty between Britain and Tibet had granted Britain exclusive influence in Tibet. Article IX of the Treaty stipulated that:

Without the consent of Great Britain no Tibetan territory shall be sold, leased or mortgaged to any foreign power whatsoever . . . no foreign Power shall be permitted to send either official or non-official persons to Tibet, no matter in what pursuit they may be engaged . . . [or] to construct roads or railways or erect telegraphs or open mines anywhere in Tibet.

Britain's political influence in Tibet was also secured by the cancellation of the virtual monopoly of economic and commercial concessions which the Chinese had obtained: By article III of the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1906; by the grant of most-favoured-nation treatment and by the advantageous 1908 trade arrangement between India and Tibet. In addition, the agreement between Tibet and Britain at Simla in 1914 had committed the British government to diplomatic support and supply of arms to Tibet.

There is no doubt that these documents testify to both Britain's legal and moral position as 'protector' of its Tibetan buffer. An India Office Memorandum states:

'By our past intervention in Tibetan affairs we have incurred certain moral obligations towards the Tibetan people which cannot be ignored'.<sup>4</sup>

It must be concluded that Britain functioned during the period under examination for all practical purposes as the protector of the Tibetan buffer state. Evidence for this is to be found in the Foreign Office's own Handbook. No. 70 published in 1920, which on page forty-three states: 'outer Tibet would become an autonomous state under Chinese suzerainty and British protection'.

It is in this respect that Britain's Tibet policy, based on the buffer concept, was impotent. On the one hand, Britain resolutely maintained the most fundamental principle of the buffer state concept – that of rigorous abstention from intervention in the internal affairs of the buffer but, on the other hand, they were reluctant to execute their duty of defence. This policy approach left Tibet in an extremely vulnerable position.

As stated earlier, the British government had no intention of creating a formal protectorate over Tibet. The Tibetans were kept weak and in a state of limbo because it suited the British government's wider foreign policy to do so. From the British perspective it was much more advantageous to keep control of Tibet without having an active 'forward policy'. Provided the prestige of Russia, Japan and China could be excluded from Tibet, the British could also re-

<sup>4</sup> IOR: L/P&S/18/B324 Memorandum by Secretary, J. Shuckburge, Political Department, India Office, 14 July 1914.



main 'dormant', and thus save themselves a yearly expenditure of hundreds of thousands of pounds. It was obvious that the Indian Empire would be financially ruined if it had to provide fortifications and garrisons along the Tibetan frontier.

It must be recognised that in the early 1920s the intellectual baggage of mid-Victorian free trade still weighed on the minds of policy makers. Instead of creating a British Protectorate (which in 1912 many Tibetan officials had hoped for), which would have given Britain control of external affairs leaving Tibet's internal independence on the same lines as that of the Bhutan Treaty of 1910, and instead of the annexation of Tibet, which would have meant considerable expenditure, involvement of troops and would have led to the estrangement of relations with China and a consequent hampering of trade, the Tibetan buffer state became part of Britain's informal empire.

However, the theory of informal empire, as defined by Gallagher and Robinson in their famous article published in 1953, goes beyond the imperialism of free trade. Their theory also postulates that Britain aimed at informal control of indigenous governments in order to advance Britain's own trading and other interests. The control could be political, economic, financial, or military, exercised either by Britain alone or in conjunction with other powers where common interests were at stake. Informal empire meant empire without responsibility, or to quote Stanley Baldwin, 'power without responsibility': in other words, imperialism without the desire to assume the responsibilities administrative, financial, and military or direct formal rule. Such responsibilities could be a burden to the 'mother country'. It would seem that it is within the principle of 'informal empire' that the answer to Britain's reluctance to support the complete independence of Tibet, which would have automatically ensured British security requirements, is to be located.

As mentioned earlier, the recognition of Chinese suzerainty was to safeguard British commercial interests in China and the support of Tibetan autonomy was to ensure security of India's northern frontier. This provided Britain with informal control of Tibet without involving 'responsible government' and, at the same time, allowed Britain to continue her stationary economic imperialism in China.

There is no doubt that for Tibet, The Anglo-Tibetan Simla Agreement, in effect, proved to be an unequal bargain. As a confidential letter, written in 1918, from the Chief Ministers of Tibet to the Political Officer Sikkim indicates, from the viewpoint of the Tibetans, the 1914 Anglo-Tibetan agreement had identified Britain as 'Tibet's Protector'.<sup>5</sup>

'As the Great British Government is the Protector of Tibet, we cannot disobey their orders about not attacking the Chinese. . .'

In return for India's frontier security, the Tibetans were promised diplomatic and military support. Yet, the support given by Britain was minuscule. Between 1914 and 1920 the British supplied the Tibetans with 5,000 old and worn rifles<sup>6</sup> and 1,400,000 rounds of ammunition.

However, the question at issue by the end of the war was whether Britain was in a position to offer any form of diplomatic assistance or protection to Tibet. The world, was a different place after 1918. The war had transformed global politics. As the effects of the First World

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<sup>5</sup> PRO: FO371/3181/F2567/143679/10 Letter from Chief Ministers of Tibet to P.O.S., 17 May 1918.

<sup>6</sup> PRO: FO371/1930/F270/47360/10 Government of India to Marquess of Crewe, 3 September 1914 Encl. No. 1 in India Office to Foreign Office, 7 September 1914.

War became more obvious, it showed that Britain no longer held the dominant position it had once held and no longer could use diplomatic efforts to uphold its ambiguous policy in Tibet.

The predominant theme in Anglo-Tibetan relations during the early post war years was Britain's attempt to procure Chinese participation in renewed negotiations over Tibet and Peking's constant refusal, under an assortment of excuses, to oblige. The British government's response to this rejection on the part of the Chinese government was to send a mission to Lhasa under the direction of Sir Charles Bell, Political Officer in Sikkim.

The sending of the 1921 mission to Lhasa and the eventual agreement to supply arms and aid to Tibet were viewed at the time as manifesting a new determination in British policy. Its principal result was supposedly to demonstrate that the British government intended to treat Tibetan autonomy as a reality by strengthening Tibet's ability to defend itself and by helping to develop the country's resources. However, Bell's mission to Lhasa, in reality, was a diplomatic bluff to coerce China into resuming negotiations, a bluff which failed.

By the early 1920s, the thing most feared by the British, was that the Tibetan government would conclude an independent treaty with China. Policy makers argued that further indefinite delay, coupled with a continuance of the British policy of self-denial, would involve the risk of the Chinese regaining control over Tibet, as had happened in 1910. Consequently, British policy makers were faced with the choice of continuing to work for a settlement on existing lines and running that risk or, of taking other measures to protect British interests by adopting a new and more liberal policy towards the Tibetans, which would entail the eventual opening of Tibet and the development of its resources under British auspices. This was the period 1922-1930 when most military support was given to Tibet. Up to this point the Tibetans had been supplied with 5,000 old rifles and 1,400,000 rounds of ammunition. It was not until 1922 that the Tibetans were allowed to import machine guns. They were supplied with 3 mountain guns, 6 machines guns and 3,000 rifles and allowed to import 1 mountain gun, 2 machines guns and 1,000 rifles each year for seven years.<sup>7</sup> The government of India was willing to train four officers and some 350 non-commissioned officers. All of the military supplies and training were paid for by the Tibetan government. The total military support given by Britain from 1914 when the Simla Agreement was signed, till 1930, when the seven year time limit ended was approximately:

15,000 rifles, 10 mountain guns, 20 machine guns and two million rounds of ammunition along with the training of 350 men and 4 officers.

Over a period of 16 years this does not amount to much support. It is obvious that the adoption of the so-called 'new and liberal' policy which followed Charles Bell's mission to Lhasa was little more than an attempt to induce the Chinese government to abandon their obstructive attitude and conclude a settlement of the Tibetan question. The British hoped that the spectacle of Tibet's adoption of a policy of self-development would coerce the Peking government into submission.

In retrospect, it can be seen that the support given to Tibet was inadequate and the direction which British policy took during the 1920s and 1930s resulted in the eventual loss of Tibet's independence. The conceptual basis of Britain's new policy was flawed: Britain wanted Tibet as a buffer but was not prepared to give the support or protection necessary for it to remain independent. The source of Britain's impaired policy is manifest. On the one hand, they were committed by the 1914 Simla promise to support Tibet in upholding her practical autonomy,

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<sup>7</sup> IOR: MSS EUR F80 5E 25 Translation of letter in Tibetan from Bell to Tibet Council, 12 December 1921. See also IOR: L/P&S/10/718 Encl in P434.

which was of importance to the security of India, and, on the other hand, Britain's alliance with China made it difficult to give effective material support to Tibet.

What the British wanted was to create a balance. That is to say, give just enough support so that Tibet could protect India's Himalayan border without the British having to commit themselves to a major defensive initiative, while allowing the Tibetans, meanwhile, to pay for the honour of doing so. The intention was to convince the Chinese that Tibet was becoming self-sufficient. The ultimate objective was to get the Chinese to sign an agreement which would secure, for the British, stability in Central Asia. British tactics were impotent. China was not moved by Britain's little game of bluff, and the Foreign Office was forced to adopt a 'wait-and-see' approach which dissolved into a 'dormancy' policy.<sup>8</sup>

The failure of the 1920-21 diplomatic bluff was exacerbated by the change of direction in international politics in the early post-war period. The 1921 Washington Conference represented the crossroad in Anglo-Tibetan policy.<sup>9</sup> The British government's post-war position made co-operation with the United States, or at least avoidance of American displeasure, the *sine qua non* of any successful policy. Disarmament and the avoidance of a naval race were seen as essential ingredients for British post-war policy. Britain's prosperity, briefly and delusively restored in a post-war boom, had now finally collapsed. Her traditional exporting industries had succumbed to foreign competition. Imports from German and American competitors had crippled Britain's new industries. Unemployment reached two million. Only two years after Lord Curzon's triumphant victory celebration address in the House of Lords, the British power brokers found that they were conducting policy not from strength, but from weakness. By the resulting Washington Conference Nine-power Treaty, the signatories agreed to respect the commercial Open Door allowing equal opportunities for all powers to trade and invest in China. Adherence to the Nine-power Treaty completely destroyed Britain's own freedom of political action in the Far East. What is clear is that altering international economic patterns, changing imperial priorities, rising nationalism in the Far East, and the growth of new ideologies all had repercussions on Britain's Tibetan policy and contributed to Britain's inability to remain 'protector of Tibet'. Britain's Tibetan policy was impaired, as statesmen attempted to cope with the transition between pre-war commitments and post-war reality.

The British found themselves on the defensive in the Far East and a desire to retain their trade position in China became dominant. Especially after the 1925 anti-British boycott in China, Britain followed a conciliatory policy and supported Chinese nationalism. By 1933, British commercial interests in China made it necessary to subordinate Indian policy towards Tibet to the wider British approach to China. Britain withdrew its protection and support of Tibet because post-war international political and economic changes hastened the demise of the British Empire and required Britain to support Chinese nationalism. Britain had to choose either to support and protect Tibet or look after her own interests. Britain, chose to do the latter. As a consequence of these factors, Britain's Tibetan policy during the 1920s and 1930s was to have no Tibetan policy to drift: a symbolic act which reflected the decline of British imperialism.

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<sup>8</sup> See Ph.D dissertation H. Spence, *British Policy and the Development of Tibet 1912-1933* (1993) for an explanation of these terms.

<sup>9</sup> The Washington Conference was really three conferences in one: a 'nine-power conference' on a general political settlement of Far Eastern problems, a 'five-power' conference on the limitation of naval armaments and a 'four-power' conference on the Pacific area.

The British did not give sufficient aid and support to Tibet when that support was needed most in the 1920s. Britain's 'wait-and-see' approach which dissolved into their 'dormancy' policy was followed by a 'leave-well-alone' policy. By 1930 international politics had redefined Britain's priorities and the Tibetans were left like 'tiny fledglings on an open plain'.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> IOR: L/P&S/10/716 File 3260(4) cited in translation of letter from Lonchen Shokang, Chief Minister of Tibet, to Major W.L. Campell, P.O.S., 7 December 1919.

བོད་ལྗོངས་ས་མཐོའི་གནའ་རྩལ་བརྟུག་དཔྱད་ཞིབ་ལུགས་བྱས་པར་བྲམ་གསོ་  
དང་མ་འོང་སྡོམ་དཔལ་བསྟེན་པ།

བསོད་ནམས་དབང་ལུང།

དང་པོ། ལུང་སྟོགས་མཁམས་ཅན་པའི་གནའ་རྩལ་ལ་བརྟུག་དཔྱད་ཞིབ་ལུགས་  
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བོད་ལྗོངས་ས་མཐོའི་གནའ་རྩལ་རིག་པར་ཞིབ་ལུགས་བྱེད་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེ་ལུང་སྟོགས་མཁམས་ཅན་གྱིས་ས་ཆ་  
འདི་ལྷ་མཉམས་དཔྱད་དང་ཉམས་ཞིབ་ཀྱི་བྱེད་སྐོར་སྟེ་ལ་ལས་འགོ་བཙུགས་ཡོད་པ་རེད། ལུས་རབས་བཅུ་བདུན་པ་  
ལས་བཅུ་བརྒྱད་པའི་ལུས་དཀྱིལ་དབང་ལྷ་སྟོན་མངའ་རིས་དང་དུས་གཙང་ས་ཁྲལ་ལྷ་བོད་རིགས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་  
ཚོས་ལུགས། མི་དམངས་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་གོམས་གཤེས་ལ་སོགས་པའི་གནའ་རྩལ་རྒྱལ་ལ་བརྟུག་དཔྱད་དང་དཔྱད་གཞིའི་ཡིག་  
རིགས་བརྒྱ་ལྷུ་བྱས་མྱོང་ཡོད་པ་དེ་ནི་ལུང་སྟོགས་མཁམས་ཅན་ནམས་ཀྱིས་བོད་ལྗོངས་ལུ་ཞིབ་ལུགས་བྱེད་འགོ་  
བཙུགས་པ་ཞིག་རེད། ལུས་རབས་བཅུ་དྲུག་པའི་ལུས་མཇུག་ལྷ་སྟོན་ལུ་སྟོན་ལུ་འབྲེལ་འདྲི་དང་སྟེ་རྩ་ལེ། འཇར་མཉ།  
ལུ་ལྷ་སྟེ། དེའི་ཕྱི་ལོ། ལྷ་ག་ལེ། ལེ་ལམ་སོགས་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་མཁམས་ཅན་དག་གིས་«བོད་ལྗོངས་ཤེས་རིག»  
སྐོར་གྱི་ཞིབ་ལུགས་བྱ་བའི་བྱེད་མགོ་བཙུགས་ཡོད་པ་རེད། བོད་ལྗོངས་གནའ་རྩལ་བརྟུག་ཞིབ་ཀྱི་བརྟུག་དཔྱད་དང་  
མཐོང་རྟོག་བྱེད་སྐོར་ཡང་ལུས་དེ་ལས་བཟུང་རིམ་བཞིན་དར་འཕེལ་བྱུང་བ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་མ་ཟད། ལུས་རབས་འདི་  
ཉིད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རབས་བཞི་བཅུ་པའི་ལུས་མཇུག་དབང་ལུ་མཇུག་ལས་རྒྱུན་མཇུག་ལུས་ཡོད་པ་རེད། ཁོང་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་  
བརྟུག་དཔྱད་ཞིབ་ལུགས་བྱ་ཁོངས་ཀྱི་འཕེལ་ཡོད་ལང་དོན་ལ་ཅང་གི་རྒྱ་ཁྲལ་ཆེ་བ་སྟེ། རྒྱ་ལུགས་དང་དོ་ཆེན་རིག་  
གནས། རྒྱ་བཞོན་རི་མོ། གནའ་བོའི་བང་སོ། གནའ་བོའི་མཚོད་རྟོན། དོ་བཞོན། ལུགས་རིགས་ཀྱི་བཟོ་རྒྱལ།  
ལི་སྟོན་ཅོང་བྱིལ་དང་དོ་རིང་གི་ཡི་གེ་ལུགས་བཞོན། བོད་ཡིག་གི་བྱང་ལུ། གན་འཛིན་ཡིག་རིགས། ལག་རིས་  
རྩོམ་པོད། ཚོས་སྟོགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་རྒྱལ། ལམ་རྒྱུན་ལ་སོགས་པའི་རྣམ་རིགས་མི་འདྲ་བའི་ཤུལ་རྩེས་དང་ཤུལ་བཞག་  
དངོས་རྩལ་བཅས་རྒྱུན་ཡོད་པ་རེད།

གོང་བཞེད་ཁྲབ་ཁོངས་ལུ་བརྟུག་དཔྱད་དང་ཞིབ་ལུགས་གི་བྱུག་ལས་མཚན་པའི་ལྷ་ལྷུ་ལྷུ་ལྷུ་ལྷུ་ཆེ་གོས་བྱུང་  
བ་ནི་དེས་པར་ལྷ་སྟོན་ལ་གོང་བཀའ་བྱེད་འོས་པ་ནི་དེའི་ཕྱི་ལོའི་གྲགས་ཅན་གྱི་བོད་ལྗོངས་ཤེས་རིག་མཁམས་ཅན་

རྒྱུ་ཚེ་ཡིན་ཞིང་། ཁོང་གིས་ ཚུམ་པོད་ཚེ་མོ་ «བོད་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་རི་མོ་ཕྱོགས་སྤྱི་ག» ཚེ་པ་དེའི་ནང་ཏུ་བོད་ལྗོངས་  
 བང་བསྟན་ཚོས་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་མཛེས་ ལྷལ་ཁོད་ཀྱི་ཐང་ཀར་གོ་རིམ་རྣམས་པའི་དཔུང་གཞིར་ལེགས་སྤྱི་ག་དང་ཞིབ་ལུགས་  
 བྱས་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཟད། བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་རིག་གནས། ཚོས་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་ལུང་རྒྱུ་འདོད་ཁྲུངས་། བོད་ཡིག་གི་ལོ་  
 རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཆ་དོ་སྤྱོད་ཁྲུངས་འཚོལ་ར་སྤྱོད་བྱ་རྒྱ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཐང་ལའང་ཚུམ་ཆ་དེས་ཚན་ཞིག་ཟེན་ཡོད་པ་དང་།  
 «སྤྱར་རྒྱལ་བཙན་པོའི་བང་སོར་ཉམས་ཞིབ་བྱས་པ་» ཞེས་པའི་ནང་ཏུ་བཙན་པོའི་བང་སོའི་བཞེངས་དབྱིབས་དང་  
 བཞོན་སྤྱི་ག་བྱེད་སྤངས་ཀྱང་གིས་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཟད་སྤྱར་རྒྱལ་རྒྱལ་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ལོ་སྤྱོད་ཚོང་དྲིལ་དང་རྫོ་རིང་གི་ལྷགས་  
 བཞོན་ཡི་གེ་དང་བོད་ཡིག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེའི་ཐེང་བྱང་འཕྲུལ་གྱིས་སྤྱར་རྒྱལ་བོད་ཀྱི་བཙན་པོའི་གཏུང་རྒྱུད་དང་འཕྲུལ་  
 བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རྣམས་ཁྲུངས་འཚོལ་ར་སྤྱོད་བྱས་ཡོད་ཅིང་། «རི་བོ་རྟེ་མ་ཡ་ལས་བསྐལ་པ་» ཞེས་པའི་ཚུམ་དོབ་ཀྱི་  
 བང་ཏུ་འཕྲུལ་ཡོད་ནང་དོན་གྱི་རྣམ་རིགས་མི་མཚུངས་པའི་ཤྱལ་རྗེས་དང་ཤྱལ་རྗེས་ཀྱི་ནང་དོན་དེ་བས་རྒྱ་ཚེན་གྱིས་  
 ཡོད་པ་རེད།།

དབྱིན་ཇི་བོད་ལྗོངས་ཤེས་རིག་མཁས་ཚན་ལེས་ཅེ་ཤེང་གིས་བཙུམས་པའི་ «བོད་ལྗོངས་སུ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ས་  
 དང་རྒྱལ་རབས་བསྐྱེད་པ་ལེས་དག་པའི་དབང་གི་བོད་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་ཚེ་ལག་ལྷལ་» ཞེས་པ་དང་དེ་བཞིན་གྱི་སྤྱི་  
 ལོའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་དག་པའི་གོང་གི་སྤྱར་རྒྱལ་རྒྱལ་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ལོ་སྤྱོད་ཚོང་དྲིལ་རྫོ་རིང་དང་འཕྲུལ་ཡོད་ནང་དོན་དང་རྣམ་  
 པའི་ཚེད་ཚུམ་རྒྱ་མ་ཞིག་བཙུམས་པ་དེ་དག་ལྷི་རྒྱལ་དེའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་ཚོས་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་ཐང་ལ་  
 གལ་འགངས་ཆེ་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་དཔུང་གཞིའི་ཡིག་རིགས་རིན་ཐང་རྣམས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་རེད།།

ཤིང་གི་བོད་ཡིག་བྱང་རྒྱུ་དང་ལག་གིས་ཤོག་དྲིལ་ཡིག་ཚེ་ཐང་གི་གཙོ་བོ་ལྷི་དབྱིན་ཇི་བ་སི་ཐེན་དབྱིན་གྱིས་  
 བཙུམས་པའི་ «ལུ་ལྷལ་» དང་ «ཨ་ཤེ་ཡ་སྤྱིང་གི་ལྷེ་དཔུས་ཀྱི་ས་ཆ་» ཞེས་པའི་དོབ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ནང་ཏུ་ཤིང་གི་  
 བོད་ཡིག་བྱང་རྒྱུའི་པར་རིས་ཆ་ཤས་ཤིག་ཀྱང་ཁྲུང་བསྐྱགས་བྱས་ཡོད་པ་དང་། དབྱིན་ཇི་བ་སི་ཐེན་བཙུམས་  
 པའི་ «ཞིང་ཅང་ལས་དོན་པའི་བོད་ཡིག་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་དཔུང་གཞིའི་ཡིག་རིགས་སྤོར་» ཞེས་པའི་ཚུམ་དོབ་གཉིས་པ་  
 དང་གསུམ་པའི་ནང་ཏུ་ཤིང་གི་བྱང་རྒྱུའི་པར་རིས་ཆ་ཤས་ཤིག་ཁྲུང་བསྐྱགས་བྱས་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཟད་ཉམས་ལེན་གྱི་  
 མཚན་འགྲེལ་ཡང་ཁ་སྤོན་བསྐྱེད་ཡོད་པ་རེད།།

གནའ་བོའི་བོད་ཡིག་ལག་གིས་ཤོག་དྲིལ་གྱི་ཡིག་ཆ་ཚེས་མང་ཤོས་ལྷི་རུན་ཅོང་ལས་དོན་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཞིང་།  
 མཇུག་ཏུ་སོ་མར་སི་སོགས་ཀྱིས་བཙུམས་པའི་ «རུན་ཅོང་ཡིག་ཚེ་ལྷི་དང་གི་སྤྱར་རྒྱལ་བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་དཔུང་  
 གཞིའི་ཡིག་རིགས་» ཞེས་པའི་དོབ་གཉིས་ཡོད་པ་དེའི་ནང་ཏུ་ཁྲུང་བསྐྱགས་བྱས་པའི་དཔུང་ཡིག་དེ་དག་ལྷི་སྤྱར་  
 རྒྱལ་བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཞིབ་ལུགས་བྱེད་བྱིང་ཚེས་གལ་འགངས་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་ཡིག་ཆ་ཞིག་ཏུ་གྱུར་ཡོད་པ་  
 རེད།།

བོད་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་ཨུའ་ལས་བཞོ་སྟོན་དང་རྣམ་པར་ཏུ་ནང་བསྟན་ཨུའ་ལས་བཞེངས་བཞོན་སྤོར་ལྷི་ལྷུང་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་



ཨ་ཅང་ཅང་སྐབས་དེ་ཏུས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཆ་རྒྱེན་ཚོན་འཛིན་ལྡན་དབང་གིས་མཁས་ཅན་དེ་དག་གི་ཁོང་ཏུ་ཚེད་ལས་གཞན་ཇུས་རྟོག་ཞིབ་ཀྱི་བྱ་བ་བྱེད་མཁུ་གྱི་མཁས་ཅན་མང་པོ་མེད་པར་རྟོན་ཚོན་འཛིན་གྱི་རང་བཞིན་ངོས་ལྷན་གྱིས་ཡོད་པ་སྟེ། གཙོ་བོ་ནི་བྱེད་པའི་བྱ་བ་བྱེད་ཡུལ་ཚོན་འཛིན་ལྡན་པས་སྤྱོད་པ་ཡོངས་ནས་བོད་ལྗོངས་གཞན་ཇུས་རྟོག་ཞིབ་ཀྱི་རིག་གཞན་སྤྱི་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པ་དང་ཡུལ་ཁམས་ཀྱི་རང་བཞིན་ལྡན་པའི་ཁྱད་ཚོས་ལ་ངོས་འཛིན་མ་བྱས་པ་མ་ཟད། ས་སྟངས་གི་དབྱེད་གཞི་གཙོ་བོར་བྱས་པ་ཙམ་ལས་ཅུ་པའི་ཆ་ནས་བསྟུས་ན་ཚོར་རིག་ལྡན་ཞིང་སྟོག་འདོན་བྱས་པའི་དབྱེད་གཞི་མེད་པ་རེད། ལོན་ཀྱང་ཁོང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བྱ་བ་ལས་བགྱིས་པ་དེ་དག་གིས་ཅིས་ནས་ཀྱང་བོད་ལྗོངས་གཞན་ཇུས་རྟོག་ཞིབ་ཀྱི་བྱ་བ་བགྱིད་འགོ་བཙུགས་པས་ན་བསྟོན་མེད་ཀྱི་རྒྱར་བསྟོན་གྱི་དོན་སྲིད་ལྡན་པ་དང་གསར་གཏོང་གྱི་རང་བཞིན་ལྡན་ཡོད་པ་རེད། །།

གཉིས་པ། ལོ་རབས་ལྔ་བ་འཕུ་ནས་ལོ་རབས་བརྒྱད་བཅུ་འི་དབར་ཀྱང་གོ་བོ་མཁས་ཅན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་གཞན་ཇུས་ལ་བརྟག་དབྱེད་དང་ཞིབ་ལུགས་གཞན་པའི་སྟོང་།

ལོ་རབས་ལྔ་བ་འཕུ་བའི་ཏུས་དཀྱིལ་ནས་བཟུང་ལོ་རབས་བརྒྱད་བཅུ་བའི་ཏུས་འགོ་བོ་དབར་ལས་ཀ་གཙོ་བོ་རྣམ་རིགས་གཉིས་ཏུ་བགྱིས་ཡོད་པ་སྟེ།

(1) སྤྱོད་པ་བསྟུས་ཀྱིས་ཚོར་རིག་བརྟག་དབྱེད་བགྱིས་པའི་ཁོང་ཏུ་གཞན་ཇུས་ལ་བརྟག་དབྱེད་བྱས་པ།

ལོ་རབས་ལྔ་བ་འཕུ་ནས་བཟུང་ཀྱང་གོ་བོ་ཚོར་རིག་ཁང་ནས་སྤྱོད་པ་ལུགས་བྱས་ཏེ་མཚོ་བོད་ས་མཐོར་སྤྱི་མང་སྤྱོད་པ་ལྡན་པའི་ཚོར་རིག་བརྟག་དབྱེད་ཞིབ་ལུགས་ཏུ་ཁག་གིས་(ག་གམ་ཏུ་བསྟུས་མེད་ཏུ་ཚོར་ཞིབ་ཏུ་ཁག་ཅིས་འཕྲི་རྒྱ) མཚོ་བོད་ས་མཐོར་གཞན་པའི་ས་གཤིས་དང་ས་ཁམས། གཞན་པའི་སྤྱི་དངོས། གཞན་པའི་སྟོག་ཆགས། གཞན་པའི་ས་མཐོངས་པའི་སྤྱོད་པ་གང་ཅད་ཀྱི་རིག་པའི་གཞན་ལ་སྤྱོད་པ་བསྟུས་ཀྱིས་རྟོག་ཞིབ་གཞན་པ་ཡོད་པ་རེད། གཞན་ཇུས་རྟོག་ཞིབ་རིག་པ་སྤྱད་དེ་རྟོག་ཞིབ་བྱས་པར་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དོ་སྣང་བྱེད་ལོས་པའི་ཀྱང་འབྲས་ཀྱང་ཐོབ་ཡོད་པ་དང་། རི་ཐང་ཏུ་རྟོག་ཞིབ་བྱས་པའི་གོ་རིམ་གྱི་ནང་ཏུ་ས་གཤིས་རིག་པ་མཁས་ཅན་གྱིས་དོ་ཆས་ཀྱི་དམར་དཔེ་དང་མ་བཅོས་རྒྱ་ཇུས་འཕོར་ཚེ་ཞིག་མཐོང་རྟོན་བྱུང་བ་དང་འཚོལ་བསྟུ་བྱས་པའི་གཙོ་བོའི་ཁོངས་གཏོག་ནི་འདི་ལྟར་ཚུད་ཡོད་པ་སྟེ།

༡༧༥༦ ལོར་ཀྱང་གོ་བོ་ཚོར་རིག་ཁང་ས་གཤིས་ཞིབ་ལུགས་སོ་སོའི་ཀྱའོ་ཅུང་པོས་བོད་ཀྱི་བྱུང་ཐང་ནས་ཚུ་བོ་ས་ཆ་ནས་དོ་རྟོན་ལྷ་མོ་གཙོ་བོ་འཚོལ་བསྟུ་བྱུང་བ་དེ་ནི་བོད་ལྗོངས་མངའ་ཁོངས་ཀྱི་ནང་ཏུ་ཐོག་མར་མཐོང་རྟོན་བྱུང་བའི་དོ་རྟོན་ལྷ་མོ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་རེད།





ཆས་རྟེན་པའི་ཤྱལ་གནས་དངོས་ཇུས་མཐོང་རྟེན་བྱང་བ་དེས་རྟུམ་ཡུན་རིང་པོ་ནས་བཟུང་བོད་ལྗོངས་ས་མཐོང་འགོ་བཟའི་རིགས་གནས་སྡོད་བྱེད་མཁུ་ཡོད་མེད་ཀྱི་གནད་དོན་སྒྲོར་ལ་ཚིག་ཐག་ཚོད་པོས་ལམ་འདེབས་བྱས་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཟད། མ་མཐར་ཡང་ལོ་སྟུང་ཁྲི་ནས་ཚིག་ཁྲིའི་གོང་གི་དོ་ཆས་རྟེན་པའི་རྟུམ་རབས་ཀྱི་རྟུམ་མཇུག་ནས་དང་སྐབས་ཀྱི་བོད་ལྗོངས་ས་མཐོང་འགོ་བཟའི་ས་ཆ་མི་ཉུང་བ་ཞིག་གི་ས་ཆར་འགོ་བཟའི་རིགས་ཀྱི་བྱེད་སྒོ་སྟེལ་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཤྱལ་ཇུས་གནས་ཡོད་པའི་དཔང་སྡོད་ཀྱང་གནང་ཡོད་པ་དེས་གོམ་གང་མཛུན་སྟོས་ཀྱི་སྒྲོ་ནས་བོད་རིགས་ཀྱི་གནད་སྒྲུ་མཐོང་མེས་པའི་འབྲུང་ཁྲུང་ས་དབྱེད་དབྱུར་བྱ་རྒྱུའི་ཐད་ལ་རྩ་འགངས་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་བའི་གོམ་སྐབས་ཤིག་སྟོས་ཡོད་པ་རེད།

(༡) གནད་ཇུས་རྟོག་ཞིབ་རིག་པར་བརྟེན་ནས་ཆེད་མངགས་ཀྱིས་བརྟག་དབྱེད་དང་སྟོག་འདོན་བྱས་པའི་སྒྲོར།

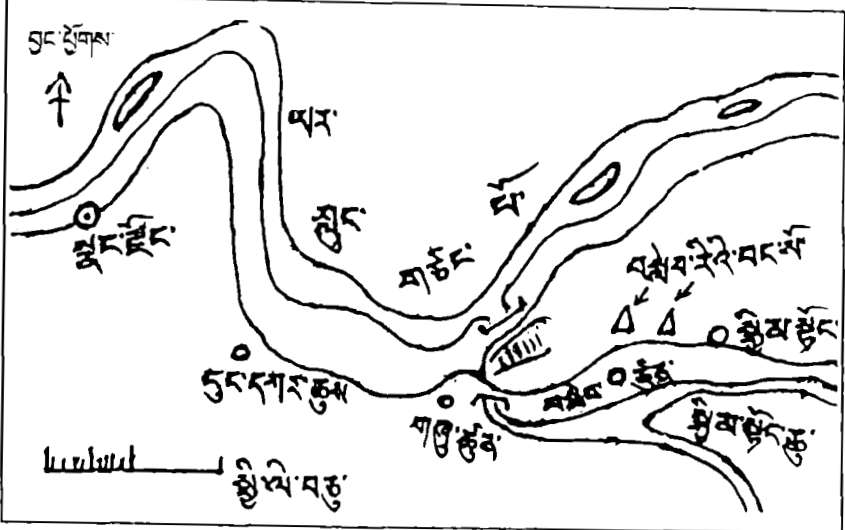
ཀྱང་གོའི་གནད་ཇུས་རྟོག་ཞིབ་མཁུས་ཅན་གྱིས་དམིགས་ཡུལ་དང་འཆར་གཞི་དེས་གཞན་ཞིག་གཞིར་བཟུང་གིས་གནད་ཇུས་རྟོག་ཞིབ་རིག་པར་བརྟེན་དེ་ཆེད་མངགས་ཀྱིས་བརྟག་དབྱེད་སྟོག་འདོན་གྱི་བགྱིད་འགོ་ལྷོ་རྟུམ་རབས་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རབས་བརྟན་ཅུ་བའི་རྟུམ་དཀྱིལ་ནས་འགོ་བརྒྱུས་ཡོད་པ་དང་། དེའི་ཁྲོད་ཀྱི་ཆེས་གལ་འགངས་ཆེ་གོས་ལྷོ་མཁུར་རེའི་ཤྱལ་ཇུས་དང་སྟེབས་རིའི་བང་སའི་ས་ཆར་བརྟག་དབྱེད་དང་སྟོག་འདོན་བགྱིས་པ་དེ་ཡིན་ལགས་གྱུ།

༡༩༥༥ པོ་ནས་༡༩༥༩ པོ་དབར་བོད་ལྗོངས་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་ཆབ་མདོ་ས་ཁལ་གྱི་མཁུར་རེའི་དོ་ཆས་གསར་མའི་རྟུམ་རབས་ཀྱི་ཤྱལ་ཇུས་ལ་བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཐོག་ཏུ་ཐེངས་དང་པོ་གཞི་རྒྱ་ཆེ་བའི་གནད་ཇུས་རྟོག་ཞིབ་དང་སྟོག་འདོན་གྱི་ལས་ཀ་བགྱིད་པ་ཡིན། སྟོག་འདོན་བྱ་ཡུལ་གྱི་སྤྱིའི་རྒྱ་ཁྲོམ་ལྷོ་མཛོད་ཀྱི་བཞེང་སྟེལ་ས་ཆེག་སྟོང་བརྟན་བརྒྱ་ཅོམ་ཟེན་གྱི་ཡོད་པ་དང་། ས་འོག་ནས་དོན་པ་ལྷོ་ཁང་ཤྱལ་དང་ལམ་ཤྱལ། རོང་ཤྱལ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ཤྱལ་ཇུས་དང་། དེ་བཞིན་གྱི་རྒྱུད་བཟོས་དོ་ཆས་དང་དོ་ཆས་སྤྲོ་མོ། དོ་ཆས་བདར་མ། ཇུ་ཆས། རྟུམ་ཆས་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཤྱལ་ཇུས་དང་སྟོག་ཆགས་ཀྱི་རྟུམ་པ་སྤྲོ་ཆོགས། ཞིང་ལས་ཐོན་ཇུས་ཀྱི་འབྲུ་སྤྲོ་བཅས་དོན་ཡོད་པ་རེད། མཁུར་རེའི་ཤྱལ་ཇུས་སྟོག་འདོན་བགྱིས་པ་དེས་ས་རིམ་དང་ལོ་རབས་ཀྱི་དཔང་རྟོགས་ཁྲུངས་གཙང་ར་སྟོད་བྱང་ཡོད་པར་རྟེན་བོད་ལྗོངས་གནད་རབས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལོ་ལྷན་སྟོང་དམ་བཞི་སྟོང་དབར་གྱི་སྤྱི་ལུང་བྱང་ཡོད་པ་དང་། (༡) བོད་ལྗོངས་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་གདོད་མའི་རིག་གནས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པ་དང་དེ་བཞིན་མཐོང་ལོའོ་ས་ཁལ་གྱི་རིག་གནས་དབར་གྱི་འབྲེལ་བར་དོས་འཇུག་བྱ་རྒྱུའི་ཐད་ལ་གལ་ཆེའི་དོན་སྟོང་ལྟན་ཡོད་པ་རེད།

(༡) བོད་རང་སྐྱོང་ལྗོངས་རིག་དངོས་དོད་མཇུག་ལྟ་རྒྱུ་དང་སྤྱི་ལུང་སྟོན་གྱི་ཆེན་མའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཚན་ཁག་ཆེད་ལས་གནད་ཇུས་རྟོག་ཞིབ་པ་གཉེས་ནས་ཚུམ་འཇུག་བྱས་པའི་«ཆབ་མདོའི་མཁུར་རེ» ཞེས་པ་༡༩༥༥ པོར་རིག་དངོས་དབེ་སྤྱུལ་ཁང་གིས་པར་དུ་བསྐྱུང་པར་གསལ།

༡༧༧༧ ལོར་ཉིང་ཁྲི་ལ་ཁྲལ་རྒྱུང་རྫོང་གི་སློབ་འཁུར་མེད་གཞི་རྒྱ་གཉིན་ཏུ་ཚེ་བའི་གཞུང་བོད་ཏུར་ས་ཞིག་བརྟམ་དཔེ་དེབ་མཐོང་རྗེས་(ས་བགྲ་དང་པོ་) ཏུང་བ་དང་གཤམ་ཏུ་བ་ཀྱི་ཏུར་ཁྲལ་གཞིས་སུ་དེའི་ཚོག་ལ་ཕན་ཚུན་དབར་སྤྲི་ལེ་ ༡.༥ ཙམ་ཡོད་པ་རེད།

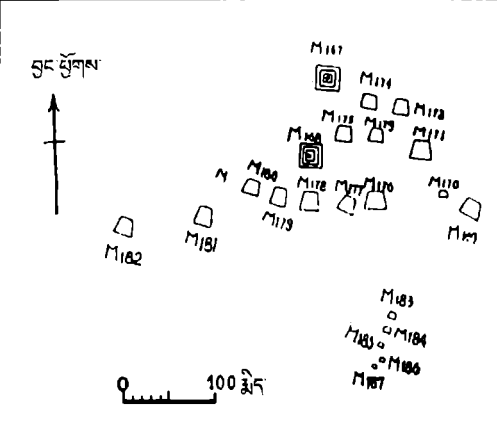
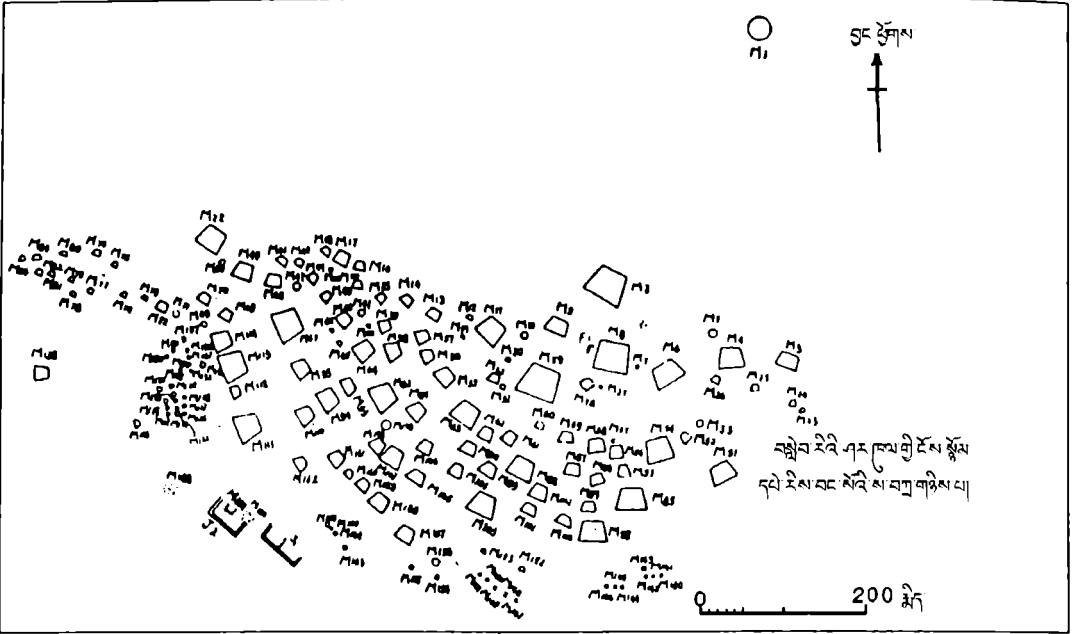
བང་སོ་འུ་སྤྱི་རྒྱ་  
ཁྲི་ལ་(བང་སོ་  
གཞུང་ཁྲལ་རྫོང་པའི་  
ཏུལ་རྗེས་རྫོང་གསལ་  
མིང་དོས་སྤྱི་མཁུ་བྱ་བའི་  
མ་བརྟུན་འཁུམ་ཚོག་  
ཁྲི་ལ་རྫོང་ ཙམ་ཡོད་  
པ་དང་། ཁྲི་  
བསྐྱེད་མ་བང་སོ་ཚེ་



ས་བགྲ་དང་པོ།

རྫོང་ཉིས་བརྟུ་བཅུ་  
གཞིས་ཙམ་ཡོད་ཅིང་། དེ་ཏུང་ས་རྫོང་གི་སློབ་ཁྲི་དང་ཏུར་མཚོན་ཏུང་དོང་། ཡར་རྒྱལ་ཁང་པའི་ཏུལ་རྗེས་སོགས་  
(དཔེ་མཚོན་རི་མོ་གཞིས་པ་) ཡོད་པ་རེད། དཔེ་མཚོན་དོས་སྤྱི་མཁུ་གྱི་ས་བགྲ་གཞིགས་ན་ དེའི་བསལ་ཁྲི་རྣམ་པ་  
ལ་དེའི་ཚོག་པ་སྤྱི་ སྤྱི་མཁུ་དེའི་དང་བྱ་བའི་དེའི་བསལ་ རྒྱལ་རྫོང་གི་དེའི་བསལ་མཚོན་རྗེས་གྱི་དེའི་བསལ་ དེའི་པ་  
ལོ་དེའི་དེའི་བསལ་སོགས་ཡོད་(དཔེ་མཚོན་རི་མོ་འུ་སྤྱི་མཁུ་ལ་) པ་རེད། ཚེས་ཚེ་ཤོས་གྱི་མཐོ་ཚད་ལ་མིང་  
བཅུ་གསལ་ཙམ་དང་། རྒྱ་ཁྲི་ལ་མིང་དོས་སྤྱི་མཁུ་བའི་མ་ཉིས་རྫོང་ལ་བརྟུ་ཙམ་ཡོད་ཅིང་། ཚེས་རྫོང་ཤོས་ལ་  
མིང་དོས་སྤྱི་མཁུ་བའི་མ་བཅུ་ཙམ་ལས་མེད་པ་རེད། བང་སོ་རྫོང་བ་ཁྲལ་ཁ་གསལ་གི་གཞི་ཚོན་སྤོག་ཏུས་པར་བརྟུན་  
བང་སོ་འུ་སྤྱི་ལ་ཚད་བཟོ་ དེའི་བསལ་ཚད་མ་ལོ་སྤྱི་མཁུ་འཚོང་འཚོང་ས་རྣམས་པར་གསལ་མཚོན་ཏུང་ཡོད་པ་རེད།  
བང་སོ་ལས་དོན་པའི་ཏུར་རྗེས་མེ་གསལ་དང་ཟེང་ཐོར་གྱི་བའི་མི་རུས་ཐར་ཐོར་དོན་རྒྱ་ཏུང་ཡོད་པ་ལས་ལས་  
ཚེད་ཏུལ་རྗེས་གང་ཡང་མཐོང་རྒྱ་མེད་པ་དེས་བང་སོ་སྤྱི་མཁུ་ལས་རྒྱ་སྤོག་ཏུས་ཟེང་པར་གསལ་བ་གང་ཏུང་བ་དང་  
ཡོད་ཡིག་ཡིག་ཚེ་ལོ་དང་ཏུང་དོན་ལོ་དོན་ཡོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་དོན་བཞོན་པ་དང་འཐད་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་གཏེ།

དཔེ་མཚོན་ བང་སའི་ བགྲམ་སྤངས་ས་ བགྲམ་གཉེས་པ།

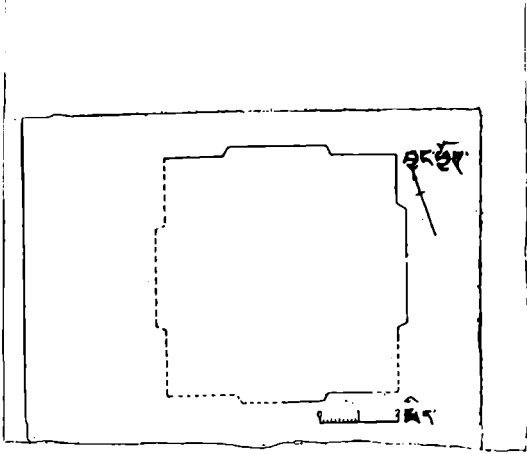


བསྐྱེད་འཕྲོ་གར་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་དེས་སྤོམ་ དཔེ་མཚོན་ བང་སའི་ བགྲམ་གཉེས་པ།

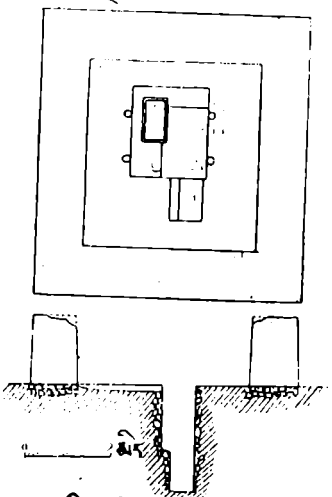
རྒྱུ་འཕྲོ་གར་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ བྱུང་སྤོམ་ རོ་བོས་ ཚོད་ འཇམ་གཏམ་ ལུ་ལེ་ བྱས་ པའི་ ལོ་ འབས་ ལུ་ བཞེགས་ ལ་ ལྷི་ ལོ་ ༢༠༠༥-༡༠ དབར་ ལྱི་ ཡིན་ ཞིང་། ལྷོ་བས་ འི་ བང་ སའི་ ལྷུར་ ལྱུལ་ བཙོན་ པའི་ ལྱུལ་ འབས་ ལྷུངས་ ལྱི་ ཡིན་ དགོས་ པས་ ལ། དལ་ ཚེར་ ལྷུར་ ལྱུལ་ ལྱི་ ལུང་ ལྷུང་ དམ་ ལྷུ་ ལྷུ་ ལྱི་ བང་ སའི་ ལྱུལ་ ཞིག་ ལ་ ཡིན་ ལམ་ ལམས་། ལྷོངས་ དའི་ ལྷུག་ དལུད་ དང་ ཚོད་ ལྷོག་ ལྱས་ ལམ་ ལྷུང་ ལོམ་ ལང་ ལྷུན་ ལོས་ ལྱི་ ལྷོ་ ལམ་ ལྷུར་ ལྱུལ་ ལུ་ བང་ སའི་ ལུངས་ ལྷུངས་ ལྱི་ ལམ་ ལྱུགས་ ལ་ རོས་ འཇོན་ ལྱེད་ ལྷུངས་ དང་། འདས་ ཚོད་ ལྱི་ ལྱུལ་ ལོམས་ ལཱའིས་ ལྱུགས་ ལྱི་ ལྷུང་ ལམ་ ལུད་ ལྱུག་ ལམ་ ལུ་ ལྱིག་ ལཱོ་ འདོན་ ལཱིས་ ཡོད་ ལ་ རེད།<sup>(༤)</sup> །།

(4) བསོད་ནམས་དབང་འདུད་དང་ཚོད་ཚི་གྲུ་གཉེས་ལྱི་བལྟམས་ལཱའི་ «བོད་ལྷོངས་སྤང་ཚོད་ལྷོངས་འི་བང་སའི་བལྟམ་དལུད་དང་ཚོད་ལྷོག་ལྱས་ལ་» ཞེས་ལ་༡༩༥༥ ལཱའི་ «རིག་དངོས་རྒྱུ་དབ་» ༩ བར་གསལ།།

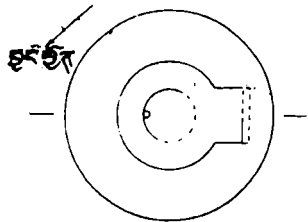
དེའི་ལམ་ཁོངས་དེའི་ལམ་ཁོངས་ཀྱི་དཔྱད་པ་ལྟར་དཔྱད།



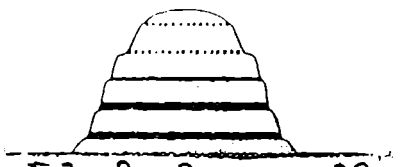
ལམ་ཁོངས་



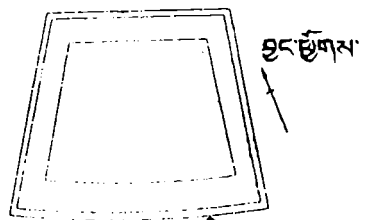
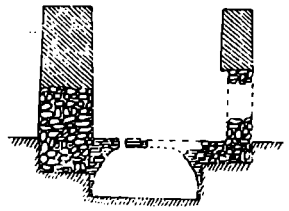
ལྷུ་ལམ་དེའི་ལམ་ཁོངས་དང་ལྷུ་ལམ་གྱི་དཔྱད་པ་ལྟར་དཔྱད།



ལྷུ་ལམ་དེའི་ལམ་ཁོངས་དང་ལྷུ་ལམ་གྱི་དཔྱད་པ་ལྟར་དཔྱད།



ལམ་ཁོངས་དེའི་ལམ་ཁོངས་ཀྱི་ལམ་ཁོངས་ལྟར་དཔྱད།



ལྷུ་ལམ་དེའི་ལམ་ཁོངས་

དེའི་མཚོན་རིམ་ལྟར་ལྟར་གྲུ་གསུམ་ལ།





ལས་སུ་མཁུ་ཞིའི་སྒོམ་གྱི་དོ་ཆས་རྒྱུ་དང་པའི་དུས་མཇུག་ཏུ་བོད་ལྗོངས་ས་མཐོའི་ས་གནས་མང་པོ་ཞིག་གི་ས་ཆ་རྒྱ་གཞུང་  
 བའི་མའི་རིགས་འཚོ་གནས་རྒྱུ་སྤེལ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་པ་དང་། བོད་ལྗོངས་འདི་ནི་མི་འགའ་ཤས་ཀྱི་བསམ་ཚུན་བྱེད་པ་  
 བཞིན་གྱི་ལུང་སྤོང་སྐྱེ་མོ་ཞིག་མ་ཡིན་པར་འགྲོ་བ་མའི་རིགས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ངོས་ལས་ཆེས་མཐོ་བའི་ས་ཁྲུང་  
 གསར་འབྱེད་དང་བུལ་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཏེ་ཅང་གི་རིང་པོ་རྣམས་ཡོད་པ་དེ་མངོན་གྲུབ་པ་ཡིན།།

༡) བོད་ཀྱི་དོ་ཆས་ལྷ་མོའི་རིག་གནས་སྒོར་ལ་དེ་སྤྱི་མཁས་དབང་མི་ཉུང་བ་ཞིག་གིས་རྒྱས་བཤད་རྒྱས་གྲུབ་  
 བྱས་ལྟར་ཡོད་པ་དེ་ནི་ཁོང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རྣལ་བ་གཙོ་བོ་གཅིག་ནི་ལས་བོད་ཀྱི་དོ་ཆས་ལྷ་མོ་མཐོང་རྟོན་བྱུང་དུས་ཤིས་ཙམ་  
 ཡིན་ལ། གདོད་མའི་ལོ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་བཟོ་དབྱིབས་དག་དེ་བས་མཐོང་རྒྱ་ཉུང་གཤིས། འབྲུང་འགོ་ན་པོ་ནས་དོན་པའི་དོ་  
 ཆས་ལྷ་མོའི་རིག་གནས་སྤོལ་རྒྱུ་སྤར་སྤོལ་རྒྱུ་འཛིན་བྱས་པ་ཞིག་རེད་སྟེ་ལྷ་མོ་གྱི་ཡོད་པ་དང་། གཉེས་ནས་དེ་དང་རྒྱ་  
 ཆས་གཉེས་མཉམ་དུ་གནས་མེད་པས་པལ་ཆེར་རྩ་རྩ་བཟང་བཅོམ་གཞིར་བཟུང་གིས་རྒྱ་བ་སྟོ་བ་དང་རྩོམ་པ་རྒྱུག་པའི་  
 དཔལ་འབྲོར་གྱི་རྣམ་པའི་ཤྲུལ་རྗེས་ཀྱི་ཁོངས་གཏོགས་ཤིག་རེད་སྟེ་ལྷ་མོ་གྱི་ཡོད་པ་རེད། གསར་དུ་མཐོང་རྟོན་བྱུང་  
 བའི་དོ་ཆས་ལྷ་མོ་འབོར་ཆེན་ཞིག་གི་ཁོངས་དུ་དུས་རབས་སྤྱི་ཙམ་རྣམས་པ་དང་ཆེས་གདོད་མའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ལོ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་  
 བཟོ་དབྱིབས་ཡོད་ལ། འགའ་ཞིག་ནི་རྒྱ་ཆས་དང་མཉམ་དུ་གནས་ཡོད་པས་གནས་རྒྱུལ་ཏེ་ཅང་གི་སྤྱི་མང་འཚོང་  
 འཛིངས་ཆེ་རྒྱལ། བོད་ཀྱི་དོ་ཆས་ལྷ་མོའི་འབྲུང་ཁངས་དང་རྒྱུད་རབས་ཀྱི་འབྲེལ་བ། བཟོ་རྒྱལ་ལག་ཤེས་སོགས་  
 ཕྱོགས་མང་བའི་ཐད་ལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་སྟོབ་གཞི་གསར་བ་འགའ་ཤས་བཏོན་ཡོད་པ་རེད། ཐོག་མའི་རྣམས་དབྱེད་དབྱེ་  
 འབྱེད་བྱས་པར་བལྟས་ན། དོ་ཆས་ལྷ་མོའི་དབྱེད་གཞི་ཁག་དེ་དག་པལ་ཆེར་དུས་རབས་ཐོག་ནས་བཤད་ན་དོ་ཆས་  
 རྒྱུང་པའི་དུས་སྤྱད་ནས་ལྷགས་རྗེས་སྟེང་པའི་དུས་འགྲའི་དབར་གྱི་དུས་ཚོད་ཏེ་ཅང་རིང་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་དུས་རབས་  
 ཤིག་བརྒྱུད་ཡོད་པ་དང་། དུལ་ཁམས་ཀྱི་བགྲམ་ཁོངས་ཐད་ལ་གདོད་མའི་རྒྱ་ཚོའི་མི་རིགས་ཤིན་ཏུ་མང་པོ་ཞིག་དང་  
 འབྲེལ་རྣམས་སྤོང་པས། དཔལ་འབྲོར་དང་རིག་གནས་ཀྱི་ངོ་བོ་མི་འདྲ་བར་མཚོན་ཡོད་ལ། རྒྱ་སྟོ་རྩོམ་རྒྱུག་གི་དཔལ་  
 འབྲོར་གྱི་རྒྱ་ཚོའི་མི་རིགས་ཁོ་ན་ཙམ་ཞིག་མ་ཡིན་པར་མཚོན་གྲུབ་ཙམ་ཞིག་མིན་གྱི།།

༢) ཉེ་ལོ་ནས་བཟུང་བརྟག་དབྱེད་བཞིན་ནས་གསལ་བཤད་བྱུང་བར་དོ་ཆས་གསར་མའི་དུས་རབས་ཀྱི་  
 ཤྲུལ་རྗེས་དང་འཚོལ་བསྟུ་བྱེད་གནས་ནི་བོད་ལྗོངས་ས་མཐོ་རྒྱ་བགྲམ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་ཅིང་། ཆེས་མང་ཆེ་བ་ནི་བོད་  
 ལྗོངས་ཤིང་ལྟོ་དང་དུས་ཁྲུང་གི་ས་ཆར་མཐོང་རྒྱ་ཡོད་པ་རེད།།

(༡) ཆབ་མདོ་རྫོང་དུལ་མདའི་ཤྲུལ་རྗེས་དང་བྲག་གཡམ་རྫོང་དབྱེན་འབྲུམ་ཤྲུལ་རྗེས་སུ་འཚོལ་ཞིབ་དོང་ཤྲུང་  
 དུས་ནས་ཚོད་སྟོག་བྱས་པ་བརྒྱུད་དེ་དོན་པའི་རྒྱ་ལེབ་དང་དུས་ཆས། དོ་ཆས། ཁང་པའི་ཤྲུལ་རྗེས་སོགས་ཚང་མ་  
 མཁུངས་པོ་ནས་དོན་པའི་དངོས་པོ་དང་དབྱེད་པ་འབྱེད་དགའ་བ་དེ་ནི་མཁུངས་པོའི་རིག་གནས་དང་རྣམ་རིགས་གཅིག་  
 མཚུངས་ཡིན་པར་དོགས་འཚར་མི་དགོས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ལ། འདི་རྒྱ་རྒྱུག་ཁྲུང་ཤྲུལ་ཤྲུལ་ཤྲུལ་པོའི་རིག་གནས་ཀྱིས་ཆབ་  
 མཚོན་པའི་དོ་ཆས་གསར་མའི་དུས་རབས་ཀྱི་ཤྲུལ་རྗེས་དེ་བས་མང་བ་བགྲམ་ཡོད་པར་མངོན།།



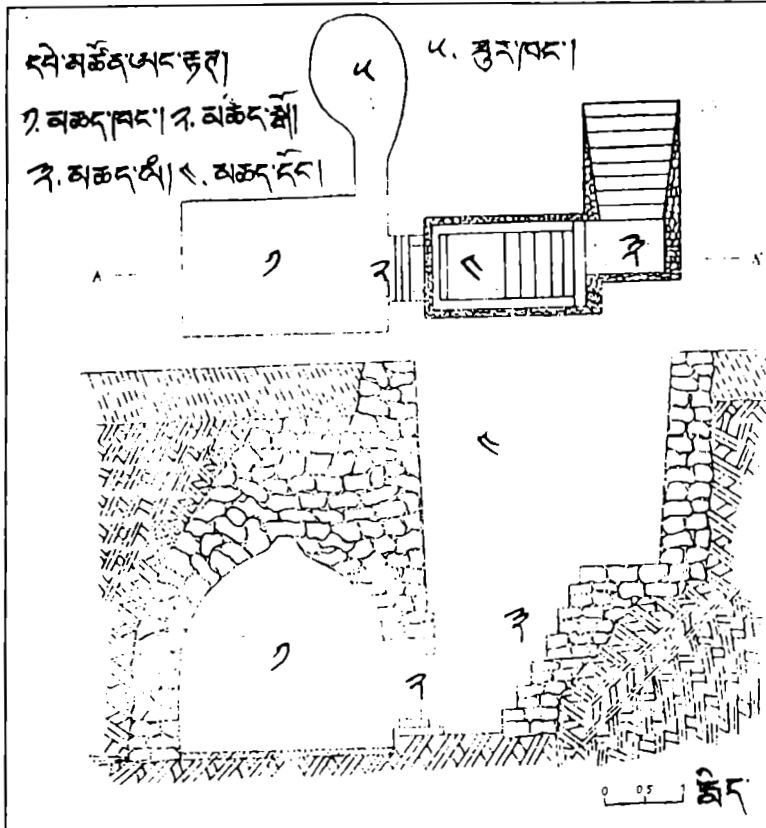






ཀྱི་གཞུང་པོ་ལྷོ་ཚོ་སྤོ་འཚོ་མི་རིགས་ཀྱི་མཛེས་སྒྲིག་འདོད་ཚུལ་དང་ཚོས་ལྷགས་ལུ་ཤེས། དེ་འདུལ་བྱུང་  
 ཚུལ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་གོ་རིམ་དང་ལྷི་ཕྱོགས་ལྷོ་ཚོ་སྤོ་འཚོ་མི་རིགས་དབང་གྱི་རིགས་གནས་ཀྱི་འདྲེལ་བ་སོགས་  
 དཔྱད་བཟུམ་བྱ་རྒྱ་ཚང་མའི་ཐད་ལ་གོང་འདུལ་གཏོང་རྒྱུ་ལེ་བ་རྣམས་ཡོད།

༦) སྤྱར་རྒྱལ་སྤ་རྗེས་(སྤྱར་རྒྱལ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཚུང་) ཀྱི་གཞུང་རྗེས་རྟོག་ཞིབ་བྱ་རྒྱུ་ཚེས་གཤམ་འགངས་ཚེ་  
 བའི་ལང་དོན་གཙོ་བོ་ལྷི་གཞུང་རབས་ཀྱི་མཚན་པ་ལུངྷག་སྤངས་ལ་གནའ་རྗེས་རྟོག་ཞིབ་ཀྱི་ལས་ཀ་བྱ་རྒྱུ་དེ་ཡིན།



རིམ་བཞི་པ་མཚན་པོ་ལྷི་གཞུང་རབས་སྤོ་འཚོ་མི་རིགས་ཀྱི་དཔེ་རིས།

བོད་ལྗོངས་ས་མཐོང་ད་དབང་  
 མཐོང་རྟོག་བྱུང་བའི་གཞུང་  
 རབས་མཚན་ལུངྷག་བྱས་པ་  
 ལས་མངོན་པའི་རིག་གནས་ཀྱི  
 ལང་དོན་ལམ་ལོ་རབས་གཞུང་  
 ལའེལ་བྱས་ཏེ་སྤྱི་པ་པར་ཆ་  
 འགན་ལ། ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་ལུས་རིམ་  
 གསུམ་ལྷི་དེ་ཚོ་གཤམ་པ་སྤོ་  
 ལྷགས་ཏེ་མཐོང་སྤོ་བྱས་  
 སྤངས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ལུངྷག་བྱེད་  
 སྤངས་དང་གཅིག་། སྤྱར་རྒྱལ་  
 རྒྱལ་རབས་ལྷག་སྤངས་ཀྱི་ལུས་  
 ལྷི་མཚན་པར་ལུངྷག་སྤངས་  
 དང་གཅིག་། སྤྱར་རྒྱལ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་  
 རབས་ལུས་ལས་རྗེས་ལྷི་གཞུང་  
 ས་ཆ་ཁག་ལྷི་ལྷག་སྤངས་རིང་  
 ཙམ་གྱི་བར་ལྷི་མཐོང་ལས་

མཚན་ལུངྷག་བྱེད་སྤངས་དང་གསུམ་བཅས་ཡོད་པ་རེད། གནའ་རྗེས་རྟོག་ཞིབ་ཀྱི་དཔྱད་གཞིའི་ཚོད་འཛིན་བྱུང་  
 དབང་གི་རྒྱུ་པས་ད་ཆ་དཔྱད་ཡང་དག་གི་དེ་མཚམས་གཙོ་དཀའ་བ་ཞིག་རེད།

ཉེ་བའི་ལོ་བཅུ་ལས་བཟུང་སྤ་རྗེས་སུ་བོད་ལྗོངས་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་ཆབ་མདོ་ས་ཁྲལ་དང་དཔུས་ཁྲལ་གྱི་རྩ་ས།  
 ཉིང་ཁྱི་སྤོ་ཁ། གཞིས་རྩེ་བཅས་དང་། ལྷི་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་ལྷག་རྒྱ་ས་ཁྲལ་ལ་སོགས་མཚན་གནས་བརྒྱ་རྣམས་ཙམ་དང་  
 མཚན་པ་སྤོང་ལྷག་ལྷི་མཐོང་རྟོག་བྱུང་ཡོད་པ་རེད། འདིར་མཚན་པ་རྒྱང་བ་བཅུ་ལྷག་ཁ་ཤས་ཚོད་སྤོ་བྱས་པ་

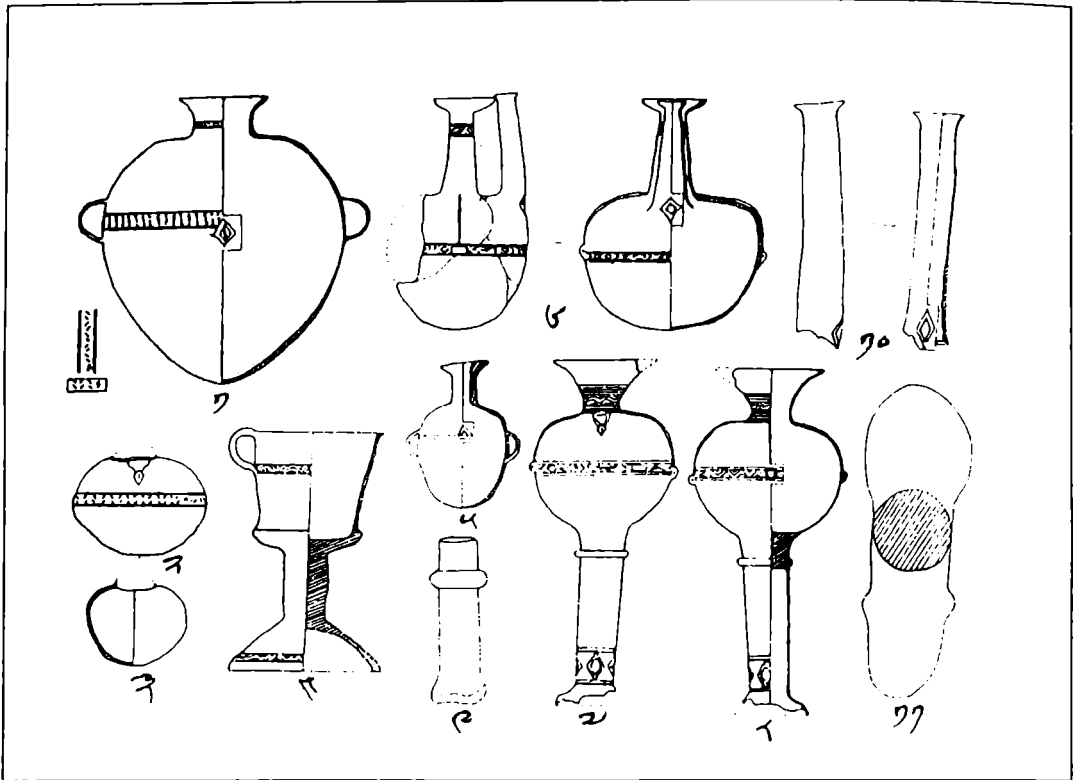
སོགས་གཙོ་གལ་ཚེ་དཔར་བཅས་ཉེ་དོ་སྤོང་བྱ་རྒྱུ་ཡིན།།

(༡) བོད་རྒྱུང་མ་མཐོ་ཁ་གྲུ་ལྷན་རྒྱུ་གྱི་ཚོའི་མཆད་གནས་ཀྱི་མཆད་པ་ཨང་ལྔ་དཔར་ཚོད་སྤོང་བྱས་པ་ཡིན། མཆད་པ་ཨང་ལྔ་པ་འི་དོ་བཅུགས་ཀྱི་མཆད་ཁང་ཞིག་ཡིན་པར་ས་ཡིས་བཀག་ཡོད་པ་དང་མཆད་དོང་། མཆད་ཁང་གི་དོ་སྤོངས། མཆད་སྒྲོལ། བཀྲ་དབྱིབས་རྣམས་པའི་མཆད་ཁང་ཐོག་གྲང་། ལྷུང་ཁང་སོགས་ལས་གྲུབ་པ་ཞིག (དཔེ་རིས་བཞི་པ) རེད། མཆད་ཁང་གི་ལྷན་རྒྱུ་ཚེས་བཅུ་བཅུ་དྲུག་པའི་མི་རྩལ་དང་ས་དོ་སོགས་མཉམ་དུ་བྲེལ་ཡོད་པ་ལས་མཆད་ལྷན་ཡོ་བྱེད་མཐོང་རྒྱ་མེད་ཅིང་དུར་རྒྱུ་ལྷན་ལྷན་པོར་གཙོང་བཅོས་གཅིག་དང་རྩལ་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་བྲུག་རིགས་ཉུང་ཤས་ཞིག། ལྷགས་གཟེར་རྒྱུ་དུ་གཅིག་བཅས་ལས་མཐོང་རྒྱ་མེད་པ་དེ་ལྟར་སྤོང་བྱས་ཚེ་བྲུག་པའི་ཁོངས་སུ་གཏོགས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་གཤིས། ལྷུང་རྒྱལ་བྱས་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ཡིན་པར་གསལ་བཤད་པ་དགས་ཙམ་གྱིས་བྲུག་པའི་ཡིན།<sup>(༡)</sup>

(༢) གྲུ་ལྷན་རྒྱུ་དཀྱིལ་ཤང་གི་རྒྱལ་སྐུས་འི་སྤལ་དུ་མཆིས་པའི་མཆད་གནས་ལྟེ་ཡུན་རིང་ཆར་རྒྱས་དེད་པ་དང་རྒྱུ་ཆད་མེད་པར་དེ་ལས་དོ་ལེན་གྱི་ཡོད་སྤྱད་མཆད་གནས་ལ་ཚབས་ཚེ་གྱི་གཏོར་སྤོལ་པོག་ཡོད་པ་དང་། དེའི་ཁོང་གི་མཆད་པ་ཨང་གསུམ་པ་རྩ་བའི་ཆ་ལས་ཀྱི་དུ་དོན་བསྟན་ཡོད་པས་དཔར་གཙོང་བཤེར་གྱི་ལས་ཀ་བྱས་པ་ཡིན།།

མཆད་པ་ཨང་གསུམ་པའི་མཆད་ཁང་བདེ་བས་ཟིན་ཀྱང་དེའི་མང་རྩའི་ཐད་ལ་བཟུ་ཞིབ་བཤུན་པ་ལྟར་ལྟོ་དོ་ལས་བཅུགས་པའི་མཆད་ཁང་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་དཔར་མཆད་ཁང་དང་ལྷག་ཁང་། ལྷུང་ཁང་བཅས་སུ་དེའི་ཚོག་རྒྱུ་དུར་རྒྱུ་དང་མི་རྩལ་དེ་ཙམ་གྱི་མཐོང་རྒྱ་མེད་པ་རེད། དུར་རྒྱུ་མང་ཆེ་བའི་རྒྱ་བཟེར་བྱས་ཟིན་པའམ་ཆག་སྤོལ་ཤོར་ཟིན་ཡོད་པ་རེད། གཙོང་བཤེར་བྱས་པར་བརྒྱུད་སྤོལ་མེད་ཙམ་དང་ཆག་སྤོལ་ཤོར་བའི་རྒྱ་ཆས་༡༠ ཙམ་དང་དོ་ཆས་༡ བཅས་དོན་ཡོད་པ་(དཔེ་རིས་ལྔ་པ) རེད། རྒྱུ་ཆས་ལྟེ་ལག་པས་བཅོས་པ་དང་ལའོར་ལོས་བཅོས་བཅོལ་བྱས་པའམ་ལའོར་ལོས་བཅོས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་དང་རྒྱ་མཐོག་ལྟེ་དམར་པོ་དང་ལག་པོ། ལྷག་པོ་བཅས་ཡོད་ཅིང་། མཛེས་རིས་སུ་བསྐོས་གྲིས་དང་སྤྱང་ཚགས་བཅས་པ། ཞོར་སྤོལ་སྤངས་རིས་བཅས་ཡོད་པ་རེད།།

(༡) བོད་རང་རྒྱུང་རྒྱུང་མ་མཐོ་རིག་དངོས་དོ་དམ་ལུ་རྟུན་གྱིས་༡༩༤༤ ལོར་ལྷོ་ཕྱོག་པར་དུ་བརྒྱུན་པའི་«གྲུ་ལྷན་རྒྱུ་གི་རིག་དངོས་གནས་ཡིག» ཅེས་པར་གསལ་པ།།



དཔེ་རིས་ལྟུང་། མཚན་པ་ཡིང་གསུམ་པ་ལྷས་དོན་པའི་ཡོ་བྱད་དངོས་པོ།

- དཔེ་མཚན་པ་ཡིང་རྟགས་ཏེ། ༡. ཇུ་མ་མཐོལ་རིལ། ༢. ཁོག་གྲིའ། ༣. ཇུ་མ་རྩུང་རྩུང། ༤. པོ་བ་ཞབས་རིང་མ། ༥. ཇུ་ལུམ།  
 ༦. ཁོག་གྲིའ། ༧. ཁོག་གྲིའ་ཞབས་རིང་མ། ༨. ལྷོད་ཞབས། ༩. ཁོག་གྲིའ་མཚུ་ཏོ། ༡༠. ཐོག་མའི་དོ་ཆས་ཀྱི་པོ་མཚོ།  
 (༡. ༣. ༤. ༧-༡༡ རི་༡ / ༣ དང་ ༤. ༥-རི་༡ / ༤ དང་ ༡ / ༧ བཅས་ཡིན།)

དོ་ཆས་གཅིག་ཡོད་པ་དེ་ནི་རང་འབྱུང་དབྱིབས་ཀྱི་སྟངས་ཏུ་བརྟུར་བཅོས་ལུ་བྱས་པའི་པོ་རྟགས་ཤིག་ཡིན་པ་  
 དེད།<sup>(13)</sup>

ཐངས་དེར་ས་འོག་ལྷས་དོན་པའི་ཇུ་ཆས་ཀྱི་བཅོས་དབྱིབས་དང་སྟེང་སྒྲིག་བབྱིས་རིགས་ཀྱི་འཕོར་གྲངས་སོགས་  
 བེ་མཛེས་ཤིང་ཞིབ་ཚགས་པ་དང་ཆ་ཚང་ལྷན་ཚད་སོགས་ཚང་མ་ནི་བོད་ལྗོངས་ས་ཁུལ་ཏུ་སློབ་འདོན་བྱས་པའི་  
 མཚན་པའི་ཁོད་ཏུ་ཡིང་དང་པའི་ཁོངས་སུ་གཏོགས་ཀྱི་ཡོད་ཅིང་། ལྷིས་སུ་གཞན་ཇུ་རྟོག་ཞིབ་རིག་པར་ཞིབ་  
 འཇུག་བྱ་རྒྱུ་ལྟེ་ཐད་པ་སྒྲིབ་བྱེད་འདོན་པའི་འཇུག་ཁྲི་ཞིག་ཏུ་གྱུར་ཡོད་པ་དེད།

(13) བོད་ལྗོངས་ལྗོ་ཁ་ཁུལ་རིག་དངོས་དོན་མ་ཕྱུ་ལྷན་གྱིས་ཚུམ་སྒྲིག་བྱས་པའི་«བོད་ལྗོངས་གྲུ་ལང་རྫོང་རྒྱལ་སྐྱེས་ལུང་རིང་གི་བང་པའི་ཚོ་ལ་བརྟག་  
 དཔྱད་བབྱིས་སྒྲིའ་གྱི་གསུང་འགྲུའ་མདོར་བསྟུན་» ཞེས་པ་སི་ཁོན་སྟོན་གྱི་ཚེ་མའི་དཔེ་སྒྲིབ་ཁང་གིས་༡༩༧༤ ལོར་པར་བྱ་བསྒྲུབ་པའི་«བོད་ལྗོངས་  
 གཞན་ཇུ་རྟོག་ཞིབ་» ལུས་དེབ་ཡིང་དང་པོར་གསལ་ལ།







དུང་དཀར་དང་འཕེལ་དབང་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དྲུག་ཕྱེད་ལ་རིས་སྐྱུ་རྩལ་གྱི་ཉམས་འགྱུར་དང་ལྷན་དུ་མངོན་གསལ་གྱི་  
 ལུག་རྩལ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཐོན་ལ་དཔུས་གཙང་ས་ཁྲལ་དང་དབྱེ་བ་གསལ་པོ་ཡོད་པར་མངོན་གསལ་པོ་ཞིག་ལ། ལྟོང་མང་  
 རིས་ས་ཁྲལ་གྱི་ག་གེའི་རྒྱལ་ས་རྟོང་པ་དང་མཐོ་རྒྱུང་དགོན་པའི་རྟེན་ས་རིས་ཀྱི་ཉམས་འགྱུར་དང་རྩ་བའི་རྒྱལ་  
 གཉིས་མཚུངས་ཡོན་པ་མ་ཟད། དུང་དཀར་དྲུག་ཕྱེད་ལ་གཞན་དབང་གིས་བཅོས་འདྲི་བྱས་མེད་  
 པ་དེས་ལལ་ཆེར་བོད་ལྗོངས་ལྷན་སྐྱོང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྐྱུ་རྩལ་གྱི་སྤྲུལ་གྱི་ཁྲུང་རྟགས་རང་སོར་གནས་ཡོད་པ་  
 རེད།།

དུང་དཀར་དང་འཕེལ་དབང་གི་དྲུག་ཕྱེད་ལྷན་གནས་དེའི་བོད་ལྗོངས་ལ་མཐོང་གནས་དྲུག་ཕྱེད་ཀྱི་འགྱུར་  
 ཁྲུང་ས་དང་དར་འཕེལ་གྱི་རྒྱུ་རྐྱེན་གནད་དོན་ཞིབ་འཇུག་དང་དཔྱད་བརྗེས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་རྐྱེན་ཐོན་ལ་གསལ་འགངས་ཆེ་  
 བའི་ཁྲུང་ས་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་དཔེ་མཚན་ཞིག་མཐོ་བོད་ལྗོངས་ཡོད་པ་རེད། ལྷན་སྐྱོང་གསལ་ཆའི་གནས་རྒྱུ་རྐྱེན་ཞིབ་ཀྱི་  
 དཔྱད་གཞི་ཁག་དེ་ཚོར་གོམ་གང་མཉམ་སྦྲེས་ཀྱིས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་དང་ལེགས་སྐྱོད་བྱེད་པ་བརྗེས་ལྷན་དེ་བས་གཏིང་ཟབ་  
 ཅིང་ཞིབ་ཏུ་སྤྲོ་བའི་ངོས་འཛིན་གྱི་རྒྱུ་རྐྱེན་ཡིད་ཆེས་རྒྱལ་ཡོད།།

༤) དྲུག་བཞོས་ཡི་གེ་དང་འདྲ་སྐྱུ་ཁྲུང་ས་ཞིག་བརྟག་དཔྱད་བྱས་ནས་མཐོང་རྟོག་བྱེད་ཡོད་པ་དེས་ཡི་གེ་དང་རི་  
 མོ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་སྤྱོད་མི་འདྲ་བའི་ཐོན་ལ་ཐོན་གྱི་གནས་རབས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་རིག་གནས། ཆོས་ལུགས་བཅས་  
 པ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱ་རྒྱུར་འདྲེལ་བ་ཡོད་པའི་རྩ་ཆེན་གྱི་དཔྱད་གཞི་ཞིག་མཐོ་བོད་ལྗོངས་ཡོད་པ་རེད། ལྷན་པར་ཏུ་སྤྱིད་  
 གྲོང་རྫོང་ཁོངས་ལྷན་གི་ཐོན་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཐོག་མའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་(གཞི་ཚིང་ཁྲི་ལོ་གསུམ་པ་སྤྱི་ལོ་༢༠༠༤་ལོར་) དྲུག་  
 བཞོས་ཡི་གེ་«ཐང་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཆེན་པོའི་པོ་ཉ་རྒྱ་གར་ཏུ་བསྐྱོད་པའི་བཞོས་ཡིག་» ཅེས་པ་དེ་མཐོང་རྟོག་བྱེད་པའི་  
 བོད་ལྗོངས་ལ་མཐོ་བོད་དབང་རིང་མཐོང་རྟོག་བྱེད་པའི་ལོ་རབས་ཆེས་སྤྱི་གོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་ཡིག་བཞོས་པའི་རྟོ་  
 རིང་ཞིག་ཡིན།།

དྲུག་བཞོས་རྟོ་རིང་ཡི་གེ་འདྲི་སྤྱིད་གྲོང་རྫོང་མཁའ་གྱི་བྱང་སྤྱོད་པལ་ཆེར་སྤྱི་ལོ་༧ ཅམ་གྱི་ཨ་བ་ཞ་མེའི་རི་སྐ་  
 ལས་མཐོང་རྟོག་བྱེད་པ་དང་ས་ཆ་དེའི་སྤྱིད་གྲོང་གཞོང་སར་འགྲོ་སའི་ཁོངས་གཏོགས་ཤིག་ཡིན།།

རྟོ་རིང་ཡི་གེའི་ཞེང་ཚད་ལ་ལེའི་མིང་༤༡.༥ དང་། ལྷན་འདྲེའི་མཐོ་ཚད་ལེ་མིང་༤༩ ཡོད་ཅིང་། རྟོ་རིང་གི་  
 ཡིག་གྲུང་༡༩ ཡོད་པ་ཞིག་ལ་ཚོན་དཔགས་བགྱིས་ན་ཡིག་འདྲེང་རེར་ཡིག་འདྲུ་༡༠-༧༠ ཡན་མན་ཅམ་ཡོད་པ་  
 རེད། ད་ཆ་ཁྲོན་བསྐྱེད་སྤྱོད་ཤོར་ལྷན་འདྲེའི་ཡིག་འདྲུ་༡༡༡ ཅམ་ཡོད་པ་འདི་དག་ལྷན་གི་ཡིག་འདྲུ་མང་པོ་ཞིག་  
 འི་རང་འགྱུར་ཁམས་དང་གཞན་དབང་གིས་རྒྱལ་པས་སྤྱོད་ཆག་བྱེད་ལས་ཡིག་འདྲུ་མང་པོ་ཞིག་གསལ་ལ་མ་གསལ་  
 བར་གྱུར་ཡོད་པ་རེད། མ་གཞི་རྟོ་རིང་ཡི་གེའི་ལྷན་དཀར་དྲུག་མཁའ་གསལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་རགས་ཅམ་བྱས་པར་  
 ཁྲུང་སྐྱོང་གསལ་བྱས་ཡོད་པ་<sup>(14)</sup> ཡིན་ནའང་དེའི་ལྷན་དྲུག་འདྲེལ་ཡོད་ཀྱི་མི་སྣ་ངོ་མ་ངོས་འཛིན་བྱ་རྒྱུ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཐོན་ལ་

(14) རྟོ་རིང་གིས་བརྒྱུགས་པའི་«བོད་ལྗོངས་སྤྱིད་གྲོང་རྫོང་ཁོངས་ལས་ཐང་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཆེན་པོའི་པོ་ཉ་རྒྱ་གར་

དུང་གོམ་གང་མཁུན་སྒོམ་གྱིས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱ་རྒྱུ་ལས་ཀ་མང་པོ་ཞིག་བསྟན་ཡོད་པ་རེད།།

སྒྲིབ་གྲོང་ས་ཆ་ནི་རྒྱང་གོ་དང་ནི་པ་ལ་འའི་ས་མཚོ་མས་སུ་གཞུས་པའི་གཞུང་སྲ་མོ་ནས་བཟུང་ཨ་ཤེ་ཡ་གྲིང་ལྷོ་དང་འབྲེལ་ལམ་གྱི་གལ་ཚེ་འབྲིམ་འབྲུལ་གྱི་བཟོད་ལམ་ཞིག་ཡིན། བོད་ཡིག་གི་ཡིག་ཆ་འའི་ནང་ཏུ་བཞག་པ་གཞིར་བཟུང་བྱས་ན་སྒྲིབ་རྒྱལ་རྒྱལ་རབས་གྱི་དུས་སྐབས་སུ་བོད་དང་ནི་པ་ལ་དབར་གྱི་དཔལ་འབྱོར་དང་རིག་གཞུས་གྱི་འབྲེལ་བ་བརྒྱབ་སྟོན་ཡོད་པ་རེད། ལྷག་པར་ཏུ་བོད་དང་ནི་པ་ལ་བསྟུན་ཚོས་ལྷགས་སྲ་དར་བྱི་དར་གྱི་དུས་ལུན་རིང་བོད་དང་ནི་པ་ལ། རྒྱ་གར་བཅས་གྱི་དབར་ལ་མི་སྣ་ཏ་ཅང་མང་པོ་ཞིག་ཡང་ཡང་པར་འགོ་རྒྱུར་འོངས་བྱེད་མཁུ་ཆེས་མང་ཆེ་བ་ནི་སྒྲིབ་གྲོང་བརྒྱུད་དེ་ནི་པ་ལ་འགོ་སའི་བཟོད་ལམ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པར་རྟེན་སྒྲིབ་གྲོང་ནས་མཐོང་རྟོད་བྱུང་བའི་ཐང་རྒྱལ་རབས་གྱི་རྗེ་རིང་ཡི་གེ་དེས་ནང་ས་ནས་སྒྲིབ་རྒྱལ། རི་པ་ལ་བཅས་དབར་གྱི་གཞུང་རབས་གྱི་བཟོད་ལམ་ལྷོ་མའི་འགོ་སྐྱབས་གྱི་གཞུང་དོན་ཐང་ལ་ཐག་གཅོད་ཐུབ་པ་བྱུང་བ་དེ་ནི་ཐངས་དང་པོར་ཡིད་བསྟོན་ཐུབ་པའི་གཞུང་རྒྱས་རྟོག་ཞིབ་གྱི་དོན་དངོས་དཔང་རྟགས་ཤིག་མཁོ་འདོན་བྱས་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཟད། སྒྲིབ་གྲོང་ནི་སྒྲིབ་རྒྱལ་དུས་རབས་སུ་བྱི་འབྲེལ་འབྲིམ་འབྲུལ་གྱི་ཁྲོད་ཏུ་གལ་ཚེ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་གྱི་གོ་གཞུས་ཟིན་ཡོད་པར་མངོན་ཐུབ་ལོ།།

གོང་གསལ་བྱོགས་བསྟུས་གྱིས་བརྗོད་པ་དེ་དག་ནི་ཉེ་ལའི་རིང་བོད་ཏུ་གཞུང་རྒྱས་རྟོག་ཞིབ་གྱི་བརྟག་དཔྱད་དང་སྟོག་འདོན་གྱི་ལས་ཀ་བྱ་རྒྱུ་འབྲེལ་རྒྱས་བྱུང་ཡོད་པ་དང་། བོད་སྤོངས་འདི་ཏུ་གཞུང་སྲ་མོའི་དུས་རབས་ནས་འགོ་བརྒྱུམས་དེ་འགོ་བཅའི་རིགས་གྱིས་བྱི་བྱིད་སྟེལ་གྱི་ཡོད་ཅིང་ཤེས་རིག་དར་བའི་དུས་རབས་སུ་སྟེབས་རྗེས། བོད་སྤོངས་འདི་ཉིད་གྱི་ཐུན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པའི་ཁྲད་ཚོས་རྩལ་པའི་ཚོས་ལྷགས་དང་། ལོ་རྒྱུས། མཚོན་ཉིད་རིག་པ། ལྷ་རྒྱལ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་སྟོལ་རྒྱུན་དེ་ཨ་ཤེ་ཡའི་ལྷོ་དབུས་སུ་དར་འབྲེལ་བྱུང་ཡོད་པས་མངོན་མེད་གྱི་གཞུང་རྒྱས་རྟོག་ཞིབ་རིག་པའི་ནང་དོན་ལུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པོ་གཞུས་ཡོད་པ་རེད།།

བོད་གྱི་ས་ཆ་ནི་ཨ་ཤེ་ཡ་གྲིང་ཆེན་གྱི་ཤར་ལྷོ་དབུས་བཅས་གྱི་དཔལ་ཡོན་དར་ཁལ་གྱི་རྒྱུམ་ཐིག་ཆེན་པོ་གསུམ་གྱི་ས་ཆ་འབྲེལ་མཚོ་མས་སུ་གཞུས་ཡོད་ཅིང་། གཞི་རྒྱ་ཆེ་བའི་ས་མཐོ་འདི་ཡི་སྤོང་ཏུ་གཞུང་རབས་གྱི་རུ་བ་སྟོ་བའི་ཚོ་བ་ཁག་མང་པོ་ཡོད་པ་དང་ཞིང་རྫོང་མི་རིགས་པར་འགོ་རྒྱུར་འོངས་དང་དེར་སྟོད་གཞུས་འཇགས་བྱེད་མཁུ་མང་པོ་ཡོད་པས་ཐུན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པའི་ཁྲད་ཚོས་རྩལ་ཞིང་འོད་སྤོང་འབར་བའི་རིག་གཞུས་ཤིག་གསར་ཏུ་བསྐྱུན་ཚུངས་ཡོད་པ་རེད། དཔལ་ཡོན་དར་ཁལ་གྱི་ས་ཁོངས་ཆེན་པོ་ཁ་ཤས་དབར་གྱི་མི་རིགས་གཞུས་སྟོ་བཟོད་པ་དང་ཚོས་ལྷགས་ཁུལ་སྟེལ་བཟོད་པ། དེ་བཞིན་གྱི་རིག་གཞུས་སྟེལ་རེས་བཟོད་པ་བཅས་གྱི་འགྲུལ་དེ་དུས་རྟག་ཏུ་ཐོབས་གྱི་ཡོད་པ་ཐ་ན་བོད་གྱི་ས་ཁལ་ཡང་དེ་ཡི་ནང་ཏུ་རྒྱུད་ཡོད་པ་རེད། གཞུང་རབས་གྱི་བོད་དང་རྒྱང་གོའི་ནང་ས་གཉིས་དབར་གྱི་རིག་གཞུས་གཙོ་བོ་ཏུ་འདྲེས་པར་དེ་བས་ཚབ་མཚོན་གྱི་རང་བཞིན་རྩལ་པ་ཞིག་རེད། དོན་སྤྱིར་ག་གོ་མོ་ཞིག་གི་ཐོག་ནས་བཤད་ན་བོད་ནི་ཨ་ཤེ་ཡ་གྲིང་ཆེན་གྱི་དཔལ་ཡོན་དར་ཁལ་འདུ་འཛོམས་བཟོད་སར་གཞུས་

དུ་མངོག་གཏོང་འགོ་སྐྱབས་གྱི་རྗེ་རིང་ཡི་གེ།» ཞེས་པ་༡༩༧༧ ལོའི་ «གཞུང་རྒྱས་རྟོག་ཞིབ་» དུས་དེབ་ཨང་བཅུན་པར་གསལ།།

ཡོད་ཅེས་བརྗོད་ཚོག་པ་ཡིན། འོན་ཀྱང་བོད་ཀྱི་རང་བྱུང་ཁམས་ཀྱི་ས་བབ་གཞན་པས་འགོག་རྒྱུ་བྱུང་སྟབས། དེ་རྒྱུ་རིག་རྩལ་རྟོག་ཞིབ་ཀྱི་ལས་ཀ་བགྱིས་པར་ད་དུང་ཞན་ཆ་མངོན་གསལ་བོད་པོར་གཞན་ཡོད་པའི་ཁར། ཡི་གེའི་འབྱུང་ཁམས་ཀྱི་ཙམ་དང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེར་གཉེན་ཏུ་བྱིས་ལུ་བཀོད་པ་ཙམ་གྱི་རྒྱུ་པས་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཀྱི་སྟབས་ལྡན་པ་ཡོད་དམ་དེ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་ལས་བྱུང་ཀྱང་ལུས་ལྷན་རིང་པོར་དགོས་དེས་ཀྱི་མཐོང་ཚེན་བྱས་ལྷན་མེད་པ་རེད། བོད་ཀྱི་གནའ་རྩལ་མའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཐོག་ཏུ་བྱུང་བའི་གནའ་དོན་མང་ཞིག་(དཔེ་ན་རུ་བ་སྟོ་བའི་རིག་གཞུང་ཀྱི་རིགས་དང་ས་མཚའི་ཞིབ་ལས་ཀྱི་འགོ་བརྒྱུ་ས་རྩུལ། འགྲིམ་འབྲུལ་ཚོང་ལས་དར་འདེལ་བྱུང་རྒྱུ། ལྷགས་རིགས་ཡོ་བྱེད་བཅོད་སྤྱོད་གཏོང་འགོ་བརྒྱུ་ས་རྩུལ། རྫོང་ཁྲིར་བྱུང་རྒྱུ། བོད་ཀྱི་མི་རིགས་ཚགས་རྩུལ་ལ་སོགས་) ད་དམར་ད་དང་རྒྱ་སྐད་རྒྱ་བྱའི་སྤྲུག་པ་སྤྲུག་པའི་ཁྲོད་ཏུ་ཡོད་ལྟེ་བཞུགས་ཡོད་པ་རེད་ཅེས་བརྗོད་ཚོག། ཡི་གེར་འགོད་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་ལུས་སྟབས་སྟེན་སྟེན་རྒྱུ་སྤྲུག་ཀྱི་ལུས་རབས་ཀྱི་ལུས་རབས་) ལོ་རྒྱུས་འགོད་རྒྱུ་ལྟེ་སྟེངས་ཆ་ཚང་ལུས་སོར་འཛོག་བྱས་པའི་རྒྱུ་བྱིས་གལ་ཚའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་གནའ་དོན་མང་པོ་ཞིག་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱ་རྒྱུ་ཡི་གས་ལ་(དཔེ་ན་ཐོག་མའི་མང་བསྟན་ཚོས་ལྷགས་ཁྲུ་སྟེན་བགྱིད་རྩུལ་དང་། རྫོང་ཁྲིར་དང་དགོན་པ་རི་མང་ཏུ་སོང་རྒྱུ་དང་བཟུམ་རྩུལ། བང་སོ་འདེབས་ལྷགས་དང་འདས་རྫོང་གི་ལུལ་གཏོམ་གཤེས་ལྷགས་ཚགས་རྩུལ། གནའ་གཞིས་ཚགས་རྩུལ། གོ་ལུ་རྒྱན་ཆ་ལྷན་ལྷགས། དངོས་པའི་འཚོ་བ་སྟེན་རྩུལ་ལ་སོགས་པ་) ཟེན་ཙམ་གྱི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱ་རྒྱུར་ཡང་འགལ་རྒྱུ་ཚེ་བ་དང་ཡིད་ཏུ་བསམས་ཀྱང་ལུས་ཀྱིས་མི་ལྷན་པར་མངོན། འགག་རྩ་རྩལ་ལ་ཞན་ཆའད་རྩལ་པའི་གནའ་འགག་ལྷག་ས་དེ་དག་ལ་ཁ་གསལས་བགྱིད་དགོས་སྟམ་ན་གནའ་རྩལ་རྟོག་ཞིབ་རིག་པ་སྤྱད་དེ་ཅུད་འཚོལ་དང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱ་རྒྱུར་གལ་ཚའི་གོ་གནས་རྩལ་ཡོད་པ་ལི་དོགས་འཆར་མི་དགོས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན། ང་ཚོས་ཐ་ན་བོད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་རིག་ལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱེད་པའི་འདེལ་རིམ་གྱིས་གནའ་རྩལ་རྟོག་ཞིབ་རིག་པ་དེ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་སྟེན་སྟེན་ཏུ་བསྟེན་རྒྱུར་གཏོན་མི་ཟ་ཞེས་བརྗོད་ཚོག་གི་རེད།

སྟོན་བྱེད་མི་སྤྱིའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གཞན་བར་རྒྱུད་འཛིན་བྱས་པའི་མང་གཞིའི་ཐོག། གནའ་རྩལ་རྟོག་ཞིབ་ཀྱི་དཔྱད་གཞི་གསལ་བའི་ལུང་ཆ་གཙོ་བོར་བྱས་ཀྱིས་རིག་པའི་གཞུང་ལྷགས་དང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བགྱིད་ཐབས་གསལ་བ་སྤྱད་དེ། བོད་ཀྱི་གནའ་རྩལ་རྟོག་ཞིབ་གོ་རིམ་རྩལ་པ་དང་གཏིང་ཟབ་ཀྱི་སྟོན་ལས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱ་རྒྱུ་ཡི་གས་ལ་འདངས་ཤིང་རྒྱ་ཆེ་བའི་གོང་འདེལ་འགྲོ་རྒྱུ་ལུས་ལྷན་ཡོད། སྤྱད་གནའ་རྩལ་རྟོག་ཞིབ་ཀྱི་བྱུང་ལས་གནང་མཁུན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བོད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་རིག་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱ་རྒྱུ་ཡི་གས་ལ་མཐུན་ནས་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ལོགས་སྟེན་འབྲུལ་ལྷན་པ་བྱེད་རྒྱུར་ཡིད་ཆེས་བྱེད་བཞིན་ཡོད།



ART AS SPIRITUAL PRACTICE:  
A Study of Three Mongolian Works on the Practice and Sponsorship of  
Buddhist Thangka Painting

by

Yuko Tanaka, Sarnath

Tibetan art is a spiritual practice and is performed with a profound devotional motivation. It is therefore much more than simply the act of rendering an image, in fact, it is a meditational practice that, if done correctly, can bring the artist a high degree of spiritual attainment. Therefore, throughout Buddhism's history, learned Buddhist sages have always taken religious icon-making very seriously in their treatises and commentaries. These three Mongolian texts by Kyedor mkhan po Ngag dbang blo bzang mkhas grub (1779-1838) fully explain the correct discipline and attitude required of the artisans while undertaking their works.

The author of these works was one of the most eminent Buddhist teachers of Mongolia, during the first half of the 19th century. He entered the bKra shis chos 'phel college (*grwa tshang*) at Urga, an affiliate of the sGo mang *grwa tshang* of 'Bras spungs monastery. He went to Tibet and studied at the sGo mang college and received the degree of *rab 'byams pa*. He took the *bhikṣu* ordination from the 8th Dalai Lama 'Jam dpal rgya mtsho. Following the completion of his studies, he returned to Mongolia and became the chief abbot (*mkhan chen*) of Urga monastery. He is remembered for commissioning the approximately fifty-five foot high Maitreya image of gilt copper alloy erected in 1833 at Ri bo dge rgyas dga' ldan bshad sgrub gling in Urga. During the author's time as chief abbot, the 5th *rje btsun dam pa* Blo bzang tshul khriṃs 'jigs med (1815-1841) commissioned more than 140 paintings at Urga. The author composed these three works specifically for the artists engaged in the production of those icons and these works stress the right motivation and ethics necessary for artists to have. These works are included in the volume *Ga* from page 473-531 of his collected works published by S. W. Tashigangpa in Delhi, 1974.

Of the three, the text entitled *Pir thogs dbang po rnam la phan par byed pa'i man ngag rnyed pa'i tsha gdung sel bar byed pa'i ga bur thig pa*, pp. 501-518, is the most significant.

This text treats the production of icons (*lha bzhangs pa*) as a practice of meditation which, if done properly will lead to the achievement of Buddhahood. The text is fully devoted to the methodology of cultivating the right motivation and contemplation (*kun slong gi bsam pa 'chos tshul*) required to be generated at each process of the thangka painting.

**Summary of the text:**

The text stresses the importance of generating the spiritual motivation, quoting Atiṣa who said:

“If the root is poisonous, its stem, branches, leaves and flowers will be poisonous. If the root is medicinal, its stem and branches will be likewise. Similarly, all the mental and physical deeds motivated by pure mind will be virtuous, while, the deeds motivated by contaminated mind will be non-virtuous.”

The first act of the thangka painter is to stretch the canvas against a wooden frame. At this stage the text instructs the artists to contemplate that his mental continuum, like a canvas, is the basis or sprout of multiple colours of bright, virtuous quality. And like the canvas being supported by the wooden frame, this mental continuum should be guided by a spiritual teacher who knows the right path of the Buddha's doctrine.

In the second stage, while preparing the canvas with clean materials such as white lime and then polishing it, the artist should imagine that by the skilful means of a spiritual teacher, one's contaminated mental continuum, unfit for the spiritual practice can be transformed into a suitable environment for it. Here, the author compares the mind to the cloth that the artist has prepared as his canvas. This cloth, before purification of it, is ordinary and would only be suitable as material for everyday clothes. But purified, it is the foundation for a beautiful spiritual image. Similarly, our minds, before spiritual practice, are not suitable receptacles for the profound and divine teachings of the Buddha. But, once purified, our minds are fully capable of generating the mind of enlightenment.

Then, while drawing the first vertical line (*tshangs thig*) on the canvas, the artist should contemplate as follows. When King Anāthapiṇḍada drew the first line in the construction of the Buddha's chapel, Śāriputra smiled. The King asked the reason for his smile. Śāriputra said: "By the virtue of the line being drawn by you, a golden chapel has spontaneously formed in the paradise of (the coming Buddha), Maitreya, where you will be reborn in the next life. The King was pleased, and extended the line of the chapel. Śāriputra again smiled and said, by having extended the creation of the chapel, the golden chapel had become a heavenly palace made up of a multitude of gems." Keeping in mind this legendary tale, the artist should appreciate and rejoice in the opportunity to draw the *tshangs thig* for producing a Buddha's image, which is surely a meritorious deed. Because of their accurate proportions, the images are of perfect and beautiful form, free from defects. Likewise, all sentient beings, including the artist himself, enter the unmistakable straight path and obtain the perfect and beautiful qualities of the ultimate fruits of the Mahāyāna path.

Next, while sketching an image on the canvas, the artist should imagine that as each step in his sketch leads closer and closer to a complete image, our (all sentient beings' and the artist's) practice of cultivating an altruistic mind will be further and further enhanced and will eventually lead to the attainment of Buddhahood.

While engaged in colour preparation, such as cleaning and refining the colours, the artist is advised to imagine that the colours, which are a dull composition of the earth element by nature, are beautiful when properly refined. He should be inspired to purify his mind and strive to eliminate any mental afflictions, thereby leaving his mind clean and luminous. While engaged in the actual application of the paint onto the surface of the canvas, the artist should contemplate that by the production of an image of the Buddhas or of Bodhisattvas, all sentient beings including himself and his patron, achieve the emanation body<sup>1</sup> and engage in nondiscriminating services to all living beings until the end of the universe.

The essence, then, of the author's advice to artists is that to produce images with the right motivation is the superior means to enter into the practices of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas without hindrance. The artist who knows the right way of motivating his mind, will find that pro-

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<sup>1</sup> The 'emanation body' of the Buddha (or of other deities) is the form in which the Buddha actually appears to sentient beings. In Buddhist deity meditation practice, the practitioner visualises himself in the form of the deity itself, whose body is illusory, like a rainbow (symbolising the unity in the deity's body of form and emptiness) and whose mind is the unity of emptiness and awareness.

duction of icons of the Triple gems (*Buddha, dharma* and *saṅgha*) encompasses the whole range of essential Mahāyāna practices, including the practices of the Four Immeasurables (*tshad med bzhi*) and of the Six Transcendent Perfections (*phar phyin drug*) as described below.

### Practice of the Four Immeasurables:

Normally, the Four Immeasurables are said to include compassion (*snying rje*), joy (*dga' ba*) love (*byams pa*) and equanimity (*btang snyom*). Here, however, the author substitutes taking refuge and generating altruistic mind for the first two. Making an icon of a deity keeping the significance and qualities of the specific deity in mind, whose image is in the process of completion, enables the liberation of oneself from unfortunate rebirth. Firm determination to take the deity as an indeceptive refuge is the true practice of taking refuge (*skyabs 'gro'i nyams len*). The aspiration to obtain the enlightened state of the specific deity by the virtue of portraying the icon for the benefit of all sentient beings is the practice of altruistic mind (*sems bskyed kyi nyams len*). Portraying the image with the sole motivation of focusing on the cause of the happiness of all sentient beings is the practice of love (*byams pa'i nyams len*). Portraying the image with the motivation to attain the state of unbiased attitude with equal regard for all sentient beings, free from the affliction of hatred, is the practice of equanimity (*btang snyom gi nyams len*).

### Practice of the Six Transcendent Perfections:

The Six Transcendent Perfections are: giving (*sbyin pa*), morality (*tshul khrims*), patience (*bzod pa*), effort (*brtson 'grus*), concentration (*bsam gtan*) and wisdom (*shes rab*). Giving is of four kinds. Use of the best materials, gold and colours without miserliness and satisfying the wishes of the patron is the practice of giving material help (*zang zing gi sbyin pa*). To encourage the patron to commission an icon by being familiarised with its merits is the practice of giving of *dharma* teaching (*chos kyi sbyin pa*). Commissioning of the portrait for the liberation of sentient beings from the fear of the cyclic existence is the practice of giving protection from fear (*mi 'jigs pa'i sbyin pa*). To be engaged in the work of portraits with a loving attitude toward sentient beings is the practice of the gift of loving-kindness (*byams pa'i sbyin pa*). It thus incorporates the practice of the four types of giving (*sbyin pa mam pa bzhi*).

There are three types of morality. Abstaining from bad motivation such as the desire to acquire wealth or fame from creating an icon, is the observation of morality abstention from misbehaviour (*nyes spyod sdom pa'i tshul khrims*). Performing the action with the right motivation and deeds is the practice of morality of integrating virtues (*dge ba chos sdud kyi tshul khrims*). Generating the wish that the commissioned icon may serve for the welfare of the patron and sentient beings is the practice of morality working for the welfare of other sentient beings (*sems can don byed kyi tshul khrims*). Thus, it incorporates the practices of the three types of morality (*tshul khrims rnam pa gsum gyi nyams len*).

Patience is of three types. The patience of enduring hardship during the creation of the icon is the practice of patience by willingly enduring sufferings (*sdug bsngal dang len gyi bzod pa*). Dedicating the portrait to the cause of merit, not worrying about the loss or gain of material wealth in this life is the practice of patience of not retaliating against suffering (*sdug bsngal la ji mi snyam pa'i bzod pa*). Being engaged in the production of an icon with the conception that a work of honest basis will yield immeasurable fruits. Nevertheless, because its nature is one of interdependent origination, each phenomenon including the basis, has no inherent existence

(*rang ngos nas grub pa*). This is the practice of patience of the discriminative awareness of the *dharma* (*chos la nges sems kyi bzod pa*). In this way, it incorporates the practices of the three types of patience (*bzod pa rnam pa gsum gyi nyams len tshang*).

There are three types of efforts. Enthusiasm for making the best portrait with great courage and determination is the practice of armour-like effort (*go cha'i brtson 'grus*). Having overcome laziness, a steady and continuous effort in the production of icons is the practice of effort in action (*sbyor ba'i brtson 'grus*). Joyful enthusiasm about the commissioned portrait, which is for the welfare of the patron and sentient beings, is the practice of effort for the welfare of sentient beings (*sems can don byed kyi brtson 'grus*). So, the three types of effort are incorporated.

Having controlled the inattentive and wandering mind and concentrating on the work of producing icons is the practice of concentration (*bsam gtan gyi nyams len*).

The artist ought to engage in the production of the icon with full awareness of the merit of creating with right motivation and also the demerits of producing the icon carelessly or thoughtlessly. However, the three factors of production – the artist who makes the icon (*bzhengs pa po*), the object, which is the icon (*bzhengs bya'i sku gzugs*), and the action of making the icon (*bzhengs byed kyi bya ba*) – are of interdependent origination and of no inherent existence (*rang ngos nas grub pa med pa*). Thus, it incorporates the practice of wisdom (*shes rab kyi nyams len*).

In this fashion, the artist who produces the icons with these motivations incorporates the essential Mahāyāna practices of both the sūtra and tantra. Creating thangkas with the right view is therefore a profound action, combining essential Mahāyāna practices and procuring the materials and other requirement for life without mental or physical hardship. To produce icons merely for material gain is like taking poison.

The second text entitled *Lha bzo dang sbyin bdag rnam gyis nges par lta dgos pa'i mdo rgyud kyi lung sna tshogs btus pa bya ba don ldan du 'jug byed kyi lha'i lam bzang zhes bya ba*, pp. 473-500, as the title suggests, the main body of this text is a compilation of canonical citations (*mdo rgyud kyi lung sna tshogs btus pa*) supporting the traditions of commissioning the work of producing the religious images. This text was written at the request of Ngag dbang shes rab, a renowned monk-artist of Urga monastery in the first half of 19th century.<sup>2</sup> The main body of this text is divided into six interrelated sections. The underlying theme of these six section is that the artist's rendition of an accurate image of his subject matter is of paramount importance.

The first section gives the reason why accuracy is so important: *sku gzugs tshad dang ldan pa mtha' dag sangs rgyas kyi sprul pa yin tshul* (All icons with correct proportionate measurements are manifestation of the Buddhas, 474,4). To support this, the author quotes the Mañjuśrīmūlatantra in which the Buddha says:

<sup>2</sup> N.Tsullem, *Development of the Mongolian National style painting "Mongol Zurag" in brief*. Ulan Bator, State Publishing House, 1986, 105-109 includes a portrait of the first and fifth *rje btsun dam pa* (1815-1841), executed by Ngag dbang shes rab, now preserved in the Fine art museum in Ulna Baton, Republic of Mongolia, are in the truest sense master-pieces of 19th century Mongolian art, influenced, presumably, by these texts.



At present, my four types of followers<sup>3</sup>  
 Pay homage to me;  
 In the future, those who have faith in me  
 Will pay homage to my images;  
 But, with regard to their merits and consequences  
 They are equally the same with no difference.  
 The images of the Buddha do not exist  
 In a place where the Buddha has not appeared;  
 Such as the place where the Doctrine had been declined  
 It is thus, the images are the manifestation.

The second section describes the merits gained from producing accurate images: *sku gzugs tshad ldan bzhengs pa'i phan yon* (Merits of portraying images with correct proportionate measurements, 476,3). It contains citations from four tantric texts and ten sūtras describing in detail the inconceivable benefits accruing from fashioning correctly-proportioned images including long life span, merits, the attraction of faithful and loyal retinues, the freedom from diseases, suffering and fear, the accrual of great wealth and power, noble rebirths and the ultimate attainment of enlightenment. The Puṇḍarikasūtra demonstrates this as follows:

Whoever produces the image of the Buddha  
 In lead, iron, earth or using clay;  
 To mold these aesthetic forms or as a fresco  
 On a wall will achieve enlightenment.

The third section tells of the demerits that come from producing distorted images: *tshad dang mi ldan par bzhengs pa'i nyes dmigs* (Demerits of producing disproportionate images, 490,3). To illustrate the point, the author refers to the tantric text *bDe mchog sdom pa 'byung ba*:

“Drawing the chin, the neck and the chest of a figure out of proportion is major flaw, which will force the artist to leave his locality and will have a negative influence on the place he lives in. It is a serious flaw to draw a figure with incorrectly proportioned breasts, nose or the forehead, and doing so will lead the practitioner or the artist to have quarrels with enemies. Incorrectly proportioned ears, noses or faces are serious flaws leading to the impairment of one's prosperity and charisma and may bring on all kind of hindering influences and obstacles. Incorrectly proportioned figures which seem to be gazing upwards or downwards, rising or falling from their seats, will result in the artist's aims will never be realised. The artist will be afflicted with pain, suffering and misfortunes, by the errors in proportioning the upper and lower body of a figure or in the drawing of the gestures and symbolic implements.”

The text stresses that the divine wisdom or spirit does not enter into disproportionate icons which degenerate the auspicious signs of the area, and are unworthy of worship. Such works should be destroyed. The artisan who produces disproportionate icons will be reborn in uninhabitable and barren areas such as grassless hills and mountains.

Section four discusses the criteria of artists and their patrons (*lha bzo dang sbyin bdag gi mtshan nyid*, 494,4).

<sup>3</sup> The four-fold followers are the fully ordained monks (*dge slong*), fully ordained nuns (*dge slong ma*), laymen (*dge bsnyen pa*), and laywomen (*dge bsnyen ma*).

Section five describes the method of meditation to be used by the artist before he begins his work: *lha bzo ba tshul ji lta bus* ['bus] 'bri ['dri] ba (Procedures of portraying an icon, 496,4). The artist, after taking refuge in the Triple gem, should generate an altruistic mind. Then, he should imagine that the Nature of all existent phenomena is emptiness. Within this emptiness, the artist himself transforms into a deity and consecrates the materials, such as the canvas, glues and brushes. The deities are then melted into rays and appears in the form of the materials themselves.

Section six gives references in which the artists can find the measurements for the figures they will portray: *tshad bshad pa* (Description of measurements, 498,5). The author recommends the following texts. The Kālacakra tantra and its commentary, Saṃvarodaya tantra, and its commentary by Ratnarakṣita, *Phyag tshad rgyal ba'i gzugs brnyan legs par blta ba'i me long* written according to Tsong kha pa's tradition, rJe sman thang pa's *Cha tshad yid bzhin nor bu*, 'Phreng kha ba dpal ldan blo gros bzang po's *Cha tshad gsal ba'i me long*, Tāranātha's *Phyag tshad gi gzhung* and A kya Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan's *Cha tshad kyi bstan bcos mkhas pa'i 'jug ngogs* for the extensive study of the measurement of icons.

The third text entitled *Lha 'bri ba'i man ngag lag len du sbyar ba'i gsung rstom gyi 'grel pa*, 519-531, is a commentary on a short text in verses by the author's teacher, dKa' chen bla ma Shes rab.

### Summary of the text

1. *Nges don gyi lha bzhengs tshul bshad pa* (Creation of meditational image). As the image of a deity is being drawn with five colours on a canvas, in the same fashion, by the practice of profound Wisdom of the completion stage, particularly the profound Wisdom of Clear-bliss achieved by the practice of entering, stabilising and dissolving of wind in the middle channel, the deity is established in the pure subtle mind of wind, comprised of five refined winds representing the five Buddhas, is the creation definitive or meditational image.
2. *'Di snang gi slob gnyer phung chos su bshad pa* (Futility of mere scriptural study). It is futile to study the scriptures motivated by the intention to defeat others in debate, having not endeavoured for the elimination of the illusions, the causes of the suffering. The artist who has devoted his life to thangka painting need not repent for not having studied the scriptures, because the essential practices are incorporated in the work of icon-making itself.
3. *Lha bzo'i phul su yin bshad pa* (Qualities of good artists). The artist must not pride himself on his ability to portray excellent images, because the real image must occur in one's mind, not on the canvas.
4. *Lha sku la rin thang med tshul bshad pa* (Image of a deity is priceless). A sketch of a Buddha done in play by a child, worshipped with the same regard and consideration as to the actual Buddha, could equally be beneficial and meritorious as that of worshipping the living Buddha. It is unwise to evaluate the image of deities, because the image represents the inconceivable qualities such as wisdom, compassion and powers of the Buddhas.
5. *gNas skabs yon che chung lam du 'khyer tshul bshad pa* (The artist should be content with the price offered by the patron). The patron gains more merits and the artist wealth by offering a high price for an image. It thus serves the purpose of both the patron and artist. The artist should be content with the price offered by the patron, thinking that the merit he gained from this could not be possible without the patron.
6. *bZhangs pa tshad ldan dgos par bshad pa* (Importance of the proportions in creating an image).

7. *De'i skabs kyi sgo gsum gyi 'jug pa bshad pa* (Purification of the artist's body, speech and mind while engaged in creating an image).
8. *Bris skyon kha bskong tshul bshad pa* (Confession of the error of making a distorted image).

Of the many texts on thangka painting, the unique feature of these three by Kye rdo mkhan po is their emphasis on artistry as meditative spiritual practice. This is fully in keeping with the view of Vajrayāna Buddhism, which is that any activity or occupation can be transformed into a sacred means of attaining enlightenment. The artist uses his creativity, discipline and training to produce an image in the relative world, and thereby gains realisation of the ultimate truth. This possibility of gaining ultimate realisation through relative means demonstrates the inseparability of relative and ultimate truths, which the Buddha taught was an essential feature of reality.

Finally, it should be noted that the viewer of Buddhist art is not left out of the opportunity to gain spiritual advancement through interaction with the image. Since the earliest days of Vajrayāna Buddhism, meditators have used the images as the basis for their visualisations in deity meditation. And further, the power of the image is said to be so strong, that even if someone were to look at the image with anger, they would still gain positive merit; so much more so were they to look upon it with respect and reverence. In these ways, then, Buddhist religious images bring the widest possible benefits to all those who come into contact with them, be they artists, patrons, or beholders of their sacred beauty.



# BUDDHAGUPTANĀTHA: A LATE INDIAN *SIDDHA* IN TIBET

by

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## Introductory

I have been struck by frequent reference to the apparently quite late survival of certain Buddhist strands of instruction in India. It has become clearer that what was once considered the period of the demise of Buddhism in India was not necessarily such a final and irrevocable blow after all. Groups did survive, either due to their isolated location or to the resilience of their lineages, which in certain cases might even have receded "underground" into the wider and potentially less assailable Hindu background from which several might well have sprung in the first place. Buddhism's late survival should be seen as more than an historical anachronism. It is entirely possible that it allowed for the recrudescence and the revitalisation of certain teachings in Tibet which by then were almost moribund in India. Their introduction into the Land of Snows thereby opened up the possibility for a new climate of debate in Tibet as material was from time to time re-contextualised and incorporated into lines of instruction which already existed there.

This powerful and ongoing influence on Tibetan praxis was wrought by a series of visiting *siddhas* and *paṇḍits* who came from India to various parts of Tibet. The names of many are well known but the full extent of their numbers and precisely what they transmitted is less well known, at least until the widest possible range of Tibetan biographies is perused with this specific information in mind.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the persistence of vital and intact *siddha* lineages, into at least the 17th century is now a legitimate topic for discussion and may now be regarded as more than a mere footnote in Buddhist history.

Buddhaguptanātha was one such late *siddha* and has earned more renown than many others simply because of his relationship with the polymath Tāranātha.<sup>2</sup> However there are certain other aspects of his life, apart from the relationship with his young acolyte, that are of equal interest to me here. Certainly several areas of Buddhaguptanātha's life have been worked on by scholars far more competent than I, and my hope is simply that with this small note the picture of what was accomplished and how it was achieved may become a little clearer. Giuseppe Tucci studied the purely geographical aspects of the *siddha's* travels and was disinclined to pursue anything further, to the extent that he virtually omitted the meeting with Tāranātha

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<sup>1</sup> Even the small publication *Dus rabs bdun nas dus rabs bcu bdun pa'i bar rgya gar gyi paṇḍita bod du rim byon dang bod kyi mkhas pa rgya gar du rim par byon pa'i mtshan tho dang lo dus mdzad brjod rag bsdus bcas phyogs bsdebs rin chen nor bu'i do shal*, which lists among other things the Indian *paṇḍitas* who visited Tibet between the 7th and 17th centuries, enumerates 128 Indians who visited the Land of Snows, but only lists 5 who came there during the 17th century. The list effectively ceases in the time of the 5th Dalai Lama. The reader will also note a significant gap in the book's records of Indian visitors between the 13th and the 17th centuries, even though it is known from Tibetan biographical literature that the 14th and 15th centuries were periods in which considerable numbers of Indian visitors arrived in Tibet.

<sup>2</sup> I take this opportunity to slightly revise the dates I surmised for Buddhaguptanātha in footnote 37 of my translation of Tāranātha's text, *rGyal bu dga' byed sa skyong gi rtogs brjod*, found in Vol. 12 of *The Collected Works of Tāranātha*. The work has been published as Templeman 1992. I now believe his dates to be 1514-1610, rather than 1530-1610 which I stated previously.

completely, as well as much other detail including references to several holy places of considerable interest which in the present context are quite germane.<sup>3</sup> Ariane Macdonald employed Tāranātha's biography of the *siddha* and gave a detailed description of certain aspects of the meeting itself in the broader context of the travel to 'Bras spungs / Dhānyakaṭaka of Man luṅs Guru.<sup>4</sup> The Ven. Champa Thubten Zongtse has recently explored the episode dealing with the *siddha's* journey to Śrī Laṅkā.<sup>5</sup>

Buddhaguptanātha demands attention for several reasons. His observations are vital for a reconstruction of the later Buddhist geography of India and its neighbours and are equally valuable for the data they give on the types of Buddhist practices which appear to have flourished in various parts of the Indic world in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. However it is also of interest as a small window through which we may catch a glimpse of the relationship he had with Tāranātha and it is this aspect which I feel merits the present study. My own effort is based upon a translation of the complete biography.<sup>6</sup>

The genre into which this work fits best is that of Hagiography. However it could just as well have been that of Geography or simply a category of its own such as "Curiosities of the Outer World" etc. It bears some slight similarity to the remarkable work of 'Jigs med gling pa (1730-1798), which has been so ably discussed by Aris, although Buddhaguptanātha appears not to have been so able to separate the legendary from the real as 'Jigs med gling pa was.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless there are rewards in the moments of abandoned delight as the *siddha* describes his sojourns in various wonderful places and the reader may forgive him for his continual desire to fit the natural world he observes into a mould which simply adds more to the glories of Buddhism. In Tāranātha's *Life of Buddhaguptanātha*, much solid, quasi-ethnographic data is certainly present, but the author's critical faculties are frequently suspended in favour of the miraculous.

### Buddhaguptanātha's Nāth origins

What sort of yogin was Buddhaguptanātha? We know from his biography by Tāranātha that he commenced his religious life as a Gorakhnāthi yogi.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, we are later informed, almost casually, that in his 30th year he had a vision of Vajrayoginī while at the Nāth *pīṭha* of Rāthor in Maru.<sup>9</sup> Tāranātha, although acknowledging his master as a great Buddhist *siddha* apparently

<sup>3</sup> Tucci 1931

<sup>4</sup> Macdonald 1970

<sup>5</sup> Zongtse 1993

<sup>6</sup> The text by Tāranātha, written twelve years after his meeting with the *siddha*, is the *Grub chen Buddha gupta'i rnam thar rje btsun nyid kyi zhal lung las gzhan du rang rtogs gi dri mas ma sbags pa'i yi ge dag pa'o*, found in Vol. 17 of *The Collected Works of Tāranātha*. All page references to the biography in this paper are to this edition, which is referred to hereafter as *Grub chen*.

Another edition of this work has been consulted, but I am unable to quote edition or series data. It is substantially more correct than the edition referred to above and was supplied by courtesy of the Institute for Religious Studies, China Tibetology Research Centre, Beijing.

A translation of the entire work and a critical edition of the text is to be published by the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.

<sup>7</sup> Aris 1994

<sup>8</sup> *Grub chen* 532,5 - 535,5.

<sup>9</sup> *Grub chen* 536,3-4.

ignored recording or retelling any details of the actual process by which his master "became" a Buddhist and all the ramifications which might have arisen from his Gorakhnāthi origins. The important conversion process itself would almost certainly have been recorded in detail by Tāranātha when discussing the lives of any other *siddha*, and one is struck by its complete absence when reading the present biography. One is easily led to the idea that there was indeed no conversion at all. Such a view might arise because Buddhaguptanātha came, conveniently enough, from a sub-sect of the Gorakhnāthis known as the Nateśvaris / Nateśvoris / Nateśori who were the holders of a Buddhist lineage of instruction, while still remaining Nāth *siddhas*.<sup>10</sup> The name of the Nateśvaris is certainly known from works such as Briggs (1982), but its Buddhist affiliations are referred to nowhere else that I have had access to.<sup>11</sup> We simply have Tāranātha's word that this was the case. To allow us some measure of comparability however it should be noted that there was indeed a sub-group of the Nāths which adhered in part to Jaina tenets, so Buddhaguptanātha's statement about the Nateśvaris may eventually also turn out to be verifiable.<sup>12</sup>

As an aside, the first quasi-Buddhist text which Buddhaguptanātha heard is said to have been the linguistic text the *Candravyākaraṇa*.<sup>13</sup> If this is the same work as that composed by the mid-7th century Buddhist saint Candragomī (Candragomin) then his introduction to the formalities of Buddhism might appear to have been effected almost as much via a grammatical text as much as it might have been through doctrine and direct experience!

### A shared praxis ?

It should no longer be contentious to suggest that Buddhist and Nāth yogins shared sacred sites and common yogic practices. Following the studies of Prof. Alexis Sanderson on the close textual links between the early Śaiva Tantras and the Saṃvaratantras, the suggestions of Nāth and Buddhist textual syncretism should come as no surprise at all.<sup>14</sup> One might even go so far as to venture that in a sense Buddhist and Nāth yogins might have felt they were sharing to a great extent, a common path. Perhaps it is even true to say that the community of yogins in the 17th cent. was far more grounded in a sense of comity than upon other more specious distinctions such as the division into Buddhist and Hindu or even more abstrusely in the Buddhist experience at least, into divisions such as "*anuttarayoga* practitioner" or "lower level practitioner".

Certainly right until the end of his life Buddhaguptanātha continued to travel to the recognised pilgrimage places sacred to the Kānpḥaṭa sect of Nāth yogis. Indeed even when he was a mature *siddha* and had practised all the major Buddhist tantras he continued to visit pilgrimage sites of three clearly distinct types;

- (1) those which were specifically Buddhist in their significance,
- (2) those of "dual occupancy", where the *pīṭhas* were sacred within both the Buddhist tantric tradition and the Kānpḥaṭa yogic tradition. It is of interest that many of these sites crop up

<sup>10</sup> This is discussed in *Grub chen* 535,5 - 536,2.

<sup>11</sup> Briggs 1982, especially Chart A, opposite p.74.

<sup>12</sup> Briggs 1982: 72-73.

<sup>13</sup> *Grub chen* 533,2.

<sup>14</sup> Sanderson (in press); Sanderson 1990.

again and again in the lives of other Indian *mahāsiddhas*, such as Tilopa.<sup>15</sup> Even Jālandharipa himself was said to have been born at Nagara Ṭhaṭṭha, one such site *par excellence*.<sup>16</sup> In the Buddhist world Nagara Ṭhaṭṭha in Sindh was the residence of the protector Śrī Heruka and his consort Suvīrā, the site representing the toes of the deity in the *kāyacakra* of the *maṇḍala* of Śrī Cakrasaṃvara. However, in the Nāth world it was also the holy gathering place at which both yogins and pilgrims could purchase their sacred beads before taking them to the infinitely more important *pīṭha* of Hiṅg Lāj (Hiṅgu Lāja) to the west for ritual blessing.

(3) sites which were of significance only to the Kānphaṭas. He wandered several times for example to the famed Kānphaṭa site of Hiṅg Lāj which, although an important Buddhist pilgrimage site, has demonstrated no sound record of Buddhist "colonisation" at all. Yet Buddhaguptanātha was drawn there on several occasions.<sup>17</sup>

It appears that we may generalise from the biography and suggest that Buddhaguptanātha spent a lot of time visiting *pīṭhas* which were probably more meeting places for practitioners of yoga rather than being strictly exclusive sacred sites for either group, Buddhist or Hindu. Indeed the only time Buddhaguptanātha seems to have shown any sense of exclusivity and declined to stay with fellow mendicants is when he refused to stay with Buddhist *śrāvakas* belonging to the Sendhapa order of monks in Javadvīpa.<sup>18</sup>

### The historical inheritance of Tāranātha

The main substance of the paper is to review what we know of the meeting between the already 76 year old Indian yogin, Buddhaguptanātha and the young 15 year old Tibetan monk Tāranātha and to add to it if possible, some new data and interpretation.

After 46 years of spiritual peregrination around India, parts of Central Asia and South East Asia, Buddhaguptanātha brought with him to Tibet a huge awareness of the geography and history of the places he had visited in person and those he had heard of through fellow ascetics. It is precisely these aspects which stand out in Tāranātha's writings as being cornerstones of factual "validity" for which certain of his writings have become renowned. According to Tāranātha himself, he did not simply rely on his memory to recall these facts. He says he wrote notes and comments on almost all the data he received orally from Buddhaguptanātha, and it is presumably from these notes and jottings that he was able to so accurately compile his later works which depended so completely upon that very sense of detail for much of their validity.<sup>19</sup> He says: "I composed mnemonic lists....I wrote notes and further lists....and I ensured that they

<sup>15</sup> Tilopa visited Nagara Ṭhaṭṭha in his wanderings according to his biography by Lha btsun rin chen rnam rgyal. The reference is to 29,1.

<sup>16</sup> In his work, Keith Dowman (1985) puts forward the hypothesis that Jālandharipa was born in Turkestan. He suggests that Na ga ra Thod tha is a corruption of Thogar which could be equated with Turkhāradeśa but it is clearly a fruitless search. The text is simply quite correct in saying that Jālandharipa was born in Nagara Ṭhaṭṭha, the well known Nāth pilgrimage place in Sindh, about 150 km east of Karachi.

<sup>17</sup> On the importance of Hiṅg Lāj, see Briggs 1982: 105-109.

<sup>18</sup> *Grub chen* 551,2.

<sup>19</sup> For example his historical works, *Dam pa'i chos rin po che 'phags pa'i yul du ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar ston pa dgos 'dod kun 'byung*, and the *bKa' babs bdun ldan gyi brgyud pa'i mam thar ngo mtshar mmad du byung ba rin po che'i khungs lta bu'i gtam*.



were not fragmentary or careless. Whatever teachings were given, I also put them down on paper."<sup>20</sup>

Indeed it is on this very point of the density of detail which he recorded that Tāranātha's veracity is said to have been called into question in at least one Sa skya text which I am unfortunately unable to cite at present.<sup>21</sup> The writer I am told, believes that in the extremely brief period of their meeting and given the number of purely spiritual instructions which Tāranātha accepted, nobody could have absorbed all the Indic material that Tāranātha apparently had done to earn himself sobriquets such as "*rGya gar gyi lo rgyus smras mkhas*", as he was referred to by Sum pa mkhan po in his *chos 'byung*, the *dPag bsam ljon bzang*.<sup>22</sup> We must also be wary of uncritically accepting as unerringly accurate, absolutely all of Tāranātha's pronouncements on Indian Buddhist history at face value.<sup>23</sup> One contemporary Sa skya scholar finds in Tāranātha's *Bka' babs bdun ldan* such substantial errors that he has been led to suggest that that particular work was not even composed by the polymath but by a "later Jo-nañ scholar who forged Tāranātha's name".<sup>24</sup>

### The meeting of master and student: dreams and realities

Ariane Macdonald located several of the key references in Tāranātha's *Autobiography* which describe in detail his premonitory dreams of the coming of Buddhaguptanātha.<sup>25</sup> I will simply *précis* the relevant autobiographical sections here and interpose some other material from Tāranātha's *Secret Autobiography*, which add a little to the flavour of the events.<sup>26</sup>

Just before he was 15 years old in 1590 on the 2nd day of the 8th Hor month, the *Autobiography* records that the young Tāranātha, already something of a prodigy, had a dream while at the meditation retreat at Mahābodhi near sNar thang. At dawn he dreamed that he met a *siddha* who called himself the Master of Jālandhara of Nagara Ṭhaṭha and Kambalapa (Lva va pa) of the East. The *siddha* offered Tāranātha a piece of human flesh to eat, and having done so the lad was suffused with a sense of bliss. Tāranātha's *Secret Autobiography* records further that he was actually in a cave in a nearby ravine when he dreamed of an effulgent house in

<sup>20</sup> *Grub chen* 567,6 - 568,1.

<sup>21</sup> Personal communication from Lama Choedak T. Yuthok.

<sup>22</sup> Sum pa (Sum bha) mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor: 321.

However it must not be imagined that Tāranātha derived all his information directly from his Indian masters, for there is sufficient evidence to demonstrate that he had taken certain accounts from other writers such as Bu ston Rin po che, even though he was at times critical of them. See Templeman 1994: 878.

<sup>23</sup> Dowman 1985: 51, notes in connection with the *bKa babs bdun ldan*: "But the historiographical inadequacy of this text with its contradictions of the older sources, and evident mixture of sources, becomes abundantly apparent." In this statement Dowman hits on what I see as precisely the type of criticism one may make of Tāranātha, that is his belief (which is apparently unfounded in anything other than the charisma of his Indian Guru) that the lineages he was told about were in fact authentic by Buddhist standards. There is some serious enquiry needed into the antecedents of lineages such as that of Mīnapa, Halipa, Malipa, Tibolipa, Macchendra-nāth, Caurangi and Gorakṣanātha etc. and the point should be seriously raised as to whether Tāranātha spoke of these lineages with any authority other than that of his semi-heterodox Indian Guru.

<sup>24</sup> Yuthok 1990: 30.

<sup>25</sup> Tāranātha's *rGyal khams pa Tā ra nā thas bdag nyid kyi rnam thar nges par brjod pa'i deb gter shin tu zhib mo ma bcos lhug pa'i rtogs brjod*.

<sup>26</sup> Tāranātha's *gSang ba'i rnam thar*.

which was seated a resplendently youthful yogin who said he was the Master of Jālandhara. Tāranātha was offered a skull bowl full of human flesh which he says seemed to have had a quite unique flavour. He dreamed further that he had become a veritable *vidyādhara* and that he could travel unhindered through the heavens.<sup>27</sup> Next day in fact the South Indian, Buddhaguptanātha arrived at Mahābodhi, semi-naked and with his hair bedecked with yellow flowers.

Clearly Tāranātha was able to expand on certain aspects of this meeting in his *Biography of Buddhaguptanātha* in a way which he was unable to in his own *Autobiography* and *Secret Biography*.<sup>28</sup> In Tāranātha's eyes Buddhaguptanātha's arrival in Tibet was not simply that of just any yogin. We are presented with a description which suggests that his advent was rather a climactic event with the autochthonous spirits of Tibet, including all the subterranean spirits and the twelve bsTan ma goddesses, coming out to meet him. Even more important for the contextualization process of an Indian arriving in Tibet, Buddhaguptanātha paid his homages to Kasarpaṇi and even "imagined that he himself had actually become Avalokiteśvara himself for many days".<sup>29</sup> Certainly by the late 16th cent. it was an accepted literary device to link a contemporary event with a topos which was perceived as being at the very core of Tibetan history and Tāranātha conforms to the norm in this passage.

Tāranātha notes in his *Autobiography* that from his youth he had studied the common tongues of Mādhyadeśa, that he was somewhat skilled in Sanskrit and that it was by means of these languages that he managed to converse with Buddhaguptanātha, who it appears knew the *lingua franca* of the lands he visited, even the most insignificant. Tāranātha engaged in discussion with the *siddha* and asked many questions about the various lands which the *siddha* had visited, their belief systems, dynastic histories and stories from ancient and more recent times. These accounts were quite unlike any others he had heard before. When Tāranātha asked Buddhaguptanātha about Buddhist scholars and *siddhas* he replied in a most convincing manner, which Tāranātha notes that was rather in the style of a literary text and quite unlike the simple stories of other silly Indian *ācāryas*. At this stage Tāranātha says that he imagined that the *siddha* would stay for perhaps one or two years but the *Secret Biography* suggests that dream hints were given that he would leave earlier.<sup>30</sup> Perhaps with a sense of extreme urgency Tāranātha begged for and received countless profound instructions on many cycles of teachings. One night while preparations were under way for the Tārā yoga empowerment which Tāranātha had requested, the sense of urgency he felt was graphically reflected in a dream in which he saw his peeled skin stitched together so that it acted as paper; his life's blood became ink; his ribs became quills; eight beautiful maidens became the scribes who in an instant wrote all the sūtras and tantras in many volumes. To make a thong for binding the volumes Tāranātha's entrails and bones were used.<sup>31</sup>

### The rift and the departure

After a few more months, Buddhaguptanātha would no longer promise to stay any longer, even though Tāranātha entreated him most earnestly. Nevertheless the *siddha* appears not to have

<sup>27</sup> *gSang ba 'i nam thar* 666,5-7.

<sup>28</sup> See Ftn 6 for details of this text.

<sup>29</sup> *Grub chen* 564,4 - 565,2.

<sup>30</sup> *gSang ba 'i nam thar* 667,3.

<sup>31</sup> *gSang ba 'i nam thar* 667,6-7.

been in any particular haste to return to India. Tāranātha finally begged him for the very highest teachings of Saṃvara and through his kindness about 500 essential tenets of the very highest vehicle, the Anuttarayoga tantra teachings, were bestowed upon him.

We might add our own speculation to the several existing reasons for the sudden expression of imminent departure by the Indian from this possibly mutually satisfactory arrangement. Indeed the 3rd Paṅ chen bla ma in his *Sham bha la'i lam yig* conjectures that it had to do with the inability of the *siddha* to relate to the Jo nang pa sect's *gzhan stong* ideas which Tāranātha would have either espoused or which would have anyway become obvious to Buddhaguptanātha during his stay with the monks at Byang chub chen po.<sup>32</sup>

Ariane Macdonald's discussion makes the strong point that such a position would have been unlikely to cause this sort of offence to the *siddha*, who himself came from a Gorakhnāthi / Buddhist syncretic yogic milieu anyway, and who in fact might not have been anywhere near as offended as Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes, the 3rd Paṅ chen Rinpoche imagined, at least not over such a doctrinal nicety.<sup>33</sup> I suggest further that it would be more likely to have been the Tibetan who was scandalised at the juxtaposition of the two doctrines exemplified in the person of Buddhaguptanātha. Indeed the conflation of two doctrines which I have mentioned above in the yogic context, was precisely one of the things which Aris notes seems to have puzzled 'Jigs med gling pa in his own study of India. 'Jigs med gling pa "...admits to great difficulty in accounting for the fundamental similarities in Buddhist and Hindu rituals, iconography and morality. The notion that the former may have developed out of the latter does not seem to have occurred to him."<sup>34</sup> It is entirely possible that it was this state of affairs, in which the youthful Tāranātha regarded some version of "pure" Buddhism as a "prerequisite" to a true understanding of Indian spirituality, which alienated Buddhaguptanātha so completely from his host in Tibet, rather than an inability of the *siddha* to tolerate the Jo nang doctrine of *gzhan stong*.

Certainly another specific and even more convincing reason for Buddhaguptanātha's hasty departure is to be found in a combination of two sources, namely Tāranātha's *Biography of Buddhaguptanātha* and in Tāranātha's own *Secret Autobiography*. It appears that in a dream at bSam ldings, Tāranātha saw both the *ācārya* Āryadeva and the yogin Mātāṅgī on a cleft in the peak of an extremely high mountain. It seemed as if the entire heavens were filled with a rainbow glow and from it there clearly radiated a heavenly *maṇḍala*. As Buddhaguptanātha made various *mudrās*, mantras etc. and performed a ritual he begged for empowerment, and a young maiden appeared, singing a song and holding an iron vessel filled with water drawn from the spring at the treasury of Vaiśravaṇa. She made her salutations to the Guru who then admonished Tāranātha who was still dreaming, saying that he possessed a huge amount of dualistic thought and pride and that thereby, he insulted yogins. Buddhaguptanātha repeated this imprecation three times.<sup>35</sup> I think that this episode may be fairly clearly interpreted in two stages, firstly by seeing the *siddha* as exemplifying the perfect union of metaphysics (exemplified by

<sup>32</sup> The text referred to is the *Grub pa'i gnas chen po Sham bha la'i rnam bshad 'phags yul gyi itogs brjod dang bcas pa ngo mtshar bye ba'i 'byung gnas* by dPal ldan ye shes, the 3rd Paṅ chen Lama. In the edition prepared by Prof. Aniruddha Jha (unsatisfactory in terms of textual accuracy, but the only one available to me at the time of writing), the reference is on pp.11 - 12.

<sup>33</sup> Macdonald 1970: 193.

<sup>34</sup> Aris 1994: 11.

<sup>35</sup> *gSang ba'i rnam thar* 668,2-5.

Āryadeva) and yoga praxis (exemplified by Mātāṅgī) which he was inheritor of, and secondly his condemnation of the young Tāranātha which perhaps seems to be a way of saying that Tāranātha deferred to the clerical side of things far more than the experiential. I suggest that this episode gives the best reason for the *siddha's* disillusionment with Tibetan ways of practising Buddhism. In his *Biography of Buddhaguptanātha*, Tāranātha quite simply says that the *siddha* became annoyed at the amount of dualistic thought present in either Tāranātha or in the group of fellow practitioners as a whole, a point which is quite unclear in the language itself but which does have some considerable bearing on the issue. However that *vikalpa* is specifically referred to as the root of the problem might also be a hint that the offence in fact comprised quite specific things, such as a Tibetan tendency towards ossification of views into fixed, immovable positions, a developed sense of exclusivity and monastic purity, which Buddhaguptanātha would not have been either familiar with or necessarily sympathetic to.

As it turned out the dream itself was quite predictive, as indeed were all of the others which Tāranātha records, and somewhat later the Indian said that it was quite fitting that he no longer impart any more of the teachings to the young Tibetan, and that some instructions were to remain incomplete as they were.<sup>36</sup>

Tāranātha received an extremely wide range of teachings which are listed in considerable detail in the *Biography of Buddhaguptanātha*. They mainly relate to Hevajra and the Saṃputa tantras, the Sarvabuddhasamayayogaḍākinījalasaṃbarānāmāuttaratantra, the Mahāmāyatantrārāja, the Acala tantra and saṃpannakrama teachings for Saṃvara, Yamāntaka, Mahāmāya and Hevajra etc. Indeed Tāranātha lists over 50 specific teachings he received in this period, but I am unable at present to give much more than a sample of the titles for many of them, which appear at first glance to be visionary short titles. Included are; "*The Shower of Wisdom*", "*The Sole Lamp*", "*Vajravārāhī Seated on a Corpse, in the Jālandharipa Tradition*", "*Vajravārāhī the Huntress*", "*Vajranairātmā in the Form of a Duck*" etc.<sup>37</sup>

Many of the texts which Buddhaguptanātha found in India might well have been considered unusual in Tibet, and Tāranātha at times makes specific mention of the particular works which were to be found in certain areas of India and which of them were in fact to be considered to be rare.<sup>38</sup>

However, as the *Secret Biography* notes all the entreaties which Tāranātha made were to be of no avail as the *siddha* had made it quite clear that he would return to India within a month.<sup>39</sup> In a further dream Tāranātha said that Buddhaguptanātha appeared and said to the despondent Tāranātha that as he had made the young monk's head into a veritable meditation retreat he would (in effect) remain there for one hundred thousand years.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>36</sup> *Grub chen* 568,1-2.

<sup>37</sup> *Grub chen* 565,5 - 567,6.

<sup>38</sup> For example, in the land of 'Gro lding (= Damidodvīpa/Dramiladvīpa or Samloranso, which might refer to a Portugese settlement of San Lorenzo) he found Saṃvara and Hevajra teachings widespread, as well as those of Vajrakīlaya, the Daśakrodha tantras, the first of the Heruka tantras, the Vajrapāṇi tantra, the Garuḍa tantra, the Māmāki tantra, the Mahākāla tantras, and the extremely rare Hayagrīva tantras.

<sup>39</sup> *gSang ba 'i rnam thar* 667,7.

<sup>40</sup> *gSang ba 'i rnam thar* 668,1.

### The unfulfilled legacy of Buddhaguptanātha

Some time later after Buddhaguptanātha's sudden departure, while Tāranātha was at bSam ldings, he again he had a vision of thirty-six *paṇḍits* and *siddhas* in a mansion high in the skies. In an intermediate mansion was seated Śāntiguṇḍa and in a lower one was the Southern Guru, Buddhaguptanātha, together with two other *siddhas* all of them engaged in a *gaṇacakra*. Those in the upper mansion vomited and Śāntiguṇḍa devoured it. He then vomited and the two *siddhas* devoured that too. From their two mouths came something similar to milk and beer which Tāranātha also dreamed that he drank too.<sup>41</sup>

In Tāranātha's eyes at least, the lineage of instructions was complete. Tāranātha was apparently convinced that he had inherited a complete transmission. However, I suspect that the two accompanying Gurus referred to above were in fact, Buddhaguptanātha's fellow yogins, Nirvāṇaśrīpāda and Purṇavajrapāda, and I suggest that the transmission itself was in fact not at all complete. Buddhaguptanātha, as we have seen, was clearly disinclined to teach any more. The episode of Buddhaguptanātha's departure is still somewhat hazy and it seems to have extended far deeper than mere chagrin. Perhaps it even reached the level of misanthropy, possibly directed against Tāranātha himself. We can see in the *Biography of Buddhaguptanātha* that the *siddha* might have been responsible for spreading some rather harsh words about the situation he had encountered in Tibet to his fellow yogins in India. It should be noted that when the *ācāryas* Nirvāṇaśrīpāda and Purṇavajrapāda, both *dharma* brothers of Buddhaguptanātha, visited Tibet some years later and met with Tāranātha, they too refused to supply him with the teachings that Buddhaguptanātha had not vouchsafed him, and after being asked for them by Tāranātha, they too like the *siddha* before them, made their excuses and quickly left Tibet.<sup>42</sup>

Another explanation for their reticence might be less "conspiracy theory" based and might simply have been that they encountered exactly the same offensive situation of obdurate ossification of views, and sense of smug self-satisfaction that Buddhaguptanātha might have felt before them. If indeed this was the case then we will have to revise some of our assumptions concerning the later (and possibly even the earlier) transmission of the doctrine to Tibet.

### Buddhaguptanātha and the Indian style of teaching

Despite the brevity of the episode of Buddhaguptanātha's visit we are able to glean some glimpse of the character of the *siddha* himself. Such characterisation becomes quite valuable considering the relatively late time of the events themselves and the data might well serve as material towards a sketch of later Indian yogins.

Buddhaguptanātha we are told imparted his empowerments and teachings "in the Indian manner", which Tāranātha notes "was not very strict but which was rather extensive in its scope". Rather curiously Tāranātha adds that although Buddhaguptanātha might have been somewhat "loose" in the more basic instructions, he was concerned to limit his number of students to four for the very highest levels of empowerment and their concomitant instructions. This number in Tāranātha's opinion was not really very many, perhaps when compared to the

<sup>41</sup> *gSang ba'i rnam thar* 669,5-7.

<sup>42</sup> This visit is referred to in *Grub chen* 571,3-4, and in Tāranātha's *Autobiography* 67bff.

According to Tāranātha's work *bKa' babs bdun ldan*, Buddhaguptanātha, Nirvāṇaśrīpāda and Purṇavajrapāda were his three main Indian gurus. See Templeman 1983: 95 and 97.

Tibetan custom of more general and widespread instruction which seems not to have been the case in India.<sup>43</sup>

### **The *siddha's* character**

The portrait of Buddhaguptanātha we are given by Tāranātha is one of a yogin of great charisma, one who as we have noted above, was fiercely proud of his heritage and lineage. In the main body of the text Tāranātha draws a charming sketch of his Indian master. We are told that Buddhaguptanātha was in complete control of his psychic winds and was able to sit quite naked, even in the extremely cold Tibetan highlands without any discomfort, even warming his devotees who sat within two metres of him with his bodily warmth.<sup>44</sup>

His lightness of body meant that travel through the mountains was extremely easy for him and also enabled him to fall from considerable heights without injury as "he would descend gently, rather like a sloughed off skin".<sup>45</sup>

His loving attitude towards all creatures changed the normally savage Tibetan mastiff dogs into lap dogs, which would come to him and lick his body. So gentle was he that even "crows and nestlings would come to him and sit on his lap and fingers, and even though he were to stroke them, they would not flee....".<sup>46</sup>

His sustenance was entirely provided by non-human beings and he did not share in mortal food with his Tibetan students.<sup>47</sup>

### **Further horizons**

What we have seen of the interaction of yogin and cleric should give us further tools towards a more complete portrait of the transmission of spiritual and historic instructions themselves. It might also help us to fit them into the wider context of the phenomena of the "Late" Indian *siddha*.

It is undeniably tantalising to read such works and to find oneself in almost a real historical time, with points of reference which are at the same time almost contemporary with their author and which bear a strong sense of authenticity.

It is tempting to imagine that such heterodox lines of yogic instruction survived even later in India and found their way into Tibet, recorded as they might have been in biographies of other clerics. They might give us pause for thought about the manner and content of later doctrinal transmission, but searching them out and authenticating them will be another story.

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<sup>43</sup> *Grub chen* 568,5-6.

<sup>44</sup> *Grub chen* 569,1-3.

<sup>45</sup> *Grub chen* 569,4.

<sup>46</sup> *Grub chen* 569,5-6.

<sup>47</sup> *Grub chen* 570,1.

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# TIBETAN HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM KINNAUR AND LAHAUL-SPITI:

## A Survey of Recent Discoveries

by

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The present paper analyses Tibetan historical inscriptions explored during the course of seven archaeological field-surveys conducted by the author between November 1988 and June-July 1995 in the border districts of Lahaul-Spiti and Kinnaur. The epigraphic data collected by us assume utmost importance for reasons that no other source provides an authentic detail of these most inhospitable regions of India. The scope of the present study is limited to a period ranging between the end of the tenth and the middle of the twelfth century A.D. The period specified above is significant in the history of the mÑa'-ris skor-gsum (*i.e.*, the circle of the three royal domains). The area traversed by us corresponds to the middle mÑa'-ris as specified in the renovation inscription of Byañ-chub-'od from Tabo.

A.H. Francke earlier in the beginning of the present century brought to light several Tibetan inscriptions and other historical documents from Ladakh, Lahaul-Spiti and Kinnaur. His *First and Second Collections of Tibetan Historical Inscriptions on Rock and Stone from West Tibet* remains a bibliographic rarity and yet to be translated from Tibetan into English.<sup>1</sup> Luciano Petech has so far made an exhaustive use of these collections in his work, *The Kingdom of Ladakh*.<sup>2</sup> Significantly none of the inscriptions discussed here figure in Francke's works. He has, however, elsewhere briefly commented on the renovation inscription of Byañ-chub-'od from Tabo (Francke 1914: 19) and a stele inscription of Koro (dKor).<sup>3</sup> Francke's readings of the renovation inscription have subsequently been corrected by G. Tucci who surveyed the entire region in the early 1930s (Tucci 1935: 1988). Tucci has also published a few historical inscriptions from Tabo but we retranslate them because neither the translation nor transcription presented by Tucci was found correct (Tucci 1988: 73).

### I

Epigraphic data presented below can be divided into three categories: i) stone pillar (*rdo rin*) inscriptions; ii) metal image inscriptions, mostly engraved on the pedestals, and iii) wall inscriptions. Two other categories of inscriptions on stone (popularly known as the *mañi*-walls), and paper are found but excluded here for they belong to a somewhat later period. Chronological analysis would be of vital concern so as to trace the evolution of palaeographic and orthographic characteristics roughly from c. A.D. 996 to 1150.

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<sup>1</sup> Leh, 1906, 1907.

<sup>2</sup> Serie Orientale Roma 51, Roma 1977.

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TIBETAN HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM KINNAUR AND  
LAHAUL-SPITI:  
A Survey of Recent Discoveries

by

Laxman S. Thakur, Simla

The present paper analyses Tibetan historical inscriptions explored during the course of seven archaeological field-surveys conducted by the author between November 1988 and June-July 1995 in the border districts of Lahaul-Spiti and Kinnaur. The epigraphic data collected by us assume utmost importance for reasons that no other source provides an authentic detail of these most inhospitable regions of India. The scope of the present study is limited to a period ranging between the end of the tenth and the middle of the twelfth century A.D. The period specified above is significant in the history of the mÑa'-ris skor-gsum (*i.e.*, the circle of the three royal domains). The area traversed by us corresponds to the middle mÑa'-ris as specified in the renovation inscription of Byañ-chub-'od from Tabo.

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I

Epigraphic data presented below can be divided into three categories: i) stone pillar (*rdo rin*) inscriptions; ii) metal image inscriptions, mostly engraved on the pedestals, and iii) wall inscriptions. Two other categories of inscriptions on stone (popularly known as the *mani*-walls), and paper are found but excluded here for they belong to a somewhat later period. Chronological analysis would be of vital concern so as to trace the evolution of palaeographic and orthographic characteristics roughly from c. A.D. 996 to 1150.

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Inscriptions in the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the gTsug-lag-khañ at Tabo are the earliest. They bear the characteristics especially of an orthographic and grammatical nature suggesting an early date. Five inscribed bronzes, three from Tashigang and two from Chitkul, in Kinnaur district, perhaps belong to the beginning of the eleventh century for reasons that the name of Nā-ga-rā-dza, an elder son of Ye-śes-'od, is engraved on their pedestals. A stele inscription from Koro near Pooh is a dated document and thus helps us to arrange the much confused chronology of Ye-śes-'od and events associated with him in an accurate sequence. Numerous Buddhist texts, historical inscriptions, including the renovation inscription by Byañ-chub-'od at Tabo, are almost contemporaneous. The latter is also a dated document and we accept the date of A.D. 1042 for reasons given below. A lone Śāradā inscription at Tabo, although narrative in character, belongs to the same period. (Perhaps another Śāradā inscription discovered by us as recently as June 1994 from Chitkul is comparable with that of Tabo but is posterior to it.) The Avalokiteśvara image inscription from Kamru (Mone) is a remarkable example of Tibetan calligraphy. On palaeographic grounds, and a literary style used in it, it is comparable with that of the Koro rock inscription. The Maitreya pedestal inscription from Tsa-rang can be dated to the middle of the eleventh century because the Rang-rig-rtse monastery is mentioned as one of the second last places where Rin-chen bzañ-po established monastic establishments. And finally a 54-line totally damaged inscription from Lha-lung (Lha-luñ) in Spiti is decidedly a post-Rin-chen bzañ-po document. Since it is inscribed on the entrance wall thus belongs to the actual construction of the monastery which embellish numerous clay sculptures and wall murals.

The findspots of the inscriptions referred to above are located in Kinnaur and Spiti. A brief note on their location will help to know the inter-regional linkages of Lahaul-Spiti and Kinnaur with the surrounding areas. The entire region can be categorised in a single cultural zone traditionally known as the middle mÑa'-ris. Places like Tabo, Nako and Tashigang in former days were situated on an international trade route connecting the famous centres of culture and politics such as Tholing (mTho-gliñ or mTho-ldiñ), Mang-nang (Mañ-nañ) and Tsaparang with Ladakh, Kashmir and Central Asia. This route passed through the Shipki pass just branching off at Namgya (rNam-rgyal) and passed through Nako, Chango, Shalkar and Samdo and entered into the heart of the Spiti valley. The route bifurcated into two halves near Rangrik bridge – one half passed through Kyi and Kibbar to Parang-la – and entered the Rupshu region of Ladakh. It was joined by another trade route which came from Central Asia to Leh. From Leh one of its eastern branch passed along the river Indus and joined the one coming from Spiti at Karzok (bKor-rdzod). Thus the former two kingdoms of La-dwags (Ladakh) and Spiti were directly linked with Gu-ge and Pu-rangs. The other branch from the Rangrik bridge entered the Lahaul valley (Gar-ža), after passing through the Kunzam pass it was joined by another trade route from Kulu (Ñuñ-ti) at Grampho on the left bank of the Chandra river. Rin-chen bzañ-po had followed this route from Gu-ge to Kashmir in the second half of the tenth century A.D.

The localities namely Koro and Pooh (sPu) were important trading stations on another trade route which linked the region traversed by the river Sutlej and its tributaries especially in Kinnaur, Simla and Bilaspur districts. Several routes of lesser importance joined the main route along the rivulets originating from the high passes in the Zaskar and Great Himalayan ranges. Some notable centres of culture which flourished on the banks of these rivulets are Chitkul and Kamru (the latter was the capital town of the former Bushahr state) in the Baspa valley; Tsa-rang, Thangi and Morang in the Tidang valley; Ropa (Ro-dpag) and Sunnam in the Ropa valley. (Here we exclude a reference to all Brahmanical centres situated on the Sutlej in lower

Kinnaur and Simla districts for they are discussed by us elsewhere.)<sup>4</sup> It is pertinent to note here that places such as Morang, Thangi, Tsa-rang, Chitkul and Kamru come under the ambit of a circle (*i.e.* Rang-rig-skor-ba) of the famous annual Kailāśa *parikramā* performed both by the Brahmanists and the Buddhists in Kinnaur (Thakur, forthcoming).

## II

Before discussing the epigraphic evidence and assessing its importance we consider it necessary to add a brief note on the palaeographic and orthographic characteristics. The reversed *gi-gu* has been used in those inscriptions noticed on the walls of the ante-chamber (*mukha-maṇḍapa*) of the gTsug-lag-khañ at Tabo but becomes an optional feature in post-A.D. 1000 inscriptions. The use of the *tsheg* before *śad* is noticed in all cases discussed below. An occasional use of the *gter-tshug* is also noticed. *Rin-chen* is regularly written as *rin-cen*. The peculiar palatalisation of *ma*, written with *ya-btags*, is frequently used while employing *i* and *e* vowels; e.g. *myed-pa* instead *med-pa*. The haplography in case of the same end and the beginning consonant; e.g. *nam-ka 'od* instead of *nam-mkha 'od* and *bžeñsu* instead of *bžeñs-su*. The *da-drag* is used quite frequently; e.g. *dard*, *gyurd*, *'dund*. The *na-ro* and *'greñ-bu* signs are normally used on the left side of the consonants such as *pa*, *pha*, *ma* and *sa*. The *śabs-kyu* sign is fully joined with the consonants especially in those inscriptions written on the walls. The use of an *anusavāra* sign either in the form of a single dot or a circle is meant to indicate *m* rather than *n* (e.g. see the Kamru inscription below). Two *sa-mgo* consonants such as *pa* and *tsa* are written with ligature of a horizontal kind on the right hand side, and sometimes, they appear of a *dbu-med* character.<sup>5</sup> The *kha* of the gutturals is oftenly written as *ka*. The use of *'a chuñ* is exaggerated in the inscriptions of Tabo's gTsug-lag-khañ dated c. A.D. 996 and 1042; e.g. *dge 'sloñ* instead of *dge-sloñ* and *gu-ge''i* instead of *gu-ge'i*. The preliminary study reveals that such an exaggerated use is shown normally for vowels *ī* and *ai* of the Sanskrit equivalents. All narrative inscriptions written on the walls of the gTsug-lag-khañ at Tabo are excluded from this analysis while working out the above peculiarities.

## III

### Inscriptions from the gTsug-lag-khañ, phase I, Tabo (Spiti)

The inscriptions from the sGo-khañ (*mukha-maṇḍapa*) of the gTsug-lag-khañ escaped the attention of both Francke and Tucci. An Austro-Italian team has taken cognisance of them in a recently published special issue of *East and West* (Klimburg-Salter 1994: 27-32) but did not publish them.<sup>6</sup> The earliest epigraphic evidence had remained concealed under the thick layers of dust for almost one thousand years. There are numerous rows of murals on the north and south walls depicting several historical personages (each identifiable with the help of Tibetan inscriptions), gods and goddesses from the Buddhist pantheon. Several rows of historical persons have perished beyond recognition by the trickling of water from the roofs. Fortunately,

<sup>4</sup> Sites of archaeological interest in the Sulej valley are Nirath, Dattanagar, Nirmand and Basara discussed by us elsewhere; cf. Thakur 1996, Chaps. 3 and 5.

<sup>5</sup> This peculiarity has been noticed on the narrative inscriptions on the walls of the 'Du-khañ at Tabo, and also on the hand-written copies of the *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* texts at Tabo and Pooh respectively.

<sup>6</sup> A special issue of *East and West* (Vol. 44, no. 1) is devoted to the results of the joint mission of an Austro-Italian team in Himachal Pradesh. The author would like to thank Gherardo Gnoli of the IsMEO for making this issue accessible at a time justly needed by us to have an idea of the nature of work done by several scholars from the West in Lahaul-Spiti and Kinnaur.

about forty-seven murals and inscriptions are recognisable on the right and left walls respectively. We noticed these inscriptions in November 1988 and copied them *in situ* in 1989, 1992, 1993, and finally re-checked our earlier renderings in June-July 1994 and November 1995.

Five rows of murals on the south wall occupy a space of about 180 cm in length (whereas the total length of the wall at the level of the murals is 252 cm) and 120 cm in height. We presume that a 72 cm blank space on the left hand side was once adorned with similar murals. Only three rows have survived on the north wall in a space of about 98 cm in length and 76 cm in height. A 158 cm blank space on the right hand side shows faint traces of inscriptions and murals. A complete list of inscriptions is being published by us elsewhere, however, suffice it to add here that a few persons mentioned in these inscriptions deserve notice.<sup>7</sup> The most outstanding personalities are Ye-śes-'od and his two sons, namely Nā-ga-rā-dza and De-ba-rā-dza.

So far Ye-śes-'od's grand-nephew Byañ-chub-'od has indirectly recalled his deeds in the very first line of the renovation inscription from Tabo dated A.D. 1042. His name is also mentioned in another inscription in the dKyil-khañ at Tabo, belonging to fifteenth century. Nā-ga-rā-dza, the elder son seems to have played an outstanding role during the second diffusion of Buddhism in Gu-ge, Pu-rangs, Khu-nu and Spiti. We have (as already pointed out) noted his name on the pedestals of five bronzes from Tashigang and Chitkul. All three princes of Gu-ge, painted on the walls, appear in monastic robes (*chos-gos*) of red colour as also worn by other *dge-slon*s depicted in the same panel. The title of Ye-śes-'od is clearly distinguished from those borne by his sons. Ye-śes-'od is shown in the centre and his height is slightly bigger than those of his sons (Ye-śes-'od, 21 cm; Nā-ga-rā-dza, 18 cm and De-ba-rā-dza 17 cm respectively). This certainly hints at the hierarchical positions these princes had occupied in Gu-ge and Pu-rangs. Among the several *bhikṣus*, the most notable role was played by 'Dul-ba byañ-chub (Vinayabodhi) of sÑel-'or. He is the same person who has been repainted twice on the walls of the 'Du-khañ and the Dri-gtsañ-khañ. By A.D. 1042, he must have attained the age of ninety, as he is called *gnas-brtan chen-po (mahāsthavira)*. Perhaps, he headed the Buddhist community of Tabo in A.D. 1042, as an inscription at the entrance of the sanctum tends to indicate (see below). Maga-pi-tsa, sÑel-'or, sÑel-ver and Rum are some of the localities frequently referred to in the inscriptions.

All vowel signs indicating *gi-gu* are used on the reversed side: seventeen times on the south wall and eight times on the north wall.<sup>8</sup> The murals and inscriptions in the sGo-khañ are earliest surviving archaeological material from the gTsug-lag-khañ and we date them to c. A.D. 996. The gTsug-lag-khañ was founded by Rin-chen bzañ-po soon after his second sojourn of six years in Kashmir. The year *spre'u* (monkey) in all probability corresponds to A.D. 996. We strongly disfavour the date of either A.D. 984 or 1008 (also monkeys' year) for the foundation of the Tabo monastery. These dates are not supported by inscriptions, art-remnants and Tibetan literary sources including seven different versions of Rin-chen bzañ-po's biography as are known to us until today. What seems likely is that after its foundation the *m Khan-bzo* or *lha-bzo* must have taken two or three years, at least, to embellish all murals and clay sculptures

<sup>7</sup> A chapter 'Surviving Epigraphic Evidence' in our detailed study on Tabo monastery (Thakur, forthcoming).

<sup>8</sup> Equally interesting to note is the use of the reversed *gi-gu* in the narrative inscriptions in the sGo-khañ (*mukha-maṇḍapa*). For example, in a short inscription explaining the mural of the chief protectress and her eighteen female attendants, we noticed three examples of *gi-gu* in a reversed order. Similarly an extract culled from the *Prātimokṣa* of the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda school shows several such examples. This peculiarity is significant in classifying several phases of artistic activity at Tabo, particularly in the gTsug-lag-khañ.

before it was ceremoniously thrown open to the public around the millennium. Later in A.D. 1042 Ye-śes-'od's grand-nephew Byañ-chub-'od however, is obviously referring to the foundation date not the date of its completion.

### Inscriptions from Tashigang and Chitkul (Kinnaur)

During the course of examining the material remains of Buddhist monasteries in Kinnaur we discovered five inscribed bronzes of varying sizes, three from Tashigang (near Shipki-la) and two from Chitkul (the last Indian village on the Indo-Tibetan (Chinese) border in the Baspa valley) in Kinnaur. We have identified them as Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara, Amitābha, Gautama Buddha and two Pañcarakṣā goddesses representing Mahāmāyūrī and Mahāsītāvātī. What is common about these bronzes is an inscription deeply incised on their pedestals. It reads *lha nā ga rā dza*, which may be translated as 'the divine Nā-ga-rā-dza'. He is the same person precisely identified by an inscription on the south wall of the sGo-khañ of the gTsug-lag-khañ at Tabo. His full title the *lha btsun-pa*, is perhaps confined to *lha* because of the paucity of space available to the engraver. We believe that he is the same individual also mentioned as *lha btsun-pa* Nā-ga-rā-dza on the pedestal of the famous Cleveland Buddha. Since he was actively engaged along with his father (Ye-śes-'od) and a younger brother with an ecclesiastical activity in Gu-ge, Pu-rangs, Khu-nu and Spiti, therefore, we presume that bronzes from Tashigang and Chitkul as well as the Cleveland Buddha were manufactured either in late tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. (Thakur 1995: 76-7).<sup>9</sup> The stylistic analysis with contemporary bronzes from Ladakh, Western Tibet, Spiti and Kinnaur, corroborates such a dating. These bronzes belong to a most fertile period of Buddhist activity in the region of mŅa'-ris skor-gsum. It is quite possible that such bronzes were manufactured on a larger scale for propaganda purposes with the name of *lha* Nā-ga-rā-dza.

### Inscriptions from Koro and Kamru (Kinnaur)

The rock inscription from Koro (spelt as dKor in the text of the inscription) was first noticed by A.H. Francke in 1909, and subsequently by Tucci, in 1933. Unfortunately neither Tucci nor Francke translated it *in extenso*. A brief summary of its contents was published by Francke and surprisingly Tucci did not verify his readings. The inscription translated below is engraved on a stone which stands in an agricultural field, at present, in the possession of Zla-ba dpal-'byor of the same village. It measures 144 cm in height and 18 cm in thickness. It is in a very bad state of preservation and only a few words can be read in the beginning and end of ll. 5-10. Line 11 is totally damaged. A little above the first line Buddha has been depicted in *dhyānamudrā*. The east face has a well executed representation of a *mchod-rten*.<sup>10</sup>

### Translation

In the life-time of Śrī divine *btsan-po* (mighty) *gurudeva* (royal-priest) Ye-śes-'od (Jñānaprabha) the doctrinal teaching (of Buddha) propagated, Three Jewel's head ... exalted; (when) sovereignty (dominion) and authority (became) celebrated for taking the religion of god (and) religion of man to the pinnacle (*i.e.* an excellent state) (then) in the ... of the winter (month) of the dragon year, Śrī divine *btsan-*

<sup>9</sup> For an artistic analysis of these bronzes, see Thakur (1995), "Report from Himachal Pradesh", in *Orientalism* 26.5, 76-7.

<sup>10</sup> Here we omit all textual notes for they appear elsewhere, see Thakur 1994: 371-373.

*po's* divine son(s) ..., arrived at the palace of sPu, ... country ... watched the religion (and) the (Three) Jewels (?) ... the house of dKor by ... dedicated the house (?) ... thus, by erecting (or raising) ... .

The inscription is written in *dbu-can* letters. There is no example of the use of reversed *gi-gu* as noticed in the earliest surviving wall inscriptions from Tabo. Double *śad* has been used thrice. There is, however, a single example of *da-drag*. The entire text is so mutilated leaving no scope for analysing its palaeographic and orthographic characteristics.

It provides us valuable information on the propagation of Buddhism at both places Pooh and Koro. It seems very likely that in A.D. 1004 Ye-śes-'od visited Pooh along with his two sons to personally observe the progress of Buddhism and established either a *rdo-riñ* or gTsug-lag-khañ (Thakur 1994: 369-375). The Buddhist monastery (known as *lo-tsā-ba lha-khañ*) located in the centre of Pooh village is also mentioned in the biography of Rin-chen bzañ-po. This seems to be the same monastery recorded in the Koro inscription. Interestingly, A.D. 992 and 1016 were also years of the dragon. Since Tabo, Kanam and Pooh monasteries were founded by Rin-chen bzañ-po after his second return from Kashmir the possibility of the establishment of the Pooh monastery before A.D. 996 seems unlikely. The equivalence of the dragon year to the Christian year of A.D. 1016 is also unlikely because we are not quite sure whether Ye-śes-'od was alive in A.D. 1016. The biography of Rin-chen bzañ-po clearly indicates that Ye-śes-'od died of sickness soon after Rin-chen bzañ-po returned from Kashrnir. The inscriptional evidence on the later career of Ye-śes-'od is wanting so as to rearrange all events in chronological sequence especially of his last years. On the basis of the Koro inscription we are on firmer ground in saying that Ye-śes-'od was alive at least up to the year A.D. 1004.

The second inscription is from Kamru village (Mone of the Tibetan sources). A two-line inscription is engraved on the pedestal of the magnificent Avalokiteśvara statue. This statue was mysteriously stolen from the Mone lha-khañ (Kamru) in June 1992 and recovered by policemen in September 1993.<sup>11</sup> The total height of the statue is 78 cm including a 15.2 cm high pedestal. At the bottom of it has been inscribed a two-line inscription (each line is 26 cm long) in *dbu-can* script. Lines have been numbered for convenience of reference.

### Transcription

1. | ॐ | √ | *pana ba ti bye rya* (or *ṛ*) *ba cas* (read *bcas*) *phyag len mdzad / smer blon che klu mgon mched yum sras kyis yon bdag bgyis nas / tshe 'das pa smer blon che śes*
2. *tsan* (read *can*) *gyi bsod nams su / rigs gsum gyi sku bzeñsu gsol bas / tshe 'das pa dañ ma'* (read *mtha'*) *yas pa'i sems can thams cad sgrib pa byañ bar gyurd cig* || : ||

We have noted three errors in the transcription presented above. First, the engraver has separated the prefix *ba* from *cas* in the first line. Secondly, the first word in line 2 must be read *can* instead of *tsan*. The style of the orthography of *tsa* shows remarkable similarity with the *tsa* used in two illustrated copies of the *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* from Pooh and Tabo. Similar

<sup>11</sup> The author is extremely thankful to A.P. Siddiqui (S.P.), a young and dynamic officer of the Indian Police Service stationed at Rekong Peo, for extending all possible help to study the entire collection of bronzes stolen from the Mone Lha-khañ (Kamru) and subsequently recovered by the Police. We also acknowledge the kind co-operation of Balbir Singh (HAS), Ahmad Sayeed, Duni Chand and Hari Bhagat.



*tsa* is used on the narrative wall inscriptions at Tabo dated c. A.D. 1042. And lastly, the writer has missed an insertion of the *tha* between the *ma* and the 'a *chuñ* in line 2. The inscription does not show any use of the reversed *gi-gu*; however, the *da-drag* is used once (e.g. *gyurd*) and double *śad* twice at the end of the line 2. A circled dot is meant to indicate *m* rather than *n* (e.g. *nams*, *sems-can*, *yum* and *thams*). Before returning to the problems of chronology and the identification of persons and a place mentioned in the inscription we offer the following translation.

### Translation

(Successfully gained admiration) = (Glorious invocation). The Chief Minister of sMer, brother Klu-mgon (Nāganātha), mother (and) son offered alms (food) for the merits of the expired Chief Minister of sMer, Śes-can (Prajñāvāna) and after offering prayers set up the statues of Trigotrānātha, (i.e. Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi) for purifying the mental and moral defilements of a departed soul (i.e., Śes-can) and all infinite sentient beings.<sup>12</sup>

The most problematic part of the inscription is its beginning sentence which we read *pana-ba-ti jeṭr*. The third character perhaps stands for *ya*; thus it can appropriately be read *panāyati*, meaning 'glorious' or 'admiration'. After the *ti* the inscription shows *bye*, which in Tibetan can be translated as 'powder' making no sense in the present context. We think it stands for *je*. The sixth character is still more complicated. Either *ya* is subjoined with *r* (i.e. *rya*), or the sign for Sanskrit *r* is joined with *t*. For the time being we prefer the latter and read the entire Sanskrit beginning formula as *panāyati jeṭr* until further probings. Whatever may be the correct translation of the beginning sentence for it clearly refers to a glorious invocation offered to the departed soul as mentioned in the inscription. The question of the identification of Śes-can and Klu-mgon, and of the place of their governance (sMer) also remains unsolved.

The locality of sMer, however, seems to be the same place as recorded in some rock inscriptions from Ladakh. The antiquity and authorship of these petroglyphs is controversial but P. Denwood has suggested that these carvings were possibly done by Tibetan troops who encamped along the river Indus from the second half of the eighth to the first half of the ninth century (Denwood 1980: 163). The linguistic data preserved on the petroglyphs are very similar to that of the Tibetan documents recovered from Central Asia and Tun-huang. Whatever may be the date of these inscriptions but sMer occurs four times separately on three petroglyphs. Was therefore sMer located in Ladakh or Central Asia? Since most of the troops who commanded Central Asian frontiers were perhaps from Tibet proper they might have recorded either a place of their birth or a service station where from they had moved to Ladakh. Most likely sMer was an important seat of governance somewhere in Žaṅ-žun, which in former days included the kingdoms of Ladakh, Zanskar, Spiti, Gu-ge, Pu-rangs and Ya-tshe.

### Inscriptions from the gTsug-lag-khañ, phase II, Tabo (Spiti)

The inscriptions which belong to phase II from Tabo include two panels of miniatures painted on the eastern wall of the 'Du-khañ and a few miniatures just above the renovation inscription of Byañ-chub-'od at the entrance of the sanctum. The renovation inscription was first noticed by Francke in 1909 and subsequently copied and translated by Tucci in 1935. Since it is a well-

<sup>12</sup> It seems that three statues of the same proportions were ordered to be made. Apart from that of Avalokiteśvara, two others – Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi – are untraceable.

known document admirably edited by Tucci with very few omissions and discrepancies, thus is excluded from the present analysis (Thakur, forthcoming). The following inscriptions are written below the panels of murals on the eastern wall of the 'Du-khañ.

### Transcription

1. *gnas brtan chen po 'dul ba byañ chub sñel 'or /*
2. *chos sga 'i slob chen po gu na ba na ti 'or /*
3. *lcog la 'i sde dge sloñ mos pa bsod nams bums /*
4. *xx 'i sde sman pa ba thon xx rin cen yañ 'or ('od) /*
5. *gu ge "i sde xxx*
6. *lha btsun pa xxrax*
7. *xx sde nas //*

The last three inscriptions (5-7) are completely defaced, thus preventing us from presenting a satisfactory translation. No. 5, however, refers to the region of Gu-ge, and no. 6 makes a reference to the *lha btsun-pa*, a title assumed by the members of the royal family. Nos. 1-4 can be translated as follows:

1. The great *sthavira* (*arhat*) 'Dul-ba byañ-chub (Vinayabodhi) of sÑel-'or.<sup>13</sup>
2. The great teacher (*ācārya*) Gu-na-ba-na-ti-'or of Chos-sga.
3. A *bhikṣu* (monk) Mos-pa bSod-nams bums, the district (or province) of lCog-la.
4. The doctor Ba-thon... Rin-cen yañ-'or, the province of (Gu-ge).

Before making a few observations on inscriptions translated above we shall consider them for further discussion along with those of the Dri-gtsañ-khañ. Tucci has, however, translated these records but without success. The right wall of the sanctum also contained several inscriptions as recorded by Tucci but are now totally defaced and prevent us from further verification.

### Transcription

1. *g'zi' mal la dbañ phyug mkhar rum gu ge 'i sde /*
2. *gnas brtan chen po 'dul ba byañ chub xxxx*  
*ta poyi dge 'dun sde chen po /*

### Translation

1. g'zi' mal-la, the mighty, from the castle (fort) Rum in the province of Gu-ge.<sup>14</sup>
2. The great *sthavira* (*arhat*) 'Dul-ba byañ-chub (of sÑel-'or) (and) the great assemblage of Tapo (*i.e.* Tabo) monks.<sup>15</sup>

The great *sthavira* 'Dul-ba byañ-chub, who belonged to a locality of sÑel-'or, is the same person painted in the first row of murals on the south wall of the sGo-khañ (*mukha-maṅḍapa*)

<sup>13</sup> Thomas J. Pritzker has erroneously put forward an argument that the person referred to in the inscription is Byañ-chub-'od (*Orientalis* 20, 1989, 42) who is also mentioned in the renovation inscription.

<sup>14</sup> The translation of this inscription given by Tucci (1988: 73) and Pritzker (1989: 40) is wrong. Tucci has added *mgon* after *phyug*, which is not part of the original text.

<sup>15</sup> He is the same *mahāsthavira* who is mentioned on the eastern wall of the 'Du-khañ with the same title. Pritzker is again misled by the letters *byañ chub*, and he added that a reference is made to Byañ-chub-'od. The second line is wrongly recorded in Tibetan by Pritzker, as it must read *ta-poyi* instead of *ta-po 'i* (Pritzker 1989: 40 fig. 3b).

where he is called a *dge-slon*. The mighty gZi' mal-la seems to be in command of the Rum fort in Gu-ge. The exact identification of Rum and Chos-sga is uncertain. The lCog-la is Spiti. The question which remains unsolved is whether lCog-la included only Poh, Tabo and Lari villages or its application was meant with a larger extract of a Spiti division, because lCog is mentioned in an inscription at Lha-lung. What is of prime importance here is the omission of the reversed *gi-gu*: not a single example is noticed in these inscriptions. An exaggerated use of the 'a *chuñ* is minimal but not abandoned completely. We believe that all these inscriptions and miniature murals belong to a period of renovations carried out by Byañ-chub-'od in A.D. 1042. The style of writing suggests that different persons were engaged in the art of calligraphy: the older *dge-slon*s were using an old style of punctuation and vowel signs on the Tibetan letters whereas the younger ones were well aware of the reformed techniques. Why we say so is because a 12-line renovation inscription preserves at least fourteen examples of the reversed *gi-gu*. An occasional use of it has also been noticed in the narrative inscriptions extracted from the *Gaṇḍavyūha* of the *Avataṃsakasūtra* (Thakur, forthcoming). A few characteristics of orthography and palaeography used in the inscriptions of the first phase in the sGo-khañ had been carried over into the inscriptions of the 'Du-khañ and Dri-gtsañ-khañ inscribed after a gap of about forty-six years as specified in the renovation inscription.

### An inscription from the Rang-rig-rtse dgon-pa, Tsa-rang (Kinnaur)

We discovered an inscribed statue of Byams-pa in the sanctum of the Rang-rig-rtse dgon-pa at Tsa-rang (presently pronounced as Charang) in Kinnaur district, bordering Tibet (Thakur 1994: 123-4). Tsa-rang is one of the most inaccessible villages of Kinnaur which can be approached via Morang and Thangi, the latter two villages are situated on the left side of the river Sutlej. From among the several clay, wooden and metal sculptures preserved in the collection of this monastery, the Byams-pa statue was wrapped in cloth. On our persistent request the keeper of the monastery showed us the statue so as to afford us to read the inscription on its pedestal.

The statue's height including the copper pedestal is 40.2 cm and its width at the base is 22.5 cm. Maitreya is shown seated in *pralambapāda-mudrā* (seated with legs hanging down to the Western fashion) on a full-blown lotus *āsana*. All iconographic and sculptural details are superb and perfect. The inscription discussed below appears on a 2.3 cm wide brass *paṭṭi* (band) fixed by nails at intervals along the copper base (ht. 10 cm).<sup>16</sup>

### Transcription

*yañ dañ yañ du gus pas sten (read bsten) pa'i*  
*skyabs Byams pa Byams pa 'grol (read 'gro)*  
*ba sgröl ba la || myur ba myur bar byon nas bdag gi ni |*  
*skye ba skye bar theg mchog gi*  
*bśes g'en (read gñen) 'dzod (read mdzod) ||*

### Translation

Again and again adhere reverentially to the protection (*śaraṇa*) of Maitreya, (who) manifests very quickly to liberate (save) living beings (and) may he remain my *Kalyāṇamitra* (spiritual adviser) of the best vehicle (*i.e.* Mahāyāna) in all births.

<sup>16</sup> All textual notes are omitted here. See Thakur 1994: 123.

The inscription does not specify the date of its execution. Nor do we get the name of the donor. The Rang-rig-rtse monastery figures in the biography of Rin-chen bzañ-po written by his immediate disciple dPal Ye-śes (Jñānaśrī). It is one of the second last places amongst the twenty-one where Rin-chen bzañ-po dedicated a gTsug-lag-khañ to the worship of the Vairocana. An archaeological examination of all architectural and art-treasures (including a few surviving murals on the walls) reveals that the antiquity of this monastery cannot be doubted and possibly it was constructed in the 1040s or maybe a little earlier. The brass statue of Byams-pa seems to have been donated by an unnamed donor soon after the completion of the monastery. The palaeography and orthographic study do not show any use of the reversed *gi-gu* and *da-drag* as has been the case in several inscriptions from phases I and II from Tabo dated A.D. 996 and 1042 respectively. The art-style and execution techniques of this statue are comparable with several identical specimens attributed to Western Tibet, Ladakh, Kashmir and Chamba. Therefore we propose to date it in the forties of the eleventh century.

### **Totally obliterated inscription from Lha-lung (Spiti)**

Two badly damaged inscriptions were noticed by H.L. Shuttleworth from the gSer-khañ at Lha-lung in 1924 (Shuttleworth 1929: 6-7). Joseph Gergan was requested by Shuttleworth to prepare the exact copies of these inscriptions. According to our estimate both inscriptions remain unpublished to this day. G. Tucci who re-surveyed the temple of Lha-lung in 1933, did not make any comment on the inscriptions. A 54-line document noticed by us is one of the two inscriptions mentioned by Shuttleworth.<sup>17</sup> It occupies a space of about 22 cm by 58 cm and is written in *dbu-can* script on the entrance wall near the clay statue of Phyag-na rdo-rje (Vajrapāṇi).

Presently we are presenting a summary of the main contents because of the totally damaged sentences in all lines. The chemical cleaning of the wall might yield better reading.

It seems likely that the inscription is divided into two parts. The first five lines are separated from the rest of the text. Lines from 30-54 preserve only a few words in the second half. There are several examples of the *da-drag*: *bstand*, *gyurd* and *bsruñs*. The use of *ya-btags* has been noted in the first line (*myi*). The frequent use of the *tsheg* before *śad* is in conformity with those inscriptions noticed earlier at Tabo. Of particular interest are two *sa-mgo* consonants written with ligatures of a horizontal kind (l. 33: *spyod*). Line 5 refers to a *blon-po* (minister) Rin-cen of Žaṅ-žuñ. The word *bžeñs* occurs twice in ll. 35, 37, obviously referring to the construction of the temple. Line 25 refers to an island of gold (*gser-gliñ*), perhaps specifying the name of the temple, and later on it was known as the gSer-khañ. So far this is the only known inscription from Spiti and Kinnaur in which an old geographical-cum-cultural zone Žaṅ-žuñ is mentioned. The occurrence of sPyi-ti (l. 3) and lCog (l. 4) is significant: the former takes its derivation from the Spiti river, and the latter is applicable to the valley which extends from the Lingti in the west to Gyu rivulet in the east (but less likely up to Pare chu near Samdo).

The Lha-lung gSer-khañ can be dated in a chronological span of about one hundred years between A.D. 1042 and 1150 for the following reasons. Neither a lone surviving inscription in the gSer-khañ bears all palaeographic and orthographic peculiarities of Tabo (at least the renovation inscription retains about fourteen examples of the reversed *gi-gu* which is totally absent at Lha-lung) nor does the architectural analysis of Tabo's gTsug-lag-khañ with Lha-lung's gSer-

<sup>17</sup> Shuttleworth adds: 'Dr. A.H. Francke informs me after examining copies of the inscriptions sent direct to him by Joseph Gergan... that, apart from the name *Blon-po Rin-chen of Žaṅ-žuñ* (Gu-ge), he found no name of historical interest...' (p. 7, fn. 1). This seems exactly one of the inscriptions noticed by Shuttleworth in the gSer-khañ.

khañ show any similarity in plan. A comparative study of murals and clay sculptures from both places show dissimilarity in crowns, dresses, thrones and application of colour schemes. The narrative murals on the walls of the gSer-khañ bear close similarity with those murals painted on the walls of the 'Du-khañ at Alchi: especially the umbrella canopy is arranged in the same manner in a narrative scene below the clay statue of Prajñāpāramitā on the south wall. We would like to place Lha-lung's gSer-khañ more or less contemporaneous with Nako's gTsug-lag-khañ constructed in the second half of the eleventh century. The inscription discussed above may belong to the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. This date is in conformity with the foundation of the 'Du-khañ at Alchi by sKal-Idan śes-rab.

#### IV

The epigraphic data presented above can be categorised into four broad chronological periods: i) c. A.D. 996 to 1000; ii) c. A.D. 1004-1040; iii) c. A.D. 1042-1055, and iv) A.D. 1055 to 1150. A remarkable ingenuity has been maintained in the palatalization of *ma* and in the use of the *da-drag* in all inscriptions. The study reveals that the pleonastic use of 'a *chuñ* has been discontinued from the middle of the eleventh century in Spiti and Kinnaur. What is interesting to note is a regular use of the reversed *gi-gu* in all cases prior to A.D. 1000. This is amply clear from the inscriptions of Tabo's gTsug-lag-khañ. Why Rin-chen is written as Rin-cen during the four chronological periods is a topic of philological and etymological research to be done in future.

Apart from the value of the epigraphic evidence for lexicological studies of pre-classical Tibetan used in Spiti and Kinnaur, the inscriptions provide enormous geographical, social, political and religious information, not only in the areas of their findspots, but in a much wider geographical space equivalent to the traditional *Žañ-žuñ*. Inscriptions from Tabo alone record twenty-six localities: sÑel-'or and Maga-pi-tsa occur nine and six times respectively. Equally interesting is a number of personages belonging to different walks of life: *bla chen-po* Ye-śes-'od (a motive force responsible for the foundation of the gTsug-lag-khañ) and his two sons, the *lha btsun-pas* Nā-ga-rā-dza and De-ba-rā-dza, figure most prominently. Among other social groups include several *dge-sloñs*, *lha-sras*, an *ācārya*, a *mahāsthavira*, a doctor, and *lha lcams* 'Od-'phro (perhaps a princess). The complete title of Ye-śes-'od is given in the Koro inscription, where he is referred to as *dpal lha btsan-po lha bla-ma*. The epigraphic evidence both from Tabo and Koro indicates the post-ordination status of Ye-śes-'od and his two sons. This is further supported by seven inscribed bronzes from Tashigang and Chitkul. The question which needs to be probed further is the role of Ye-śes-'od and his sons in the state administration after their ordination. Also very little is known about his younger brother in whose favour he abdicated the throne of Gu-ge and Pu-rangs. But lHa-lde, a nephew of Ye-śes-'od, appointed Rin-chen bzañ-po as a *mchod-gnas* and *rdo-rje slob-dpon* when the latter returned from Kashmir in A.D. 985. It seems quite possible that lHa-lde had succeeded to the throne before 985. He also had three sons: 'Od-lde, Byañ-chub-'od and Ži-ba-'od. The eldest succeeded lHa-lde to the royal throne, whereas the latter two became monks and were pre-eminently engaged in the *bstan-pa phyi-dar*. Byañ-chub-'od was directly responsible for carrying out repairs in the gTsug-lag-khañ at Tabo, whereas Ži-ba-'od became a famous *lo-tśā-ba* (the only in the royal house of Gu-ge and Pu-rangs) by assuming the title of *pho-brañ*. Apart from their dedication in Buddhism, being the members of the royal family, they might have exercised considerable influence in political sphere as well. Byañ-chub-'od was indeed responsible for inviting Atiśa to Tibet in A.D. 1042. Interestingly this event coincides with the completion of the renovation work at Tabo, personally supervised by Byañ-chub-'od, otherwise his special status in a mural

above the inscription would remain unexplained. This identification is also confirmed from the position of his another mural painted in the dKyil-khañ. Soon after the completion of the renovation work in the gTsong-lag-khañ he might have gone to Tholing to receive and greet an Indian *paṇḍita* Atīśa. Most of the inscriptions, with the exception of the Lha-lung, belong to pre-Atīśa phase.

At the time of the arrival of Atīśa in Tholing the kingdoms of the three mŃa'-ris had witnessed tremendous Buddhist activity through the combined efforts of royal patrons, Indian masters and their Tibetan pupils, popularly known as *lo-tsa-bas*. Several works related to *sūtra* and *tantra* class of literature were translated into Tibetan. Tabo and Tholing emerged as two important centres of intellectual discussion. Massive collections of works from the *bKa'-gyur* and *bsTan-gyur* preserved at Tabo are witness to large-scale translations from the Sanskrit Buddhist texts into Tibetan. Nevertheless the popularity of Buddhism with the *literati* and the royalty, there had been several difficulties of the acceptance of the reformed wave of Buddhism not only with the old sect of the rŃiñ-ma-pa followers but contradictions surfaced with the 'little' and 'great' traditions of Brahmanism (both traditions were practised in the areas very close to that of the Buddhist population in Lahaul, Kinnaur and Ya-tshe), and also with the native cults of gods and goddesses and an organised church of the Bonists. Buddhism perhaps was in a position to subdue the Bonists completely because not a single family in Lahaul-Spiti and Kinnaur has been seen by us who practice this religion nowadays. The prevalence of the cult of native godlings can be seen in the area but it is not very clear when such cults made their appearance first. The archaeological evidence is wanting on the historicity and antiquity of these native cults. A study of the selection of sites for establishing a gTsong-lag-khañ by Rin-chen bzañ-po shows that these were either centres of Bon or Brahmanism. There were some contradictions amongst the Buddhists too. This is amply clear from an open letter (*bka'-śog*) issued by *lha bla-ma* Ye-śes-'od to the Buddhists of Central Tibet in the beginning of the eleventh century for we know that Ye-śes-'od was alive at least up to A.D. 1004.<sup>18</sup> In this Ordinance he emphatically criticises those Tantrists who practice the 'religion of the heretics 'Ba'-ji-'ba'' (Karmay 1979: 152-162). The campaign for the falsification of the practices of *sbyor*, *sgrol* and *tshogs* was further intensified by his grand-nephew Pho-brañ Œi-ba-'od, who issued a similar letter, by listing seventy-two works not to be practised in Tibet by those who follow the religious tradition of the *bKa'-gdams-pa* (Karmay 1980: 3-28).

The inscriptions refer to two administrative terms, *blon-che* and *blon-po*. The position of the former was much higher than that of the *blon-po*. The Avalokiteśvara inscription from Kamru indicates that the *blon-che* seems to be second in importance after *btsan-po* or *rgyal-po* in the administrative set-up. The office of the *blon-che* was hereditary in character as after the death of Śes-can, his younger brother Klu-mgon, became a *blon-che* of sMer. The fort played an important role in consolidation of the political supremacy for gŒi' mal-la figures prominently among several miniatures at Tabo with the title of *dbañ-phyug*. Was his status and position equivalent to that of a *koṭṭapāla* of early medieval north Indian inscriptions, remain yet to be established. As pointed out earlier that numerous *bhikṣus* and their localities have become known through the wall inscriptions of Tabo. Important here to add is that the renovation inscription talks of the *sārthavāha* which would perfectly concur with our arguments advanced in section I that the caravan traders from Central and Western Tibet passed through the Spiti valley on to their Central Asian destinations.

<sup>18</sup> We do not agree with Karmay regarding the date of the issuance of the Ordinance.

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# THE DRALAG MONASTERY AND ITS TRIBES

by

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The Dralag (Gra lag) monastery,<sup>1</sup> which has the full name Dralag bShad sgrub mdo sngags gling, is found in the Datangma<sup>2</sup> pasture, northwest of Kardze (dKar mdzes) county in Khams. Gra in the Tibetan language is the name of a valley in the Datangma. Lag means branch, signifying the monastery's placement in a branch of the Gra valley at the headwaters of the Dachu (Zla chu) river. The monastery is 100 kilometres from the town of Kardze, in a purely nomadic area.

Dralag today is a monastery of the rNying ma pa school in Tibetan Buddhism, but it was originally a Bonpo monastery. It was transformed into a Buddhist monastery much later. After the revival of Tibetan Buddhism in the tenth century, Buddhism started spreading again in Tibet. Many Bonpo monasteries became Buddhist, as was recorded by Brag dgon pa.<sup>3</sup> The history of the Dralag monastery illuminates that period of Tibetan Buddhist history, but we do not have any records of the early history of the Dralag monastery. According to oral history, on the top of a holy mountain called Kan brgya brag dkar in the inner part of the Kan brgya valley in the Datangma, there were two monasteries. One of them was Bonpo and the other was Buddhist. The Bon monastery had two branch monasteries called lTe lag and Gra ra ring brag dkar monasteries. The latter was founded by Chos kyi nyi ma, a student of Khyung po rNal 'byor,<sup>4</sup> who was born in 990 A.D., so his student must have belonged to the eleventh century. We only know that the patron of the monastery in the Bonpo period was a Mongolian tribe whose descendants are called Sog po'i skor ba and are still grazing in the area around of the Dralag monastery in the Datangma pasture. Unfortunately, we know little about this early period beyond the names of the founder and the patron of the monastery. About hundred years later, in the sixth *rab byung* (1327-1386), a great rNying ma pa master called Kun dga' 'bum transformed this Bonpo monastery into the rNying ma pa school. According to *KLNG*, he was born in the

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<sup>1</sup> As a part of the project called "Research on History and Present Condition of Tibetan Buddhist Monasteries" in Khams, I stayed in Kardze County of Kardze Prefecture in Sichuan Province together with three other researchers from June to September 1994. During that period we visited fifty monasteries, of which Dralag monastery was the first. The oral history recorded in this paper was told by Kunlo Rinpoche and Lobey Rinpoche, both of Dralag monastery, especially the former.

<sup>2</sup> Datangma (Zla thang ma) means the flatland near the Dachu (Zla chu) river. Now it is the name of a Chu (Qu), an administrative region below the county. Datangma Chu is a purely nomadic area in Kardze County. It has a large pasture of 4,756,000 Mu (one Mu = 0.0667 hectares).

<sup>3</sup> *mDo smad chos 'byung* by Brag dgon pa dKon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas. Lanzhou, Kansu Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1982.

<sup>4</sup> Khyung po rNal 'byor (990-1140?) was a great master in the eleventh century. He began studying the Bon religion from lama g.Yung drung rgyal po when he was thirteen years old and became a great Bonpo master. He had taught more than seven hundred students in the Bonpo tradition. He also wrote many books on the Bonpo, and enjoyed great prestige in central Tibet during that period. He later learned Buddhism, visited India seven times, studying under more than a hundred masters, including Atiśa. See *bsTan rtsis kun las btus pa* by Tshen tan zhabs drung, Ziling, mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1982, 151-173; *Chos 'byung dpag bsam ljon bzang* by Sum pa ye shes dpal 'byor, Lanzhou, Kansu mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1992, 375; *KLNG* 11.

year of the water monkey in the sixth *rab byung* (1332 A.D.). He started learning Buddhist teaching from his childhood, and travelled to study and meditate intensively in dBus, gTsang and Khams. For many years, he studied with his principal master Ye shes 'bum of the Kathog monastery and masters who belonged to different schools of Tibetan Buddhism, and received numerous important teachings and transmissions. Finally he himself also became a revered master, particularly on *gcod* teaching. From the time he was twenty-six, he stayed at the Kathog monastery, an ancestral monastery of the rNying ma pa school in dPal yul of Khams, to give various teachings for thirteen years. The tradition of his *gcod* teaching has continued until today using the same text and transmission. After staying at the Kathog monastery, he moved to Datangma and looked after the Dralag monastery. He died in the year of the iron bird in the same *rab byung* (1381). Since Kun dga' 'Bum came from the Kathog monastery, the Dralag monastery became a branch monastery of Kathog after changing to Buddhism. Many years later, the chief of the dGe rtse, one of the nomadic tribes in Datangma, Blo bzang tshul khrim and dGe rtse Panchen moved the monastery to Dralag, where it remains today. The reincarnation of gNam chos Mi gyur rdo rje, rMog grub Nam mkha' chos dbang, was invited from Kathog monastery to give the transmission of Buddhist teachings and especially the transmission of bDud 'dul rdo rje and Klong gsal snying po's teachings. He went back to Kathog after finishing the construction of the Dralag monastery and entrusted it to Rig 'dzin chos 'phel bzang po, whose successor, 'Das shul lama bSod nams chos ldan, made an even greater contribution to the monastery.

As with other monasteries in Tibet, in Dralag monastery there are more than ten reincarnations, including Chagtsha Tulku (Phyag tsha sprul sku) who is considered to be the most important reincarnation in the Dralag monastery, and originated in the Kathog monastery. The first Chagtsha Tulku Kun bzang nges don dbang po was born to the chief family of a nomadic tribe, Chagtsha, in Khams. He was recognised by Dri med zhing skyong, a master of the Kathog monastery, as the reincarnation of his principal master, brTson 'grus rgya mtsho, and was honoured with the gold throne, which represents one of the five principal reincarnations of the Kathog monastery. Second Chagtsha Kun bzang bstan pa'i nyin byed and the third Chagtsha Kun bzang byams pa seng ge travelled to the Dralag monastery soon after being honoured with the Kathog gold throne and spent most of their lives there as the main reincarnation of the Dralag monastery. Regarding the fourth Chagtsha, *KLNG* and *KDRP* give us very different information. The former says the fourth was Kun bzang pad ma 'phrin las rgya mtsho and the fifth is the present reincarnation, Thub bstan tshul khrim blo gros chos kyi rgyal mtshan. The latter says the fourth was Nges don bstan 'dzin, the fifth was Kun bzang pad ma 'phrin las rgya mtsho and the present is the sixth. Furthermore, another source that merits attention is *NZNT*, the biography of Kun bzang pad ma 'phrin las rgya mtsho, which says that he was the fourth. Commenting on this problem, Kunlo Rinpoche of the Dralag monastery informed me on 1st May 1995 by letter that *KLNG* is right without doubt. The historical records vary and fail to provide all dates of births and deaths. However, oral records prove that the last Chagtsha Kun bzang pad ma 'phrin las rgya mtsho was a remarkable master for the Dralag monastery. His most important contribution to the Dralag was the founding of the practising college and seminary in the Dralag monastery,<sup>5</sup> which produced a great number of religious scholars, and for this reason, he became the most famous master in the Dralag's history. Stories about his life and teachings continue today. Finally, a short time before his death, Chagtsha Kun bzang pad ma 'phrin las rgya mtsho specified a nomadic family of Golog

<sup>5</sup> *KLNG* 94; *KDRP* 96; *NZNT* 15.

(mGo log) in Amdo and said he would like to reincarnate in that family. A few years later, his reincarnation, Thub bstan tshul khriims blo gros chos kyi rgyal mtshan, was born in that very family in Golog in 1967. He is in the Dralag monastery today. Previous reincarnations of Chagtsha Tulku were religious leaders and had two high seats in the Kathog and the Dralag monasteries. His religious and political influence was extremely strong, and remains so today in the Datangma area and even in Khams.

The Dralag monastery has thirteen holy tribes in the Datangma pasture. It contains four larger tribes, five medium and four smaller tribes, as follow:

bigger tribes {	stod {	dGe rtse <sup>6</sup> gong ma
		rTsa shul 'bar chung
	smad {	Gu khrom rdo gsum skor
		Wa 'das
middle tribes	smad {	dGe rtse bar ma
		Ra za brgya tshog skor
smaller tribes {	stod ---	Yakhro
		Hor pha shul
	smad {	Sog po nu zog
		Tog tsha rgya gsang
		dGe rtse 'gab ma
		Sha tshang mgo log
		Khrom thog rnga ba

The tribes which come under the domain of the monasteries are known as *lha sde* ('holy tribes'). In eastern and northern Tibet, they were very different from the *mchod gzhis* ('offering manors') in dBus and gTsang of central Tibet. The most important difference was that members of these tribes politically and economically were free farmers or shepherds unlike the serfs in *mchod gzhis*. That is, members of the tribes regularly covered the expenses of some religious festivals and rituals, or used profits gained from conducting business with monasteries to pay for religious festivals and rituals. They personally were free, they could come and go as they wanted, they could own horses, yaks, sheep and other property. Serfs in *mchod gzhis* could not own animals and other property, and enjoyed no personal freedom. Their owners could give them away as presents, sell and exchange them for goods, or even kill them. Members of *mchod gzhis* were serfs in the Tibetan serfdom system, and the members of *lha sde* were free nomads or farmers. The monastery and the tribes are connected very closely by religious and economic relations. In the past, the monastery had a fund called *skyi dngul*, which was lent to the tribes for interest. Tribes were required to spend the interest on religious rituals for the monastery.

Twenty-six *dotse*<sup>7</sup> for *sgrub mchod*.

<sup>6</sup> dGe rtse is the biggest and most important tribe in the thirteen holy tribes. The chief of the dGe rtse tribe also ruled over all thirteen tribes at various times. For this reason, people often call them the dGe rtse thirteen tribes, and dGe rtse Datangma.

<sup>7</sup> One *dotse* (*rdo tshad*) was one hundred sixty Chinese silver dollars.

Twenty-six *dotse* for *tshes bcu*.<sup>8</sup>

Some parts of the monastery also borrowed money, and spent the interest on rituals:

Twenty-five *dotse* for the seminary.

Five *dotse* for Mani sgrub grwa.

Fifteen *dotse* for three *dge bskos*.

Four *dotse* for two *mchod dpon*.

Two *dotse* for two *rgyal gnyer*.

Nine *dotse* for three *lha gnyer*.

The monastery loaned twenty-six *dotse* to a tribe. The tribe then offered back the expenses for the *sgrub mchod* or *tshes bcu* rituals as interest for that year, and gave the twenty-six back to the monastery. The monastery then lent the funds to others for religious rituals in the following years. The seminary and Mani sgrub grwa spent the interest for their own rituals. Three *dge bskos* and other monastic officials also spent the interest on their own rituals, as well as for rituals in the three year terms of their office. After the three years, they returned the fund to the monastery for the next term. This was the situation before 1959. It has not significantly changed today. The economic relationship between the monastery and the tribes, and the method of managing monastic funds continue. The only change is that the tribes were reincorporated into the teams, the new administrative units called Ru khag. According to our research in 1994, the monastery already has a fund of five hundred 'bri (female yak) and twenty thousand yuan accumulated by the reincarnations and the monks in the monastery, and especially by the tribes as offerings, the monastery receives these yaks from the tribes in name only — it does not actually take possession of the animals. The tribes consider the yaks as a loan from the monastery, and pay the monastery in yak butter to cover the interest. Loans by the monastery today are as following:

1. Forty-four female yaks to four teams of the fifth teams group (Ru chen) in Zla stod Zhang<sup>9</sup> for the *tshes bcu* and *dbyar gnas* rituals of a year.
2. Forty-four female yaks to five teams of the first team group in Zla bstod Zhang for the *tshes bcu* and *dbyar gnas* rituals of a year.
3. Thirty-four female yaks to two teams of Pha shul in Gra mdo Zhang for a *tshes bcu* of a year.
4. Forty-four female yaks to two teams of the sixth team group in Gra mdo Zhang for a *tshes bcu* ritual of a year.
5. Forty-four female yaks to two teams of Tsha lung Zhang for a *tshes bcu* of a year.

The aforementioned five groups keep five kilograms butter from every female yak each year and sell it. The income covers the expenses for the *tshes bcu* or *dbyar gnas* rituals. The monastery appoints two businessmen in each group for three years. They collect and sell butter from the families keeping yaks, and spend the profit on the rituals. If there is butter left after the ritual, they distribute it to the families keeping yaks for the monastery. If their business loses money, they can give only the butter to the monastery without punishment. The other six teams in Tsha lung Zhang and Gra mdo Zhang keep yaks for the *sgrub mchod* ritual. Sixty female yaks are sufficient to pay for the living expenses of fifty four monks in the seminary for a year. The monks who keep yaks in their families take only five kilograms of butter from each yak, and they give the yaks back to the monastery five years later when they graduate.

<sup>8</sup> *Tshes bcu*, birthday celebration of Padmasambhava held on the tenth day of the lunar month. There are also other days of celebration.

<sup>9</sup> Zhang (Xiang in Chinese), an administrative region below the Chu.

The three *dge bskos* can take eighty-two female yaks, ten thousand yuan, and twenty-one rectangular bricks of Tibetan tea for profit. They spend the profit, including the money from selling the butter, for certain rituals such as the celebration of Tibetan new year. They also give ten kilograms of butter to the monastic officials, *mgon bla*, 'Du khang *lha gnyer* and Thub chen *lha gnyer*. The rest is used to maintain 'Du khang, Thub chen *lha khang* and three *mchod rten*. The monastery's other yaks are taken by families for profit, which should be spent for general and living expenses in the monastery, the families which promise to keep yaks for profit can keep them 'without death' (*shi med*)<sup>10</sup> and can keep the yaks' offspring. This benefits the families also. Thirty-four monks in the sGrub grwa take the fund of four thousand five hundred yuan for their living expenses. They can appoint somebody to conduct business for them, or share the money to conduct business themselves. They should, however, give the fund back to the monastery at the end of the year. In addition to profits from the yaks' butter and money, they add more yaks and money to the fund as offerings. This raises the monks' living standards, but it depends on the amount of offerings that year, on rainfall in the pasture land, natural calamities, etc. In any case, there are little more than one thousand monks registered in the monastery, but only about eighty of these live there, and each one receives 500 to 1000 yuan for their living expenses each year from the monastery. More than nine hundred monks who are living with their own families have to make rituals for nomadic families and herd animals, or excavate medicines<sup>11</sup> to earn their living expenses. They come to the monastery only to participate in special rituals or to make retreats. The monastery does not pay them. They are monks and nomads at the same time. Some of them are real monks who keep themselves within the bounds of very strict Buddhist discipline. Others, however, are lay people who only come to the monastery for rituals or retreats as monks, but who also have families and animals and live completely as nomads. This close relationship between the monastery and the tribes brings the Dralag monastery closer to the people, and makes it a cultural centre in the Datangma pasture. Many children are sent by their families to the monastery to learn the Tibetan language and Buddhist teachings. Lay people also come to learn Buddhist teachings and spend their free time on retreats. They can continue their religious activities at home as well. This close relationship with free nomadic life forms an auspicious atmosphere in the Datangma pasture.

### ABBREVIATIONS

<i>KDGL</i>	<i>rGyal ba ka thog ba chen po'i gdan rabs gnyis ba gra lag bshad sgrub mdo sngags gling</i> by Byang chub rdo rje.
<i>KDRP</i>	<i>dPal rgyal ba ka thog pa'i gdan rabs brgyud 'dzin dang bcas pa'i byung ba brjod pa rin po che'i phreng ba lha bu'i gnam</i> by Sangs rgyas rdo rje.
<i>KLNG</i>	<i>gSang chen bstan pa'i chu mgo rgyal ba ka thog pa'i lo rgyus mdor bsdu rjod pa 'chi med lha yi rnga sgra ngo mtshar rna ba'i dga' ston</i> by Thub bstan 'jam dbyangs legs bshad bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan.
<i>NZNT</i>	<i>dPal ldan bla ma rin po che nges don sku phreng bzhi ba'i mam thar nor bu'i zer phreng</i> by mKhan bsTan 'dzin bzang po.

<sup>10</sup> This is a term of the traditional economy in Khams. Nomadic families borrow female yaks from monastery, they give butter back to the monastery as interest, and must add young yaks when the yaks which they borrowed die, because the number of yaks they borrow must not change as if they do not die.

<sup>11</sup> Datangma pasture is very rich in medicinal herbs, especially the Tibetan caterpillar herb (*dbyar rtsa dgun 'bu*) and the bulb of fritillary (*Fritillaria thunbergii*). Monks and lay people dig and sell them for living expenses.



THE DEATH OF MILAREPA:  
Towards a *Redaktionsgeschichte* of the *Mila rnam thar* Traditions

by

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I. Introduction

In his *rnām thar* of Milarepa, rGyal thang pa, a disciple of rGod Tshang pa of the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud pa, gives us a short verse on the death and realization of the great rJe btsun:

Thus the *rje btsun* Guru, possessing the six perfections  
And defeating the four Māras,  
Having completed all his enlightened activity,  
Manifested the way to pass out of suffering;  
I bow down to the completion of the biography (*rnām thar*)  
of the Saint. (verse 26 folio 259)

Not only in his death, but throughout his life, Milarepa has death as a frequent, if not constant, companion. The death of his father when he was a seven-year-old child, the deaths of relatives caused by his own practice of black magic, his mother's threat of suicide, his extreme penitential suffering under Marpa leading him to the brink of suicide, the discovery of the bones of his mother in the ruins of the family home, even his experience at La physis gang (a victory over death and the attainment of the 'charisma' of immortality<sup>1</sup>) give rise to a whole body of very remarkable teachings on death, transmitted largely in the *mgur 'bum* traditions, notably, but not exclusively in that of gTsang smyon Heruka.

Death preparations and instructions on the *bardo* are given in gTsang smyon's version of the *mgur 'bum* in chapter 48 on Shindormo and Lesebum (an elderly couple), in chapter 30 (*bardo*), in the song of the body as a *maṇḍala*:<sup>2</sup> "Oh, whenever death may come, I shall feel nought by joy", in the "salvation of the dead",<sup>3</sup> and in the conversion of a dying Bon po.<sup>4</sup> Even the dramatic encounter (in chapter 53) with the Indian tantric *siddha* Dam pa Sangs rgyas reveals the centrality of one's readiness for death as a sign of the authenticity of one's realization.

These fundamental values are summed up remarkably in the various accounts of Milarepa's death, which is consistently mentioned as a teaching, a manifestation of what Mila has practiced, realized, and transmitted, and not solely as an historical event that one necessarily mentions when one writes a biography. And, as a teaching, it is subject to the modifications introduced by successive authors in a process of editing and rewriting, *i.e.* redaction.

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<sup>1</sup> rGyal thang pa gives great importance to the victory of Milarepa over the cold and lack of food during his winter at La physis gang (folia 231-235). This attainment, which the author calls *tshe 'i dngos grub bgyi ba* (the *siddhi* of life-immortal), is identified with the Supreme *siddhi*, the realization of the *dharmakāya* (folio 233).

<sup>2</sup> Garma C. C. Chang (transl.), *The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa*. Boulder and London, Shambhala, 1977, pp. 507f.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 615.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 241.

## II. Redaktionsgeschichte

Anyone trained in Biblical exegesis who reads the biography of Milarepa inevitably begins to see similarities between the Gospel narratives and those of the Tibetan authors, who themselves claim to be 'inspired'.<sup>5</sup> The predictions of the passion and death that we find in the Synoptic Gospels function as teachings on death and discipleship, seeking to contextualize the meaning of Christ's death as a symbolic teaching that must be taken to heart daily by the believer (and to all He said: "If anyone would come after me, let him... take up his cross daily and follow me." Luke 9: 23). The relation between the passion narrative itself (the longest and final part of all four Gospels) and the rest of the Gospel narrative has been studied in considerable detail by numerous commentators over the centuries. Recent scholarship has been able to show how complex these texts are, particularly in their use of oral and literary sources.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, some of the *Mila rnam thar* have an exceptionally long chapter on the death of the rJe btsun, which takes the form of an elaborate funerary pageant in which ordinary humans, disciples, and celestial beings each have a part to play.

In the light of these fertile similarities, the present article will introduce the methodology of what Biblical studies calls '*Redaktionsgeschichte*' to the biographical tradition of the *Mila rnam thar* and *mgur 'bum*. Here we will begin to address the issue of redaction making use of the very important Milarepa 'passion narrative', but there is abundant material to continue this line of research on the entire tradition, as we have indicated elsewhere.<sup>7</sup>

What is *Redaktionsgeschichte* and how is it useful for a study of *rnām thar*? In his introductory study, Norman Perrin points out that Willi Marxen invented the term for New Testament studies in 1956:

It is concerned with studying the theological motivation of an author as this is revealed in the collection, arrangement, editing, and modification of traditional material, and in the composition of new material or the creation of new forms within the traditions of early Christianity. Although the discipline is called redaction criticism, it could equally be called 'composition criticism' (*Kompositionsgeschichte*) because it is concerned with the composition of new material and the arrangements of redacted or freshly created material into new units and patterns, as well as with the redaction of existing material.<sup>8</sup>

One of the things that is certainly evident in the *Mila* biographical tradition is the active role of the author. E. Gene Smith's indispensable 'Preface' to the *Life of the Saint of gTsang* brings this out quite clearly.<sup>9</sup> Also, sGam po pa in his *rnām thar* of Marpa and Milarepa is aware of an

<sup>5</sup> Victoria K. Urubshurou, *Symbolic Process on the Buddhist Path: Spiritual Development in the Biographical Tradition of Milarepa*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago 1984, p. 18.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John*. Garden City, Doubleday, 1970 (Anchor Bible Commentary); Joseph A. Fitzmeyer, *The Gospel According to Luke* (same publisher, 1985) and C.S. Mann, *Mark* (same publisher, 1986).

<sup>7</sup> Francis Tiso, "The Religion of Milarepa Before His Conversion", in *The Notion of Religion in Comparative Research*. U. Bianchi (ed.), Roma, L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1994 and "The *ido tje 'chang rnam thar* in the *bka' brgyud gser 'phreng* genre", in *PIATS Fagernes* 1992 and "The biographical tradition of Milarepa: orality, literacy and iconography", *Tibet Journal* 1996 (in press).

<sup>8</sup> N. Perrin, *What is Redaction Criticism?* Philadelphia, Fortress Press, 1969, pp. 1f.

<sup>9</sup> *The Life of the Saint of gTsang by rGyod Tshang ras pa sna tshogs rang grol*. Lokesh Chandra (ed.), New Delhi 1969, p. 27 of the 'Preface' by E. Gene Smith and, in the Tibetan text, pp. 137-164.



ongoing 'oral tradition'.<sup>10</sup> In the *Blue Annals*, there is a criticism of 'spurious sources'<sup>11</sup> and in rGyal thang pa, we find the use of first lines or stanzas of an existing *ngur 'bum*, with the implication that the reciter of the text should continue to sing (*i.e.* re-create in the manner of the epic bard) the rest of the song. The fact is that each generation of disciples re-wrote the biography, introducing new elements and amplifying older material in accordance with the interests and problems of that particular moment in the history of the various branches of the bKa' brgyud order. As Perrin tells us, "The prime requisite for redaction criticism is the ability to trace the *form* and *content* of material used by the author concerned or in some way to *determine the nature and extent of his activity* in collecting and creating, as well as in arranging, editing and composing."<sup>12</sup>

There are many variations among the over 25 versions of the life of Milarepa that are still extant, which suggests a tendency to re-create, as would be expected of oral tradition.<sup>13</sup> The actual decision on the part of the authors to write down the biography and songs suggests a more complex interplay of influences. One primary motive for writing a biography is to make available to disciples a consistent source of inspiration.<sup>14</sup> Another reason seems to be to clarify lineage relationships in the *guruparaṅparā* relevant to each branch of the 'four great and eight lesser' subdivisions of the bKa' brgyud. There is also the question of political crisis and persecution, which tend to create a climate in which sponsored literary production can play an important role.<sup>15</sup> The production of a biographical text is seldom detached from some degree of historical pressure; it is possible that rGyal thang pa's version (late 1250's), for example, appears as part of a response to criticism of the *siddha* element in the bKa' brgyud order.<sup>16</sup>

The most popular versions, the *mam thar* and the *ngur 'bum* assembled and redacted by gTsang smyon Heruka at the end of the fifteenth century, show all the evidence of re-working in the context of a program of religious reform, the so-called *smyon pa* movement among bKa' brgyud yogins such as gTsang smyon, 'Brug pa Kun dga' legs, etc.<sup>17</sup> In fact, the Mila tradition is probably more accessible to this type of study precisely because we know a great deal more about Milarepa, his biographers and the history of the lineage over a much longer period (1125-1500) than we do about Jesus and his disciples (30-100) during the period of the redaction of the Gospels.

<sup>10</sup> See the *Collected Works of sGampopa*, (Darjeeling 1982), Vol. I, folio 37: "There is an extensive account of how [the three great men of La Stod] venerated [Milarepa]", and folio 42: "this account merely in outline form".

<sup>11</sup> BA, Roerich transl., p. 432.

<sup>12</sup> Perrin, *op. cit.*, p. 2. Italics mine.

<sup>13</sup> The idea of an interplay between oral and written sources was discussed in Lama Kunga Rinpoche and Brian Cutillo, *Drinking the Mountain Stream*. Novato, CA, Lotsawa Press, 1978, pp. 33-34. For the performance characteristics of the epic bard, see: Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales*. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1960, pp. 4-5. Geoffrey Samuel clarifies the nature of the Tibetan bard in "Chantefable form in the Gesar epic of Tibet" (Paper for the Symposium of the International Musicological Society, Melbourne 1988) and points out the difficulties in relating the early Milarepa materials to the Gesar epic in its present form in a personal letter to the author, 4 August 1994.

<sup>14</sup> Urubshurow, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-22.

<sup>15</sup> Political strife and persecution figure abundantly in the life of gTsang smyon, for which see E. Gene Smith's "Preface", *op. cit.*, pp. 10-12.

<sup>16</sup> David Jackson, *Enlightenment by a Single Means*. Wien 1994, especially chapters 3 and 4.

<sup>17</sup> It is E. Gene Smith who identifies these personalities as a 'movement'. Cf. Lokesh Chandra, *op. cit.*

In the earlier versions such as that of rGyal thang pa, as well as in the works of gTsang smyon, there is a noticeable flavor of 'epic' style. G. Samuel has pointed out that the written versions of the epic of Gesar are several centuries later than the Mila biographical corpus. Without committing ourselves to demonstrating a relationship between the Mila *nam thar* and the epic of Gesar, clear suggestions of the literary world of the inspired bards can be seen in: the self-introductions, the delight in tales of combat of all kinds, the interweaving of prose and poetry, the way the character of Milarepa is developed in the course of his life, and the pageantry of the account of his death. Our texts are not far removed from oral sources and the influence of the oral style of tale-telling, all of which any attempt at redaction criticism must take into account.

There is also the problem of the transmission of the texts themselves. We have the gTsang smyon 'original xylograph'<sup>18</sup> (which is nearly identical to J. W. de Jong's ms. 'C'<sup>19</sup>), but we apparently do not have 'original' mss. or xylographs of earlier versions. Only in the case of the works of sGam po pa are there several editions with which to make a critical edition.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, in texts such as those of sGam po pa, rGyal thang pa, and others, one does not see a tendency for later scribes to make major changes. The variants are the usual ones of copyists' errors and not of redaction per se. One exception is the Ras chung *Mila nam thar* which turns up re-inserted word for word in the gTsang smyon version of the *nam thar*; this *Mila nam thar* by Ras chung pa can be found in gTsang smyon's edition of the *sMran rtsi shes rigs spen mdzod*.<sup>21</sup> There is another related, but significantly different version attributed to Ras chung pa in the *Bde mchog snyan brgyud*.<sup>22</sup> Thus, even the written texts collected by gTsang smyon in the process of writing the biography and songs of Milarepa show evidence of a history of prior redaction.

### III. Working with the texts

Actual work with the texts that have come down to us becomes simpler when we choose one episode or 'pericope', in this case the death of Milarepa. Limiting ourselves to eight versions of this pericope, we have selected eight analytical categories that should reveal relationships among the variant accounts. Once we have established what the variations are, it becomes quite easy to arrive at family relationships among the versions. The variations within a family suggest input from one or more oral traditions or parallel texts that are not included in this study. Major variations suggest more profound dislocations and challenges in the history of the lineage of transmission. The two Tables show the versions and the analytical categories. Table II, following the letter and number code of Table I, gives the relevant details from each of the biographical versions.

<sup>18</sup> In the Lehman Library Tibetan Collection at Columbia University, NY.

<sup>19</sup> *Mi la ras pa 'i rNam Thar: Texte Tibétain de la vie de Milarépa*. J. W. de Jong (ed.), 'S-Gravenhage, Mouton & Co, 1959.

<sup>20</sup> See the works of Adelheid Mette (1976), "Beobachtungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte einiger Lieder des *Mi la ras pa 'i mGur 'bum*", *IJ* 18, 255-272, and Helmut Eimer and Pema Tsering (1990), "Blockprints and manuscripts of *Mi la ras pa's Mgur 'bum* accessible to Frank-Richard Hamn", in *Frank-Richard Hamn Memorial Volume*. Helmut Eimer (ed.), Bonn, (*Indica et Tibetica* 21).

<sup>21</sup> gTsang smyon Heruka, *sMran rtsis shes rig spen mdzod*. Vol. 11, *Bde mchog mkha' 'gro snyan rgyud* (Ras chung snyan rgyud), Leh, S. W. Tashigangpa, 1971. *Mila nam thar* pp. 91-93.

<sup>22</sup> *Bde mchog mkha' 'gro snyan rgyud* (Ras chung snyan rgyud)... compiled by Byang chub Bzang po, from the library of Apho Rimpoche. Vol. 1, Delhi 1973. *Mila nam thar* pp. 97-125.

Table I: The death of Milarepa

Versions:	Analytical topics:
1. sGam po pa (1100's)	A. Place names/pilgrimage
2. Dorje Dze 'Od (early 1200's)	B. Year
3. 'Brug pa'i Chos 'byung (1600)	C. Persons Named
4. Blue Annals (1476)	D. Relics and Possessions
5. sMan rtsis spen mdzod (1200?)	E. Siddhis
6. Ras chung snyan rgyud (1100's)	F. Titles of Milarepa
7. rGyal thang pa (1260)	G. Songs
8. gTsang smyon (1488)	H. The Murder Story

Table II: Analytical breakdown of the death accounts

A. 1. Brin, Ti se	2. Ti se, Brin, India
3. Abhirati	4. No place names
5. Heavenly Pure Realm	6. gNya nang of Drin
7. India, Tibet, Chu dbar hermitage, sNye nam, realm of the Clear Light, Brin, Mang Khung, White Rock ta po, Lo ro.	8. Trode Tashi gang, Nyanang Dingri, Chuwar, Pure Land, ReKpa Dukchen of Drin, Driche Cave, Dahkhar, Eagle's Egg, Loro Dol in South Tibet, a temple in Chuwar.
B. 1. None	2. 8th day of the 4th month, year of the Bird; age 82.
3. 1123; age 83.	4. age 84; water female hare year 1123.
5. none.	6. none.
7. Age 73; year of the monkey (1116? 1128?); evening of the full moon day of the last of the three spring months; at dawn.	8. Age 84; sunrise, 14th day of the 12th month of the year of the Wood Hare (1136) under the ninth lunar constellation (or: Water Female hare year, 1123, age 83!).
C. 1. Lama Milarepa	2. Milarepa, Tashi Tseringma.
3. Milarepa, Akṣobhya	4. rJe btsun, followers, Ma gcig zha ma, Buddha
5. Sentient beings, Ras chung pa, Ngan rdzongs ras pa, others	6. Lord Yama, Lama Milarepa, a certain Bon po, a beautiful lady, 6 disciples, <i>ḍākinīs</i> , Ras chung pa.
7. <i>rje btsun bla ma</i> Milarepa, 4 Māras, sentient beings, 12 <i>yogins</i> and <i>yoginīs</i> , guru <i>siddhas</i> , the people, followers, Teacher Byang 'bar, the Blessed One/Mighty Sage/Buddha, bKa' brgyud gurus, demon Yama, 'Bri sgom g.yang legs, lCam me, 'the Six Lords of Light', Ras pa zhi ba skyong, patroness Legs se, Bonpo Tsan dar 'bum, a beautiful woman, gShen chung pa, Ras chung pa, people of Brin and sNye nam, rGya gar bya ba of Brin, <i>ḍākinīs</i> , pha bos and ma mos, rGyal thang pa bde chen rdo rje.	8. Geshe Tsak puh wa, Milarepa, a concubine, disciples, a <i>nāga</i> demon at ReKpa Dukchen, demon of illness, devotees of Mila, Ras Chung pa, Maitrepa, sGam po pa, Shi wa 'od repa, Ngan dzon ton pa Seba Repa, Repa hermit of Di, people of Nyanang and Drin, a celestial youth, a second body at Nyanang, <i>ḍākinīs</i> , monks at the cremation, <i>yidams</i> , list of disciples and their <i>siddhis</i> .

D. 1. Relics not mentioned	2. not mentioned
3. not mentioned	4. "Not even a small amount of bones or relics was left"
5. Rainbow body	6. The relics were taken up by the <i>ḍākinīs</i> . Before the eyes of the six disciples, there was not even a trace of the corpse. A package of molasses was found behind the wall.
7. Rainbow body. gShen chung pa asked to take the hat and staff to Ras chung pa. A mirror adorned with a flame, silk-like flame, a rusty knife, a pouch of flour, some cotton garments, a white undergarment, ritual headress with mirror, small samaya texts. Of the relics, not even a bit of finger or toe nails was left; they had been taken away by the pha bos and <i>ḍākinīs</i> . The aggregates passed away without remainder.	8. Staff and robe bequeathed to Ras chung pa. To sGam po pa, the hat of Maitrepa and the staff of black aloe wood. To Shi wa 'od repa, the wooden bowl. To Ngan dzong Ton pa, the tinder box. To Hermit Repa of Di, the bone spoon. Strips of cotton cloth were given to other disciples. A last will. No relics will be left. The <i>ḍākinīs</i> carry off the relics in a globe of white light. An egg-shaped object appears. A reliquary stūpa appears. A marble slab under the cremation cell is left, inscribed with four sacred syllables. Under the hearth there was a square piece of white cloth, a knife, raw sugar, and instructions to cut up the sugar and the cloth and give them to all; poem: "The food of a <i>yogin</i> " and "On the cotton cloth", a rain of celestial flowers.
E. 1. Deeds and virtues	2. Mila was never separate from the state of <i>samādhi</i> and he experienced no duality between meditation and post-meditation; he achieved the absolute truth of <i>dharmatā</i> , the manifestation of <i>dharmakāya</i> . He appeared in three different places after his dual cremation.
3. He went to the Buddha field of Akṣobhya.	4. Ma gcig Zha ma said: "Since his perseverance was greater than that of others, he surely should be considered to be a Buddha."
5. Deeds without limit for sentient beings. Rainbow body went to the heavenly pure realm.	6. At the time of his passing away he attained the Bliss of Yoga without entering the Intermediate State; a self-arisen fire blazed up from the corpse; victory banners and parasols appeared; swastika and srivatsa all around; rainbow colored smoke; sounds of musical instruments; <i>yidams</i> , heroes and <i>ḍākinīs</i> made offerings; the Saint dissolved into Voidness.
7. The Six Perfections attained; defeated the four Māras; completed enlightened activities, his body disappeared even before his death, like an apparition; clairvoyance with regard to the fact of the plan to murder him; his consciousness went to the realm of the Clear	8. Mila knew about the poison. Celestial manifestations at a ritual feast. Transference of illness and conversion of the Geshe. Present at the same time in more than five places. Shrinking of the body at Chu war. A second body at Nya nang. Appearances to Ras chung

<p>Light. Sounds of music at the moment of death. White ray of light from the top of his head which remained in the sky. Corpse would not burn. Self-arisen flame from the heart cakra consumed the corpse. Eight auspicious symbols appeared. A sparkling light in the sky. Songs of sky-beings heard by all. No relics: sign of a completely perfect Buddha. Emanations: at least two; one went to help a mortal enemy.</p>	<p>pa. Self-arisen fire. Appearance of <i>yidams</i> at the pyre. The cremation cell undergoes transformations. <i>ḍākinīs</i>, songs, egg-like object, stūpa. A mass of light in the sky. A rain of celestial flowers which recurs annually.</p>
<p>F. 1. Lama Mi la</p>	<p>2. ?</p>
<p>3. ?</p>	<p>4. <i>rje btsun, sangs rgyas</i></p>
<p>5. None.</p> <p>7. <i>bla ma rje btsun, mal 'byor gyi dbang phyug</i> Mid la ras pa, <i>bla ma grub thob, rje btsun gyi rgyal po</i> Mid la ras pa.</p>	<p>6. <i>bla ma, mal 'byor, rje btsun, rje btsun chen po</i> Mi la.</p> <p>8. <i>rje btsun</i> Mi la ras pa, <i>grub thob, mal 'byor, rje btsun rin po che, rje btsun chen po, rje dus gsum sangs rgyas 'gro ba'i mgon. thugs mkhyen rtse chen po'i ngang nyid nas bla ma rje. dang po bla ma. pha yi mkhyen bsteses. pha thugs rje. rje bla ma. rje yid bshin nor bu. rje grub thob. rje. thugs rje can. 'gyur ba med pa'i mal 'byor pa. 'jigs pa bral</i> (and many others in the invocation by Shi wa Od Repa). At the end of the text: <i>mal 'byor gyi dbang phyug chen po</i> Mila ras pa; <i>mal 'byor gyi dbang phyug chen dpal</i> Mi la ras pa.</p>
<p>G. 1. None</p>	<p>2. None</p>
<p>3. None</p>	<p>4. None.</p>
<p>5. None</p> <p>7. Apparitions of death: <i>mal 'byor mid la ras pa nga</i> // <i>'chi bdag bdud kyi ba mo yis</i> //.. <i>'ja' lus gyur nas dbyings gshegs zer</i> // <i>de ltar snang ba gnyis kar bden</i> //; a song of mourning by celestials: <i>bla ma rin chen gshegs dus 'dir...mkha' 'gro'i dbang phyug bla ma rje</i> // <i>pur sbyongs mkha' spyod gnas su gshegs</i> //; introductory verse: <i>de lta'i bla ma rje btsun de nyid kyis</i> // <i>bdud bzhi bcom nas yon tan drug dang ldan</i> // <i>phrin las rdzogs nas mya nga 'da' tshul stan</i> // <i>rje btsun mam thar rdzogs la gus phyag 'tshal</i> //</p>	<p>6. A song of the <i>ḍākinīs</i>: <i>nor bu rin gshegs dus so 'o</i> //...<i>rje btsun skye med stong par thim</i> //</p> <p>8. Song of forgetfulness to the Geshe; how to see the gods; promise to bless the regions of his journeys; song of spiritual gain; song of the Great Seal of Voidness; song of the Geshe's conversion; song of authentic spiritual practice and its perils; the verdict on the relics; song of the six essential principles (sung from the cremation cell); a song of liberation from attachments (with comments on the funeral rites by <i>ḍākinīs</i>); Ras chungs "Seven Limbs" invocation; Ras chung's invocation on the basis of example; <i>ḍākinīs</i> instruct on how to invoke Mila; invocation of Shi wa od asking for a reliquary stūpa; Mila's reply from the stūpa on the need for discernment; the food of a <i>yogin</i> (about the relics found in the cave); a song by <i>ḍākinīs</i> on mourning.</p>

H. 1. None	2. None
3. None	4. None
5. None	6. A Bon po bribed a lady with a turquoise to feed Mila some poisoned yoghurt. Clairvoyance and forgiveness.
7. A Bon po of sNye nam, Tsan dar 'bum. He sends his girlfriend, having promised her a turquoise. Mila displays clairvoyance and forgives. Mila interprets the meaning of his death for his disciples and refuses remedies. Visits another enemy after his death.	8. Geshe Tsak pûh wa is the culprit, motivated by jealousy. The girlfriend, the turquoise, the poisoned yoghurt, clairvoyance and forgiveness. His illness is totally under control. Refuses remedies. Explains his death as a teaching. Converts the Geshe in a dramatic scene. The Geshe pays for an annual commemoration.

The tables provide evidence for two distinct 'families' or transmissions of the biographies. Versions 1-5 represent materials that cluster around the tradition of sGam po pa, since they most closely resemble his very brief and discrete account 'in outline form'. Versions 6, 7, and 8 (shaded) seem to give freer voice to the narrative process and have closer ties to the Ras chung pa tradition.<sup>23</sup> This is especially evident in the account of the murder of Milarepa by poisoning. The developmental process of redaction is extremely clear in the song of the *ḍākinīs*. In the *Ras chung snyan rgyud*, likely a very early version, it is a short hymn that celebrates the mourning and tells of the self-arisen fire, the auspicious symbols and the disappearance of the relics. The same material and vocabulary may be found in the rGyal thang pa's and gTsang smyon's versions, but with the expansions attributable to oral composition and literary manipulation.

Why the 'Ras chung family' places such emphasis on these events, whereas the sGam po pa family almost completely ignores them can only in part be ascribed to the absence of the latter during the last days of the rJe btsun. It does seem that rGyal thang and gTsang smyon knew of and were strongly influenced by the *Bu chen bcu gnyis* version of the songs of Milarepa,<sup>24</sup> which includes a lengthy funerary pageant with invocations (this work is rich in liturgical allusions), preceded by an account of the poisoning, which concurs in identifying the guilty party as a Bon po (Folia 234-243). The increased use of place names and 'etiological' tales, especially in gTsang smyon, suggests the use of guide books and oral tradition associated with pilgrimage to the places of the life of Milarepa. The sources deriving from what we are calling the 'Ras chung tradition' seem to have been produced in the places of pilgrimage; the more detached works derive from Central Tibetan communities which would have had little direct interest in promoting place-name etiologies associated with pilgrimage sites.

gTsang smyon, perhaps influenced by his own experience of persecution by scholars from Se-ra and 'Bras-spungs,<sup>25</sup> changed the assassin from a Bon po to a *geshe*. Part of the 'art' of his

<sup>23</sup> See E. Gene Smith, Preface to *The Life of the Saint of gTsang* (s. note 9), p. 4, n. 7, for a discussion of the affiliation of gTsang smyon with the Ras chung bKa' bryud sub-sect.

<sup>24</sup> This text has been found in the Newark Museum, Tibetan Book Collection Folio #36.280; E. Gene Smith refers to this work as a source of the *Mila mgur 'bum* of gTsang smyon (*op.cit.*, p. 27). It is quite evident from the drawings that accompany the text of this ms. that it represents the core tradition of the *Hundred Thousand Songs* and not the biography per se.

<sup>25</sup> E. Gene Smith, Preface, *op. cit.*, p. 15 and note 34.

own life was the self-identification with Ras chung pa and even with Milarepa himself,<sup>26</sup> so that in a sense Milarepa lives again in the poetry and adventures of the life of his greatest biographer. Thus the 'Ras chung family' shows its own peculiar concerns through narrativity strongly influenced by epic style.

In further research, it will be important to clarify the historical relationships between each successive version and the vicissitudes of the various bKa' brgyud sub-sects that produced them. A fuller understanding of the redaction history of the works of rGyal thang pa and of gTsang smyon will have to await a more careful study of the key *Bu chen bcu gnyis* version, and an historical-critical study of the texts attributed to Ras chung pa. Only then will we have enough control over the available literary material to make decisions as to which elements of the works of rGyal thang pa and gTsang smyon come from early texts, which come from oral or 'epic' composition, and which are new literary creations of the authors as final redactors. In the footsteps of Albert B. Lord and other researchers in the living traditions of oral composition, future studies of the biographical tradition of Milarepa will also have to investigate the world of still-active *glu mkhan* in the Himalayan regions of Tibetan culture.

Given what we now know of the Milarepa biographical tradition, we could say (substituting '*Mila rnam thar*' for 'Gospel' and 'lineage' for 'early Church' in the original text of Perrin):

1. The *Mila rnam thars* as we now have them are not simple creations out of a whole cloth, but consist of collections of material, the final selection and arrangement of which we owe to the *sacred authors* themselves.
2. The material now presented in the *Mila rnam thars* has a previous history of use in the *bKa' brgyud lineage*, in large part a history of oral transmission. It circulated in the *lineage* in the form of individual units or collections of related material and in this form it served definite functions in the life and liturgy of the *lineage* in doctrinal exposition and apologetic, in exhortation and instruction.
3. The smallest units of tradition, the individual story, saying, dialogue, *song*, etc. have definite forms which can be defined and studied. Each of these forms served a definite function in a concrete situation in the life of the *bKa' brgyud lineage*. This situation is what is referred to as the *Sitz im Leben* of the material. The main purpose for the creation, the circulation and the use of these forms was not to present the history of *Milarepa*, but to strengthen the life of the *lineage*.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> This was not universally acknowledged, but it is part of the legend recounted by rGod tshang ras pa, the biographer whose work Lokesh Candra and E. Gene Smith made available in 1969; *op. cit.* p. 8, n. 20.

<sup>27</sup> N. Perrin, *op.cit.*, pp. 15-16.





# SMALL UNITS IN THE TERRITORIAL DIVISION OF THE TIBETAN EMPIRE (7TH – 9TH CENTURY)

by

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The state organization and administration of the Tibetan empire (7th – 9th c.) is known in outlines. Information on details can in many cases only be obtained through the study of the documents preserved in Central Asian territories formerly under Tibetan rule. Units smaller than the thousand-districts (*ston-sde*), the fundamental military and civil administrative units of Tibet proper, *i.e.* the Four Horns, are so far almost unknown. Therefore the principle of the subdivision of the comparatively well known Central Asian thousand-districts is of some importance also for Tibet, though details may vary due to the situation in conquered areas.

It was G. Uray (1982: 547-548) who demonstrated that documents from Tun-huang concerning the thousand-districts of this region point to the *tshan* as "tenth units of the thousand-districts, *i.e.* practically speaking, hundreds." From these documents it can be deduced that the heads of these units were called *lña-bcu-rkañ*, "heads of fifty" or *brgye'u rje/brgya'u rje*, "masters of little-hundred" who ranked higher than the *lña-bcu-rkañ*. Both officials are mentioned in documents concerning civil matters. The documents also show that the *tshan* were named according to the family and personal names of their heads. T. Takeuchi (1994) has taken up the question of the *tshan* putting it in a wider context by adding information found in documents in Chinese from Tun-huang and Tibetan documents from Khotan. He concludes from the titles of the heads of the *tshan* that one *tshan* is a unit consisting of fifty households.<sup>1</sup> Another important conclusion in Takeuchi's study is based on Tun-huang Chinese documents. Some of these fragmentary documents supply the number of the *chiang* – the Chinese equivalent of Tibetan *tshan* – up to the number of ten and in addition the side, right or left. By introducing two sides of one *tshan* a duplication in total is obtained without changing the number of the ten *tshan* in a thousand-district. Thus the Chinese documents contribute to understand the contrast between the *tshan* as tenth units of the thousand-districts, and the fact that the titles of their heads point to units of nominally fifty. For this reason T. Takeuchi (1994: 852) states that a thousand-district in Tun-huang consisted of twenty *chiang* or *tshan*.

References to *tshan* under the thousand-districts of the Four Horns of Tibet in Old Tibetan texts, inscriptions or contemporary documents have so far not come to light. However, information on the subdivision of the Four Horns is transmitted in two historiographical texts, the *Chos-'byuñ* of mKhas-pa lDe'u and the *rGyal-po bka'i thañ-yig*.<sup>2</sup>

In *lDe'u Chos-'byuñ* (1987: 252,8) there is incorporated a quote in verse from an unspecified source, enumerating the ten fundamental institutions of the state created by the king. These

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<sup>1</sup> It is unknown how a household was defined. Moreover it goes without saying that we cannot assume that a *tshan* comprised exactly fifty households or a *ston-sde* consisted of exactly 1 000.

<sup>2</sup> There is an interesting gloss (*yig-chuñ*) preceding the sixteenth *le'u* valid also for the seventeenth in which the *yul-sde* are enumerated: 1982a: 230,5[63b5]: *dpe mññ lcags smyug gis bris pa zig la le'u 'di dan bcu bdun pa gnis 'dug pa ltar bris / "I have written both, this [*i.e.* the sixteenth] and seventeenth *le'u* as they appear in an old script written with metal pen."*

resemble a pyramid starting in pairs from ten to one. The basis of the state organization is formed by the ten *tshan* and the ten *sde*.<sup>3</sup> In the following text all these institutions are explained in detail.<sup>4</sup>

To begin with the second of the units named, the explanation of the ten *sde* (*IDe'u* 255,6-7; 258,5-259,2)<sup>5</sup> does not seem to pose problems. The ten *sde* are said to consist of eight thousand-districts (*stoñ-sde*), one little or additional thousand-district (*stoñ-bu-chuñ*) and one bodyguard thousand-district (*sku-sruñ-gi stoñ-sde*) of a horn. This makes a total of ten *sde*.<sup>6</sup>

In contrast, the detailed explanation of the ten *tshan* (*IDe'u* 256,20) does not as might be expected enumerate ten *tshan* but lists the names of sixteen *yul dpon tshan* of each of the Four Horns. Therefore in a first survey of the structure of this chapter, I supposed that we have to do with a textual corruption so that the original catalogue had erroneously been substituted (Uebach 1992: 831). T. Takeuchi (1994: 856) shared this view. Further investigation in this matter brought to light another reference of almost the same sixteen names in each of the Four Horns in *rGyal-po bka'i thañ-yig*. This is why the question if there is a reason in the explanation of the ten *tshan* by enumerating the sixteen *yul dpon tshan* deserves to be reconsidered.

The detailed information introducing the ten *tshan* provided in *IDe'u* is concise. It runs as follows (*IDe'u* 256,20):

*rgyas par bśad pa la tshan bcu ni bod ru re re na | yul dpon bcu drug bcu drug yod pa ni | ru lag gi yul dpon tshan bcu drug la | mañ yul la yul dpon tshan gcig | ...*

"Ten *tshan* explained in detail: in each of the [four] horns of Tibet there are sixteen *yul-dpon*. The sixteen *yul-dpon tshan* of Ru-lag: Mañ-yul is one *yul dpon tshan* ..."

Then the enumeration continues.

It is noteworthy that in the enumeration of the names *IDe'u* particularly states that each name constitutes one *yul-dpon tshan*. It is, however, hard to decide beforehand whether *tshan* in the compound *yul-dpon tshan* should be interpreted as "section, class" in general or whether it refers to the administrative unit *tshan*, comprising fifty households as in Tun-huang.

Unlike the *Chos-'byuñ* of *IDe'u*, the *rGyal-po bka'i thañ-yig* (1982a: 232,4-233,4) does not mention the term *tshan* at all. It states:

<sup>3</sup> *IDe'u* 252,8: .../ *rgyal khrims tshan bcu dañ ni sde bcu dañ* / ...

Compare also a repetition in *IDe'u* 255,4:

*gzuñ las tshan bcu dañ ni sde bcu dañ | zes pa la sogs pas ston | de la tshan bcu ni bod ru re re na yul dpon tshan bcu drug bcu drug yod pa la bya |*

At the end of the narrative of legislation and organization of *IDe'u*, which is less elaborate (Uebach 1992: 831) than the narrative in the *mKhas-pa'i dga'-ston* (see Uray 1972: 23-27), another reference of the ten *tshan* and ten *sde*, not included in the *mKhas-pa'i dga'-ston*, is found (*IDe'u* 272: 7-8): ... *bros so | de la rgod kyi stoñ sde dbye ba dañ | de'i stoñ dpon ni | tshan bcu sde bcur bśad do |*

<sup>4</sup> For a survey of the whole section see Uebach 1992: 826-829.

<sup>5</sup> *IDe'u* 255,6-7: *sde bcu ni bod ru re re la sde brgyad brgyad | stoñ bu chuñ dañ dgu | sku srui re re dañ bcu'o |*

In *IDe'u* 258,2 there is the same wording except ...*bcu tham pa'o* / Then follows the enumeration of all the names of the thousand-districts.

<sup>6</sup> It is worth noting that three types of *stoñ-sde* are included: 8 regular thousand-districts, a small thousand-district (=500) and a special thousand-district (? = 500; counted as half in some historiographies).

*bod khams rgyal po stoñ sde'i sa khul ni / yul gyi mi sde'i grañs [5] btab pa / stod  
kyi žaň žuň stoñ sde bcu gsum yod / smad na sum pa stoñ sde bcu gsum yod /  
phyogs su dmag gis rgya yi mtha' la phul / bod khams ru bži yul gyi grañs btab  
pa / dbu ru g.yas ru g.yon ru ru lag bži / [6] g.yas ru'i kluñs la yul sde bcu drug  
yod /...*

233,1: *nañ blon rnams kyis grañs su btab pa'i dus / g.yon ru ru lag yul gru bcu  
drug ... [4] miñ du btags /...*

"The regions of the thousand-districts [of] the king of the realm of Tibet: The people of the country were counted (or registered) according to *mi-sde*. In the west there are the thirteen thousand-districts of *Žaň-žuň*. In the east there are the thirteen thousand-districts of the Sum-pa. At the border the army reached the frontier of China. The account (or register) of the districts (*yul*) within the Four Horns of the realm of Tibet: dBu-ru, g.Yas-ru, g.Yon-ru and Ru-lag are four. In the valleys of g.Yas-ru, there are sixteen *yul-sde* ... "

Then follows the enumeration and the text continues:

"At the time when the *Nañ-bloms* made the account (or register), the names of the *yul-gru* in g.Yon-ru Ru-lag ... were fixed."

There is no reference in the *rGyal-po bka'i thañ-yig* to the *yul-dpon*, or to the heads of a *yul-sde* or *yul-gru*, but it is interesting to note that the councillors of the interior, who are concerned with civil matters, are said to have fixed the names of the districts.

In order to get an idea what kind of unit the *yul-dpon tshan* or *yul-sde* mentioned in the historiographies may have been, I have presented them in the Appendix.

Obviously the sixteen names are toponyms. Among them well-known valleys like sTod-luñ, Mal-gro, 'Phan-yul, to name but a few, are represented. Quite a number of valleys and regions can be located.<sup>7</sup> Some names are attested in Old Tibetan texts and it is worth mentioning for our purpose, that some place names coincide with names of thousand-districts and little thousand-districts. Further on, it can be stated that those regions which can be located are situated within the respective horn.

Apart from the usual orthographic varieties, some correspondence in the names of both lists can be observed, though there is no indication for mutual dependency of the two historiographies.

It is evident that these sixteen *yul-dpon tshan* or *yul-sde* of each of the Four Horns of Tibet are unlikely to correspond to the administrative units *tshan*, comprising fifty households as in Tun-huang, if only for demographic reasons.<sup>8</sup> This is why the term *tshan* in the compound *yul dpon tshan* must be taken in its general meaning of "section" which is in accordance with the term *sde* in *yul-sde* applied to the units in *rGyal-po bka'i thañ-yig*.

Clues to the solution of the problem concerning the discrepancy in number of the ten *tshan* and sixteen toponyms are in my opinion given by the number of the subdivisions of the horns into sixteen territorial units on the one hand, and the close connection of the term *tshan* with the number of ten on the other hand.

Each of the Four Horns of Tibet, at least in the second half of the eighth century, was di-

<sup>7</sup> A detailed study of the toponyms with maps is in preparation.

<sup>8</sup> This would come to a total of 320 households (64×50) in the Four Horns of Tibet.

vided into eight regular thousand-districts. Subunits in a horn to the number of sixteen therefore point to units half of the size of a thousand-district or in other words to five-hundred-districts. The literal interpretation of the passage in *IDe'u* explaining the ten *tshan* does not make sense unless it is interpreted in a way that ten *tshan* are the constituents of each of the sixteen districts of a horn. This also points to a number of 500 [households].

Administrative units of 500 are not unknown in the Tibetan empire; on the contrary, they are the earliest units referred to in the *Annals*. More than thirty years ago, G. Uray (1964) had published an article on this topic which has found little attention, probably because it was published in Russian. Therefore here I may confine myself to quoting his results:

Units of 500 are referred to three times in the *Annals*:

1. At the assembly of summer in 693: "Great [Heads] of 500 were appointed" (*lña brgya chen po bskos*)
2. At the assembly of winter in 707: "The (or some) [Heads] of 500 were made Lords of little thousand[-districts]" (*lña brgya stoñ bu rje bcos*)
3. At the assembly of summer in 713: "[Heads] of 500 were appointed" (*lña brgya bskos*)

These early references moreover demonstrate that there is a striking similarity in type of the titles *lña brgya chen po*, "Great [Head] of 500" and *lña bcu rkañ*, "[Head] of 50" on the one hand, and their higher ranking counterparts *stoñ bu rje*, "Lord (or master) of little thousand[-districts]" and *brgye'u rje*, "Masters of little hundred" on the other hand. However, the title *lña-brgya chen-po* seems to have been replaced by the title *yul-dpon*, the "Head of a *yul-sde*" which is well known in the historiographies in the context of state and law dating from the second half of the eighth century. A single reference to the title *yul-dpon* in an Old Tibetan fragmentary document from Central Asia has been found.<sup>9</sup> The duties of the *yul-dpon* are described as civil matters.<sup>10</sup>

To sum up, it may be said that in contrast to the state of information about the Tibetan-dominated area of Tun-huang, concerning the Four Horns of Tibet it is only known that units called *tshan* did exist in the 7th to 9th century. No detailed information allowing conclusions regarding the definition or the denomination of the unit has been transmitted. Information in the historiography of *IDe'u* is restricted to the occurrence of ten *tshan*. By applying the information from Tun-huang, the ten units comprised 500 households.

In Tibet at least from the late 7th century onward as attested in the *Annals*, there existed basic administrative units of 500 which correspond to ten *tshan*. Their heads whose titles show typological similarity with those of their constituents, the *tshan*, were appointed at the assembly (*'dun-ma*).

According to my hypothesis it is the names of these units of 500 which have been transmitted in the historiographies as the sixteen subunits of a horn, each consisting of ten *tshan*. Apart from the "little" or "small thousand-districts", (*stoñ-bu-chuñ*), these are the only units smaller

<sup>9</sup> It is one of the documents purchased by the Moravian missionary A. H. Francke on behalf of the director of the Munich Ethnographic Museum, also referred to by F.W. Thomas 1951: 344. A copy of the fragment has kindly been put at my disposal by Prof. R. E. Emmerick, who is preparing a study of the Khotanese and Tibetan documents kept in the museum.

<sup>10</sup> *IDe'u* 266,3-4: ... *yul dpon gyi las thabs / yul chuñ khirms kyī rtsa ba dan / mtho mtho rdzi / sma sma* (r.: *dma' dma'*) *skyoñ ba lags* / "The duty of the *yul-dpon*: he is the judge in the small districts and controls the powerful ones and protects the weak ones."

than thousand-districts of the Four Horns of Tibet which are known by name. Because the names of these subunits are toponyms, it can be concluded that the units of 500 had been organized as territorial units and they may therefore be called five-hundred-districts.

With regard to the Tibetan-dominated Central Asian area of Tun-huang it can be stated that in Tibet the *tshan* were tenth units of the sixteen five-hundred-districts of a horn, while in Tun-huang the *tshan* by number were tenth units, by duplication into right and left side in fact were twentieth units of the thousand-districts. The early original Tibetan system of basic administrative units of 500 is perhaps reflected in the Tun-huang documents, too, where numbering and naming of the *tshan* units comes up to the number of ten only, though they actually seem to have consisted of twenty *tshan*.

APPENDIX<sup>11</sup>*lDe'u Chos-'byun'*<sup>12</sup>

## Ru-lag

1. mañ-yul
2. sñe-nam
3. dpa'-tshad
4. drañs-so
5. grom-luñ
6. śab-luñ-pa
7. srad-luñ-pa
8. myañ-mda'-luñ-pa
9. khri-thañ-pa
10. thañ-brañ
11. nul-po
12. g.yu-luñ-pa
13. druñ-luñ-pa
14. myañ-stod-pa
15. gad-sram-luñ-pa
16. spa-roñs

## g.Yas-ru

1. byañ-phug
2. zañ-zañ
3. zañs-dkar
4. duñ-luñ-pa
5. gdeg-luñ-pa
6. bgyid-luñ-pa

*rGyal-po bka'i thañ-yig'*<sup>13</sup>

1. dpal-ma
2. chad-luñ
3. diñ-ri
4. sri-yul
5. mña'-ris
6. pha-drug
7. 'bri-mtshams
8. sras-kyi-yul
9. khram-luñ
10. śab-luñ
11. ñañ-ro
12. ñañ-stod
13. gtsañ
14. bži
15. ri-bo
16. yul-gru

1. byañ-pugs
2. tre-śod
3. zañ-zañ
4. stag-sde
5. stag-ris
6. mus-ldog

<sup>11</sup> In the historiographies under consideration the order in the enumeration of the horns differs as follows:

<i>lDe'u Chos-'byun'</i>	<i>rGyal-po bka'i thañ-yig'</i>
Ru-lag	g.Yas-ru
g.Yas-ru	Ru-lag
dBu-ru	dBu-ru
g.Yu-ru	g.Yon-ru

<sup>12</sup> 256,22-258,4.

<sup>13</sup> 1982a: 232,6 [64b6] - 233,4 [65a4]; 1982b: 236,5 [65b5] - 237,3 [66a3]; 1985: 216,3 [59b3] - 217,2 [60a2]; 1986: 185,8-21.

7. bśag-luñ-pa
8. 'byad-luñ-pa
9. rta-nag-luñ-pa
10. źan-thag
11. mtsho-ñañ
12. rta-nu
13. gtsañ-śod
14. 'o-yug
15. sñe-mo
16. dgra-yag

7. 'jad
8. rta-nag
9. źan-thag
10. śańs
11. mon-mkhar
12. ge-re
13. lañ-'gro
14. spa-gor
15. tshur-źo
16. sñe-mo

dBu-ru<sup>14</sup>

1. stod-luñ
2. 'phags-rgyal
3. kluñ-śod
4. mal-gro
5. 'dam-śod
6. za-gad
7. ragśa
8. ba-lam
9. ñan-lam
10. brañ-yul
11. dbul-sde
12. gźad-chu-śul
13. 'phrañ-po
14. gnon-luñ-pa
15. gsañ
16. brag-rum
17. 'phan-yul

1. stod-kluñ
2. phar-kyañ
3. kluñ-śod
4. mal-gro
5. 'dam
6. ba-lam
7. ñan-lam
8. rag-nas
9. 'breñ
10. g.yu-khuñ
11. dbus-skor
12. gźol
13. skuñs
14. 'phan-yul
15. roñ-śod
16. bra rñams

## g.Yu-ru

1. ña-rabs
2. guñ-po
3. gañ-bar
4. yar-mdā'
5. 'chiñs-luñ
6. greñ-ña
7. rog-pa
8. lo-ro
9. ban-pa
10. stam-śul
11. kho-mthiñ
12. brag-luñ
13. dol-gźuñ-gñis
14. gra-luñ-pa
15. khab-so
16. ya-'brag-rnam-gsum

1. dvags-po
2. ña-rab/s
3. guñ-po
4. yar-kluñs
5. 'grañs-te
6. gñal
7. lo-ro
8. 'khag-pa
9. rtam-śul
10. gra-luñ
11. dol-gźuñ
12. yar-'brog<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> There is an additional toponym in *IDE* 'u.

<sup>15</sup> The list is incomplete and ends with "and so on".

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# THE LIFE AND WORKS OF NGAG-DBANG BKRA-SHIS (1678-1738), THE SECOND ABBOT OF THE BLA-BRANG BKRA-SHIS-'KHYIL MONASTERY

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## I. Biographic facts about Ngag-dbang bkra-shis

Bla-brang bkra-shis-'khyil, one of the largest Tibetan monasteries, which was "celebrated as a seat of profound learning and as the spiritual metropolis of all Mongolia",<sup>1</sup> could never boast of its ancient history or connections with great Buddhist teachers of the past. It was founded only in 1710 in the domain of a Mongol prince, who provided the land and funds necessary for its building, but within the following several decades the new monastery became one of the greatest and most famous in Amdo. One could propose different reasons explaining this new-found fame: favourable geographical position, financial support of the Mongol princes, etc. Most important, however, were the people of the Bla-brang Monastery and their profound erudition and religious striving. The names of 'Jam-dbyangs bzhad-pa'i rdo-rje Ngag-dbang brtson-'grus (1648-1722), his incarnation dKon-mchog 'jigs-med dbang-po (1728-1791), Gung-thang dKon-mchog bstan-pa'i sgron-me (1762-1823), dPal-mang dKon-mchog rgyal-mtshan (1764-1853) and many others, as well as their voluminous works, need no special presentation to tibetologists. The present paper deals with the facts about the life and writings of Ngag-dbang bkra-shis, who was the *rgyal-tshab* of 'Jam-dbyang bzhad-pa'i rdo-rje, the founder of the monastery. His name has unjustly fallen into obscurity in Tibetan studies despite the fact that his personal contribution to the establishment of the grandeur of the monastery and to Buddhist scholarship was highly evaluated in local monastic chronicles.<sup>2</sup>

Ngag-dbang bkra-shis was born in the Lower Amdo in the Earth-Horse year (1678). Having become *dge-tshul* in his early youth, he received the name sByin-pa rgya-mtsho. From his early childhood he was very philosophical about the surrounding world. As he himself recollected in his old age: "Once, when I was a child, I saw shepherds blowing the fire. I asked them: "What's this?" "This is fire" [was the answer]. This I knew, of course. "But what does it mean, *fire*?" "We don't know" [was the answer]. [...] Also once I saw my uncle putting the saddle on his horse. I asked him: "What's this?" "This is a horse" [he answered]. I was thinking: "Its head and

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<sup>1</sup> Stcherbatsky, Th. (1994), *Buddhist Logic*. Vol. 1. Repr.: New Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> A rather uninformative biography of Ngag-dbang bkra-shis, which does not even give the dates of his life, is found in: Khetsun Sangpo (1973), *Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism*, vol. 5. Dharamasala, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, pp. 677-680. It is taken entirely from: Brag-dgon zhabs-drung dKon-mchog bstan-pa rab-rgyas, *Deb ther rgya mtsho las chos sde chen po bkra shis 'khyil gyi dkar chags gdan kha skong dang bcas pa*, fols. 36a: 2-38a: 3 (A-mchog dgon-pa wood-block edition). A more informative though very short biography of Ngag-dbang bkra-shis is given in the *gSung 'bum dkar chag*, pp. 304-305. For the present paper I have used the biographical sketch of Ngag-dbang bkra-shis found in the *IHa'i nga bo che*, fols. 160a: 6-174a: 1. On the fol. 173b: 4 of this work is mentioned a biography of Ngag-dbang bkra-shis entitled *Dad pa'i snye ma* written by his successor Blo-bzang don-grub (1673-1746). I was unable to locate this work.

legs – which of them is called the horse?" I understood that these were no horse".<sup>3</sup> In those times a Tibetan with such mental inclinations had excellent possibilities to cultivate them, and sixteen-year-old sByin-pa rgya-mtsho went to Central Tibet to continue his studies. Having arrived at the 'Bras-spungs Monastery, he settled in the sGo-mang *grwa-tshang* which was founded by 'Jam-dbyangs bzhad-pa'i rdo-rje, his celebrated fellow-countryman. There sByin-pa rgya-mtsho impressed everybody with his assiduous learning and constant recitation of the texts. Especially thoroughly he studied the seven works on logic by Dharmakīrti (*Tshad ma sde bdun*), while his teacher of the Mādhyamika philosophy was 'Jam-dbyang bzhad-pa'i rdo-rje himself. By the age of 26, sByin-pa rgya-mtsho "had obtained the right views" (*Ita ba 'khrul med du rnyed*).

But this scholastic progress did not go ahead smoothly: the learner must have overcome a deep psychological and physical crisis that had nearly put an end to his earthly existence. Without expressing any feeling, his biographer wrote that once sByin-pa rgya-mtsho made an attempt to hang himself in his cell. At night he put a noose over his neck, fixed the other end of the rope to a horizontal timber at the ceiling and dropped his feet into an empty space. Happily, the rope came loose, but the red scar on his neck remained for the rest of his life. Then he fell seriously ill and had even lost his breath. 'Jam-dbyangs bzhad-pa'i rdo-rje, having heard of this, sent to his almost dead disciple an amulet and a vessel with water. As his biographer narrates, when this amulet was put on sByin-pa rgya-mtsho and several drops of the water sent were dropped into his mouth, he came back to life. Much later 'Jam-dbyangs bzhad-pa'i rdo-rje confessed to his disciple: "I brought you back from the interbirth state (*bar do*)."<sup>4</sup> An incarnated lama from Amdo,<sup>4</sup> regretting that the dying person had not received full monastic ordination (*bsnyen rdzogs ma thob pa*), even though he was unconscious, gave him a monastic dress and named him *dge-slong* Ngag-dbang bkra-shis. When he regained consciousness, people surrounding him started calling him Ngag-dbang bkra-shis. Respecting this fact, 'Jam-dbyangs bzhad-pa'i rdo-rje, when giving him the ordination anew, maintained the same name for him.

After all these misfortunes Ngag-dbang bkra-shis, having decided that there was no truth in the minds of ordinary people, made the following vow: "If before I find a true teacher of Tantra I would be hindered by any hesitations, let guardians of the Dharma destroy me!" At the age of 29 he came for studies to the dPal-ldan smad-rgyud *grwa-tshang*. With the same ardour he studied the esoteric teachings under the guidance of dGe-'dun phun-tshogs, who later became the fiftieth abbot of the dGa'-ldan Monastery (in c. 1715-1723).

In 1709 in accordance with the repetitive petition of a Mongol prince,<sup>5</sup> 'Jam-dbyangs bzhad

<sup>3</sup> *lHa'i rnga bo che*, fol. 160b: 3-6.

<sup>4</sup> It was Ngag-dbang 'phrin-las rgya-mtsho, the incarnation of the "second Mi-la ras-pa" Rong-po grub-chen sKal-ldan rgya-mtsho (1607-1677).

<sup>5</sup> His name was Cevang Danjin (Tib. Tshe-dbang bstan-'dzin; d. 1735), also known as Dayicing-qosiyuci. He was the ruler (Mong. *jasay*) of the First Southern Banner (Emüenedü terigün qosiyu) of Kuku Nor (Tib. mTsho-sngon).

His descendance is as follows:

Gu-shri Qan bsTan-'dzin chos-rgyal

|  
(fifth son) Ildüci

|  
(second son) Bošoytu jinong

|  
(third son) Cevang Danjin

See Namsarai (1984), *Cing ulus-un üy-e-yin mongyol qosiyu cigulyan*. Kūkeqota, Öbür mongyol-un bayacud keüked-ün keblel-ün qoriy-a, pp. 314-316. In this book the first part of the name is spelled as Cayan (Mong.

pa'i rdo-rje accompanied by some two-hundred disciples, came to Amdo and the next year, established a new monastery, the Bla-brang bkra-shis-'khyil ("The Lama's Palace of Whirling Happiness"). Ngag-dbang bkra-shis was appointed its *tshogs-chen dge-bskos*, i.e. the superintendent of religious services. For many years he exerted himself elaborating the monastic regulations from lama's robes and hats to rites and curriculums. It took him six years to establish thirteen academic courses ('*dzin-grwa*). According to the local chronicles, 'Jam-dbyangs bzhad-pa'i rdo-rje was acting as the abbot (*khri-pa*) only two or three years. Having given with his authority and Buddhist treatises the impetus to the development of the Bla-brang bkra-shis-'khyil Monastery, he ordered Ngag-dbang bkra-shis: "You must protect my monastery in all the days of your life!" In accordance with the teacher's order, Ngag-dbang bkra-shis worked for the benefit of the monastery as its factual and later legitimate superior for about thirty years.<sup>6</sup>

The following years were not easy ones: the Mongol uprising of 1723-24 in Kuku Nor resulted in brutal destruction of the neighbouring monasteries by the Chinese troops. Even such a famous monastery as dGon-lung was put to ashes and its monks massacred. But the Bla-brang Monastery escaped devastation. This was mainly due to the fact that the prince bsTan-'dzin, in whose domain the monastery was located, did not join the uprising. One of the major casualties of these events for the Bla-brang Monastery was the loss of the seventh chapter of the *yig-cha* on the Prajñāpāramitā by 'Jam-dbyangs bzhad-pa'i rdo-rje. When the monastery was in danger of destruction, Ngag-dbang bkra-shis had hidden the authentic writings of his late teacher, but when peace was established this particular chapter could not be rediscovered.<sup>7</sup>

Since the new monastery was to be built anew on an empty place, expansive building activities had to be supervised by Ngag-dbang bkra-shis. During his life-time were erected the Mahākāla Temple (mGon-khang), the interior of which was modelled after the sNgags-khang of the 'Bras-spungs Monastery; the Maitreya Temple (Byams-khang); and the Sepulchre Temple (sKu-gdung lha-khang) which became the burial place for the successive incarnations of 'Jam-dbyang bzhad-pa as well as the Mongol princes of this domain.

The monastic chronicles say that Ngag-dbang bkra-shis was the unrivalled propagator of the works of his teacher, 'Jam-dbyangs bzhad-pa'i rdo-rje, whose works he printed in the new monastery. Since that time the Bla-brang Monastery became one of the most productive centres of Tibetan xylographical book-printing, which produced wood-blocks of a very high quality.

It seems that Ngag-dbang bkra-shis himself was not a writer but a lecturer: his works are the records of his lectures (*bshad-pa*, or *bshad-lung*) taken down by his disciples. He lectured on dozens of canonical works as well as the works by Tsong-kha-pa and other persons of authority; but all these existed only as draft notes (*zin-bris*) and are now most probably lost. For example, for twenty-seven years Ngag-dbang bkra-shis gave annual courses on elementary logic (*bsdus-grwa*), which were recorded each year. In the early nineteenth century there existed only three or four different versions of these lectures.<sup>8</sup>

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"white"). Ngag-dbang bkra-shis highly appreciated religious devotion of Cevang Danjin. See A-khu rin-po-che Shes-rab rgya-mtsho, *Zhabs bitan gsol 'debs kyi 'grel ba shes ldan dad pa'i chu gter 'phel ba'i zla shel phreng ba zhes bya ba*, fol. 10b: 5-6 (His *gsung-'bum*, the Bla-brang edition, vol. 1).

<sup>6</sup> dKon-mchog bstan-pa rab-rgyas. *Yongs rdzogs bstan pa'i mnga' bdag rje btsun bla ma rdo rje 'chang dkon mchog rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i zhal snga nas kyi rnam par thar pa thar 'dod 'jug ngogs ces bya ba*, fols. 147a: 1-147b: 2. This work is found in the *gsung-'bum* of dPal-mang dKon-mchog rgyal-mtshan, vol. 10.

<sup>7</sup> *IHa'i rnga bo che*, fol. 165a: 2-4; *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 432, No. 2098.

<sup>8</sup> *IHa'i rnga bo che*, fol. 169b: 2-3.

## II. The list of works by Ngag-dbang bkra-shis

This list is compiled on the basis of the Tibetan collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg (its catalogue numbers are also given) and it does not, of course, claim to be a complete one. Many of the items in this collection were printed in Russia in Buriat monasteries of Eastern Siberia. In the Bla-brang Monastery there existed a large community of Buriat monks who copied or purchased books there and brought them later to their homeland.<sup>9</sup> The works of Ngag-dbang bkra-shis seem to have never been brought together in a *gsung-'bum* and circulated among the monk-students as text-books and conspectuses. Some of them were later printed and reprinted, and now constitute a valuable source for studies in the Tibetan monastic education.

In the *gSung 'bum dkar chag* is given a list of seven printed works by Ngag-dbang bkra-shis, which are said to constitute a one-volume *gsung-'bum*.<sup>10</sup> Though the information on these entries is very insufficient, it is obvious that this is not a *gsung-'bum* volume proper but a volume of his separable works put together. I was unable to locate in St. Petersburg only one work from the seven listed there, entitled *Reg gzig*.<sup>11</sup>

1. A manuscript volume of the works by Ngag-dbang bkra-shis (Tib. B 12808)
  - 1.1. *dBu ma'i zin bris nor bu'i 'phreng mdzes zhes bya ba*, fols. 1-53b.  
Notes on the *dBu ma 'jug pa'i mtha' dpyod lung rigs gter mdzod zab don kun gsal skal bzang 'jug ngogs zhes bya ba* (cf. *Descriptive Catalogue*, No. 2101) by 'Jam-dbyangs bzhad-pa'i rdo-rje.
  - 1.2. *dNgos po brgyad don bdun bcu'i rnam bzhag*, fols. 1-21b.  
Many corrections in the text with red ink.  
Notes on the *dNgos po brgyad don bdun cu'i rnam bzhag legs par bshad pa mi pham bla ma'i zhal lung zhes bya ba* (cf. *Descriptive Catalogue*, No. 2133) by 'Jam-dbyangs bzhad-pa'i rdo-rje.
  - 1.3. *sMra ba'i dbang phyug rje ngag dbang bkra shis kyi dbu ma'i gsung bshad zin bris chos skyong rgya mtshos mdzad pa*, fols. 1-61a.  
Record of the lecture on the *dBu ma'i yig cha* (cf. *Descriptive Catalogue*, No. 2101) by 'Jam-dbyangs bzhad-pa'i rdo-rje, made by a "small monk" Chos-skyong rgya-mtsho.
  - 1.4. *Kun mkhyen chen po khri chen ngag dbang bkra shis ba'i zhal snga nas gsungs bshad rnam bzhag le tshan 'ga' zhig*, fols. 1-128a.  
Record of lectures on various aspects of Buddhist philosophy.
2. A collection of small xylographs printed in the Bla-brang bKra-shis-'khyil Monastery (Tib. B 10646).
  - 2.1. *'Jam dbyangs bla ma ngag dbang bkra shis pas gnang ba'i dris lan snying gi mun sel zhes bya ba*, fols. 1-18a.  
Answers given to various questions on the Buddhist Teaching.
  - 2.2. *Zhugs pa dang gnas pa'i 'phags pa'i dge 'dun gyi rnam gzhag gi mtha' dpyod skal bzang 'jug ngogs*, fols. 1-108a; left marginal title: *dge 'dun*.

<sup>9</sup> Tsybikov, G. Ts. (1991), *Buddhist palomnik u svyatyn' Tibeta*. Novosibirsk, Nauka Publishing House, p. 53.

<sup>10</sup> *gSung 'bum dkar chag*, p. 304.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 304, No. 3.

Explanation of the *caturphalapratiṣṭhāna* (cf. *Descriptive Catalogue*, No. 1419).

Buriat xylograph of this work (Tib. B 8759): fols. 1-49a.

Printed in the bDe-chen lhun-grub-gling Monastery (its Russian name is Aginskii datsan).

- 2.3. *Blo rig gi mtha' dpyod legs bshad mkhas pa'i mgul rgyan*, fols. 1-9a; left marginal title: *blo*.  
A small treatise on *blo-rig*, i.e. the study of mind and its various functions.  
Buriat xylograph of this work (Tib. B 7915/2; B 10955): fols. 1-9a.  
Printed in the bDe-chen lhun-grub-gling Monastery.  
Also under the catalogue number Tib. B 10955 is found its manuscript copy.
- 2.4. (Tib. 8067) *rJe thams cad mkhyen pa 'jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rjes gsung pa'i blo rig gi zur rgyan blo gsal blo gros kyi padma bzhad pa'i legs bshad nyi ma'i 'od zer zhes bya ba khri chen ngag dbang bkra shis kyis mdzad pa*, fols. 1-29a; left marginal title: *zur rgyan*.  
Notes on the *Blo rigs kyi rnam gzhag nyung gsal legs bshad gser gyi phreng mdzes zhes bya ba* (cf. *Descriptive Catalogue*, No. 2135) by 'Jam-dbyangs bzhad-pa'i rdo-rje.  
Buriat xylograph of this work (Tib. B 7913; B 10955): fols. 1-28a; left marginal title: *zur rgyan*.
3. (Tib. B 8116) *Zab mo rten cing 'brel bar 'byung ba'i mtha' dpyod legs par bshad pa'i rgya mtsho zhes bya ba*, fols. 1-202a; left marginal title: *rten 'brel*.  
Buriat xylograph printed in the Dam-chos rab-rgyas-gling Monastery (its Russian name: Egetuyevskii datsan).  
Exposition of the doctrine of dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*).
4. (Tib. B 8123) *bSam gzugs kyi mtha' dpyod legs bshad mdzod kyi sgo 'byed zhes bya ba*, fols. 1-102a. Buriat xylograph.  
A treatise on the Form (*rūpadhātu*) and Formless Realms (*arūpyadhātu*) of the Buddhist cosmology.
5. (Tib. B 10069) *Tshad ma'i dgongs 'grel gyi bstan bcos chen po rnam 'grel gyi don gcig tu dril ba blo rab 'bring tha ma gsum du ston pa legs bshad chen po mkhas pa'i mgul rgyan skal bzang re ba kun skong*, fols. 1-161a; left marginal title: *bsdus grwa*. An Amdo xylograph printed in the Bla-brang bKra-shis-'khyil Monastery in 1852.  
A text-book on elementary logic.  
Another Amdo xylograph printed in the Bla-brang bKra-shis-'khyil Monastery in 1860 (Tib. B 8505), fols. 1-158a; left marginal title: *bgrus grwa*.  
Buriat xylograph of this work (Tib. B 12832): fols. 1-158a; left marginal title: *bsdus grwa*.  
It is based on the Amdo edition of 1860, reproducing the original colophons.
6. (Tib. B 7909; B 12845) *'Phrin las kyi rnam gzhag blo gsal 'jug ngogs rin chen them skas zhes bya ba*, fols. 1-47a. Buriat xylograph.  
Brief exposition of the theory of *karma*.
7. (Tib. B 8776) *Thal bzlog gi mtha' dpyod 'jam dbyangs bla ma ngag dbang bkra shis pas mdzad pa*, fols. 1-21a; left marginal title: *thal bzlog*. Buriat xylograph.  
A text-book on Madhyamaka philosophy.
8. (Tib. B 8671) *'Jam dbyangs bla ma ngag dbang bkra shis dpal bzang pos khri gung thang sprul sku bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan la thugs gnyer gyi ched du gnang ba'i bsdus grwa rtsom 'phro*, fols. 1-130a; left marginal title: *bsdus rtsom*. Buriat xylograph.  
Instructions on elementary logic given to Gung-thang rin-po-che.

9. (Tib. B 10955) *Blo rig gi mtha' dpyod mkhas pa'i yid 'phrog 'khrul bral 'gro ba'i mun sel zhes bya ba*, fols. 1-10a; left marginal title: *mtha' dpyod*. Buriat xylograph printed in the bDe-chen lhun-grub-gling Monastery.  
Instructions on *blo-rig*.
10. (Tib. B. 8083/3) *rTags rig gi rang lugs mtha' dpyod blo gsal mkhas pa'i mgul rgyan 'gro ba'i snying gi mun pa sel bar byed pa ku mu ta'i kha 'byed ces bya ba*, fols. 1-31a. Amdo xylograph.  
Notes of Ngag-dbang bkra-shis for his lecture on logical reasoning.  
Printed by the *rab-'byams-pa* Blo-bzang dbyig-gnyen from Inner Mongolia.
11. (Tib. B. 9449) *<rTags rigs kyi rnam bzhag legs bshad gser gyi 'phreng mdzes kyi zur rgyan>* (f. 32a: 2), fols. 4a-32a (incomplete). Inner Mongolian xylograph.  
Record of a lecture by Ngag-dbang bkra-shis on logical reasoning.

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- lHa'i rnga bo che*              dPal-mang dKon-mchog rgyal-mtshan. *mDo smad bstan pa'i byung gnas dpal ldan bkra shis 'khyil gyi gdan rabs rang bzhin dbyangs su b'jod pa'i lha'i rnga bo che*. (His *gsung-'bum*, the Bla-brang edition., vol. 1).
- gSung 'bum dkar chag*        *Zhwa ser bstan pa'i sgron me rje tsong kha pa chen pos gtsos skyes chen dam pa rim byung gi gsung 'bum dkar chag phyogs gcig tu bsgrigs pa'i dri med zla shel gtsang ma'i me long zhes bya ba bzhugs so*. Xining, Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1990.

# STUDIES IN TIBETAN INDIGENOUS GRAMMAR (3): SANSKRIT *NIPĀTA*, TIBETAN *TSHIG-PHRAD*<sup>1</sup>

by

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## Introduction

This paper will, in a sense, offer a reflection of the pros and cons for the path that the Tibetans have chosen for the description of their language. Having chosen Sanskrit indigenous grammar as their model and inspiration, they were faced with a multitude of difficulties. Given the truly enormous structural differences between Sanskrit and Tibetan, in order to make the Indic model work in the Tibetan context, it was necessary to manipulate the Indic methods and techniques in many respects and to great extent, and, moreover, it was inevitable that a number of new categories had to be introduced. One of these categories typical of Tibetan, lacking an exact parallel in Sanskrit grammar, is that of the enclitic particles.

Some Tibetan enclitic particles have functions similar to the Sanskrit case-endings (*vibhakti*),<sup>2</sup> other enclitics are similar to Sanskrit nominal suffixes,<sup>3</sup> either primary (*kr̥t*, participial, etc.) or secondary (*taddhīta*), and again others have functions similar to Sanskrit indeclinable particles (*nipāta*).<sup>4</sup>

First I will have a brief look at the treatment of *nipāta* in indigenous Sanskrit grammar. Then some observations on the description of *tshig-phrad* in Tibetan grammar follow, and thirdly, the core of the present paper is formed by an investigation of some eighth-century relevant materials and of the discussion of the *nipāta* / *tshig-phrad* dilemma in Si-tu Paṅ-chen's commentary on *Sum-rtags* (including references to some other important sources).

## 1. Description of *nipāta* in indigenous Sanskrit grammar

In the earliest Indic linguistics (*Prātiśākhya*, *Nirukta*) *nipāta* is introduced as one of the four categories or classes of words, namely:

- a. *nāman* = nominal
- b. *ākhyāta* = verb
- c. *nipāta* = indeclinable particle
- d. *upasarga* = verbal preposition

The Vedic etymological treatise *Nirukta* further applies a threefold subdivision to the class of the *nipātas*.<sup>5</sup> This typological categorization, and similar ones scattered in the *Prātiśākhya*

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<sup>1</sup> The research of Dr. Verhagen has been made possible by a fellowship of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences.

<sup>2</sup> The case particles *-la*, *-na*, *-tu/du/ru/su*, *-kyi/gi/gyi/i*, *-kyis/gis/gyis/s*, *-las*, *-nas*.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. nominal particles such as *-pa/ba*, *-ma*, *-po*, *-mo*, *-can*, *-(dañ-)/dan*.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. particles *-kyañ/añ/yañ*, *-ñid*, *-ni*, *-tsam*.

<sup>5</sup> *Nirukta* 1.4: *atha nipātāḥ | uccāvaceṣv artheṣu nipātanti | apy upamārthe | api kramopasaṅgrahārthe | api pāda-pūraṇāḥ* /. The three types are: *upamārtha* 'designating comparison', *kramopasaṅgrahārtha* 'designating a succession

literature, need not detain us at the moment, suffice it to say that one of the functions is that of *pāda-pūraṇa*<sup>6</sup> 'filling the meter', in other words the occurrence *metri causa* without a significant semantic or syntactic role.

Pāṇini does not give a description or definition of *nipāta*, other than introducing under this term an enumeration of the intended particles.<sup>7</sup> The main group (*gaṇa*) is headed by *ca* and contains particles such as *ca, vā, ha, aha, eva, evam, nūnam, śaśvat* etc., and contains circa one hundred and fifty items.<sup>8</sup> As regards the meaning of these *nipātas*, Pāṇini merely states that they do not have the meaning / indicate *sattva* 'existence'. The second *gaṇa* falling under the term *nipāta* is much smaller, some twenty elements, headed by *pra, parā, apa, sam* etc. This is of course the group of particles which are called *upasarga* when occurring prefixed to a verb,<sup>9</sup> but that, when occurring separately in a sentence, are termed *nipāta*.<sup>10</sup> So, parenthetically, we see here that the last two of the four word-classes distinguished by *Nirukta*, namely *nipāta* and *upasarga*, are not considered as two separate classes by Pāṇini, but the *upasargas* are described as a subgroup of the *nipātas*. In their turn, the *nipātas* form a subgroup of the *avyayas*, i.e. 'indeclinables'.<sup>11</sup> It seems also admissible to regard both the *nipātas* and the *upasargas* as independent subgroups of the *avyayas*.

In the course of time the grammarians have assumed different positions regarding the question of the semantic value of the *nipātas*. It is possible – as some prominent commentators have argued – to regard Pāṇini's rule about the *ca-gaṇa* as an indication that he regarded the particles as having no meaning by themselves. In the proviso *asattve*, 'not expressing existence', the term *sattva* should then be taken as a generic indication for all types of meaning, including the two basic types [static] *dravya* ('substance') and [dynamic] *kriyā* ('action'). But, as Pāṇini's main concerns throughout his grammar are phonology and morphology, and semantics are dealt with in much less detail and mainly as conditions for the occurrence of particular morphological phenomena, I think we are actually in no position to reach any degree of certainty about Pāṇini's ideas regarding the semantics of the *nipātas*.

There is slightly more support for the assumption that Kātyāyana was of the opinion that the particles do not bear an individual semantic value, judging by a remark to that effect in one of his *vārttikas*.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, in the Vedic *Prātiśākhya*s, it often seems that some particles are considered as meaningless by themselves, while others are attributed an individual meaning.<sup>13</sup> Again another position is taken by Bhartṛhari, who regards the *nipātas* as not having an individual meaning but as 'indicators' (*dyotaka*), that serve only to bring out specific

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[or] group' [or 'designating the grouping of a succession?'] and *pādapūraṇa* 'filling the meter'.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Nirukta* 1.4, *Ṛg-prātiśākhya* 12.7: *sattvābhidhāyakaṃ nāma nipātaḥ pādapūraṇaḥ, Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya* 8.50 Uvvaṭa: *nipātas tv arthāsambhava pādapūraṇo bhavati*.

<sup>7</sup> In the *sūtras* 1.4.57-96, falling under the section-heading *sūtra* 1.4.56 *prāg rīśvarān nipātāḥ*.

<sup>8</sup> Pāṇini 1.4.57: *cādayo 'sattve*.

<sup>9</sup> Pāṇini 1.4.59: *upasargāḥ kriyāyoge*.

<sup>10</sup> Pāṇini 1.4.58: *prādayaḥ*.

<sup>11</sup> Pāṇini 1.1.37: *svarādi-nipātam avyayam*.

<sup>12</sup> *nipātasyanarthakasya prātipadikatvam, vārttika* 12 ad Pāṇini 1.2.45.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. e.g. *Ṛg-veda Prātiśākhya* XII.8: *nipātānām arthavaśān nipātānād anarthakānām itare ca sārthakāḥ*, and Uvvaṭa's commentary *ibid.*: *kecana nipātāḥ sārthakāḥ kecana nirarthakāḥ*.



connotations in the elements to which they are added.<sup>14</sup> Finally, as a – be it somewhat extreme – example of the later *vyākaraṇa* literature on this topic, in his *Śṛīngara-prakāśa* the eleventh-century author Bhoja<sup>15</sup> distinguishes six types of *nipāta*, and lists no less than over a thousand of such particles.<sup>16</sup>

## 2. Description of *tshig-phrad* in indigenous Tibetan grammar

In the two seminal treatises of Tibetan indigenous grammar, *Sum-cu-pa* (henceforth *SCP*) and *Rtags-kyi-'jug-pa* (*TKJ*), we look in vain for the term *tshig-phrad* or *tshig-gi-phrad*. Even though especially *SCP* deals extensively with enclitic particles, the very term is not found in the basic texts. The brief term *phrad* is not found in *SCP* either. In *TKJ* the form *phrad* does occur a number of times,<sup>17</sup> but in a verbal sense, meaning 'being in-', or, 'coming into contact with', in phrases such as *rañ-gi-sde-dañ-'phrad* [var.: *phrad*] *-pa-na*, 'when coming into contact with a [member of] its own [phonological] category' (*TKJ* 8.4).

So we have to turn to the later commentarial and otherwise related literature for the earliest attestation of the term *tshig-phrad* in the sense of (Tibetan) enclitic particle. In the grammatical works associated with Lce Khyi-'brug (early 9th cent. CE), the *Gnas-brgyad-chen-po* and the *Sgra'i-rnam-par-dbye-ba-bstan-pa*, I have not found the term *tshig-phrad*, and the form *phrad* only in the verbal sense similar to that encountered in *TKJ*.<sup>18</sup>

The earliest attestation of the technical term *tshig-phrad* known to me, is to be found in *Smra-ba'i-sgo-mtshon-cha-lta-bu*<sup>19</sup> (henceforth *Smra-sgo*), attributed to Smṛtijñānakīrti (early 11th cent.). Here we find, first of all, a most interesting definition of *tshig-gi-phrad* (lines 316-319):

'Whatever [grammatical element] does not have a meaning of its own, but clarifies a free, lexical word-form (*miñ*) with regard to (*gyi* ?) its meaning, is termed a *tshig-gi-phrad* ('enclitic particle'), and [the form] that is provided with that is [termed] "provided with an enclitic" (*phrad-dañ-bcas-pa*).<sup>20</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Vākyapadīya* 2.189-206.

<sup>15</sup> King of Dhārā, reigned c. 1018-1060; cf. Vogel, C. (1979), *Indian Lexicography*, Wiesbaden (= A History of Indian Literature, ed. J. Gonda, vol. V Fasc. 4), 314.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Abhyankar, K.V. & Shukla, J.M. (1977), *A Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar*, second revised edition, Baroda, (Gaekwad's Oriental Series 134), 220.

<sup>17</sup> Scil. *TKJ* 8.4, 23.1, .2, .6, .7, .8 & .10.

<sup>18</sup> *Gnas-brgyad-chen-po 'i-rtsa-ba: phrad* in a verbal sense, Peking *Bstan-'gyur Mdo-'grel* vol. ño 43r3; *Sgra'i-rnam-par-dbye-ba-bstan-pa: phrad* deest.

<sup>19</sup> Peking *Bstan-'gyur Mdo-'grel* vol. *le* 273v8-278v4; (auto-?) commentary *ibid.* 278v4-302v5, ed. N.N., Beijing: Mi-rigs-dpe-skrun-khañ, 1980; cf. Inaba, S. (1963), 'Smṛti cho "Gengo no Mon" ni tokareteiru Tibetto Bunpōgaku', in *Iwai Hakase Koki Kinen Ronbunshū*, Tokyo, 68-79, Tshetan-žabs-druñ (1981), *Gaṅs-can-bod-kyi-brda-sprod-pa 'i-bstan-bcos-sum-cu-pa-dañ-rtags-'jug-gi-rnam-gžag-rgya-cher-bśad-pa-thon-mi 'i-žal-luñ*, Lanzhou, 36-41.

<sup>20</sup> *| gañ-žig-rañ-gi-don-med-ciñ- || don-gyi-miñ-la-gsal-byed-pa |*  
*| tshig-gi-phrad-ces-bya-ba-ste || de-ltan-phrad-dañ-bcas-pa-yin |*

*Smra-ba'i-sgo-mtshon-cha-lta-bu*, Peking *Bstan-'gyur Mdo-'grel* vol. *le* 276v7-8; commentary Peking *Bstan-'gyur Mdo-'grel* vol. *le* 294r4-5; ed. Beijing 1980: 47 (commentary reads 319 ... *bcas-pa-yis*).

During the Graz conference sessions Prof. Hahn (Marburg) suggested to emend to *don-ni* in 317, and to read *la ibid.* as a locative marker, leading to a different translation, viz. '... which clarifies the meaning in a *miñ* ...'. The reading *don-ni* does not present itself in any of the versions of this text available to me. Most significantly, the

The commentary paraphrases this definition as: 'Whatever lexical element (*tshig*) does not itself have a meaning to be expressed, but which, in service to other [lexical elements], clarifies [their meaning], is termed a *tshig-gi-phrad* ('enclitic particle'), which is like a solder<sup>21</sup> joining two [pieces of] iron together.<sup>22</sup>

This is the only place where *Smra-sgo* has the full term *tshig-gi-phrad*. Elsewhere,<sup>23</sup> it refers to the enclitics simply as *phrad*. In fact, the complete second segment of the text (scil. ll. 321-464), immediately following the above definition of *tshig-phrad*, is devoted to the description of Tibetan enclitics under the heading *phrad-kyi-'jug-pa* 'occurrence of the enclitics' (l. 320). The colophon refers to this segment as *phrad-kyi-sbyor-ba* 'application of the enclitics'.

At an earlier occasion I have proposed that two discrete segments should be recognized in the text of *Smra-sgo*. The first being a predominantly linguistic-philosophical exposé on the three linguistic *kāyas*, namely *vyañjana-*, *nāma-* and *pada-kāya* (known from the *Abhidharma-kośa*). This first segment, some 320 lines, I take to be a translation, perhaps somewhat reworked in the process. The second segment, approximately 140 lines, describes the semantics [and, in the commentary, the morphophonemics] of twenty-nine Tibetan enclitic particles. Part of my hypothesis is that this second segment is not a translation, but is original work by Smṛti, written in Tibetan.<sup>24</sup>

In the florescent world of early Sa-skyapa scholarship I have found no analysis of *tshig-phrad* that adds significantly to the above observations in *Smra-sgo*. Bsod-nams-rtse-mo (1142-1182) seems not to refer to enclitics at all in his *Byis-pa-bde-blag-tu-'jug-pa*, unless I have misunderstood the two rather obscure references to *phrad-kyi-tshig* (l. 183) and *phrad-tshig* (l. 185). Sa-skyapa Paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan (1182-1251) relies completely on the *Smra-sgo* definition of *tshig-phrad* in his *Sgra-la-'jug-pa*.<sup>25</sup> In fact, the two basic sources for the materials in this *Sgra-la-'jug-pa*, a brief treatise attempting a synthesis of Sanskrit and Tibetan grammar, are *Smra-sgo* and *Gnas-brgyad-chen-po*.

It is noteworthy that in the *Mkhas-pa'i-kha-rgyan*, included in the *Sa-skyapa-bka'-'bum* collected works of Sa-skyapa Paṇḍita,<sup>26</sup> but the authorship of which is uncertain, in addition to the

superb manuscript of *Smra-sgo*, copies of which have recently come into my possession, containing glosses (possibly autograph!) by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147-1216), and which appears to constitute the – by far – earliest version available now, confirms the reading *don-gyi*.

<sup>21</sup> Jäschke, H.A. (1881), *A Tibetan-English Dictionary with special reference to the prevailing dialects, to which is added an English-Tibetan Vocabulary*, London, 443-444: *tsha-le* = 1. borax, (...); *tsha-le byed-pa* to solder Sch. (?).

<sup>22</sup> *tshig-gaṅ-ḥig-rañ-la-bstan-par-bya-ba'i-don-med-ciñ* [P: ces] -*gḥan-la-phan-'dogs-śiñ-gsal-bar-byed-pa-de* [P de deest] *ni-tshig-gi-phrad-ces-bya-ste* / *dper-na-lcags-gñis-sbyor-bar-byed-pa'i-tsha* [or *tshwa'*?] -*la* [i.e. *le'*] -*lta-bu'o* / *Smra-ba'i-sgo-mtshon-cha-lta-bu'i-'grel-pa*, Peking *Bstan-'gyur Mdo-'grel* vol. *le* 294r5-6; ed. Beijing 1980: 47. Unfortunately the glosses by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, in the ms. mentioned supra, anent this verse do not contribute significantly to the interpretation, as they merely repeat paraphrasing elements known from the canonical *ṛtti* as quoted here. The interpretation of *tshig* as 'lexical element' is tentative; the usual technical sense of *tshig* is 'bound, syntactic word-form'.

<sup>23</sup> Thirteen places, two of which are uncertain: *Smra-sgo* ll. 228, 276, 319, 320, 400 [?], 405, 437, 442 [?], 450, 462, 466, 467 and the colophon.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. my unpublished paper, "Merging Indo-Tibetan Linguistics", for the 11th IABS conference, Mexico City 1994, to be included in Verhagen (in preparation).

<sup>25</sup> Treatment of *tshig-gi-phrad* var. *phrad*: Sde-dge xylograph *Sa-skyapa Bka'-'bum* vol. *tha*, f. 232v2-233r5; facs. ed. Bsod-nams-rgya-mtsho 1968-5: title no. 7.

<sup>26</sup> Sde-dge xylograph *Sa-skyapa Bka'-'bum* vol. *na*, f. 271v2-274v1; facs. ed. Bsod-nams-rgya-mtsho 1968-5: title no. 109; cf. Inaba, S. (1961), 'Sakya pañḍita no gyōseki ni okeru bumpōgaku kenkyū no ichimen', *Ōtani shigaku* 8, 1-

term *phrad* we find the term *rkyen* for the enclitics as well. In a grammatical context *rkyen* is the standard rendering of Sanskrit *pratyaya* 'suffix'. In its extreme emulation of the Indic methods, this text applies the term to the Tibetan enclitics.<sup>27</sup>

Although the text is not available as yet, we do know that the fourteenth-century scholar Dbus-pa Blo-gsal in his commentary on *TKJ* refers to the term *phrad*, for, presumably, 'particle', namely in his mention of three grammatical texts that he has written commentaries on.<sup>28</sup> The title of one of these is *Phrad-kyi-gnad*, 'Key points of the enclitic particles'. Thus far I have not been able to trace a work bearing this title. A reference to this commentary appears in a work<sup>29</sup> by Dños-grub-rgya-mtsho, a pupil of the sixteenth-century Tshar-pa Sa-skya-pa scholar Mañ-thos Klu-sgrub-rgya-mtsho (1523-1596). There, in a list of twenty-one linguistical treatises, a *Phrad-kyi-gnad-bsdus-pa 'i- 'grel-chuñ*, 'Brief commentary on the synopsis [of] key points of the enclitic particles', by Dbus-pa Blo-gsal is mentioned.<sup>30</sup>

Dbus-pa Blo-gsal's commentary not being extant, we can only hypothesize on this *Phrad-kyi-gnad*. I have elsewhere<sup>31</sup> speculated that this designation could very well refer to the second segment of *Smra-sgo*, the section called *phrad-kyi-'jug-pa*, (or *phrad-kyi-sbyor-ba* in the colophon), describing the group of Tibetan enclitics. My initial impression that, taking into consideration that Dbus-pa Blo-gsal also mentions *Smra-ba 'i-sgo* in the list of three titles, we might then suppose that the two segments of *Smra-sgo* were in fact still considered as two separate texts at the time of Dbus-pa Blo-gsal, is not corroborated by the -in all probability- 12th/13th century ms. of *Smra-sgo* with glosses by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, mentioned supra. In this ms. the section on the enclitics is integrated into the text in precisely the same way as in the canonical versions.<sup>32</sup>

Of the later Tibetan grammarians first of all *Ā-lu Chos-skyoñ-bzañ-po* (1441-1527) should be mentioned. I have not been able to consult his *SCP* and *TKJ* commentaries. His *Za-ma-tog-bkod-pa* deals with the functions and morphophonemics of eleven enclitic particles [*kyi, tu, te, kyañ, ciñ, ces, cig, ce-na, pa, 'am, 'o*] in the penultimate section under the heading *sñā-ma 'i-miñ-šugs-kyis-phyi-ma-ji-ltar-thob-tshul*, 'distribution of [allomorphs] of enclitics (*phyi-ma*, lit. 'the following'), [determined] by [the final morphology of] the preceding free, lexical word-form', but does not introduce the terms *phrad* or *tshig-phrad* in this context.

14, Miller, R.A. (1976), *Studies in the Grammatical Tradition in Tibet*, Amsterdam (Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science III, 6), 74, Jackson, D.P. (1987), *The Entrance Gate for the Wise (Section III). Sa-skya Pañdita on Indian and Tibetan Traditions for Pramāna and Philosophical Debate*, 2 vols., Wien (Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 17), 53, 66, 83, 92.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. the appendix to my 'Studies in Tibetan Indigenous Grammar (4)', forthcoming in During-Caspers, E.C.L. & Verhagen, P.C. (eds.), *From Tibet to Taxila, Papers on Central and South Asian Studies dedicated to the memory of Ronald H. Poelmeijer*.

<sup>28</sup> The three being *Smra-ba 'i-sgo*, *Sum-cu-pa* and *Phrad-kyi-gnad*; *'di-dag-rgyas-par-kho-bos-smras-pa 'i-smra-ba 'i-sgo-dañ-sum-cu-pa-dañ-phrad-kyi-gnad-rnams-su-bśad-pa-bzin-śes-par-bya 'o*, suggesting that Dbus-pa Blo-gsal has written commentaries on all three, cf. Mimaki, K. (1992), 'Two Minor Works Ascribed to dBus pa blo gsal', in *PIATS Narita 1989*, 598 [read "*Phrad kyi gnad*" instead of "... *gnas*" there].

<sup>29</sup> *Tha-sñad-rig-gnas-lña-ji-ltar- 'byuñ-ba 'i-tshul-gsal-bar-byed-pa-blo-gsal-mgrin-rgyan-legs-bśad-nor-bu 'i-phreni-ba-žes-bya-ba*, ed. Šin-hwa 1987, pp. 255-322; cf. Verhagen, 'Studies in Tibetan Indigenous Grammar (4)', cit. note 27 supra.

<sup>30</sup> Op. cit. p. 278.

<sup>31</sup> In a paper for the 11th IABS conference, cf. note 23 supra, to be included in Verhagen (in preparation).

<sup>32</sup> Including also the heading *de-la-phrad-kyi-'jug-pa-ni*, 7v6.

We then come to the great commentary on *SCP* and *TKJ* by Si-tu Paṅ-chen Chos-kyi-'byuñ-gnas (1699-1774), the authority of which overshadows all preceding and subsequent commentaries, a kind of *Summa Grammatica* one could say.<sup>33</sup> Si-tu formulates the following definition for *tshig-phrad*:

'A *Tshig-gi-phrad* ('enclitic particle') is a specific kind of grammatical element, that, in general, when combining two or several free lexical word-forms (*miñ*), serves to form the connection between [these free lexical word-forms] or [serves] to clarify [their] meaning, and in some cases serves to clarify the meaning or to facilitate the pronunciation for two elements themselves ending in such [a particle] or [for] merely a non-composite free lexical word-form.

However, when not occurring in combination with other free lexical word-forms (*miñ*) or bound syntactic word-forms (*tshig*), when precisely such [an enclitic particle] is realized in isolation, the enclitic does not indicate a distinct meaning.<sup>34</sup>

This definition is similar in many respects to that in *Smra-sgo*. The 'soldering' function, that is the serving to form the connection between lexemes, in other words the marking of their syntactic functions and relations, we find also in the *Smra-sgo* definition, as well as the lack of a semantic value for the enclitic in isolation.

I have not been able to trace other formal definitions of *tshig-phrad* in Si-tu. He does, in his discussion of *SCP*, explicitly distinguish two types of *phrad*, namely the particles that show initial alternance in morphology depending on the final morpheme of the preceding term, including the case-particles<sup>35</sup> (treated in *SCP* 7-17), and the particles that have no morphological alternance (dealt with in *SCP* 18-23).<sup>36</sup> I will return to Si-tu's commentary later in this paper.

### 3. Sanskrit *nipāta*, Tibetan *tshig-phrad*

In this third part of the paper I will point out some aspects of the tension existing between the terms *nipāta* and *tshig-phrad*, focussing on two periods: first, the earliest, *i.e.* 8th/9th century, and, secondly, in the work of Si-tu Paṅ-chen (18th cent.)

<sup>33</sup> *Yul-gaṅs-can-pa 'i-brda-yañ-dag-par-sbyar-ba 'i-bstan-bcos-kyi-bye-brag-sum-cu-pa-dañ-rtags-kyi- 'jug-pa 'i-gzūñ-gi-rnam-par-bsad-pa Mkhas-pa 'i-mgul-rgyan-mu-tig-phreñ-mdzes*, ed. princeps Das (1915), facs. ed. in Si-tu's collected works Sherab Gyaltzen (1990-6), 447-618.

<sup>34</sup> Ed. Das 1915: 79.23-25, facs. ed. Sherab Gyaltzen 1990-6: 603.4-6 = 79r4-6; *tshig-gi-phrad-ces-bya-ba-ni-spyir-miñ-tsam-gñis-sam-du-mar-sbrel-ba 'i-tshe-bar-du-mtshams-sbyor-ba 'am-don-gsal-ba-la-phan- 'dogs-par-byed-ciñ- 'ga- 'zig-de- 'dra 'i-thog-mtha- 'gñis-dañ-miñ-rkyañ-tsam-la 'añ-don-gsal-ba 'am-brjod-bde-ba-la-phan- 'dogs-par-byed-pa 'i-sgra 'i-rnam-pa- 'zig-ste-de 'añ- | miñ-ñam-tshig-gzān-la-ma-sbyar-ba-na-de-ñid-rkyañ-pa-brjod-pas-don-gsal-bar-mi-mtshon-pa 'i-phrad-ni |*

<sup>35</sup> *ljes- 'jug-la-ltos-pa 'i-phrad-rnam-dbye-dañ-bcas-pa*, ed. Das 1915: 9.22, facs. ed. Sherab Gyaltzen 1990-6: 467.4 = 11r4.

<sup>36</sup> *phrad-rañ-dbañ-can* [ed. Das 1915: 9.22, 24.14, facs. ed. Sherab Gyaltzen 1990-6: 467.4, 498.6 = 11r4, 26v6], scil. *ni-sgra*, *dañ-sgra*, *de-sgra*, *gañ-sgra*, *bdag-sgra* and *dgag-sgra*, as listed ed. Das 1915: 24.14, facs. ed. Sherab Gyaltzen 1990-6: 498.6-499.1 = 26v6-27r1.

### 3.1. Early period (8th-9th cent.)

In the earliest literature we find attestations for *tshig-phrad* being used to translate *nipāta*, but also for the -- in Pāṇinian terms -- broader category of *avyaya*, 'indeclinables', as well as for the more limited category of the *upasarga*, i.e. 'verbal preposition'.

#### 3.1.1. *tshig-phrad* = *nipāta*

The most authoritative early locus attesting for the use of specific Tibetan terms for specific Sanskrit idiom is of course the famous lexicon *Mahāvvyutpatti* (henceforth *MVY*). In the -- rather unsatisfactory and unbalanced -- section listing terms from *vyākaraṇa* we find the entry *nipāta* with the Tibetan translation *tshig-gi-phrad* (*MVY* 4708).

The items *dhātu* 'verbal root' (*MVY* 4707; compare also 4721 *kriyā-padam* 'verbal predicate'), *nipāta* (4708) and *upasarga* (4710), occurring in a list of linguistic basic notions in the beginning of the section, are of course somewhat reminiscent of the classical four categories of words in *Prātiśākhya* and *Nirukta* literature. Of course, compared with the *Prātiśākhya* categorization, most notably missing in the list of *MVY* is the class of nominals. No term such as *nāman* 'nominal', or an equivalent, has found its way into the list in *MVY*.

This eminently authoritative source, *MVY*, in this entry 4708 unequivocally introduces *tshig-gi-phrad* (or *tshig-phrad*) as the standard translation for the Sanskrit grammatical term *nipāta*. We can, of course, be sure, on account of the context, that here the grammatical sense, and not some other meaning of the word *nipāta* is intended.

#### 3.1.2. *tshig-phrad* = *avyaya*

However, in the same *MVY* we find that the term *tshig-phrad* is the heading term (*MVY* 5394) for a group of ninety-nine assorted smaller syntactic units (*MVY* 5395-5493). Here evidently the term *tshig-phrad* applies to a broader category than merely the indeclinable particles. The majority of the group is constituted by various types of indeclinables: particles,<sup>37</sup> adverbs,<sup>38</sup> adverbial groups,<sup>39</sup> and even two examples of the so-called absolutive form of the verb, which is in fact an indeclinable.<sup>40</sup> The remaining forms, pronouns<sup>41</sup> and pronominal groups,<sup>42</sup> were suited for inclusion in this group, I would suppose, on account of the relative similarity in certain syntactic functions and properties between pronominal forms and indeclinables. Briefly, I would say that in this heading the term *tshig-phrad* seems to refer to indeclinables in general. The choice of the term *tshig-phrad* is therefore somewhat awkward. The common Tibetan

<sup>37</sup> E.g. *vā* = 'di-ltar-ram-ruñ (5404), *ca* = dañ-ñam-yañ (5405), *eva* = ñid (5406).

<sup>38</sup> E.g. *dhruvam* = lags-so-'am-ñes-par / los-te-'am (5444), *avaśyam* = ñes-par-ram-gor-na-chag-pa-'am-sñam (5445).

<sup>39</sup> E.g. *kiṃ cātaḥ* = de-las-ci-'gyur (5469), *yeṣāṃ kṛtaṣaḥ* = gañ-dag-gi-phyir (5461), *yathāpi nāma* = dper-na-śes-sam-ji-ltar-yañ (5467).

<sup>40</sup> *Sthāpayitvā* = ma-gtogs-pa-'am-gžag-ste / ma-gtogs-sam-bžag-ste (5458) and *hitvā* = bor-te-'am-ma-gtogs-pa (5459).

<sup>41</sup> E.g. *tayā* = des (5479), *anena* = 'dis (5480), *anayā* = 'dis (5481), *yeṣām* = gañ-rnams-kyi (5483), *teṣām* = de-rnams-kyi (5484), *yasya* = gañ-gi-'am-gañ-la (5485), *tasya* = de-'i-'am-de-la (5486), *asya* = 'di-'i-'am-'di-la (5487).

<sup>42</sup> E.g. *kā cit* = gañ-yañ (5466), *ke cit* = kha-ciḡ (5468), *ye ke cit* = gañ-su-dag (5469), *yaḥ kaś cit* = gañ-la-la (5470).

translation for the Sanskrit term *avyaya*, 'indeclinable', as attested throughout the Indo-Tibetan linguistic literature, is *mi-zad-pa*. It is conceivable that the introduction of the translation *mi-zad-pa* postdates *MVY*, especially in view of the fact that the related term *avyayībhāva* (an indeclinable type of compound) is given the unusual – in fact incorrect – translation *zad-par-mi-'gyur-ba* in *MVY* 4730, while the conventional attested translation is *mi-zad-par-'gyur-ba*.

### 3.1.3. *tshig-phrad* (& *rgyan-lta-bu*) = *upasarga*

Then, thirdly, in an equally authoritative text from the same period, the term *tshig-phrad* seems also to be used for the Sanskrit verbal prepositions, the *upasargas*. I refer to a passage in the introductory section, in fact the royal edict<sup>43</sup> (of 814 CE) by Khri-lde-sroñ-btsan Sad-na-legs (799-815) regarding the translation procedures, in *Sgra-sbyor-bam-po-gñis-pa* (henceforth *Sgra-sbyor*):

'As for the translating of [the elements] *pari*, *sam*, *upa* etc., that function as *tshig-gi-phrad* ('particle') and *rgyan-lta-bu* ('as it were ornamental'), the method to adhere to and stay in accord with the meaning, is: translate [them] according to the word-form as [their respective Tibetan equivalents]: *yoñs-su*, *yañ-dag-pa[r]*, *ñe-ba[r]* [etc.].

[However,] for these [elements referred to above] that do not aim [to indicate] an additional [specific] meaning, it is not necessary to add an additional term [*i.e.* an explicit translation], but one may follow the meaning [and consequently not translate them explicitly].'<sup>44</sup>

Although the term *upasarga* is not mentioned, it is clear that the text is referring to the verbal prepositions, or *upasargas*, from the examples *pari*, *sam* and *upa*. Moreover, two functions are distinguished for them, namely as *tshig-phrad* (particle) and *rgyan* (or *rgyan-lta-bu*) (ornamental). Then two options are offered to the translator: either translate the *upasarga* by a Tibetan equivalent, or, when no specific meaning is expressed by the *upasarga*, omit it from the translation.

This interpretation is, of course, already given by Simonsson in his *Indo-Tibetische Studien*.<sup>45</sup> I find his translation of *sgra-bzín-du* by "lautgemäss" rather puzzling. I prefer to interpret the phrase *sgra-bzín-du* as 'according to the word-form', 'according to the morphology' *i.e.* accounting for every part of the Sanskrit morphology in the translation, or, in other words, representing every element, be it stem, suffix or particle, explicitly in the Tibetan translation. Here, in the case of the verbal prepositions, it refers to the almost mechanical translating of the *upasarga*, usually by means of the standard Tibetan equivalent. On the other hand, the alternative option, working *don-bzín-du* *i.e.* 'according to the meaning', amounts to taking the semantics as the principal criterion. In the cases where the *upasargas* do not have a meaning,

<sup>43</sup> This passage is not (yet) to be found in the earlier edict (783 or 795 CE) by Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan (755-797), as contained in the recently discovered fragments of a *Sgra-sbyor* manuscript in the 'du-khañ of Ta-pho monastery, cf. Panglung, J.L. (1994), 'New Fragments of the *sGra-sbyor bam-po gñis-pa*' in *East and West* 44-1, 161-192.

<sup>44</sup> Ishikawa, Mie (ed.) (1990), *A Critical Edition of the Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa. An Old and Basic Commentary on the Mahāvīyutpatti*, Tokyo (Studia Tibetica 18, Materials for Tibetan-Mongolian Dictionaries vol. 2), 3: *pari-dañ- / sam-dañ- / upa-lta-bu-la-sogs-te / tshig-gi-phrad-dañ-rgyan-lta-bur-'byuñ-ba-rnams-bsgyur-na-don-dañ-mthun-ziñ-'byor-pa'i-thabs-ni | yoñs-su-že'am | yañ-dag-pa-že'am | ñe-ba-žes-sgra-bzín-du-sgyur-cig | don-lhag-par-sñegs-pamed-pa-rnams-ni-tshig-gi-lhad-kyis-bsnan-mi-dgos-kyis-don-bzín-du-thogs-šig /*

<sup>45</sup> Simonsson, N. (1957), *Indo-tibetische Studien I. Die Methoden der tibetischen Übersetzer, untersucht im Hinblick auf die Bedeutung ihrer Übersetzungen für die Sanskritphilologie*, Uppsala, 255-256.

and function merely as ornament, this implies that the *upasargas* need not be represented in the translation and can be left untranslated.

The text seems to suggest that when the *upasarga* functions as particle the first option should be taken and the *upasarga* should be translated explicitly, but that when the *upasarga* functions as a mere 'ornamental' it need not be translated. The distinction of a purely ornamental and a semantically significant use of the verbal prepositions, and the discussion whether or not the *upasargas* by themselves have a semantic function, have been matters of debate in Sanskrit *vyākaraṇa* from the earliest periods onwards. Note for instance the earliest classical locus on this debate, *Nirukta* 1.8, which attributes the standpoint that *upasargas* do have an individual semantic value to the followers of the grammarian Gārgya, and the opposite position to the school of Śākaṭāyana.<sup>46</sup>

Finally it should be noted that the standard translation of the term *upasarga* that we find in general use in the later literature, *ñe-bar-(b)sgyur-ba*, was already established in the standard lexicon of *MVY*,<sup>47</sup> which is contemporaneous to *Sgra-sbyor*.

One gets the impression from the above three uses of the term *tshig-phrad* that in the early period the term *tshig-phrad* in an Indic grammatical context was used rather freely. Evidently it did not exclusively refer to the Sanskrit indeclinable particles (as one might surmise from *MVY* 4708), but it included the broader category of the indeclinables, as well as the related sub-category of the verbal prepositions.

### 3.2. Si-tu: *nipāta* / *tshig-phrad*

Si-tu presents a long discussion of the relation, and particularly the discrepancies, between the Sanskrit *nipāta* and the Tibetan *tshig-phrad* in the context of his extensive commentary on *TKJ* 31, itself a highly involved and enigmatic *śloka*, the full interpretation of which I must set aside for the moment. After an elaborate description and comparison of the systems of case-attribution in Sanskrit and Tibetan,<sup>48</sup> Si-tu Paṅ-chen elaborates on the matter of *tshig-phrad* and *nipāta*. First of all he gives the definition of *tshig-gi-phrad* that we have seen earlier.

Then, after an enumeration of the Tibetan enclitics, distinguishing the case-particles and the syntactic particles, Si-tu briefly states the core of the problem as follows:

'In this context [we find that] some people have thought [along the following lines]: "Given the fact that [for] the Sanskrit term *nipāta* the [Tibetan] translation is *tshig-phrad*, whichever [elements are] the *tshig-phrad* of the Tibetan language must also necessarily be corresponding [> similar] to the *nipātas* of Sanskrit."<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> *na nibaddhā upasargā arthān niāhur iti śākaṭāyanaḥ | nāmākhyaṭayō tu kramopasaṃyogadyotakā bhavanti || uccāvacaḥ padārthā bhavanti gārgyaḥ | tad ya eṣu padārthaḥ prāhur imāṃ taṃ nāmākhyaṭayor arthavikaraṇam ||*

An often repeated general maxim on the meaning of *upasargas* goes: *upasargeṇa dhātvartho balād anyatra niyate | gaṅgāsālimādhuryaṃ sāgaraṇa yathāmbhasā |*

Other *vyākaraṇa* texts on the meaning of *upasargas*: *Rk-prātiśākhya* XII.6-9, *Nirukta* 1.3, *Mahābhāṣya* ad 1.3.1. vt. 7, *Vākyapadiya* II.190.

<sup>47</sup> 4710 *upasargaḥ = ñe-bar-bsgyur-ba*.

<sup>48</sup> Ed. Das 1915: 76.8-79.23, facs. ed. Sherab Gyaltzen 1990-6: 597.2-603.4 = 76r2-79r4.

<sup>49</sup> Ed. Das 1915: 80.21-22, facs. ed. Sherab Gyaltzen 1990-6: 605.2 = 80r2: '*dir-'ga'-žig-gis-legs-sbyar-gyi-skad-ni-pā-ta-bsgyur-ba-tshig-phrad-yin-pa-'i-rgyu-mtshan-gyis-bod-skad-kyi-tshig-phrad-gaṅ-yin-pa-rnams-kyañ-legs-sbyar-gyi-ni-pā-ta-rnams-dañ-bsgrig-ruñ-ba-žig-dgos-so-sñam-du-bsam*.'

He then devotes more than an entire folio in the *Gsuñ-'bum* version to the refutation of this and related misconceptions anent the relation between *tshig-phrad* and *nipāta*. Of course, he must also explain why, as we have seen earlier, the Tibetan term *tshig-phrad* was chosen as translation for the Sanskrit term *nipāta* (e.g. in the standard lexicon *MVY*):

'If we consider [the question] "Why did the earlier scholars translate [the Sanskrit term] *nipāta* as [Tibetan] *tshig-phrad*?" [the answer is]:

It is so [that the earlier scholars translated *nipāta* as *tshig-phrad*] because the Sanskrit *nipātas*, such as *ca*, *vā*, *eva* etc., in general [and] for the most part [of the instances] occur [*i.e.* are translated in Tibetan] as *tshig-phrad* ['enclitic particles'].

But, [the earlier scholars did] not translate [*nipāta*] thus [*i.e.* as *tshig-phrad*] because they thought that the two, the Tibetan *tshig-phrads* and the [Sanskrit] *nipātas* comprised [one another > corresponded completely].<sup>50</sup>

He adduces a veritable landslide of evidence for the necessity of careful distinction of the two categories. Let me quote just a few:

(1) Many *nipātas* are not translated by means of a *tshig-phrad*:

'[These two classes do not correspond completely] because the [following forms] occurring among the Sanskrit *nipātas*, viz. *svar*, *śīghram*, *tūrṇam*, *kartavyam* [= \**kartave* or \**kartavai*?], *svasti*, *mithyā* and *urcchas* [?; = *uccais*?], are translated respectively as *mtho-ris*, *mg-yogs-pa*, *myur-po*, *bya-ba*, *bde-legs*, *brdzun* and *mthon-po*, none of which [translations] are Tibetan particles.<sup>51</sup>

Here, and elsewhere in the discussion, we find that Si-tu also includes the broader category of indeclinables, *avyayas*, under the term *nipāta*. Only one of the examples he gives can strictly be termed a *nipāta*, viz. *mithyā*,<sup>52</sup> translated as *brdzun* 'falsely'. The remainder of his examples are in fact indeclinables, *avyayas*, as for instance *śīghram*<sup>53</sup> and *svasti*<sup>54</sup>, translated as *mg-yogs-pa* 'quick(ly)' and *bde-legs* 'good fortune'. His point is of course well made that the Tibetan translations for these expressions are not enclitics.

(2) Many elements translated by means of a *tshig-phrad* are not *nipāta*.<sup>55</sup> For this Si-tu

<sup>50</sup> Ed. Das 1915: 81.1-2, facs. ed. Sherab Gyaltzen 1990-6: 605.4-5 = 80r4-5: *ci-'i-phyir-na-sñon-gyi-mkhas-pa-rnams-kyis-ni-pā-ta-tshig-phrad-du-sgyur-ba-'i-dgoñs-pa-ni / legs-sbyar-gyi / tsa / bā / e-ba-la-sogs-pa-ni-pā-ta-rnams-phale* [= *pha*] *-cher-tshig-phrad-la-'byuñ-ba-śas-che-bas-yin-gyi-bod-skad-kyi-tshig-phrad-dañ-ni-pā-ta-gñis-yin-khyab-mñam-du-dgoñs-pas-de-bzin-du-bsgyur-ba-ma-yin-pa-'i-phyir-te /*

<sup>51</sup> Ed. Das 1915: 81.3-4, facs. ed. Sherab Gyaltzen 1990-6: 605.5-6 = 80r5-6: *legs-sbyar- [S: gyi-] ni-pā-ta-la-yod-pa-'i / svar- / śī-ghram. [S: śī-ghraṃ] / tūr-ṇa-ṇam. [= S: tūrṇaṃ] / karta-byaṃ / swasti / mibyathi [S: mithyā] / urtstshas. / lta-bu-rnams-rim-bzin-bsgyur-ba-'i / mtho-ris / mg-yogs-pa / myur-po / bya-ba / bde-legs / brdzun / mthon-po-lta-bu-rnams-bod-skad-kyi-tshig-phrad-ma-yin-pa-dañ- /; mithyā is nipāta (Pāṇini 1.4.57), svar, uccais, svasti and mithyā are avyaya (svar-ādi-gaṇa, Pāṇini 1.1.37), śīghram, tūrṇam [and kartavyani?] are avyaya on account of māntaḥ in svar-ādi-gaṇa (Pāṇini 1.1.37), kartave or kartavai is avyaya according to Pāṇini 3.4.9.*

<sup>52</sup> In *cādi-gaṇa* ad Pāṇini 1.4.57.

<sup>53</sup> *Avyaya* on account of the inclusion of *māntaḥ* in *svar-ādi-gaṇa*, Pāṇini 1.1.37.

<sup>54</sup> *Avyaya* on account of its inclusion in *svar-ādi-gaṇa*, Pāṇini 1.1.37.

<sup>55</sup> Ed. Das 1915: 81.4-6, facs. ed. Sherab Gyaltzen 1990-6: 605.6 = 80r6: *bod-kyi-skad-la-tshig-phrad-du-'aṅ-bgrañ-chog-pa-'i-rnam-dbye-'i-rkyen-kyi-gyi-la-na-lta-bu-yod-kyañ- / legs-sbyar-la-de-'i-don / sya / yās. / yām. / lta-bu-rnams-rnam-dbye-'i-rkyen-gyi-rjes-tsam-las-ni-pā-ta-ma-yin-pa-'i-phyir-ro //; '[These two classes do not correspond completely] because, on the one hand the case-suffixes such as *la* [and] *na* should be reckoned also among the *tshig-phrad* in Tibetan, but, as in Sanskrit [forms] with that meaning, e.g. *sya*, *yās* and *yām*, are merely the final form of a case-suffix, they are not *nipātas*.'*



provides us with the example of the Tibetan case-particles, such as *la* or *na*, that are *tshig-phrad*, while on the other hand in Sanskrit elements such as *sya* (ending of genitive singular of masculine or neuter nominals ending in *-a*) or *yām* (locative singular of feminine nominals in *-ā*) are not *nipātas* at all, but allomorphs of certain suffixes.

This is closely related to the following, general point of consideration:

(3) In Sanskrit the case-suffixes are not *nipātas*, but in Tibetan the particles used to mark the cases are *tshig-phrad*. As Si-tu has it:

'Moreover, in Sanskrit the case-suffixes and *nipātas* are certainly different [elements], but there is no objection to designate the case-suffixes, that constitute the basic structure of Tibetan, as *tshig-phrad*, because these suffixes do not transgress [the parameters of] the meaning [of the term *tshig-phrad*, namely] a particle that forms the mutual connection between *tshigs*.<sup>56</sup>

Si-tu Paṅ-chen also mentions the section of *MVY* [5394-5493] that I described above, where under the heading term *tshig-phrad* a number of elements were included that are not *nipātas*, as one of his arguments for the distinction of *nipāta* and *tshig-phrad*.<sup>57</sup>

A preliminary conclusion of my investigation of his elaborate discussion of these matters is that Si-tu was very conscious of the friction resulting from the employment of the technical terminology of Indic origin for the grammatical description of a structurally totally different language such as Tibetan.

Finally, to sum up, some general conclusions that follow from the present investigation may be formulated. It is evident that the Tibetans have modelled their grammatical description on the rich Indic traditions. Not only *vyākaraṇa*, but also Abhidharma and Tantristic sources can be attested in this connection.<sup>58</sup> But, the structure of Tibetan being radically different from the Indic languages, modifications of the Indic model were necessary. Therefore, we do not find slavish acceptance and echoism in the Tibetans' adoption of the Indic grammatical schemata, although they did try to remain as close to the Indic models as the situation permitted. Frequently the adoption of a term or category involved an alteration of its meaning or use.

We have seen an instance of this in the term *tshig-phrad*. We have seen early attestations of this term as referring to the Sanskrit indeclinable particles (*nipāta*), and the related categories of preverbs (*upasarga*) and indeclinables (*avyaya*). However, in Tibetan indigenous grammar we find it applied to the enclitic particles.

<sup>56</sup> Ed. Das 1915: 81.16-17, facs. ed. Sherab Gyaltsen 1990-6: 606.4-5 = 80v4-5: *yañ-legs-sbyar-la-rnam-dbye'i-rkyen-dañ-ni-pā-ta-mi-mtshuñs-pa-thugs-mod-kyañ-bod-skad-gzñr-bzag-gi-rnams [= S: rnam] -dbye'i-rkyen-la-tshig-phrad-du-brjod-pa-mi-'gal-te-rkyen-de-dag-tshig-phan-tshun-mtshams-sbyor-ba'i-phrad-kyi-don-las-mi-'da-'ba-'i-phyir-ro* |.

<sup>57</sup> Ed. Das 1915: 81.10-11, facs. ed. Sherab Gyaltsen 1990-6: 606.2 = 80v2: *des-na-bye-rtogs-su-bod-brda-'ñid-kyi-dbañ-du-byas-nas-skabs-skabs-nas-tshig-gi-'phrad-du-'byuñ-ba-zes-mdor-bsten [= S: bstan] -nas-'phrad-du-'byuñ-ba-rnams-bkod-pa-la-ni-pā-ta-ma-yin-pa-'ga-'zig-mthoñ-ba-la-skyon-du-smra-ba-ni-ya-cha'o* ||.

<sup>58</sup> On Abhidharma models, cf. e.g. Simonsson, N. (1982), 'Reflections on the grammatical tradition in Tibet', in *Indological and Buddhist Studies. Volume in Honour of J. W. de Jong on his Sixtieth Birthday*, Canberra, 531-544; on Tantristic sources, cf. e.g. Miller 1976: 33-56 [cf. note 26 supra] and Verhagen, P.C. (1993), 'Mantras and Grammar. Observations on the study of the linguistic aspects of Buddhist 'esoteric formulas' in Tibet', in K.N. Mishra (ed.), *Aspects of Buddhist Sanskrit. (Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Language of Sanskrit Buddhist Texts', Oct. 1-5, 1991)*, Sarnath, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, (= Samyag-Vāk Series VI), 334-337.

Now we should not make the mistake of assuming that, because Tibetan *tshig-phrad* is used as the translation for Sanskrit *nipāta*, it then follows that the Tibetan grammarians necessarily regarded the Tibetan enclitic particles, which they also term *tshig-phrad*, as corresponding to the Sanskrit indeclinable particles in all respects. This much has become abundantly clear in Situ's discussion of these matters.

I think a proper general conclusion that we can draw from this, is that when in the field of indigenous grammar an Indic term or concept is adopted by the Tibetan grammarians, we should always remain keenly aware of the possibility of all kinds of changes, adaptations and ramifications in the meaning and usage of the term, even if the term at first sight might appear to be a straightforward borrowing. I have elsewhere adduced materials supporting similar claims for some of the case-grammar categories, amongst which the extremely involved problem of the category of *dños-po*.<sup>59</sup>

I would say that a major task for the present-day tibetologist working on these materials should be the exact determination of the parameters of these two spheres: What elements in the usage and meaning of the technical terms and models can be traced back directly to the Indic antecedents, and what additions and alterations have been applied to this by the Tibetan grammarians? The proper balance between the two was a requirement for the Tibetan grammarians for their grammatical description to be elegant and effective. Surely, by the same token, the fine-tuning of our understanding of this balance is an absolute requirement for the modern-day students to achieve a fuller and richer understanding of these traditions.

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<sup>59</sup> Forthcoming in section 2 of Verhagen (in preparation).

NOMADS OF BYANG AND MNGA'-RIS-SMAD:  
A Historical Overview of Their Interaction in Gro-shod, 'Brong-pa, Glo-bo  
and Gung-thang from the 11th to the 15th Century<sup>1</sup>

by

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Southern Byang-thang, called Byang<sup>2</sup> in the sources, which adjoins mNga'-ris-smad, was not an isolated wasteland without commercial and political relevance, for the stretch of land west of sKyid-grong has been a cross-roads since earliest historical times. Among all Byang-thang districts, occupation of Byang meant unique opportunities for trade. I say nothing new when I remind the reader that Srong-btsan sgam-po's organisation of the *yang-'dul* and *mtha'-'dul gtsug-lag-khang* was not just a religious exercise, but also served strategic and trade purposes.

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<sup>2</sup> The territory of Byang borders Mang-yul Gung-thang (also known as mNga'-ris-smad) to the east; the Mar-yum-la (which is the divide leading to the holy lakes area in Pu-hrang) to the west; the Himalayan range to the south and Nag-tshang in Byang-thang to the north. Byang thus encompasses the lands known as 'Brong-pa in the east and Gro-shod in the west as well as the upper part of Glo-bo to the south. The term Byang does not exclusively connote the lands under study. Byang is the name given to different territories recurring in a number of textual instances, which cannot be included here for reasons of space. The territory in Byang-thang defined Byang may easily be confused with others bearing the same name, *in primis* La-stod Byang is often also called Byang. Colloquially, Byang commonly applies to La-stod Byang, but in the literature, when La-stod is dropped, Byang, in order to refer to La-stod Byang, is often but not always connected to lHo (*i.e.* lHo-Byang), which stands for La-stod lHo-Byang. When Byang is found alone to stand for La-stod Byang, it is usually because the notion La-stod Byang has been previously conveyed. The term Byang also denotes 'Phan-po, the district bordering on lHa-sa, appearing in names such as Byang Rwa-sgreng and Byang sTag-lung. As a prudential rule, the reader is advised to refer to the context in which the term Byang appears to ascertain which territory is being discussed.

A paradox may arise from the notion of Byang referring to the southernmost part of Byang-thang, *i.e.* that the definition Byang for Southern Byang-thang was apparently not formulated in Byang-thang, but might have been applied to the stretch of lands along the rTa-mchog kha-'babs by its southern neighbors, *i.e.* the people occupying the Mon-pa lands to its south. This was not so. The terms Byang and Byang-pa designate the lands and people of Byang-thang as a whole rather than the lands along the rTa-mchog kha-'babs exclusively. This notion is best exemplified in La-dwags, where the people of La-dwags Byang-thang are commonly known as Byang-pa, although La-dwags Byang-thang is located to the east of the heartland of La-dwags, in the same way as all people of Tibetan Byang-thang are recognized as Byang-pa. If this holds good, then the hypothesis that the name Byang was assigned to the lands east of Pu-hrang and west of Mang-yul by its southern neighbors has to be refuted. Hence, in the best Tibetan tradition, Byang is a rather comprehensive and vague term applied to different lands. It mainly refers to the whole of Byang-thang and sometimes to parts of it. In the case under study, it denotes the Byang-thang districts of 'Brong-pa and Gro-shod.

It is noteworthy that the name Byang alluding to the lands along the rTa-mchog kha-'babs is adopted in regard to events at least as early as the mid-7th century, for in the list of Srong-btsan sgam-po's *yang-'dul gtsug-lag-khang*, canonically classified according to the direction of the compass, Pra-dum is said to be situated in Byang even though its location does not fall in that direction, while Byang-sprin in nearby Mang-yul is said to be in the west (see NRch 243, NTP 17, DJch 116, KDch 286). This seems to imply that the notion of Byang as the point of the compass referring to the north is dropped in favor of the location of Pra-dum in Byang, *i.e.* in Byang-thang.

Apart from sKyid-grong, other temples, whose foundations are attributed to Srong-btsan sgampo (such as Byams-sprin and Pra-dum and, farther to the west, the otherwise mysterious sKar-chung gtsug-lag-khang, built at the border between Pu-rang and Gro-shod) were also in Byang.<sup>3</sup>

Control of trade was therefore a good reason to hold sway over Byang. Barter between the high nomadic lands and the lowlands giving way to the Gangetic plain was highly profitable. When the Men-zhang nomads in the 12th century took control of the cradle of Byang, the Pra-dum-rtse area also called 'Brong-pa, they assumed unprecedented prosperity and influence. The neighbouring Gro-shod territory in Byang was already somewhat peripheral in terms of barter strategies. Whichever subclan of these Byang nomads took over internal leadership by controlling the crucial area composed by 'Brong-pa as well as Mustang, was thereby able greatly to increase its power. It is also significant that the NCnt, during the zenith of the Glo sMos-thang dynasty, the most powerful ever to emerge from the nomadic clans of the area, does not speak of the conquests of A-ma-dpal, the kingdom's founder, but of the establishment of his trade marts (NCnt 537).

Although the territory is described in inhospitable terms by a prestigious pilgrim, O-rgyan-pa Seng-ge-dpal (1230-1309), who crossed it on his way to Ti-se and Swat sometime in 1252-1253, since he colourfully calls it *Byang mi-med-kyi thang* ("the northern plain where no humans live") in his *mam-thar* dictated to his disciple rTogs-ldan Zla-ba seng-ge (p.36),<sup>4</sup> the importance of southern Byang-thang, where pastoralism was the way of life, and its relevant location in the lands of Tibet are elucidated in an account of a 12th-13th century Byang-pa exponent of the Thon clan, who spent most of his life there. He maintains that in the west is the centre of religion (Ti-se), in the east is the centre of Tibet (dBus-gTsang), in the north products of the nomadic world are plentiful, and the road to the south allows profitable trade with the tropical lands.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> NRch 242-244, NTP 17-19. The most articulated classifications are those of the two *IDe'u chos-byung*. KDch 285 places Pra-dum-rtse amid the four *mtha'-'dul gtsug-lag-khang*. Mang-yul Byang-sprin among further four *mtha'-'dul gtsug-lag-khang* and Mang-yul sBang-chen brtsegs-pa in a classification of eight *yang-'dul gtsug-lag-khang*. DJch 115-116 quotes Mang-yul Byang-sprin among a group of eight *mtha'-'dul gtsug-lag-khang*. Both *IDe'u* texts (KDch 285-286, DJch 116-117) add to Mang-yul Byang-sprin its related temple sTang-sprin (DJch, while KDch has Myang-sprin) and to Pra-dum-rtse its related temple gNyen-gsal lha-khang (DJch, while KDch has gShen-gsal) among a classification of four *yang-'dul gtsug-lag-khang* coupled with four related monasteries, which makes again a group of eight. Among a further grouping of eighteen *yang-'dul gtsug-lag-khang* one finds 'Pra-dum lha-khang and Nub-ri lha-khang (DJch & KDch). The location of sKar-chung gtsug-lag-khang, defined *gling-bzhi dpe-brgyad*, between Pu-hrang and Gro-shod, is given at the back of (*i.e.* beyond) the nine divisions of gTsang, called the gTsang lu-ma mgo-dgu (NTP p.18). The temple might have been close to the Mar-yum-la. Reference to it as having been built in the Newar and Khotanese architectural styles with the purpose of being a model for future *lha-khang* testifies, in particular, if the information is reliable, to the spread of Newar culture towards its western borderlands, to the point that what is commonly indicated in the Tibetan sources as Bal-Bod would have to be extended in the early historical period farther west than the area bordering Mang-yul Gung-thang. Finally the vexed but relevant question whether all temples listed in the expanded versions of the *ru-gnon*, *mtha'-'dul* and *yang-'dul* temples were contemporary is an urgent scholarly subject, which awaits treatment. For reasons of space these tantalizing topics, which deserve much more than a brief discussion, have to be dropped at this point.

<sup>4</sup> Subsequently in the biography (rTogs-ldan Zla-ba seng-ge, *Grub-chen O-rgyan-pa mam-phar thar-pa byin-brlabs chu-rgyun bzhes-bya-ba bzugs-so*. Sherab Gyaltzen ed., Gangtok 1976), a mention that O-rgyan-pa halted in Dol-po helps to reconfirm the identification of this land, also named Byang-kha in this text, in which he spent nine months. Given its territorial contiguity with Dol-po, the term Byang-kha applies in this case to the territory encompassing 'Brong-pa and Gro-shod and not to Byang-thang as a whole.

<sup>5</sup> MLnt 32b,4-33a,2: 'Brog-mi tsha rta 'gyogs-ma 'dod-yon grogs | Byang-kha-brgyad 'Brong-pho sha'i yul | tshong khye-spogs zhib-chen khal-pa'i lam | Rong-kha-dgu sngon-mo nas-kyis (kyi) yul | lHo Ku-thang pan-chod kha-ba'i

In the following, I will attempt a brief reconstruction of the historical phases starting from the 11th century, into which nomad control of these lands has to be subdivided.

### 1. Genesis of the Men-zhang clan and its history until the mid-13th century

The Men-zhang were originally a mNga'-ris skor-gsum tribe of Gu-ge nomads.<sup>6</sup> Their ancestry is aptly described as *rTa-nag gzhon-gyi mgyogs-brgyud* ("swift lineage of the young black horse"). The oral tradition of the family elders claims the existence of three ancestral brothers: the eldest originated the *Zhwa-nag gyon-gyi che-ba brgyud* ("great lineage wearing a black hat"), the middle produced the *Ber-nag gyon-gyi btsun-brgyud* ("the princely lineage wearing a black cloak"), and from the youngest descended the above-mentioned Men-zhang sub-division. They all were originated by what the text defines as the sTod Ma-bzangs (*sic*) active in sTod (CLnt 7a-b). This author is unaware of any other occurrence of a classification of the Ma-sangs spun-brgyad or spun-dgu in terms of their territorial location in the various regions of the plateau.<sup>7</sup>

For reasons not given in the extant sources dealing with them, they migrated to the east. The itinerary of the migration is not described, but one may presume with some confidence that the Men-zhang followed the route which crosses Byang, since they came to La-stod lHo-smad where they temporarily settled. Having reached the farthest point in the latter territory, their advance was stopped.

It was in the following generation that they were pushed back. In an interesting migrational pattern, which had first brought them eastwards, they retraced their steps westwards in various stages. They first occupied Khyam-mdo. By dwelling there, the Men-zhang came into contact with another important political presence in the area, that of the kings of Gung-thang.<sup>8</sup> Their association with Gung-thang led them to become one of the four principal communities (*mi-sde sgo-bzhi*) of the area, which formed the ethnic and territorial stratum of mNga'-ris-smad. The *mi-sde-sgo-bzhi* (CLnt 9a) were Gung-thang, Nub-ri (presently in Nepal), Mang-yul sKyid-

*yul / Byang rTsang-po phan-chod lhags(f.33a)-pa'i yul / Bod ser khog-ma yin phyugs la skyid / 'brog glan-glen ma-yin mi la skyid / sTod mNga'-ris zad-pa'i sdong-'thil yin / sMad dBus-rTsang ru-bzhi'i (bzhi) Ra-rtse (Rwa-rtse'i) g.yas /* "Nomads ('brog-mi) are fond of salt and swift horses. Byang-kha-brgyad 'Brong-pho ("the eight Byang territories of 'Brong-pho") is the land of meat [where they get them]. Trade of products unloaded [here] [allows] a sharp profit along the road of packed animals. Rong-kha-dgu sngon-mo ("the nine green Rong territories") are the land of barley. Beyond lHo Ku-thang is the land of snow. Beyond Byang rTsang-po (*i.e.* the Brahmaputra) is (f.33a) the land of wind. Tibet is not a barren land. It is rich and happy. The nomads ('brog) are not silly [people]; they are happy men. This is the extreme limit of the sTod mNga'-ris border. sMad dBus-rTsang ru-bzhi is to the right (*i.e.* to the east) of Rwa-rtse ("the horn mountain"). Given that MLnt (a 13th-century biography) mentions in the main events taking place from the second half of the 12th century to the first half of the 13th century, this quotation is also relevant because it contains the earliest reference to the Pra-dum territory (known as 'Brong-pa) under the name Byang-kha-brgyad 'Brong-pho. Tashi Tsering has been most helpful in reminding me that hitherto the earliest known mention of the name 'Brong-pa occurs only in the 15th century. Byang-kha-brgyad is also sometime textually called Byang-phyi-brgyad.

<sup>6</sup> The Men-zhang are previously known mainly from mentions found in Kah-thog Tshe-dbang nor-bu's GDR and in documents from Mustang such as the TM. Their identification has posed quite a problem in the past. A few additional references to the Men-zhang deriving from texts other than CLnt, the main source on them, will be found in these pages. In them (CLnt and MLnt passim, TTGnt 182, etc.) the Men-zhang are invariably defined as 'brog-pa.

<sup>7</sup> For a rare identification of the names of the Ma-sangs spun-brgyad see KDch 224-225.

<sup>8</sup> CLnt 9a. The Gung-thang kings are commonly called *khab-pa* in the literature. This is at the same time a general term implying a holder of a castle (*khab* = castle), and one that specifically identifies the Gung-thang rulers.

gong and Men-zhang rGya-tshang-pa (GDR IHa-sa ed. 99).<sup>9</sup> The territory of the *mi-sde sgo-bzhi* was also known as IHo-Nub-Gung-gsum (CLnt 9a), corresponding to Mang-yul (IHo), Nub-ris and the 'Brog-pa lands in Byang (Nub) and Gung-thang (Gung).

The Men-zhang then took over the area in Byang where Pra-dum<sup>10</sup> Iha-khang was located.<sup>11</sup> This territory can be considered the centre of the lands inhabited by the Men-zhang according to a passage in the *Thang-stong rgyal-po rnam-thar* referring to his visit to Pra-dum Iha-khang.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See also Jackson D. (1978), "Notes on the history of Se-rib, and nearby places in the Upper Kali Gandaki", in *Kailash* 6: 211. MLnt 350a keeps the Men-zhang as a separate community outside of the *mi-sde sgo-bzhi*, which are not classified.

<sup>10</sup> CLnt 9a has Khra-rum (a Zhang-zhung-pa variant or a West Tibetan phonetical transcription?).

<sup>11</sup> Before and after it became a place of the Men-zhang, Pra-dum was the scene of well known *gter-ma* rediscoveries. In the 11th century, a *gter-ston* by the curious name of g.Yas-ban ya-bon extracted a *gter-ma* from the Pra-dum temple. The text *Rlung-khor srog-gi spu-gri* was hidden there during the period following the foundation of bSam-yas, when the situation was not favourable to Buddhism. In fact the entire collection of works called *Drag-sngags cod-brdung thugs-kyi gcod* found its way to Tibet to be spread there, but because of the tense situation, it was brought back to Bal-po untranslated. One of its volumes was eventually rendered into Tibetan before the collection was carried back to the Kathmandu Valley. This was the text that was hidden at Pra-dum. g.Yas-ban ya-bon was contemporary to gNyan lo-tsa-ba. The latter was one of the many masters, all together twenty-six according to rNying-ma-pa sources, who were eliminated by Rwa lo-tsa-ba rDo-rje-grags. Such a list occurs in the discussion of Lang-lab Byang-chub rdo-rje, a master of Phur-pa, and his disagreements with Rwa lo-tsa-ba, which led to what was the only abortive attempt by the latter to assassinate a religious master (Sog-zlog-pa Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan, *dPal rdo rje phur pa'i lo-rgyus chos kyi 'byung gnas ngo mtshar rgya mtsho'i rba rlabs*, written in 1609, in *Collected Writings of Sog-zlog-pa Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan*. Sanje Dorji, ed., New Delhi 1975, 168-170; GKCB 326-327). This list comprises thirteen *Byang-chub sems-dpa'* and thirteen *lo-tsa-ba*, including gNyan lo-tsa-ba. These facts place gNyan lo-tsa-ba and thus also his contemporary g.Yas-ban ya-bon in the second half of the 11th century. g.Yas-ban ya-bon is wrongly considered by TTLG 745 to have lived in the third cycle of sixty years of the Tibetan calendar (1147-1206). In *gNubs Sangs-rgyas ye-shes rnam-thar* 171, (Padma 'phrin-las, *bKa'-ma mdo dbang-gi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*, in *sManntsis Shesrig sPenzod*. S.W. Tashigangpa, ed., vol.37, Leh 1972, 160-176) reference is made to a Bon-po called Yas-ban ma-bon ("Buddhist monk above, Bon-po below"). On these grounds, one may infer that this was not a proper name and that the monks bearing it were followers of a syncretic religious approach. The matter needs investigation.

Another *sPu-gri* text was extracted from Pra-dum later on. GKCB 514 mentions the rediscovery of *sPu-gri nag-po drang-srong khyab-'jug la dgra-bo zas-bu gtod-pa'i gdong-gtad-kyi skor* by *gter-ston sngags-'chang* dBang-chen bzang-po from the top of a pillar in the Byang Pra-dum-rtse Iha-khang.

It was from the base (*rmang*) of the Lo-pan mkhas-pa'i mchod-rt'en at Pra-dum that *gter-ston* Du-gu Rin-chen seng-ge extracted his *gter-ma*, which, since he failed to appease the *gter-srung*, proved fatal for him. Du-gu Rin-chen seng-ge eventually passed away, after he and a disciple of his stabbed each other to death over disputes regarding the *gter-ma* (titled *Brag-sngags rdo-rje gtsug-lag-gi skor*) (GKCB 495). Khri-srong-lde-btsan hid the same text at Pra-dum, having received it from Bai-ro-tsa-na before the latter left for rGyal-mo-rong. As the rediscovery at Pra-dum is indicated in the Guru Rin-po-che prophecy quoted by Guru bKra-shis to have taken place some two hundred years after the text was concealed, the events leading to the rediscovery of this literary treasure must have occurred in the late 10th century, in the period when two *gter-ston* from Glo-bo (Sangs-rgyas bla-ma and Sangs-rgyas-'bar) were active, one after the other. But this is not so since Du-gu Rin-chen seng-ge lived in the third *rab-byung*, (sixty years cycle 1147-1206) (TTLG 745). *gNas-rmying gdan-rabs* (bDe-legs 'jam-dpal rgya-mtsho & Nam-mkha' bzang-po, *sKyes bu dam pa rnam ky'i rnam par thar pa rin po che'i gter mdzod*, xylograph 15a) correctly considers Du-gu Rin-chen as a contemporary of rje-btsun Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, the great Sa-skyapa. Du-gu Rin-chen seng-ge was a teacher of the gNas-rnying abbot dBang-phyug rin-chen.

<sup>12</sup> *Thang-stong rgyal-po rnam-thar* 182 ('Gyur-med bde-chen, *Thang-rgyal rnam-thar*. Chengdu, Si-khron mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang, 1982). During his visit, Grub-thob lcags-zam-pa met a great number of Men-zhang 'brog-pa, who had brought a huge butterlamp to Pra-dum Iha-khang. The crowd of Men-zhang circumambulating their temple was so huge that it was almost impossible to walk around it. In that circumstance, Thang-stong rgyal-po performed the miracle of walking his *skor-ba* and soaring in the sky at the same time.

After its establishment in 'Brong-pa, one Men-zhang division moved further westwards to Gro-shod. At that time, it split into two branches. The elder branch held sway over western Gro-shod, while the younger ruled over east Gro-shod from Re-la rdzong to Bar-yang.<sup>13</sup> The former branch became known as the Men-zhang Sum-gnyis-pa ("those of the two thirds", i.e. prevailing on the younger branch by two thirds?), the latter became known as the Men-zhang gTso-tsho-ba (CLnt 9a-b). These two sub-groups were, therefore, the most westerly Men-zhang, occupying the lands along the rTa-mchog kha-'babs all the way to the westernmost limits of Gro-shod, for *Khyabs-ston khro-'grel*, a Bon-po text of the end of the 14th century, recognises the Bye-ma g.yung-drung area as a land of the Men-zhang.<sup>14</sup>

The earliest sound historical reference to the Men-zhang dates to the rat year 1168 and pertains to the gTso-tsho-ba of Re-la. Regarding the latter, circumstantial evidence is introduced in the accounts and one can better follow the events involving the clans of Byang, which helps also to set a tentative chronology for the occupation of the Byang lands. MLnt cites an episode falling in the same year 1168, in which sPag bhan-de Ring-mo, the father of Re-la'i mGon-po, organised the funerary rites of his own father Men-zhang dPal-drung in Re-la (MLnt 56a-b). dPal-drung's rule obviously took place before 1168, when he died. Re-la'i mGon-po, who lived five generations before the Gung-thang king Chos-skyong-lde (CLnt 11b) (on the throne from

<sup>13</sup> Re-la is in eastern Gro-shod. Central Gro-shod or Gro-shod-gzhung is the Bar-yang area also called Gru-gsum-kha. The western border of Gro-shod is at the sources of the Brahmaputra. The map of the monasteries in Tibet made by the Information Office Dharamsala 1984 wrongly locates Re-la too farther to the east. Re-la is the place where, according to *La-dwags rgyal-rabs*, Zi-ling, Bod-ljongs mi-dmangs dpe-skrun-khang, 1987, 42, sKyid-lde Nyi-ma-mgon founded a castle on the way to establish the mNga'-ris skor-gsum dynasty in sTod. It is also the area where one of Mi-la's *sgrub-gnas* was sited. They were Re-la'i Za-hor phug, Rong-gyi 'Od-gsal phug, Tsa'i rKad-brtsugs phug, while the *rdzong-drug* were Ling-ba Brag-dmar rdzong, Brag-dkar rta-so dBug-ma rdzong, sMin-drug Dri-med rdzong, Khyang-phan Nam-inkha' rdzong, Rag-ma Byang-chub rdzong, Ri-bo dPal-'bar. For a useful summary of the *rdzong-drug* and the *sgrub-gnas* see TRnt 18a. On the *rdzong-drug* see the Mi-la ras-pa biographies, e.g. Ras-pa'i rGyan-can (i.e. gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka), *Mi-la ras-pa rnam-thar*, Zi-ling, mTsho-sngon mi-rigs mi-rigs dpe-skrunkhang, (reprint) 1989, 523, which are Rag-ma Byang-chub sgrub-pa'i rdzong, Brag-dmar mChong-lung khyung-gi rdzong, Brag-dmar sPo-mtho nam-inkha' rdzong, Mon-yul sTag-phug seng-ge rdzong, Ka-tya'i Shel-phug chu-shing rdzong, Brag-dkar rta-so dbu-ma rdzong.

<sup>14</sup> Possibly written in 1391 [Karmay S.G. (1977), *A Catalogue of Bon-po Publications*, Tokyo, Toyo Bunko, 22], but *bsTan-rtsis bskal-ldan dang 'dren* 47 [see Kvaerne P. (1990), "A Bonpo *bsTan-rtsis* from 1804", in *Indo-Tibetan Studies*, T. Skorupski (ed.), London (Buddhica Britannica vol. II), 159] dates it to 1509. For a mention excerpted from *Khyabs-ston Khro-'grel* quoting sMe-shang (spelt as in the source) Byi-ba-mkhar, which thus places this castle in Gro-shod and the Bye-ma g.yung-drung area see *bsTan-'dzin rnam-dag*, *sNga-rabs Bod-kyi byung-ba brjod-pa'i 'bel-gtam lung-gi snying-po*, *A Study of the Early History of Tibet according to the Bon-po Tradition*, Dolanji, Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Community, 1983, 39. See also dPal-ldan tshul-khrims, *g.Yung-drung Bon-gyi bstan-'byung phyogs-bsdus*, Don-grub phun-tshogs (ed.), Zi-ling, Bod-ljongs mi-dmangs dpe-skrunkhang, 1988, 35, where the castle is called sMi-shang Byi-mkhar. Byi-ba-mkhar should not be confused with the castle of the same name in Mustang.

Other groups in Byang/mNga'-ris-smad were the Mar-lung-pa and the Yang-thog-pa. The Mar-lung-pa, who had considerable prestige because they belonged to the Thon clan made famous by Thon-mi Sambho-ta, had more religious charisma than political muscle. They settled down in Byang in the second half of the 8th century after the havoc created in the ancient Yar-lung Bod order (MLnt 12b-13a) by the introduction of Buddhism as the state religion and the persecution of Bon (BZ 35). Their territory was probably taken over by the Men-zhang, for, at the time of their occupation of 'Brong-pa, the Men-zhang took also control of the Mar-lung area (CLnt 9a). Much less certain is the origin of the Yang-thog-pa, to whom the Thon Mar-lung-pa were related (MLnt 348b-349a, spelt as Yang-thong-pa in the passage). Yang-thog-pa presence in mNga'-ris-smad predates 1037, when Byang-chub-'od went to Yang-thog lha-khang to meet Nag-tsho lo-tsa-ba and send him to India to invite Jo-bo-rje according, for instance, to *Jo-bo-rin-po-che rje dPal-ldan A-ti-sha'i rnam-thar rgyas-pa yongs-grags bzhugs-so*, in *Kadam Phacho* Part 1, Gangtok, Sikkim Institute of Tibetology, 1977, 123; and again around the mid-12th century, when a dispute erupted between them and the Mar-lung-pa (MLnt 29b).

after 1307 until his death in 1352) (GDR 113-114), has to be placed around the second half of the 12th century, for he was the son of sPag bhan-de Ring-mo, who is known to have been active in 1168. Re-la'i mGon-po is found still alive and promoting religious activities in the early 13th century (CLnt 10b-11a). The taking over of Gro-shod by the gTso-tsho-ba and their split must have taken place before the 1168 *terminus ante quem*.

The above-mentioned succession of the events affecting the Men-zhang helps to approximate the period of their ancestral movement eastwards. gTso-tsho-ba control of Re-la, which was already established in the second quarter of the 12th century during dPal-grung's rule, was preceded by the Men-zhang-pa occupation of Pra-dum. The Men-zhang stayed for one generation in La-stod lHo-smad prior to the latter incident. Given these facts, the initial migration of the Men-zhang ancestor goes back, at least, to the last quarter of the 11th century during the reign of the Gu-ge king rTse-lde, who is quoted in the same CLnt section dealing with the migration, although he apparently had no part in it (*ibid.* 7a-b). I venture to suggest that during that period mNga'-ris skor-gsum had to come to terms with a resurgence of indigenous Dardic power, and unrest in West Tibet may have pushed the tribe to find another location.<sup>15</sup>

Glo-bo, or at least Glo-stod, which borders on Byang, was also a land of the Men-zhang. Glo-stod is acknowledged as a territory held by the Men-zhang at the time when it passed under Gung-thang by means of two repressive acts, undertaken by Gung-thang in order to assert its power over its adjoining lands. These acts were the establishment of the territorial divisions under Gung-thang (*brgya-tsho bcu-gsum*) in 1267-1268 and of the network of forts in 1277-1280.<sup>16</sup>

It is not clear when Glo-stod initially came under the Men-zhang: if it was at the time when the Men-zhang first occupied the 'Brong-pa area, given the proximity between Pra-dum and Glo-stod, or later on as an expansion of the original Men-zhang sphere of influence. As a matter of fact, a temple in Glo-bo was built by (Men-)zhang blon-chen bTsan-thog-'bum at an unspecified date but before 1241 (MLnt 352a). Men-zhang control of Glo-bo was by then a *fait accompli*.

## 2. The 'Brog-pa of Byang during the Sa-skya/Yuan period

With Sa-skya becoming the dominant power in Tibet the balance of strength among the root

<sup>15</sup> Resurgence of the local ethnic stratum came from La-dwags, whose king Utpala intruded deeply into West Tibet [*La-dwags rgyal-rabs* (see n. 13) 43; Petech L. (1977), *The Kingdom of Ladakh c.950-1842 A.D.*, Roma, IsMEO, (SOR LI), 18].

<sup>16</sup> On the *brgya-tsho bcu-gsum* see GDR (manuscript 5a-b, lHa-sa ed. 99-100) & also Jackson 1978: 211. On the thirteen forts, held by Gung-thang, see GDR (manuscript 8a-b, lHa-sa ed. 108-109). The constitution of the Gung-thang *khri-skor*, of which Gung-thang with its *brgya-tsho bcu-gsum* including Mustang was part, is quoted in GDR (lHa-sa ed. 99-100) after Bum-lde-mgon's enthronement in 1267. The *khri-skor* administrative system was, as is well known, introduced by the Yuan in 1268 [see Wylie T. (1977), "The First Mongol conquest of Tibet reinterpreted", in *HJAS* 37, 125, where the enforcement of the *khri-skor* system is connected with the Mongol census of Tibet of the same year]. This is consistent with the above-mentioned evidence provided by GDR. dPal-'byor bzang-po, *rGya-Bod yig-tshang chen-mo*. Chengdu, Si-khron mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang, 1985, 277-278 says that the Gung-thang *khri-skor* was composed by Blo(-bo), Dol(-po) and rDzong(-dkar) under the leadership of mNga'-ris rDzong-dkar.

The forts are collectively called *glang-gi las-stabs bcu-gsum* ("thirteen districts established by the campaigns of the ox") in MLnt, NCnt 537 and CLnt 9a. MLnt 349b-350b explains that the origin of such a denomination derives from the fact that young 'Bum-lde-mgon witnessed at Sa-skya the parade of 'Phags-pa's horses while he was on an ox (the animal on which expulsion orders were commonly carried out in Tibet. See Karnay S.G. (1991), "L'homme et le beuf: le rituel de glud (rançon)", *JA*, 327-381). Successively, his association with the ox was maintained in the name given the lands, over which he established control by means of a network of forts.



communities of the area was altered in favour of Gung-thang. As is well known, this coincided with 'Bum-lde-mgon's ascent to the Gung-thang throne in 1267 (GDR lHa-sa ed. 94-95) and the latter was due to his blood relation with 'Gro-mgon 'Phags-pa. The Gung-thang kings were no more addressed as *rtsad-chung*, or "small kings", whose power was very modest (CLnt 9a). Different views are found in the sources on the relations between Gung-thang and the Byang nomads during this period. CLnt says that the Men-zhang also increased in importance (*ibid.*). MLnt affirms that the new combined Sa-skya – Gung-thang rulership in mNga'-ris-smad was opposed amongst the main communities.<sup>17</sup>

These differing opinions derive from different political interpretations of the above-mentioned events of 1267-1268, when Gung-thang shaped the *brgya-mtsho bcu-gsum*. As a matter of fact, the Zhang-pa from Glo-stod and the Men-zhang bZang-brgyud-pa were forcibly conquered by Gung-thang, while the Men-zhang rGya-tshang-pa were peacefully absorbed into Greater Gung-thang.<sup>18</sup> This proves that the relations between some groups of Byang nomads and Gung-thang were far from idyllic and that the alleged loyalty of these Byang nomads was achieved by crushing their autonomy. On these grounds, MLnt and CLnt are both right for different Men-zhang groups differed in their loyalty to Gung-thang when the latter kingdom sought dominion over its neighbours.

However, more relevant to this study is the notion of internal disagreements among the various subclans of the Men-zhang, an attitude which is met with a number of times over the successive centuries. What followed was the period of Gung-thang domination, which corresponded to the period of Sa-skya's domination of Tibet under Yuan sovereignty.

### 3. The revolt of some Men-zhang clans against Gung-thang

After the submission of the Byang nomads during the 13th century, Gung-thang's decline, following that of Sa-skya and their Yuan overlords, engendered the rebellion of some 'Brog-pa clans, which had not accepted Gung-thang sovereignty wholeheartedly. With the advent of the Phag-mo gru-pa, a widespread trend was inaugurated, according to which local clans freed themselves from Sa-skya and its feudatories. The Men-zhang of Byang grew increasingly assertive, no longer ready to accept Gung-thang's enfeebled power. The old order in Gung-thang was disrupted when the Men-zhang moved to open hostility against the Sa-skya-pa lineage of Gung-thang. The Men-zhang plotted to secure its throne for themselves by means of a struggle for succession, when a princess of the Men-zhang sNa-tshags-pa married the Gung-thang king

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<sup>17</sup> See MLnt 348a-350a. MLnt is a biography which has been interpolated with parts relating to events occurring after 1241. Its interpolated sections, which all refer to the period from the mid to the late 13th century, betray an anti-Sa-skya stance. One interpolated episode refers to the circumstances, under which Gung-thang established its sway over one of its neighbours. At the beginning of the reign of 'Bum-lde-mgon, the son of bTsun-pa-lde, the Yang-thog-pa *dpon*, mGon-po-'bum, refused to relinquish to the Gung-thang-pa an estate at Me-rdo-thang, on which the latter proposed to build a castle. This brought about a clash in which the Yang-thog-pa were obviously the losers. The castle was then erected (MLnt 348a-349a). Soon after, the thirteen divisions of Gung-thang were established, Khyung-rdzong dkar-po was built and the network of castles was constituted. The Men-zhang were brought (by means which remain unclear) under Gung-thang's dominion. MLnt stands on Men-zhang side against Gung-thang to the point that, in the confrontation between Yang-thog-pa and Gung-thang-pa when 'Bum-lde-mgon was already on the Gung-thang throne, this biography brings back from death a late religious master of Byang in order to marshal support for the Yang-thog-pa.

<sup>18</sup> In the classification of the *brgya-tsho bcu-gsum*, the communities, which formed the backbone of the Gung-thang kingdom, were Gung-thang, sKyid-grong, Nub-ris and Men-zhang rGya-tshang-pa. The districts carved out with the sword were Glo-stod, Glo-smad, Dol-gru-bzhi and Men-zhang bZang-brgyud-pa. In the list of the 13 forts held by Gung-thang (*glang-gi las-stabs bcu-gsum*) GDR affirms that Glo-stod was a land of the Men-zhang.

Phun-tshogs-lde (ruling from wood snake 1365: see GDnt p.91) and, in 1370, bore a Men-zhang child, bSod-nams-lde. He was second in line of succession to the throne and could bypass his elder step-brother mChog-grub-lde, son of the senior queen and Sa-skyapa heir apparent. In 1371 a revolt ensued, Phun-tshogs-lde was assassinated and the throne was usurped, after which the Men-zhang ruled Gung-thang for five years (GDR manuscript copy 11b, lHa-sa ed. 117-118; the breaking out of the revolt is confirmed to 1371 by GDnt 109).

In 1375, the gTso-tsho-ba, who were loyal to the Sa-skyapa faction in Gung-thang, rebelled against the new political status when they saw Zhang Kun-spangs-pa Tshul-khriims rgyal-mtsho sitting on the Gung-thang throne with the infant *rgyal-bu* (bSod-nams-lde) on his lap (CLnt 13b-14a). This offense, committed by the Men-zhang sNa-tshags-pa, was the final outrage. It was the blatant proof of the Men-zhang lineage's usurpation at the expenses of the heir apparent Sa-skyapa family of Gung-thang, which induced the gTso-tsho-ba to defeat the Men-zhang. The Men-zhang were ousted and the Sa-skyapa heir apparent to the Gung-thang throne reinstated. The old Sa-skyapa regime of Gung-thang was not able to play a role in the controversy affecting its destiny, which turned out to be a fight for predominance among the clans of Byang. Despite their failed attempt to maintain steady control of the Gung-thang throne, it is noteworthy that the Men-zhang were able to recover their lost influence soon after the downfall of Sa-skyapa, and became authoritative enough to destabilise Gung-thang in their favour.

Glo-bo also took part in the nomads' sedition (CLnt 13b-15a). Mustang sided with the Men-zhang against Gung-thang. This can be deduced from two facts: 1) all the territories under Gung-thang revolted; and 2) when, in 1375, the gTso-tsho-ba rebelled against the Men-zhang usurpers and attacked them, the Men-zhang troops withdrew to Glo-bo and counterattacked. Glo-bo severed its links from Gung-thang when the gTso-tsho-ba counter-revolt broke out against the Men-zhang and Glo-bo gave sanctuary to the Zhang-pa faction.

#### 4. Reshuffle of the Men-zhang clans with gTso-tsho-ba predominance

The gTso-tsho-ba counter-revolt in 1375 brought about a stiffening of the two antagonist positions among the nomad clans of Byang. As a matter of fact, Men-zhang subtribes once again clashed openly. There were internecine struggles.<sup>19</sup> Battles were fought in Glo-bo; gTso-tsho had the upper hand and other Men-zhang clans were defeated. A major politico-tribal reshuffle affected the Byang 'Brog-pa. As a result, most communities of Men-zhang, such as the Men-zhang brGya-tshang-pa, Sum-gnyis-pa, bZang-rgyud-pa and Phyag-pa, were disrupted and regrouped under the gTso-tsho-ba, who became the leading tribe.

The great reshuffle took place in the times of the sons of bKra-shis 'phan-ne (see CLnt 13a).<sup>20</sup> Each of them ruled over a branch of the gTso-tsho group, which was completely reor-

<sup>19</sup> The strife is referred to by CLnt as "a little unrest", although in fact it must have been quite a bitter conflict. The tone adopted in this source is rather apologetic; Men-zhang alleged loyalty towards the *khab-pa* (Gung-thang kings) is stressed, and the contrast between the usurpers Men-zhang sNa-tshags-pa, on the one hand, and Gung-thang together with the gTso-tsho-ba, on the other hand, is understated. CLnt 13b says that most of the *brgya-tsho bcu-gsum* under Gung-thang rebelled, but not the Men-zhang, which is not true (see GDR manuscript copy 11b, lHa-sa ed. 117-118), as the same work says that Zhang sNa-tshags-pa killed bdag-po lHa rin-po-che (the Gung-thang king Phun-tshogs-lde) and Zhang Kun-spangs Tshul-khriims rgyal-mtshan guarded (sic! = usurped) the power for some years (CLnt 13b-14a). In its effort to mitigate the harshness of the internecine strife, the source adds that the Men-zhang, defeated in the end, shed tears not for their defeat but because their loyalty had been misunderstood. Despite the treatment, which tends to hide the real extent of the facts, the work provides important information, which sheds light on the question of who held sway in Gung-thang during those controversial years.

<sup>20</sup> bKra-shis 'phan-ne witnessed the ascent of two kings on the Gung-thang throne during his lifetime: first Chos-

ganised (CLnt 13a-b). The old two-pronged gTso-tsho-ba organisation of the Sum-gnyis-pa and gTso-sho-ba was superseded by a new division into four groups. They were the sGar-mo che-ba and the sTod-ru-ba, who composed the gTso-tsho stod-pa, and the sDang-bu bar-ba (the group to which btsun-pa Chos-legs' family belonged) and another division, unnamed in text, which formed the gTso-tsho smad-pa. The Glo sMos-thang-pa derived from the unnamed division, headed by dKon-mchog rgyal-mtshan.

### 5. Glo sMos-thang: a creation of the gTso-tsho clan

With the gTso-tsho victory of 1375, the foundation stone of the Mustang dynasty was laid. Due to their enhanced political status after the 1375 incident, the gTso-tsho-ba were able to establish the Glo sMos-thang community in Glo-stod, which had been the cradle of Men-zhang resistance against them (CLnt 13a-b). Was the establishment of sMos-thang engineered by Gung-thang to keep a historical Men-zhang stronghold under control by means of their gTso-tsho-ba allies? Although this happened when the Sa-skyapa faction of Gung-thang, hostile to the Men-zhang usurpers, had recovered the Gung-thang throne, the weakness of this faction makes it unlikely. From this consideration the thesis that it was the outcome of another conflict internal to the Men-zhang communities has to be credited.

In 1390, some twenty years after their temporary seizure of power, the Men-zhang were able to overthrow the Sa-skyapa faction from the Gung-thang throne, call back their heir apparent bSod-nams-lde from Pu-hrang, where he was in exile, and crown him.<sup>21</sup>

However, among the Men-zhang groups, the balance was shifting in favour of the gTso-tsho-ba of Glo sMos-thang. Soon after 1390, Glo-bo's conquest of Pu-hrang was acknowledged by the weak Men-zhang of Gung-thang. GDR relates the event in pro-Gung-thang style, for it says that bSod-nams-lde, in gratitude for the reconquest of Pu-hrang accomplished by Chos-skyong-'bum of Glo sMos-thang, awarded him Glo-bo and Dol-po, territories of which he was already the *de facto* ruler (GDR manuscript copy 12a, lHa-sa ed. 119). The Men-zhang, however, still kept a right of sovereignty over Glo-bo. The notion of unquestioned Zhang-pa sovereignty over Glo-bo during the initial stages of the Glo sMos-thang dynasty is confirmed by TM, according to which Shes-rab bla-ma established the Glo sMos-thang line, while being subordi-

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skyong-lde and then bKra-shis-lde (ruling in 1329, when he married a daughter of Kun-dga' legs-pa'i 'byung-gnas rgyal-mtshan: see A-myes-zhabs Ngag-dbang kun-dga' bsod-nams, *'Dzam gling byang phyogs kyi thub pa'i rgyal tshab chen po dpal ldan Sa skyapa'i gdung rabs rin po che ji lta byon pa'i tshul gyi nam par thar pa ngo mtshar rin po che'i bang mdzod dgos 'dod kun 'byung*. Tashi Dorje (ed.), Dolanji 1975, 174b); Jackson D. (1974), "The early history of Lo (Mustang) and Ngari", in *Contributions to Nepalese Studies* 4/1, 46; Petech L. (1990), "Princely Houses of the Yüan period connected with Tibet", in *Indo-Tibetan Studies*. T. Skorupski (ed.), London (Buddhica Britannica II), 261. He thus belonged to the generation before another Gung-thang king, Phun-tshogs-lde (on the throne from 1365: see GDnt 88-9; dead in 1370: see GDR manuscript copy 11b), on whose death the usurpation and the subsequent reshuffle took place. bKra-shis 'phan-ne can be considered a sort of second ancestor not so much of the Men-zhang in general but of the gTso-tsho clan.

<sup>21</sup> GDR manuscript copy 11b-12a, lHa-sa ed. 117-118. The Men-zhang killed king mChog-grub-lde, of Sa-skyapa origin, and crowned bSod-nams-lde, a Men-zhang from his mother side, whom they had already tried to install on the throne during the 1371-1375 usurpation when he was an infant. That mChog-grub-lde was murdered can be deduced from the literary formula adopted in the text ("fallen from a horse"), which, in Tibetan sources, normally hides an assassination. See the exemplary cases contained in BZ 8, concerning Mes Ag-tshom, who was notoriously murdered [the prosecution of his assassins is recorded in the entry for the sheep year 755 of the *Tung-huang Annals* in Bacot J., Thomas F.W., Toussaint Ch. (1940), *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*, Paris (Annales du Musée Guimet), 56, 63] and virtually in all later Tibetan historical texts pertaining to lJang-tsha lHa-dbon, who was assassinated to remove him from the succession to the throne, which went to Khri-srong-lde-btsan (KDch 375-376).

nate to the Zhang-pa (TM 8b in Jackson 1984: 146 & 163). After him, his son Chos-skyong-'bum is addressed as a Zhang-pa (CLnt 21b says he was a Zhang-pa *nye-gnas*, *i.e.* a follower or attendant of the Men-zhang).

The Glo sMos-thang-pa belonged to the nomad clan gTso-tsho smad-pa, *i.e.* the division in the group located furthest east in Gro-shod and thus territorially closest to Glo-bo.<sup>22</sup> They were originally formed by dKon-mchog rgyal-mtshan and descended from the Re-la ancestors (refer to the genealogical addendum appended to this paper).

Given their strategic location, holding sway over Glo-stod allowed the sMos-thang-pa to control the trade of Byang products with the lowlands, which made them wealthy and powerful. In the period after 1375 the gTso-tsho-ba held sway over the lands from Gro-shod to Glo-stod. They therefore started to marginalise the other Men-zhang groups, including the weaker Men-zhang of Gung-thang.

## 6. Glo-bo's predominance in Byang and mNga'-ris-smad

Under A-ma-dpal, son of Chos-skyong-'bum and his successor, solid foundations were laid for Glo-bo's predominance. He engineered the rise of Glo sMos-thang as the main power in Byang and mNga'-ris-smad, while still nominally acknowledging, as his father did, Men-zhang sovereignty. Formal Men-zhang control of Mustang continued until 1441 (CLnt 24a). Officially, A-ma-dpal was still a simple *rdzong-dpon* at Tsa-rang in Glo-bo (NCnt 537). The text adds that A-ma-dpal was appointed to the task by the Gung-thang king 'Bum-lde-mgon. This obviously anachronistic claim ('Bum-lde-mgon died in 1280) is a half-wrong assumption, given that Gung-thang had renounced all claims to Mustang quite some time before. Sources such as GDR elucidate this point at some length. Reference in NCnt to A-ma-dpal's dependence on Gung-thang has to be corrected in the sense that he was under Zhang-pa authority, which still ruled rDzong-dkar. A-ma-dpal created the backbone of Glo-bo's power and richness by means of a series of military campaigns and trading ventures. He set up barter marts in Dol-po, Gu-ge and Pu-hrang and established himself, at the same time, as the undisputed lord of Mustang (NCnt *ibid.*). He overcame potential rivals within Glo-bo. A-ma-dpal is found engaging in acts of warfare as late as between 1437 and 1440, when he crushed the 'Phred-mkhar-ba, his gTso-tsho-ba kinsmen from Mustang, long after he had taken religious vows (CLnt 22a-b).<sup>23</sup> He also re-located the sKye-skya sgang-ba, by posting them in Glo-smad at the frontier with the lowlands and delegating to them control of trade. Khro-bo skyabs-pa, the elder son of sKye-skya sgang-

<sup>22</sup> The kingdom of Glo-bo is a late expression of power acquired by an ancient 'brog-pa clan of Zhang-zhung-pa origin. Descent from the Yar-lung dynasty, claimed in Glo-pa sources (see TM in Jackson 1984: 100) for their ruling dynasty has to be dismissed *in toto*, as their provenance from Zhang-zhung obviously excludes a link with the Yar-lung lha-sras btsan-po. It is a typical attempt to invent an association with the most prestigious royal dynasty of Tibet, as is often the case with local princely genealogies. In most cases one is confronted with sheer fabrications.

<sup>23</sup> The Glo sMos-thang-pa of A-ma-dpal and the 'Phred-mkhar-ba had a common bond of relation through the sDang-bu bar-pa, the gTso-tsho smad-pa family of btsun-pa Chos-legs (CLnt 21b-22a). In fact, a lady of Chos-legs' family, Bu-mo btsun-ma, probably an aunt of the latter, went in marriage to A-ma-dpal. She bore him a son, who died of cold when he was one. Bu-mo btsun-ma was disowned for this misfortune. A-ma-dpal remarried with Tshedbang sgron-ma, the daughter of the bZang-rgyud-pa brgya-dpon, who mothered A-mgon bzang-po and three other sons. Bu-mo btsun-ma's younger sister, dGe-bsnyen-ma, went in marriage to the 'Phred-mkhar-ba family. To make bonds even closer, the 'Phred-mkhar-ba are named in the same source as the maternal nephews (*tsha-bo*) of A-ma-dpal, whose sister ostensibly married a member of the above-mentioned family. The relation between Chos-legs' family and that of A-ma-dpal derived also from the fact that Ga-ma, a gTso-tsho-ba lady, had married Chos-skyong-'bum and mothered A-ma-dpal in a second marriage after she had become the wife of the gNyos brgya-dpon (*ibid.* 21a-b).

ba drung Khro-rgyal rdo-rje, was appointed by A-ma-dpal as *rdzong-dpon* of Rab-rgyal rtse-mo'i rdzong in Glo-smad, which is the place colloquially known at present as rDzong near Mukhtinath (TRnt 2b-3a). The sKye-skye sgang-ba, who originally occupied a fief on the eastern side of the same Glo sMos-thang valley, had a rather marginal role in the local scenario of Mustang during the struggle for the control of Glo-bo and, subsequently, of a larger expanse of lands in Byang. As a matter of fact, sources do not mention them as engaged in any clash for power. In the introductory section of TRnt, dealing with the sKye-skye sgang-ba (*ibid.*), who were the ancestors of bsTan-'dzin ras-pa, their status is established as definitely subordinate to the Glo sMos-thang-pa.

After 1440 A-ma-dpal is no more mentioned; this could be a sign that he had died in the meantime.<sup>24</sup> The birth date of A-ma-dpal is earth dragon 1388, according to the *bstan-rtsis* of the *Byams-pa gtsug-lag-khang dkar-chag* (manuscript 6b-7a). His regnal period cannot be fixed with precision. A-ma-dpal officially reigned until 1427, when he was ordained as a monk by Ngor-chen Kun-dga' bzang-po during the latter's first visit to West Tibet (NCnt 538), or until 1436, when he received the *bsnyen-rdzogs* vow during Ngor-chen's second visit (*ibid.*). Taking vows at a mature age was a pattern typical of the kings of West Tibet during that period. This did not prevent A-ma-dpal from becoming involved in enterprises conflicting with the ethics of a Buddhist monk as late as 1440.

His son A-mgon bzang-po embarked upon an antagonistic policy towards the other Men-zhang groups. A-mgon bzang-po, whose birth date is iron rat 1420 according to the same *bstan-rtsis* contained in the *Byams-pa gtsug-lag-khang dkar-chag* (manuscript 6b-7a), possibly became the new ruler soon after 1440. He reigned until an undetermined date, but positively before water dragon 1472, when mKra-shis-mgon is found on the Mustang throne (*Glo-bo mkhan-chen autobiography, rJe-btsun bla-ma'i nam-par-thar-pa ngo-mtshar rgya-mtsho*, manuscript copy 8b). With A-mgon bzang-po's accession to the Mustang throne, a series of brutal military actions was undertaken and the various clans of Byang, which were related to the Glo-bo dynasty, were crushed. Glo-bo's policy was becoming increasingly militaristic. A-mgon bzang-po's first victims were the Men-zhang of 'Brong-pa. With this victory of 1441, Men-zhang sovereignty over Glo sMos-thang was definitively brought to an end and the balance of power in Byang and mNga'-ris-smad shifted in favour of Mustang. Glo-bo's expansionism did not go unopposed: Gung-thang, gTso-tsho and Pu-hrang formed an anti-sMos-thang-pa alliance. In 1442 they levied an army, headed by the Gung-thang king rNam-rgyal-lde, and laid siege to Byi-ba-mkhar, which was the strategic fortress in Glo-bo of A-mo-ga (also spelled A-mo-gha), A-mgon bzang-po's younger brother and commander of the army. This military action did not lead to any positive outcome for the attackers (CLnt 25b).<sup>25</sup> A-mgon bzang-po subsequently annihilated the gTso-tsho-ba in 1446, a victory won with the help of A-mo-ga (CLnt 27a-28b).

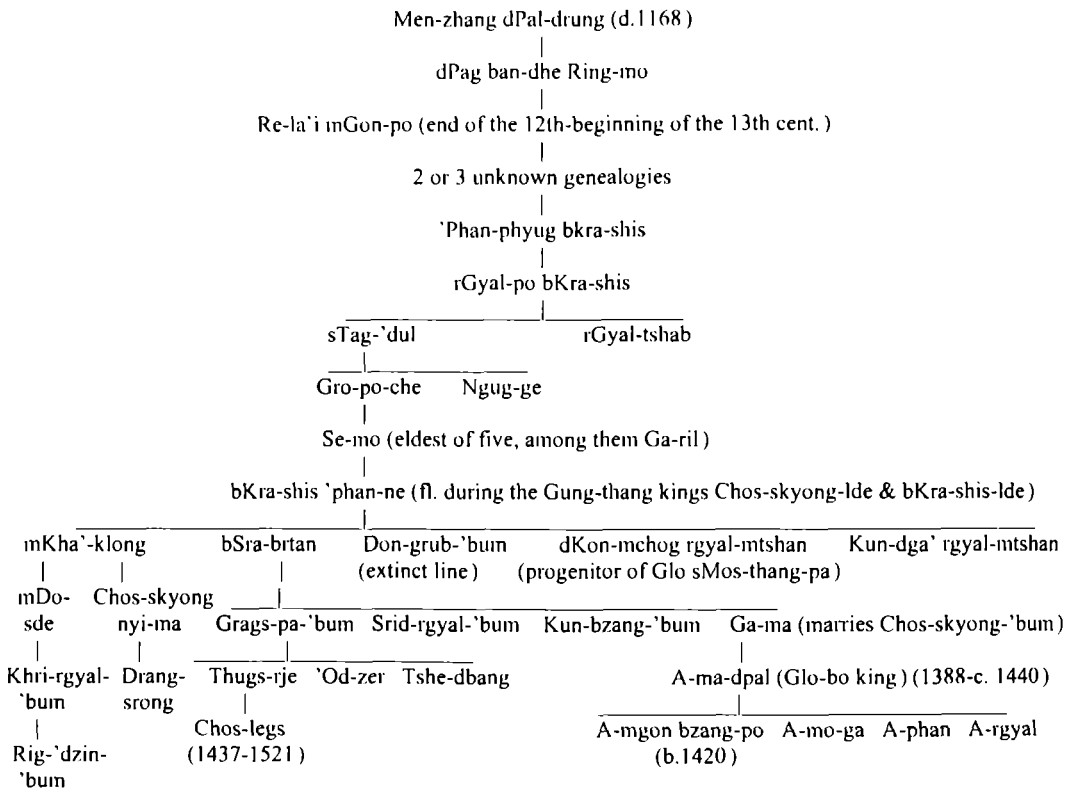
<sup>24</sup> In 1445, a few years after the last reference to A-ma-dpal in CLnt 22a-b, Glo-bo's campaigns are ascribed to A-mgon bzang-po (CLnt 27a), with his brother A-mo-ga as the head of the army. This is confirmed by a passage in CLnt 28a referring to 1446, in which the leaders of Glo-bo are indicated as the sMos-thang-pa *sku-mched* (brothers, i.e. A-mgon and A-mo-ga and not A-ma-dpal).

<sup>25</sup> It is evident that the main fort of the Glo-bo dynasty must have been due north of its capital, which it supposedly protected, since the army from the north, headed by the Gung-thang king, laid siege to Byi-ba mkhar; otherwise these troops could have taken Glo sMos-thang without going to the trouble of seizing this fort. All this leads me to think that Byi-ba mkhar was located in a strategical position to the north of the capital of Mustang and to the south of Pra-dum. Has Byi-ma-mkhar anything to do with Bya-rtsi rnam-rgyal thar-po of the Gung-thang forts (GDR manuscript 8a, GDR IHa-sa ed. 108)? Is Bya-tsi (*bya-tsi*: mouse) equal to Byi-ba?

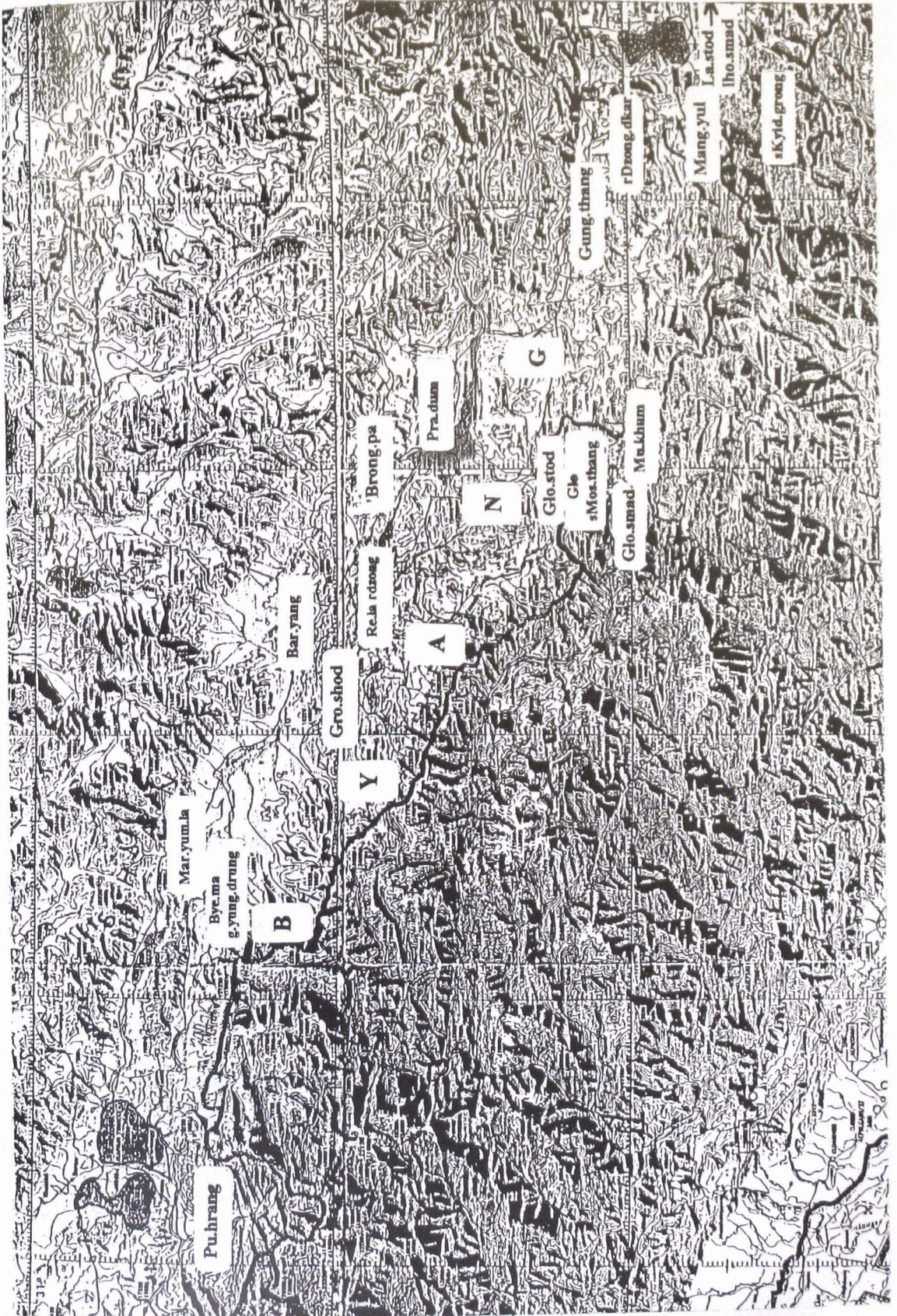
Glo-bo had grown powerful enough to disperse its related nomad clans and banish them for quite some time from the political forefront as well as to reduce Gung-thang to a marginal role. A-ma-dpal and A-mgon bzang-po had made Glo-bo the predominant power in the lands of Byang and mNga'-ris-smad.

The history of the nomad clans of Byang and mNga'-ris-smad from the 11th to the 15th century was thus a history of internecine struggles. The Men-zhang of 'Brong-pa were the predominant clan until the late 14th century, when they were briefly superseded by the gTso-tsho-ba of Gro-shod. The latter predominance was short-lived for it was removed by the Glo sMos-thang-pa in the first half of the 15th century. The flourishing period of each of these clans corresponded to the time when they were able to control Mustang, the key territory in mNga'-ris-smad, which made all the difference in terms of power and opulence deriving from trade.<sup>26</sup>

### Tentative reconstruction of the genealogy of the Men-zhang gTso-tsho-ba (Re-la)



<sup>26</sup> In the trade between the nomad highlands and the lowlands giving way to the Gangetic plain, the biggest revenues derived by the Men-zhang nomads were from the taxes levied on salt along the route from Mustang to Mu-khum (rDzong and Mukhtinath) (CLnt 18b). Trade on the route from rDzong-dkar to Dol-po gave lower revenues (*ibid.*). To this income one should add the earnings the nomads were making by selling the products they were receiving in exchange for salt (rice and various grains in the main), which they sold in the highlands for a profit (*ibid.*). Hence, among all lands inhabited by the Men-zhang clans, control of Mustang was especially valued.



## ABBREVIATIONS

- BZ sBa gSal-snang, *sBa-bzhed*. mGon-po rgyal-mtshan (ed.), Beijing (reprint), Mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang, 1982.
- CLnt *Chos-legs nam-thar*. – dBang-phyug dpal-ldan, *dPal ldan bla ma dam pa Chos legs mtshan can gyi nam thar yon tan 'brug sgra zhes bya ba bzhugs so*, written in 1520 & completed by Chos-dbang rgyal-mtshan in 1524, xylograph.
- DJch IDE'u Jo-sras, *Chos 'byung chen mo bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan*. Chos-'dzoms (ed.), lHa-sa, Bod-ljongs mi-dmangs dpe-skrun-khang, 1987.
- GDnt *rGod-ldem-can nam-thar*. – Nyi-ma bzang-po, *sPrul sku rig 'dzin rGod ldem 'phru can gyi nam thar gsal byed nyi ma 'od zer*, in *Byang gter legs kyi nam thar dang ma 'ongs lung bstan*, *Collected Biographies and Prophecies of the Byang-gter Tradition*. Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan (ed.), Gangtok 1983, 49-146.
- GDR manuscript copy *Gung-thang gdung-rabs*. – Kah-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu, *Bod rje lha btsad po'i gdung rabs mNga' ris smad Gung thang du ji ltar byung ba'i tshul deb gter dwangs shel 'phrul gyi me long zhes bya ba bzhugs so*.
- GDR lHa-sa ed. *Gung-thang gdung-rabs*. – Kah-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu, *Bod rje lha btsad po'i gdung rabs mNga' ris smad Gung thang du ji ltar byung ba'i tshul deb gter dwangs shel 'phrul gyi me long zhes bya ba bzhugs so*, in *Bod-kyi lo-rgyus deb-ther khag-lnga*. Chab-spel Tshe-britan phun-tshogs (ed.), lHa-sa, Bod-ljongs Bod-yig dpe-rnying dpe-skrun-khang, 1990 (Gangs-can rig-mdzod 9), 87-150.
- GKCB *Guru bKra-shis chos-'byung*. – Guru bKra-shis sTag-sgang mKhas-mchog Ngag-dbang blo-gros, *gSang chen snga 'gyur nges don zab mo'i chos kyi 'byung ba gsal bar byed pa'i legs bshad mkhas pa dga' byed ngo mtshar gtam gyi rol mtsho*. rDo-rje rgyal-po (ed.), Xining, Krung-go'i Bod-kyi shes-rig dpe-skrun-khang, 1990.
- KDch mKhas-pa IDE'u, *rGya Bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa*. Chab-spel Tshe-britan phun-tshogs (ed.), lHa-sa, Bod-ljongs mi-dmangs dpe-skrun-khang, 1987. (Gangs-chen rig-mdzod 3)
- MLnt *Mar-lung-pa nam-thar*. – Thon Kun-dga' rin-chen and Byang-chub-'bum, *Mar lung pa Byang chub seng ge zhes bya ba'i nam thar mgur 'bum bzhugs so*, anonymously revised in 1292, manuscript copy.
- NCnt *Ngor-chen nam-thar*. – Sangs-rgyas phun-tshogs, *rGyal ba rDo rje 'chang Kun dga' bzang po'i nam par thar pa legs bshad chu bo 'dus pa'i rgya mtsho yon tan yid bzhin nor bu'i 'byung gnas*, in *gSung-ngag lam-'bras slob-bshad chen-mo*, *The sLob-bshad Tradition of the Sa-skya Lam-'bras*, as arranged by 'Jam-dbyangs blo-gter dbang-po. Vol.1, Dehra Dun, Sakya Centre, 1983.
- NRch *Nyang-ral chos-'byung*. – Nyang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer, *Chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud*. Chab-spel Tshe-britan phun-tshogs (ed.), lHa-sa, Bod-ljongs mi-dmangs dpe-skrun-khang, 1988. (Gangs-can rig-mdzod 5)
- NTP *Ne'u pan-di-ta chos-'byung*. – Ne'u pan-di-ta Grags-pa simon-lam blo-gros, *sNgon gyi gtam me tog phreng ba zhes bya ba*, in *Bod-kyi lo-rgyus deb-ther khag-lnga*. Chab-spel Tshe-britan phun-tshogs (ed.), lHa-sa, Bod-ljongs mi-dmangs dpe-skrun-khang, 1990 (Gangs-chen rig-mdzod 9), 1-54.
- TM *Tsa-rang mol-ba*, in D. Jackson (1984), *The Mollas of Mustang: Historical, Religious and Oratorical Traditions of the Nepalese-Tibetan Borderland*. Dharamsala, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 157-170.
- TRnt *bsTan-'dzin ras-pa nam-thar*. – rNal 'byor gyi dbang phyug rje btsun bsTan 'dzin ras pa'i nam thar mdzad pa nyung ngu gcig, xylograph.
- TTLG *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa nam-thar*. – 'Jam-sgom Kong-sprul Blo-gros mtha'-yas, *Zab mo gter dang gter ston grub thob ji ltar byon pa'i lo rgyus mdor bsod bkod pa rin chen baidurya'i 'phreng bzhes bya pa bzhugs so*, in *Rin-chen gter-mdzod chen-mo* vol. Ka. Ngodrub & Sherab Drimay (eds.), Paro, Kyichu Monastery, 1976.



# SOME INDO-EUROPEAN ELEMENTS IN EARLY TIBETAN CULTURE

by

Michael Walter and Christopher I. Beckwith, Bloomington

## Introduction

The framework for the following observations rests first and foremost on a few simple facts. One of these is that some of the peoples inhabiting ancient northwest China – the most likely homeland of the Proto-Tibetan speakers – were Indo-Europeans. It is quite possible that the Ch'iang of high antiquity, who seem to have been the primary enemies of the Shang Chinese, were Indo-Europeans. Second, in the period when the Tibetan peoples were forming their cultural traditions in their homeland, there continued to be contact with Indo-European peoples. From a still unknown, but very early date, up until the end of the first millennium of our era, the Tibetan Plateau was surrounded on three sides by Indo-European speakers, mostly Indo-Iranians but also Tokharians and perhaps others. The other side, the east, was occupied by speakers of languages related to Tibetan – Tibeto-Karenic, including Tibeto-Burman; however, in the northeast there were Chinese, and in the southeast, apparently, speakers of Taic and Austronesian languages. It is our contention that, at a much earlier date, at an early stage of the Indo-European migrations, speakers of an ancient Indo-European language invaded Tibet, conquered the Proto-Tibetans or Proto-Tibeto-Burmans,<sup>1</sup> and contributed a great number of concepts and loan-words to them.

What influence these contacts may have had on early Tibetan culture has been largely overlooked, because of the supposed – but never clearly or convincingly demonstrated – preponderance of influence from Tibet's powerful neighbor to the east, China.<sup>2</sup> As an indication of the need to pay more attention to the presence of old Indo-European elements – including religious ideas – in the area of Tibet, we would only point out the high ratio of Indo-European lexical items surviving in Old Tibetan as compared with the relatively few ancient Chinese items (see the end of Section Two, below). Interestingly, and relevantly, the same can be said about the extent of Chinese-type beliefs and practices at the Tibetan court.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It is undoubtedly the case that this conquest took place during Proto-Tibeto-Burman (or perhaps Proto-Tibeto-Karenic) times, but due to the fact that Proto-Tibeto-Burman (not to speak of Proto-Tibeto-Karenic) is very far from having been reconstructed, it would be very difficult, at best, to attempt to relate the Indo-European forms to Proto-Tibeto-Burman, although some etymologies are known, and it is not too difficult in some cases to find cognates in Burmese, which is not a totally unknown language. In any event, the task of reconstructing Proto-Tibetan itself has not yet been undertaken in earnest (though some work has been done, especially on the verb system), so in general it would be premature to attempt comparisons between Indo-European forms and forms in other Tibeto-Burman or Tibeto-Karenic languages. Nevertheless, other Tibeto-Burman evidence is cited when useful for illuminating a particular etymology.

<sup>2</sup> On the distribution of population groups around ancient Tibet, see C.I. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia: A History of the Struggle for Great Power Among Tibetans, Turks, Arabs, and Chinese During the Early Middle Ages*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1987, p. 4. In general, we can say that, except for the Kansu area, Chinese interaction with Tibetan populations along their present borderland would have been sporadic except during the periods of Han and T'ang expansion.

<sup>3</sup> Among the few verifiable Chinese influences in Tibet at this time: Scribal and annalistic customs; tea culture (later in the imperial period); and some administrative apparatus, such as bureaucratic badges and rankings. Except for

The remarks made in this brief paper will deliberately not include some obvious – and perhaps other not-so-obvious – later Indo-European, and especially Indic and Iranian, influences that with certainty entered in various, if not now precisely datable, periods in Tibet's cultural history.<sup>4</sup> This is because the accompanying study of Indo-European elements in Proto-Tibetan vocabulary by my friend and colleague, Chris Beckwith, shows that one substantial stratum is made up of elements which do not clearly belong to any named family of Indo-European languages, apparently representing instead an otherwise unknown, early daughter-language of Proto-Indo-European.

The period dealt with here in Section One covers a later period of some centuries through the beginning of Tibet's writing tradition. I am postulating some continuity in terms and concepts, as will be seen, but my colleague and I both believe that one cannot reduce the presence of the various groups of Indo-European vocabulary items and concepts to the effect of a single event, population movement, or place. The religious beliefs I will discuss here may all be the result of one relatively brief, but intense, experience of the conquest of Proto-Tibetan populations by an early Indo-European people, as early as the first great Indo-European Völkerwanderung, or perhaps as late as the Scythian confederacy; they may also be the result of a series of such incursions, accompanied by periods of close, peaceful relationships between certain Tibetan and Indo-European tribes. No matter which view – or a third, or fourth – is correct, the politico-religious system of Tibet at the time of the Tibetan Empire reflects Tibet's international position, and the scattering of Indo-European terms, we believe, reflects the growing irrelevance of the Indo-European tradition in a world oriented toward the introduction of Buddhism in various forms, and the consolidation of a vast empire at war with the Chinese to the east, the Turks and Mongolic peoples<sup>5</sup> to the north, the Arabs to the west, and the Indians to the south.

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isolated instances of some influence of Chinese religious culture on Tibet (aside from some borderland Chinese Buddhist/Taoist schools, such as the Chinese monk Hwa-shang Mahāyāna proposed), we have a clear example of rejection of Chinese court ritual: Tibetans showed revulsion toward a bloody, ancient Chinese treaty-ratifying ritual which T'ang government representatives insisted Tibetans take part in at the peace-treaty observations of 822. (See F. Bischoff, "Recherches sur les principes légaux des traités internationaux des T'ang", in *Studies in South, East, and Central Asia*. New Delhi, International Academy of Indian Culture, 1968, p. 22f.)

<sup>4</sup> Per Kvaerne, in "Dualism in Tibetan cosmogonic myths and the question of Iranian influence" (in *Silver on Lapis: Tibetan Literary Culture and History*. C.I. Beckwith (ed.), Bloomington, The Tibet Society, 1987), thoughtfully deals with vague attributions and apparent Zurvanist influences. His most valuable observation here is practical, pointing out how such assumptions can influence our efforts at translation, based on how we can 'reify' such elements into a formal religious system – which probably never existed – borrowed from the Iranian into the Tibetan religious worlds.

These well-made points aside, however, there really seems no good reason to exclude an Iranian inspiration for the following religious data, cited by Kvaerne, which surface in Tibetan culture: The figure of Yi-smon Rgyal-po, the first king and first man, whose name and function is symmetrical with the Indo-Iranian Yima/Yama figure; and egg cosmologies, a likely Iranian-Mediterranean influence (which must also be early, for many clan mythologies as well as Bon historical works employ them). Evidence for long-term contact between the Tibetan and Iranian worlds rests on artistic and broader aesthetic considerations, as well; see, e.g., M.M. Rhie, "The statue of Songzen Gampo in the Potala, Lhasa", in *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dedicata*, vol. 3, Roma, IsMEO, 1988, p. 1201-1219.

<sup>5</sup> The 'A-zha, or T'u-yu-hun, spoke a Mongolic language, as is revealed by P.T. 1283 (facsimiles, transcription, and translation by J. Bacot, "Reconnaissance en Haute Asie Septentrionale par cinq envoyés ouïgours au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle." Paris, Société Asiatique, 1957, p. 6, line 4 [transcription] and p. 9 [translation]).

### Section One, by Michael Walter

If we were to outline the layers of Indo-European cultural presences in Tibet, as now understood, the following layers would be postulated:

- I. Very early, reflecting a perhaps as-yet unnamed Indo-European tribal confederation, c. 2000-1000 BCE;
- II. Iranian-oriented conceptions from both central Iranian and Eastern Iranian tribal cultures and peoples influenced by them, c. 500-300 BCE;
- III. Indian vocabulary and conceptions transmitted into Central Tibet through the old Zhang-zhung Kingdom, centered in extreme southwest Tibet and Northwest Nepal, c. 400-600 CE;<sup>6</sup>
- IV. The introduction of normative Buddhist vocabulary and concepts; datable with certainty only to the period of the early seventh century CE.

One important result of Chris's study is the demonstration that old Indo-European vocabulary in Proto-Tibetan is not limited to one or two semantic groups. Agricultural and general animal husbandry terms (the words for grain, pig, etc.), and words from virtually every domain of human activity are found. However, from my point of view, the most interesting vocabulary relates to a pastoral nomadic warrior mentality and steppe culture and religion.

Steppe religious values and the role of the emperor (*btsan-po*), as they appear in Tibetan imperial inscriptions and related Old Tibetan texts from Tun-huang, reveal a system very similar to that of some Germanic and Scythian tribal confederations. Contemporary data on this point is limited, however, by the essentially secular orientation of the annalistic and chancery personnel at the Tibetan court.<sup>7</sup> Thus, we have almost no basis for evaluating the existence or function that a "priestly class" of Dumézil's standard analysis might have played there, although the post-Imperial Tibetan tradition, as is well known, makes much of a conflict between just such a priestly class – the Bonpos – and the Buddhists. In any event, the function of the emperor as the first among warriors in Tibetan society is very clear.<sup>8</sup> Thus, our first

<sup>6</sup> Among the most visible vocabulary items entering at this time are some of the transcribed Indic terms found in Tibetan texts, such as *tsi ta* (*citta*) and *karma*, which were later replaced (except in some special texts and traditions) by Tibetan equivalents. In many cases they would have entered Tibet through the intermediary of a Zhang-zhung language. We cannot be sure whether these entered before, at the same time as, or later, than the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet. (On the various locations of Zhang-zhung through time, see G. Tucci, *Preliminary Report on Two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal*. Rome, IsMEO, 1956, p. 74ff., and C.I. Beckwith, *A Study of the Early Medieval Chinese, Latin, and Tibetan Historical Sources on Pre-imperial Tibet*. Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1977, p. 148-150.) This connection may also have been the venue for later, clearly Indic vocabulary which became "Tibetanized", such as *stod*, from *stotra* (from  $\sqrt{stu}$ ).

<sup>7</sup> The paucity of Old Tibetan data about the doings of priests and other religious functionaries at the court is probably best explained as a result of the Tibetans having modeled their records of court doings partly on Chinese practices. Chinese scholars who were brought in to assist the Tibetans may have helped in developing this tradition. (See Géza Uray, "L'annalistique et la pratique bureaucratique au Tibet ancien", in *Journal Asiatique* 243, 1975, p. 157-170.) This trend probably received added impetus under the reign of Khri-srong-lde-btsan, if the *Sba bzhed* is accurate on this point (Macdonald, A., "Une lecture des Pelliot tibétain 1286, 1287, 1038, 1047, et 1290," in *Études tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*. Paris, Maisonneuve, 1971, p. 383).

There is also, of course, the possibility that the Indo-European presence behind this phenomenon in Tibet was like that of the Germans of Julius Caesar's time, about whom the latter noted, "[They] ... have no class comparable to that of the Druids and show little interest in ritual." (G. Dumézil in *Les Dieux des Germains*, Englished as *Gods of the Ancient Northmen*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1973, p. 118.)

<sup>8</sup> See the notices about Gnya'-khri-btsan-po, below, and the very typical references even to Khri-srong-lde-btsan's

analysis of religious conceptions surrounding the Tibetan emperors will centre on pastoral-nomadic motifs dealing with warfare and sacral kingship in general.

Let us first speak of the *phyogs-bzhi* or *phyogs-brgyad* (occasionally *sde-bzhi*?) concept, according to which on all quarters of the Tibetan peoples, and even within Tibet, enemies (at least potential ones) exist, or existed in the mythological past.<sup>9</sup> This state of things is referred to frequently in Old Tibetan materials, and has usually been attributed to indirect Buddhist influence, perhaps reinforced by similar Chinese conceptions.<sup>10</sup> However, the entire psychology of the *phyogs-bzhi* orientation to the outside world is more in accordance with old Indo-European attitudes. For example, Sad-na-legs's *rdo-ring* mentions the *phyogs-brgyad* in a military context,<sup>11</sup> and the probably mythological *btsan-po*, Gnya'-khri, needs to exist, principally, to conquer enemies in the four directions.<sup>12</sup> None of these references occurs in anything like a Buddhist environment, so it is doubtful that this represents a Buddhist view; moreover, the traditional Chinese orientation to the four quarters is distinctly more passive.<sup>13</sup> Indo-European traditions reflect a tribal awareness of enemies and competitors around them (not the least of whom were other Indo-European peoples!); the successful warrior and prosecutor of the tribe's expansion was made its leader. Many Indo-European tribal confederations shared this approach, such as the Germanic tribes (not the only interesting parallel with Germanic notions that we will see here<sup>14</sup>), although it is best documented in the

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helmet (see below) on the 'Phyong-rgyas inscription to him (Richardson, H., "A new inscription of Khri srong lde btsan", in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1964). See also the following note.

<sup>9</sup> P.T. 100, lines 21-25, says, in part, that even under Khri-gtsug-lde-btsan (Ral-pa-can), perhaps the most Buddhist of the "Chos Rgyal", *myi-'og rgyal-'phran 'bangs-su 'dus ... phyogs-bzhi'i rgyal-khams kun-la btsan*, "(All the) petty princes (under the sun) came together ... and he ruled all the kingdoms of the four directions," as noted in Macdonald 1971: 206, 348. This was accomplished, again, through the power of Ral-pa-can's *dbu rmog*.

<sup>10</sup> Rolf Stein (*La Civilisation Tibétaine*, Englished as *Tibetan Civilization*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1971, p. 39f.) compares this orientation to China's traditional view, but does not discuss the offensive military emphasis the Tibetans of this time were giving it. Macdonald 1971: 214 presents a view, to which I subscribe, which sees the "enemies (here, kings) in the four directions" concept as indigenous, and which later was amalgamated with Buddhist beliefs surrounding the Cakravartin kings.

<sup>11</sup> This reading obtains whether one follows the transcription and translation by G. Tucci in *Tombs of the Tibetan Kings* (Rome, ISMEO, 1950, p. 36-39 and 91-93) or by H. Richardson in *JRAS*, 1969, p. 31-33 (following Rig-'dzin Tshé-dbang-nor-bu's transcription). The essence is that expansion in the direction of China was a positive result of the strength of the Tibetan ruler, and war became thus an inevitability.

<sup>12</sup> Note that in this case Tibet does not even exist yet, and it is already surrounded by enemies. Gnya'-khri's function in defeating forces of chaos and enemies will, implicitly, automatically create a country for the Tibetan people. Macdonald (1971: 208f.) recounts an old tradition not drawn directly from Old Tibetan documents, on which see footnote 20, below).

<sup>13</sup> For a general overview of how different cultures have developed concepts of divine rule, with chapters on Indo-European and Chinese peoples, see John W. Perry, *Lord of the Four Quarters: Myths of the Royal Father*. New York, G. Braziller, 1966.

<sup>14</sup> On the relationship of the warrior with the ruler, see B. Lincoln, "Indo-European religions", p. 4-5 (in *Death, War, and Sacrifice*. Chicago, U. of Chicago Press, 1991): The warriors were the group from whom the king was chosen; once chosen, however, he really lost his "classness", and had to act in the interests of his entire population. The balance of warrior/leader is what we see with the *btsan-po*. Comparison continues when we consider the Central Eurasian tradition of the *comitatus*, a corps of warriors bound by oath to die with their leader, their tribal chief. This custom was widespread among early Germanic peoples, and is also found in T'ang Dynasty descriptions of Tibetan society. On these points see in particular C.I. Beckwith, "Aspects of the early history of the Central Asian guard corps in Islam", in *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 4, 1984, p. 35 especially; for the T'ang description, see also D. Snellgrove & H. Richardson, *A Cultural History of Tibet*. New York, F. Praeger, 1968, p. 29f.).

Rājasūya ceremony in Hinduism.<sup>15</sup> It is likely that the three or four "horn" (*ru*) concept is related to this "proactive", *i.e.*, offensive orientation, since a horn is not a defensive symbol.

The *btsan-pos* of Tibet, both "mythological" and historical, possessed numerous magical and martial accoutrements which display a steppe origin. Thus, Gnya'-khri is provided by his divine parents with, among other things, a bow, arrow, armor, and a (divine) ox with white horns (*lha glang ru dkar-mo*).<sup>16</sup> Cattle and oxen are the early pastoral nomadic animals *par excellence* – much more symbolically significant than horses in early Indo-European cultures.<sup>17</sup>

However, the most prominent accoutrement in the inscriptions – so significant that it may be invoked more than once<sup>18</sup> – is the "helmet (of power)"<sup>19</sup> (*dbu rmog*) which contains the military might of the emperor. The clear implication of its citations is that the *btsan-po* is, somehow, equivalent to his helmet, or at least completely dependent on it for military success. Many Indo-European peoples considered their weaponry and armor to be the incarnation of a spiritual being (Scythian warriors, for example, worshipped their swords). Once again, it is with the Germanic peoples that we find a close parallel to the Tibetans' custom, especially in *Beowulf*, where the descriptive term *wigheafola*, 'war-head', is almost exactly the same as *dbu rmog*, 'battle-head'.<sup>20</sup>

One of the most important, and best-described, religious practices of early Tibet was the building of *bang-so*, 'tumuli', for dead Tibetan emperors and royal family members, and their interment in them. They are the equivalent of the *kurgans* of the Scythian confederations, both in form and function. The largest *kurgans* and *bang-so* were constructed around dead chieftains, considered the fathers of their communities,<sup>21</sup> although both Tibetans and Scythians also built these structures for other than national leaders.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>15</sup> As described, *inter alia*, in Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 128-130.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Macdonald 1971: 209; a lengthy text of this motif can be found in *Bshad mdzod Yid bzhin nor bu* (in a version unavailable to Macdonald, published as *A 15th Century Tibetan Compendium of Knowledge*. New Delhi, Sharada Rani, 1969), p. 147f. While not an Old Tibetan source, the narrative accords with ideas presented here and may thus be assumed to be very ancient.

<sup>17</sup> In reading the progress of events in this story, related in Macdonald (1971: 208ff.), wherein the ox with the white horns impales Gnya'-khri's enemies, including demons appearing as red yaks, could we not see the battle between a pastoral-nomadic invader and some already-established Tibetan population?

<sup>18</sup> E.g., the Sino-Tibetan Peace Treaty inscription, east face, lines 13-16: *lho-phyogs ... nub-phyogs ... byang-phyogs ...* (the countries of the spread of his power in these directions) *'phrul-gyi lha btsan-po 'i dbu rmog brtsan-po ...* and line 53: *dbu rmog brtsan* (H. Richardson, *Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa, and The Mu tsung/Khri gtsug lde brtsan Treaty of A.D. 821-822 from the Inscription at Lhasa*. London, RAS, 1952, p. 55, 57).

<sup>19</sup> This translation would appear to be supported by the probable connection of *rmog* to *dmag* 'army', and to PIE *\*magh*, 'power, might', and *\*magh-*, 'to fight; warrior'. One could also interpret *dbu rmog* to be a respectful form of *rmog*, the general word for 'helmet'.

<sup>20</sup> Of all *Beowulf's* weapons, his helmet is most important, and most frequently mentioned. Further, the heroic structure of the inscriptions wherein references to the *dbu rmog* appear reminds us of the custom, in *Beowulf*, to refer both to a helmet as *heregrima/grimhelm*, its true cognomen, and as *wigheafola*, 'war-head'. (See C. Brady, "'Weapons' in *Beowulf*: an analysis of the nominal compounds and an evaluation of the poet's use of them", in *Anglo-Saxon England* 8, 1979, p. 85-90 in particular.)

<sup>21</sup> *Yab* in the O.T. inscriptions and related literature; according to Herodotus, the Scythian leadership spoke of their kings' tombs as "the tombs of their fathers"; cf. B. Lincoln, "The Scythian royal burials", p. 189, in *Death, War, and Sacrifice* (cited in note 14).

For the remainder of what will be said here about Scythian royal burial customs and the appearance, etc., of *kurgans*, the reader is directed to R. Rolle, *The World of the Scythians* (a translation of *Die Welt der Skythen*),

These dead leaders were "enthroned" in *kurgans* and *bang-so* after death, in a quadrangular structure replicating a court; this construction was then covered with earth which was patted down.<sup>23</sup> The ruler's close family, advisors, and their horses and personal possessions were buried with them.<sup>24</sup> Neither Scythians nor Tibetans immediately interred their dead leaders; the former took theirs on a tour of villages after crudely embalming them. The Tibetans may well have done a very similar thing, for two full years passed between the *btsan-po*'s death and his interment, requiring a preservation procedure for the dead ruler, and Rang-'byung-rdo-rje tells us that the body, no doubt in a life-like pose,<sup>25</sup> was taken, on a cart, to its tomb. The significance of the posture is that, in accordance with Bruce Lincoln's interpretation of the significance of Scythian royal burials,<sup>26</sup> we should see the Tibetans affirming that their ruler would, even in death, retain his power in the here and now.

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Berkeley, U. of California Press, 1989. The reader should bear in mind that there is no standard Scythian *kurgan* style, and I have sometimes chosen here to present a "nearest-case scenario" in comparing them to *bang-so*.

<sup>22</sup> Archaeologists have been able to distinguish those *kurgans* which are "royal" Scythian burials from others, and an old tradition has come down in Tibet of a more general practice of tumulus burial, not limited to national leaders. See here H. Richardson, "Early burial grounds in Tibet and Tibetan decorative art of the VIIIth and IXth centuries", *Central Asiatic Journal* 8, 1963, p. 89, quoting the T'ang annals; they were the burials of Tibetan nobles who had distinguished themselves in battle. This practice is related both to the *comitatus* notion mentioned above, fn. 14, and to Scythian (and older I-E) burial practices: Heroes, warriors, have the right to be associated with the highest leadership, which itself derived from the warrior group. Tombs constructed for them allow the continued manifestation of their might; they actually continue to help rule and control the living and their holdings from their tombs. (On this see J. Haudry, *La religion cosmique des Indo-Européens* (Milan & Paris, Archè, 1987), p. 223f. and 230 in particular.)

<sup>23</sup> Quadrangular tombs are noted by the Karma-pa Rang-'byung-rdo-rje (14th century) in Tucci 1950 (cited in note 11): 2. Interestingly, both peoples applied a final layer of black material – earth in the Scythian, and probably earth in the Tibetan, custom. On this see the T'ang notice in P. Pelliot, *Histoire ancienne du Tibet*. Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1961, p. 80, and the *Rgyal-rabs Gsal-ba'i me long* of Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan, p. 60f of the 1981 Peking edition: *yul-gyi ming ni Phying-lung Dar-thang / bang-so de-yang sa phung sbra 'dra yod* (read *sbra* for *brdal* also in the two following repetitions of this formula in this text? Cf. Tucci 1950: notes 11 and 12 on variant readings of this passage.) The *sbra* are the traditional black tents of the Tibetan nomads, still in use today, which are themselves comparable to the tents of Iranian and Arab nomads. Traditional Tibetan tents are thus completely different from the round, domed tents, or yurts, of the Turks and Mongols.

<sup>24</sup> T'ang materials inform us of the inclusion of the sacrifice of his retinue, his *comitatus* (Pelliot 1961 [cited in note 23]: 81; cf. Beckwith 1984 cited in note 14 on the connection between the burial sacrifices and the *comitatus*. On the sacrifice of horses, see also Beckwith 1977 [cited in note 6]: 136-7), but we also know this from much later material, e.g., the *Bka' thang sde-nga* and Rang-'byung-rdo-rje (Tucci 1950: 2 and note 13). A further point: Many *kurgans* show that, sometime after the initial burial, other men and horses were sacrificed as well, being buried on the already-existent mound. The T'ang Annals show that, every three years, the *btsan-po* would mount a *bang-so* and sacrifice human beings, horses, etc., following which the entrails of some would be examined for prognostications. (Pelliot 1961: 3, 82.) Some of these sacrifices could have been buried on site, as well.

<sup>25</sup> This is implied by Rang-'byung-rdo-rje's description of the funeral rites, as reinterpreted by Buddhists; cf. Tucci 1950 (cited in note 11): 2 and note 5. The use of a cart, if accurate, would best be served if the *btsan-po* were sitting; also, he is described as being installed in his tomb in a sitting position (Tucci 1950: 8f.). Data on the Goths and Celts parallel that of the Skythians and help us understand Tibetan customs in terms of a broader, Central Eurasian steppe complex; data on cart burials and the ritual use of carts in royal interments in general can found in, for example, Graham Webster's *Celtic Religion in Roman Britain*. Totowa, NJ, Barnes & Noble, 1987, p. 116; Ronald Hutton's *The Pagan Religions of the Ancient British Isles*. Oxford, Blackwell, 1991, p. 197 and 199; Herwig Wulfram's *History of the Goths*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1988, p. 69.

<sup>26</sup> Lincoln, "The Scythian ..." (cited in note 21) p. 191.

Thus begins the process of analyzing and interpreting the role of Indo-Europeans in the formation of Tibetan culture. The few data brought forward here accord with the analysis of the early Indo-European linguistic stratum in Tibetan in the following section. Of course, much further analysis of vocabulary, beliefs, and institutions remains, but we are confident that this approach will yield a greater understanding of many of the constituents of early Tibetan civilization.

### Section Two, by Christopher I. Beckwith

For over a century it has generally been assumed that Tibetan is related by divergence, or 'genetically', to Chinese (among various other languages<sup>27</sup>), although the languages have so little in common that the idea has seemed to some linguists more than a little forced. The assumption of divergence is based upon a small number of vocabulary items that the two languages have in common. Despite the paucity and restricted nature of the evidence, the possibility of a convergent relationship has been practically ignored. In other words, with the exception of a tiny number of words suggested to have been borrowed from Austronesian or some other Southeast Asian language, the possibility that whatever similarity may exist among the languages concerned is due to vocabulary having been borrowed from one language to the other, or to both languages having borrowed it from yet another language, has not been given much consideration. In fact, whenever evidence indicates a relationship may exist between one or more of these languages and some other, previously little considered language or language family, the argument of divergent relationship has nearly always been made. Thus, two scholars have proposed, for somewhat different reasons, that Tibetan – as a part of the hypothetical 'Sino-Tibetan' proto-language – is related divergently to yet another language family, namely Indo-European.<sup>28</sup>

In an article published in 1963,<sup>29</sup> Robert Shafer proposed that 'Sino-Tibetan' and Indo-European ultimately belong to one linguistic megafamily. He has buttressed his argument with a long list of proposed etymologies, drawing his Tibetan data largely from Classical Tibetan dictionaries. Despite some interesting arguments, this article seems to have been ignored by nearly everyone. However, only three years later another scholar, Edwin Pulleyblank, began publishing articles which propose essentially the same thing.<sup>30</sup> While Pulleyblank has ignored or criticized Shafer's work, he himself has not provided any new data, preferring instead to argue on the highly theoretical grounds that due to a supposedly common morphophonological process Indo-European and 'Sino-Tibetan' should in fact be treated as one linguistic family.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> I use the term 'language' and refer to Tibetan and Chinese, even though the relationship is between two language families, because the primary comparative material is found in Old Tibetan and Old Mandarin (also known as Ancient Chinese), *i.e.*, early medieval Chinese, respectively.

<sup>28</sup> The use of the term 'genetic(ally)' in linguistics is not supposed to imply any racial connection, but since it nevertheless has been taken to imply such connections (mainly for modern political ends), it is best replaced with the more scientific and precise term 'divergent(ly)', the opposite of 'convergent(ly)'. The latter terms together indicate the two kinds of linguistic relationship that are simultaneously occurring whenever any two languages have been in contact.

<sup>29</sup> Robert Shafer, "Eurasial", in *Orbis* 12 (1963), 19-44.

<sup>30</sup> E.G. Pulleyblank, "Close/open Ablaut in Sino-Tibetan", in *Indo-Pacific Linguistic Studies*, Vol. 1, G. B. Milner and E. G. Henderson (eds.), Amsterdam 1966; and *ibid.*, "Chinese and Indo-Europeans", in *JRAS* 1966, 9-39.

<sup>31</sup> His theories with regard to the relationship between Tibetan and Chinese are criticized and rejected in a paper by the present writer, "The morphological argument for the existence of Sino-Tibetan", in *Pan-Asiatic Linguistics*:

In the present paper it is argued that the Tibetan language contains a great number of ancient loanwords from an early Indo-European daughter-language and a smaller number of ancient loanwords from Chinese, but that Tibetan is probably not divergently (or 'genetically') related to either Indo-European or Chinese. Moreover, it is suggested that much of the vocabulary shared by these three language stocks is Indo-European in origin, borrowed into both Tibetan and Chinese at a sufficiently early date that it is indistinguishable from would-be inherited 'Proto-Sino-Tibetan' vocabulary, and that this vocabulary is the basis for the 'Sino-Tibetan' hypothesis.

The Indo-European cultural complex is generally considered to have included, as prominent features, a mixed pastoral-agricultural-industrial economy focused on the raising of cattle, dogs, pigs, and other animals; on grain production, and on the manufacture of metal tools and weapons; a tripartite socio-political structure based on a hilltop gathering place and consisting of a ruling class, a priestly class, and a warrior class, with agriculturalists and craftsmen occupying an unclassified or bound lower level; and a distinctive religious-intellectual culture.

A small selection of the extensive linguistic data which supports the above contentions is presented below, first in a brief list of attested Old Tibetan words organized semantically (but omitting details), and secondly in a list organized phonologically with etymological information.

### Some Old Tibetan Vocabulary of Early Indo-European Origin<sup>32</sup>

#### Socio-political vocabulary

army/military *dmag*

helmet *rmog*

wheel; to turn, go around *hkor* (CTib 'khor-)

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*Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium on Languages and Linguistics, January 8-10, 1996.* Vol. III, Bangkok, Institute of Language and Culture for Rural Development, Mahidol University at Salaya, 1996, 812-826.

<sup>32</sup> It should be noted that there is a considerable literature – focusing on Indo-European and Chinese etymological connections – on the multifarious wanderings and borrowings of certain of the words included in this list, particularly the words for 'dog' and 'horse'. The intent here is to demonstrate that there is such a deep and broad layer of early Indo-European vocabulary in Tibetan that it is unlikely to have been borrowed by both Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Tibetan (or Proto-Tibeto-Burman) from a third source, but was borrowed by PTB from an early daughter-language of PIE. In some cases – such as the word for 'dog', PTB *\*kywei*, Tokharian B *ku* – the proposal, often made, that early Tokharian was the source seems plausible, but in other cases this does not seem to work. At any rate, the highly problematic reconstruction of Proto-Chinese is still extremely shaky, with many widely divergent proposals under serious consideration, while many questionable assumptions are based on the further assumption that Tibetan, or some Tibeto-Burman language, is cognate and can provide some insight into the earlier forms of Chinese. Since the resulting concoctions are then used circularly as evidence for the hotly-defended Sino-Tibetan hypothesis, the whole procedure leaves one with serious doubts about most of the historical-comparative linguistic work done on these languages. The present paper is intended to draw attention to the possibility that much of the apparent relationship between Chinese and Tibetan is due to both languages having borrowed the same words from a third language or language group. Old Tibetan has a much richer phonological inventory than the earliest phonologically well-attested Chinese (*i.e.*, Old Mandarin, in texts from Tun-huang written in Old Tibetan script mostly in the ninth century); it can be used to demonstrate the existence of such a loan relationship much more clearly and positively than anything based on hypothetical reconstructions of Chinese.

In Old Tibetan, as in modern English, there is no phonemic (meaningful) difference between the aspirated and unaspirated unvoiced stops and affricates, which are in complementary distribution in the language. In order to analyze the data without extraneous information – and since they are inconsistently distinguished in Old Tibetan texts anyway – all of the said stops have been transcribed with the unaspirated allophones. The Classical Tibetan and/or modern "correct" spelling, in usual Tibetological transcription, is given in parentheses. See also note 39.



to encircle, enclose, surround, besiege *skor-*  
 castle/fortress/fortified town *mkar* (CTib *mkhar*)  
 hill/rock *brag*  
 race/lineage/right *rigs*  
 to be right/know/understand *rig-*  
 to touch *reg-*  
 lineage *rgyud*  
 conqueror/king/royal *rgyal*<sup>33</sup>  
 chief/head *hgo* (CTib 'go)  
 retinue/attendants/court *hkor* (CTib 'khor)  
 market/military commandery *krom* (CTib *khrom*)  
 common people/masses *dmangs*  
 servant/slave *kol* (CTib *khol*)  
 dominion/government *srid*

### Economic vocabulary

wealth *pyug* (CTib *phyug-*)  
 cattle *pyugs* (CTib *phyugs*)  
 cow *ba*<sup>34</sup>  
 yak *g-yag*  
 wild yak *hbrong* (CTib 'brong)  
 pig *pag* (CTib *phag*)  
 dog *kyi* (CTib *khyi*)  
 wild ass *rkyang*<sup>35</sup>  
 goat *ra-*  
 horn *ru*  
 wool *bal*  
 to weave *htag-* (CTib 'thag-)  
 pasture land *hbrog* (CTib 'brog)  
 pastoralist/nomad *hbrog-* (CTib 'brog-)  
 to separate/confine/pen up (men, cattle, goods) *dgar-*  
 bear young/ give birth *hbrang-* (CTib 'brang-)  
 breast/chest *brang*

<sup>33</sup> Before the Tibetan Empire, the "Tibetan" ruler was called Spu Rgyal, presumably meaning 'Spu King' or 'King of Spu', the latter word being the name of the early kingdom.

<sup>34</sup> Reconstructed by Benedict (1972: 50) as PTB *\*wa* on the basis of Burmese (*nwā*) and other languages. The correspondence thus appears to be to PIE *\*gwou-* 'ox, bull, cow' (> Eng. COW) P. 482; A. 1520, rather than to PIE *\*wa-* (P. 1111 *\*wākā*; A. 1547 *\*wak*) 'cow', as the Tibetan would seem to indicate.

<sup>35</sup> The origin of OTib *ra*, 'horse,' is obscure. The common PTB word for 'horse' would appear at first glance to be *\*rang*, variously prefixed in different TB languages; some of the prefixes are reduced forms of the word for 'dog', which is often still clearly present as such in a compound noun 'dog'-*rang*. Since there is some question in my mind about what then a "*rang*" would have been, it would seem that *rang* was not a noun after all, but an adjective related to OTib *ring* 'long' and simply meant 'high; tall', as in several TB languages (Benedict 1972: 43), thus giving the original sense of 'tall dog' for 'horse' (cf. Matisoff, in Benedict 1972: 43, n. 139). It appears that pre-Old Tibetan formed the word by such compounding, from *\*kyi rang* 'tall dog' > *\*kyrang* > OTib *rkyang* 'wild ass' (the native equine of Tibet) by metathesis (since *\*[kyrV-]* is not a possible sequence in OTib). There was, therefore, probably no common TB word for 'horse', just as there is no common IE word for 'horse'. However, since both parts of the Tibetan word are IE in origin, the *rkyang* has been included in the list. See also note 46 below.

grain/fruit/result *hbras-* (CTib 'bras-)  
 rice *hbras* (CTib 'bras)  
 grain/corn/seed *hbru* (CTib 'bru)  
 a grain/fruit/pustule *hbrum-* (CTib 'brum-)  
 wheat *gro*  
 root; vein *rtsa*  
 grass *rtswa*

### Natural phenomena

star/planet *skar-*  
 mountain/hill *ri*  
 plain/extent *rgya*  
 to extend/spread *rgyas-*

The linguistic basis for the present argument depends on the establishment of regular phonological correspondences of semantically close lexical items between Proto-Indo-European (henceforth PIE) and Old Tibetan (henceforth OTib). A sufficiently great number of the latter exists in OTib so that straightforward correspondences can be established for most phonemes.<sup>36</sup> Interestingly, the PIE loans in Tibetan have been extremely productive, demonstrating not only the importance of the loanwords (and of the culture connected to the words), but also the early date of the loan relationship. The following is, again, only a sampling of the etymologies.<sup>37</sup>

### Early Indo-European Loanwords in Tibetan<sup>38</sup>

0.1. PIE \*/-e-/ ~ PTib \*/-a-/ (\*/e/ is the reconstructed PIE theme vowel; in Indo-Iranian and Tokharian its reflex is /-a-/.); this vowel may appear differently due to vowel gradation or other historical changes. The theme vowel is seen, for example, in PIE *\*ger-* 'to gather (as a herd, crowd)' ~ OTib *dgar-* (<√gar) 'to pen up (cattle, men)' (see §2.1); PIE *\*wel-* 'wool' ~ OTib *bal* 'wool' (see §6.1); PIE *\*teks-* 'to weave' ~ OTib *htag-* (√tag) 'to weave', *tags* 'fabric/web', (see 5.1). Note that the final stop consonants in OTib have all been reduced to one series (which was clearly not voiced in absolute final position, despite the scriptforms) due to feature leveling, as seen in many languages; thus, the last example in the previous sentence was

<sup>36</sup> For the dental stops and affricates, however, such is not always the case. Only the simple dental stops followed by a full-grade vowel are clearly identifiable in the Tibetan loans; more work is needed to establish what happened to other dental-initial words after they were borrowed into Tibetan.

<sup>37</sup> All the IE examples are well-attested, even though the present treatment cites them unevenly.

<sup>38</sup> Abbreviations for the Etymological Section:

IE Indo-European; PIE Proto-Indo-European; TB Tibeto-Burman; PTB Proto-Tibeto-Burman; PTib Proto-Tibetan; OTib Old Tibetan; CTib Classical Tibetan; MTib Modern Tibetan; WBur Written Burmese; ModBur Modern Burmese; OMan Old Mandarin; Man Mandarin; Ave Avestan; Mlri Middle Irish; Lat Latin; Grk Greek; Skt Sanskrit; OEng Old English; OFra Old Frankish; PGer Proto-Germanic; Got Gothic; ONor Old Norse; OKho Old Khotanese; TokA Tokharian A; TokB Tokharian B; OInd Old Indic; Alb Albanian; OCS Old Church Slavonic; Rus Russian; Fin Finnish; Mor Mordvin; Vot Votic; Zyr Zyrian.

A.: Watkins, Calvert (1980), "Indo-European Roots", in *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*. William Morris (ed.), Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1505-1550.

P.: Pokorny, Julius (1959), *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 1. Band, Bern, Francke Verlag.

undoubtedly articulated as [tʰaks]. Evidence for the other reconstructions is given in the examples below.

0.2. PIE \*/-o-/ ~ PTib \*/-o-/-.

1.0. PIE \*/k-/ ~ PTib \*/k-/ > OTib /k-/ <sup>39</sup>

1.1. PIE \**kel-* (5) 'to drive, set in motion, drive flocks, herds' A. 1521, P. 548.

~ OTib *kal-* 'burden, load', *kal(ma)* 'beast of burden', *hkal-* 'to send, forward (things)'; O-grade > *hkol-* (5) 'to oblige a person to be a servant or bondman, to use as a servant', *kol(po)* 'servant'. Compare the PIE root \**kel-* (1) 'warm' A. 1521, P. 551 and OTib *hkol-* (1) 'to boil, be boiling', and *skol-* 'to boil (sth.)'.

1.2. PIE \**ker-*, \**sker-* (3) 'to turn, bend; circle', P. 935: '(s)*ker-*, drehen, biegen'; A. 1540. Ave *skarəna-* 'rund'; Grk *kürtós* 'krumm', Lat *curvus* 'krumm, gekrümmt, gewölbt'; MIri *cor* 'Kreise'; also > Grk *kirkos* 'Ring', Lat *circus* 'ring' > *circulus* 'circle'; PGer \**hrengaz* < \*(s)*krenght-*, > OFra *hring*, OEng *hring*, Eng *RING*.<sup>40</sup>

~ PTib \**kor-*, \**skor-*. O-grade from \**ker-* and \**sker-*: *hkor-* 'to revolve, to go around in a circle; to wander, ramble; to return (home); retinue, attendants; circle, circumference, wheel' [>*hkor(ra)*] 'circumference, fence wall'; *hkoryugtu* 'in a circle/circumference, all around'; ~*lo* 'a circle, wheel, ring'; *gzá~*, *bdun~* 'a week'; *skor* 'circle'; *skor-* 'to encircle, enclose; to go around something; an enclosure'; thematic grade: *mkar* 'walled enclosure, fort, walled city, castle, house'; *skar-* 'star, planet', ~*ma* 'star, minute'. Zero-grade + extension: *krom* 'market; assemblage of people, throng'.

1.3. PIE \**sker-* (2) 'to leap, jump about', P. 933: (s)*ker-*; A. 1540; O-grade variant form \**kor-* 'to glisten, shine, coruscate'.

~ OTib *skar-* 'star' (probably from \**sker-* (3) 'to turn; circle', also); *dkar-* 'white'.

1.4. PIE \**kwon-* 'dog, HOUND' A. 1525, P. 632.

~ OTib *kyi* 'dog'. Cf. WBur *kway*, ModBur *kwe'*, Tangut \**kü*, < PTB \**kywei*? Benedict (1972: 44) reconstructs PTB \**kwiy*. Cf. Man *chüän* < earlier Chinese \**kywan* 'dog'. The animal and word are the same, but the Chinese form is identical with the PIE form (except that it appears to have a thematic vowel) including the original final dental nasal, which is clearly lost in TB; this indicates a more complex, as yet unclear, loan history.

2.0. PIE \*/g-, gh-/ ~ PTib \*/g-/ > OTib /g-/

2.1. PIE \**ger-* 'curving, crooked', P. 385: 'drehen, winden'. OInd *gárta-* 'Wagensitz des Streitwagens', A. 1516. ONor *kartr* 'wagon', OEng *craet*, Eng *CART*. [Eng *CAR* < Fre < Lat *carrus* 'two-wheeled wagon' < zero-grade form \**krs-o* < \**kers*, P. 583.]

<sup>39</sup> Note on transcription: In Old Tibetan there was no phonemic distinction between surds and aspirates, which is why the Old Tibetans often mixed them up, even though they had a way of writing both allophones (such as [k] and [kʰ]). So, etymologically, they must be treated the same, just as the English phones [p] and [pʰ] (as in *spin* and *pin* respectively) are treated as one phoneme. However, the Old Tibetans did not mix up unaspirated with voiced stops, because this was a phonemic distinction.

<sup>40</sup> The *hring* (Old Frankish, 'Ring') of the Avars in Pannonia, which Charlemagne's armies conquered and plundered, was a large stronghold with concentric circular walls.

– *\*ger-* 'to gather (as a herd, crowd); to grasp', P. 382: *ger-*, *gere-* 'zusammenfassen, sammeln', A. 1516. Grk *agreíro* 'sammle', *agora* 'AGORA'; zero-grade form *\*gr-* in Lat *grex* 'herd, flock'; PGer *\*kran-* > OEng *crammian* 'to stuff, cram', Eng CRAM.

– *\*gher-* 'to enclose, to grasp', P. 442: *gher-* 'greifen, fassen, umfassen, einfassen; *ghor-to-s* 'eingezäunter Ort', A. 1518.

– O-grade form *\*ghor-dho-*, *\*ghor-to-*, O-grade form of *\*gher-*, *ibid.*; also interpreted as O-grade form of *\*gherd-*, q.v. PGer *\*gardaz*, OEng *geard* 'enclosure, garden, YARD, ORCHARD'; ONor *gardhr* 'garden, yard' (> Eng *GARTH*); Lat *hortus* 'garden'; thematic grade: OInd *hárati* 'bringt, trägt, holt, nimmt'; Grk *khórtos* 'eingelegter Platz, Hof, Weideplatz'.

– *\*gherd-* 'enclosure, town', P. 444: '*gherdh-* und *gherdh-* 'umfassen, umzäunen, umgürten... Erweiterung von 4. *\*gher-* 'fassen'; *ghordho-s* 'Gehege', A. 1518. Ave *gərōda-* 'Höhle als Behausung daevischer Wesen', earlier loaned into PFU as 'dwelling' – Vot *gurt* 'Wohnplatz, Dorf', Zyr *gort* 'Haus, Wohnung'; OInd *grhá-* 'Haus, Wohnstätte'; Alb *garth* 'Hecke'; PGer *\*gardaz* (see preceding entry); OSla *\*gord* in OCS *grad*, 'Burg, Stadt, Garten', Rus *górod* 'Stadt'; perhaps TokB *kerçiyē(n)* 'Palast'.

~ OTib *dgar* 'to pen up (cattle, men), confine; fasten, attach'; *sgar* 'encampment' [cf. above, *mkar-* 'walled enclosure, fort, walled city, palace' < *\*ker-*]; O-grade *sgor-* 'round, circular'; ~*mo* round; a circle; a disk, globe; a coin.

2.2. PIE *\*ger-*, *\*grêi-* 'to grow, waken', P. 390: 'wachsen, wecken'; *\*ger-*, *\*ger-*, *\*grê-*, 'to grow old; grain; grey', A. 1516. OInd *jaránt-* 'alt, Greis'; Grk *gérôn*, 'id' (> *géront-*), *gráus*, 'alte Frau'; ONor *karl* 'Mann, alter Mann, Ehemann, freier Mann' (Pok. adds after other Germanic examples: "Grundbed. wohl 'alter Mann.'"); zero-grade *\*grə-no* 'grain' A. 1519, P. 390 (from *\*ger-*): Lat *grānum* 'grain'; PGer *\*kornam* (AHD 24) > OEng *corn* 'grain', Eng *CORN*; OEng *cymel* 'seed', Eng *KERNEL*; OPru *syrne* 'grain'.

– PIE *\*ghrê-* 'to grow, become green', P. 454: "(*ghrê-*.) *ghrô-*: *ghr-*, 'wachsen, grünen'..." A. 1518. (But cf. *\*gher-*, P. 441 'to shine, glow; grey'.) OEng *grōwan* 'grünen, blühen', Eng *GROW*; OEng *grāene*, Eng *GREEN*; Got *gras* 'Gras, Kraut', OEng *graes*, Eng *GRASS*.<sup>41</sup>

~ PTib *\*grê-* 'to grow old; grain'. OTib zero-grade form from *\*ger-*, and *\*ghrê-*: *bgre-* 'to grow old (h.)', *bgrespo* (< past tense *bgres*) 'an old man grey with age, hoary'; O-grade: *gro* 'wheat'; *grehu* 'pease' (dimin. < *gro*).

2.3. PIE *\*ghebh-el-* 'head' A. 1517, P. 423: Grk. *kephalê*' < *\*khephalê*' 'head', PGer *\*gabl* > Got *gibla* 'gable', 'ONor *gafll* gable'.

~ PTB *\*gaβ* 'head' (Cf. Benedict 1972: 149: *\*m-gaw* ~ *\*(s)-gaw.*) > PTib *go* 'head, summit, source, chief' > OTib *go* 'head-man, chief; commander; beginning, origin, source'; *god-* 'to establish, found, lay out; design, plan; rule, govern'; *mgo* 'head; summit, top; principal part, first place; beginning'; *sgo* 'entrance, gate, door; means'.

<sup>41</sup> It is interesting to note also PIE *\*ker-* *\*krê-*, 'to grow; make grow, give birth', P. 577: *ker-*, *ker-*, *krê-* 'wachsen, wachsen machen, nähren', A. 30. Lat *Cerēs* 'goddess of agriculture, especially grain'. O-grade *\*kor-*: Grk *koros*, *kouros*, *kōros*, 'young man', *kórê-* 'maiden'. Extended zero-grade *\*krê-*: Lat *crēare* 'to bring forth, produce, create', *crēscere*, 'to grow'. Perhaps this root > OTib *hkrung-* 'to grow, sprout (of seeds), to be born, originate'; *skrun-* 'to produce (fruits)'; *kre* 'millet'. Numerous PIE roots have semantic relatives differentiated only by a contrast in initial consonant voicing (one could adapt the expression 'consonant grades' for this), a phenomenon often found in languages of Southeast Asia as well.

## 3.0. PIE \*/p-/ ~ PTib \*/p-/ &gt; OTib /p-/

3.1. PIE \**peku-*, '(moveable) wealth', \**pekū-(s)* 'cattle (as wealth)' P. 797, A. 1532. Discussed at length in Benveniste (1973: 40-51).

~ OTib *pyug-*, '(moveable) wealth', *pyugs* 'cattle'<sup>42</sup>

3.2. PIE \**pork-(os)* 'pig' P. 841, A. 1535. > Skt. \**pāśa*, OKho *pāsa* 'pig', Lat. *porcus* 'pig', OEng *feorh* > Eng *FARROW* 'young pig'.

~ OTib *pag* 'pig' < PTB \**pwak*. See the detailed discussion below.

3.3. PIE \**pel-*, \**plā-* 'to spread; flat; > *FIELD, FLOOR*' P. 802, A. 1533.

– \**plāk-*, \**plak-* 'to be flat', extension of \**pel-* 'to be flat' P. 831, A. 1533 > Eng *FLAKE*, Lat *plancus*, 'PLANK'.

~ OTib *pal-* 'broad, widespread, common', *pel-* 'to spread, increase, enlarge (intrans.)', *spel-* 'to spread, increase, enlarge (trans.)' < lengthened-grade \**pél-*. Zero-grade form \**pl-* plus extensions > PTib \**plaks* > CTib *lpags* 'skin, bark, peel'. Cf. PTB \**pleng* 'flat surface' (Benedict 1972: 40), and the Karen classifier for 'flat (things/animals)', Sgaw *plə*, Pwo *plo*.

3.4. PIE \**sper-* 'to strew' P. 993, A. 1542, zero-grade form \**spr-*, > Eng *SPREAD, SPRAWL, SPROUT, SPURT* Grk *sperma* 'seed, SPERM'; O-grade \**spor-* > Grk *spora* 'a sowing, seed', etc.

~ OTib *spro-* 'to strew, spread, disperse' (trans. to *hpro-* 'to proceed from, emanate, spread; continue', zero-grade from < PIE \**per-* (1) 'forward, through, around, etc.', (2) 'to lead, pass over', (4) 'to grant, allot'); probably also > OTib *sprod-* 'to put together, make meet; explain, describe', and OTib *sprad-* 'to deliver, bring together, give, make meet'.

## 4.0. PIE \*/bh-/ ~ PTib \*/b-/ &gt; OTib /b-/

4.1. PIE \**bher-* 'to bear (children), carry; to swell, rise up, cook', P. 128, A. 1509. Zero-grade \**bhre-* + extensions > \**bhren-* 'to bulge, be prominent' > \**bhren-k* 'breast, swelling', \**bhrendh-* 'to swell up, pregnant', etc., P. 167-168. \**bhreu-* 'to swell; breast', P. 170, " \**bhreu-s-* 'schwollen; sprießen' (vgl. ... *bhreu-*)," A. 9. These and the following PIE forms, though listed separately in the etymological dictionaries, are undoubtedly all ultimately derived from one root, \**bher-*. The same goes for the PTib forms.

Thematic grade \**bher-*:

~ OTib *hbar-* 'to burn, radiate; to bloom, blossom'. Perhaps from \**wēr-*; see below. (Cf. CTib *hbur-* 'to rise, be prominent; spring up, come forth, bud, unfold; increase'; although the vocalism is difficult, and the root is not listed in the OTib lexical sources, it appears to belong here.)

Zero grade \**bhr-* plus extensions (\**bhreu-* etc.)

– \**bhren-* 'to protrude, bulge; breast', P. 167:

~ OTib *hbrang-* 'to bear (children), give birth'; OTib *brang* 'breast'.

– \**bhreu-* 'to boil, bubble up; to swell' P. 143, 170, A. 1510:

~ OTib *hbru-* 'grain, seed'; *hbru(ma)* 'tumor, swelling'; *brum-* 'grain, fruit; pustule, pock';

<sup>42</sup> On metathesis, see Hans Heinrich Hock, *Principles of Historical Linguistics*. Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter, 1986, 67-68.

*sbrun-* 'pregnant, big with young'.3.2.3. Or from *\*bhrû-g* 'agricultural produce, fruit' (P. 173; *\*brüg-* 'Frucht', etc., A. 9). Cf. *\*wruhio-* P. 1183 'RYE'.

4.2 PIE *\*bhreu-* 'to well up, rush, spring forth, spout forth', P. 171, A. 1511.

Zero-grade *\*bhru-*:

~ OTib *hbrub-* 'to gush, spout forth, flow over'. (Also ~ OTib *hbrug* 'thunder; dragon?')

4.3. PIE *\*bhares* 'BARLEY' P. 111, "*bhares-* 'Gerste'," A. 1508.

Reduced form *\*bhres*:

~ OTib *hbras* 'fruit, grain; rice; result, effect'.

4.4. PIE *\*bheregh-*, *\*bhergho-s* 'high, elevated; mountain, hill', P. 140, 'id.', A. 1509.

Zero-grade *\*bhregh-*:

~ OTib *brag* 'rock, crag, hill'; extended zero-grade forms *hbrog* 'mountain pasture', *hbrogpa* 'pastoralist, nomad', and perhaps also the nasalized form *hbrong* 'wild yak'.

5.0. PIE *\*/t-/* ~ OTib */t-/*; this appears to hold before a stressed theme vowel, but the fate of PIE *\*/t-/*, *\*/d-/*, and *\*/dh-/* generally in the Indo-European vocabulary in Old Tibetan is unclear. These phonemes appear to be represented sometimes by sibilants or affricates in Old Tibetan, but much more study is needed.

5.1. PIE *\*tek(s)-* 'to weave; to make wattle (for house walls)' Skt *takṣati* 'behaut, bearbeitet, zimmert, verfertigt', Lat *textor* 'weaver', Grk. *tekhnê* 'art, craft, skill', *tektôn* (both < *\*teks-* 'weave') 'carpenter, builder' P. 1058, A. 1545.

~ PTB *\*tak* 'to weave' (Benedict 1972: 19) > PTib *\*tak-* 'weave' > OTib *htag-* 'to weave', *htags* 'a web, fabric', CTib *tagapa* 'weaver'. The semantics of the Sanskrit root clearly show that the Tibetan forms are not borrowed from that language.

6.0. PIE *\*/w-/* ~ PTib *\*/β-/* > OTib */b-/*. Note that *\*/b-/* probably did not exist initially in Indo-European; however, its place was taken by *\*/w-/*.

6.1. PIE *\*wel-* 'wool; hair' P.1139, A. 1549.

~ OTib *bal* 'wool'.

6.2. PIE *\*wer-* 'to burn' P. 1166; A. 1549.

~ OTib *hbar-* 'to burn'. (This root may be from *\*bher-*, however; see above.)

6.3. PIE *\*wrâd-*, *\*werad-*, *\*wrâd-* 'ROOT' P. 1167, A. 1549; > TokB *witsako* 'root', Grk *rhâdix* 'root'.

Zero-grade *\*wrâd-* plus extensions:

~ PTib *\*bræt(s)a-* > OTib *rtsa* 'root; grass; vein'; CTib has *rtswa* in the meaning 'grass'.<sup>43</sup> The OTib root is clearly *\*rts-*, with several extensions, indicating a PTib form *\*rVt(s)a-* or *\*Vr(V)(s)a-* (the "V" here indicating some vowel). The unvoiced [ts] is problematic for reconstructing this as a direct loan from PIE, but otherwise the correspondence is very good. Perhaps this is a later loan or a borrowing from another dialect of Indo-European. Benedict has reconstructed PTB *\*r-sa*, but the *r-* is unlikely to have been a prefix; cf. Bodo *roda* ~ *rota*,

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Oman *tshu* 'grass', in Tokio Takata, *Tonkô shiryô ni yoru chûgokugo shi no kenkyû* [=A Historical Study of the Chinese Language Based on Dunhuang Materials]. Tokyo, Sobunsha, 1988, 342.

Dimasa *rada* 'vein' (Benedict 1972: 109). This was a productive root in Tibetan, also giving stems meaning 'juice'; 'to calculate, count, plus, and'; 'to build; a wall'; 'a rib', etc.

7.0. PIE \*/m-/ ~ PTib \*/m-/ > OTib /m-/.

7.1. PIE \**magh-* 'to have power, to be able' A. 1527, P. 695.

– \**magh-* 'to fight, warrior' A. 1527.

– \**meg-* 'great' P. 708, A. 1528.

~ OTib *dmag* 'army, host'; O-grade > OTib *rmog* 'helmet'.

7.2. PIE \**men(e)gh-* 'many' A. 1529, P. 730. This could well be simply a nasalized form of \**meg-* 'great', which is in turn surely related to \**magh-* (see 7.1).

~ OTib *mang-* 'many, much'; OTib *dmangs* 'the multitude, masses, common people, populace, vulgar'.

8.0. PIE \*/r-/ ~ PTib \*/r-/ > OTib /r-/.

8.1. PIE \**er-* "Bock; Schaf, Kuh, Damtier; vielleicht ursprünglich 'Horntier,'" P. 326, A. 1515.

Zero-grade \**r* plus extension:

~ OTib *ra* 'goat' (cf. the following entry).

8.2. PIE \**er-*, \**ere-*, \**erei-*, \**r-* 'to move; to raise up, rise up, elevation; to grow high; shot upward' P.326-332, A.1515.

~ PTib \**r-* 'to rise up, to stick out' > OTib *ri* 'mountain, hill'; *ru* 'horn' (< zero grade of \**reu-*?); *rwa*, 'horn, stinger' (< PTib *ru + wa* [the latter perhaps < PTB \*(s-)wa 'tooth,' which > OTib *so* 'tooth']); *srid* 'length, extension; dominion, government; existence; the world; to be possible'; *ring-* 'long; to be long'; *sring-* 'to extend, stretch, prolong'. Note PTB \**ring* 'long' (Benedict 1972: 106 reconstructs \**sring* 'long'). As for the PTB word for 'high', Benedict (1972: 43) reconstructs \**mrang*. However, the Burmese form *mrang* should correspond to an OTib form \*(h)*brang*. As the latter does exist in OTib (see §4.1), and is clearly related semantically, perhaps the PTB form ought to be closer to the OTib form. But the word *rkayang* 'wild ass' (see note 8) suggests that in PTib the word for 'high' was \**rang*, calling for a PTB form \**rang* 'high'. Perhaps OTib *brang* 'breast, chest' was formed from PTB \**ber* 'swelling' and \**rang* 'high'.

8.3. PIE \**reg-*, 'to touch', derived forms \**rêg-*, \**reig-* 'to reach or extend in a straight line, to reckon, to be right, rights, royal', etc., P. 854 et seq.; A. 1536; see the discussion below.

Thematic grade \**reg-*:

~ OTib *rag-* 'to reach, obtain'; OTib *drag-* 'noble, of noble birth, nobleman; strong, violent'. Perhaps also here a nasalized prefixed form PTib \**drang* > OTib *hdren-* (past and future stem still *drang-*) 'to draw, pull, lead, guide, invite'.

Lengthened thematic grade \**rêg-*:

~ OTib *reg-* 'to touch'; prefixed form *dregs* 'pride, haughtiness, arrogance'.

Zero-grade \**rg-* (the [g] in this root is a palatal velar throughout in PIE and PTib):

~ PTib \**rgy-* > OTib *rgy-* (many examples). See the following discussion.

Extended \**reig-*, zero-grade \**rig-*:

~ OTib *rig-* 'to be right; to know'; *rigs* 'rank, lineage, kind; to be right; logic, dialectics'; *hgrig-* 'to be right, sufficient', *sgrig-* 'to put right, arrange, compile'.

There is no space in this paper to examine each etymology in detail, and in any case some would not be productive of rich enough results to make such a study worthwhile. It must suffice to examine, therefore, two roots, PIE *\*reg-*, meaning 'to reach or extend in a straight line, to reckon, to be right, rights, royal', and so on, well-attested in Old Tibetan, and PIE *\*pork-* 'pig', a word well attested in Indo-European and Tibeto-Burman both.

The famous Indo-European root that gives words for 'king', 'royal', 'right', 'rights', 'reckoning', and so forth, namely *\*reg-*, 'to touch' (and its extended forms *\*rĕg-*, *\*reig-* and connected forms), is represented very richly in Old Tibetan. OTib. *reg-* 'to touch' should descend from the lengthened grade form *rĕg-*.<sup>44</sup> There are a number of forms in -i- (from the zero-grade of *\*reig-*): *rig-* 'to be right; to know, reckon'; *rigs-* 'to be right; logic, dialectics; rank, lineage, kind'; etc. Forms that are derived from these with the addition of Tibetan verbal prefixes are, for example: *hgrig-* 'to be right, sufficient'; and *sgrig-* 'to put right, arrange, compile'. The zero-grade form *\*rgy-*, from *\*ragy-* < PIE *\*reg-* (traditionally written *\*reġ* [= *\*regy-*], the diacritic showing that the velar belongs to the palatal series), with numerous extended derivatives, is especially productive: *rgyu-*, 'to go, wander, pass through, intestines; chain, warp; cause'; and its extensions *rgyug-* 'to run, hurry; to pass, circulate, have force'; *rgyun-* 'nerves, sinews'; *rgyud-* 'to string; to pass through or over, traverse; a string, cord; connection; heart, soul'; *rgyun* 'flow, current, stream; continual'; *rgyus* 'knowledge, intelligence'; and *rgyusma* 'fibers'. At least one of the zero-grade forms in -u-, *rgyu-*, is practically identical in form to the Old Indic word, *rjū-* 'straight, right, correct', which is derived from *\*reg-*, the same Indo-European root that lies behind other Old Indic words such as *rāja* 'king' (via the lengthened grade form *\*rĕg-*). In this connection, note that the Old Tibetan word for 'king', *rgyalpo*, is derived from the verbal stem *rgyal-*, 'to cross over, overcome, be victorious', an extension in -al- of the same zero-grade root *rgy-*. There are a good number of additional forms in -a-, including: *rgya* 'an extent, a plain'; *rgyag-* 'to throw'; *rgyangma* 'distance'; *rgyan* 'ornament'; *rgyab* 'to throw, strike'; *rgyas-* 'to increase, spread; extensive'; and in -o-: *rgyo-* 'to have sexual relations'; and *rgyong-* 'to extend, stretch, expand'; cf. *rgyas-* 'to extend, increase'. Obviously, the root *\*reg-* was highly productive in Proto-Tibetan.

Turning to 'pig', namely PIE *\*pork(-os)*, in OTib *pag* (< PTB *\*pwak*; see below), one can see that the donor language was either Proto-Tokharian (where this root is unattested in the sparse remnants of that language) or a language indistinguishable from Proto-Indo-European itself, or another unknown centum language – but not Indo-Iranian or Slavic, because the donor, if not a tongue close in time to PIE, would have to be one in which the -o- of *\*pork-os* changed to -a-, and the -r- dropped, both before the -k- changed to -s-. The ancient Finno-Ugric loan-word for 'pig', either *\*porśas* or *\*porćas* (Fin. *porsas*, Mor. *purts*, Zyr. *pors*),<sup>45</sup> faced with the Indo-Iranian form *\*parśa* (> Indic *\*parśa*, Skt. *\*pāśā*; and Iranian *\*parsa* > OKho *pāsa*), constitutes definite evidence that "the Finno-Ugric borrowing takes us back to the stage prior to Indo-Iranian, but posterior to the common Indo-European, where the word possessed a -k-. It was an ancient dialect form which had preceded the separation of Indo-Iranian." (Benveniste, 1973: 30). Thus, although the vowel -a- might suggest a loan from Indo-Iranian specifically, the consonantism would present insuperable phonological difficulties without positing a third,

<sup>44</sup> The expected reflex of the PIE thematic grade *\*reg-* 'to reach, obtain' is OTib *rag-*. I wish to thank Prof. Tsuguhito Takeuchi for kindly checking this for me.

<sup>45</sup> See Aulis J. Joki, "Zur Geschichte der uralischen Sprachgemeinschaft unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Ostseefinnischen", in D. Sinor (ed.), *The Uralic Languages: Description, History and Foreign Influences* (= *Handbuch der Orientalistik, Achte Abteilung, Volume 1*). Leiden, E.J. Brill 1988, 585.



highly divergent branch of that subfamily as the donor language. Therefore, the word is probably either borrowed from an unknown early Indo-European donor language or from PIE directly: OTib *pag* < PTib *\*pwāk* (perhaps via *\*pwark* through breaking of the -o- to \*-wa- and vocalization of the -r-, resulting in lengthening of the -a-) < PIE *\*pork-*. The borrowing of *\*pork-* is in turn perhaps parallel to that of OTib *g-yag* 'yak' < PTib *\*-ywāk* < PIE *\*york-*, 'horned animal; roe, gazelle' (P. 513) – note that Jäschke remarks of the yak that it is "reckoned by the Hindu among the antilopes."<sup>46</sup> With regard to the reconstruction of the Proto-Tibetan form, it may be of interest to note that Benedict and Matisoff have quite acceptably reconstructed PTB *\*pwak* 'pig' on the basis of OTib *pag* and WBur *wak*. This conforms nicely to the above reconstruction based on an Indo-European origin for the word. However, since the word is not attested (phonologically) in Chinese, Benedict and Matisoff go on to propose that it is one of several "very early loans (fore-stressed, as usual) from an AT [Austro-Thai] root of the type *\*mba(γ)mbuyu*." The latter, rather unexpected, word appears to be the result of an attempt to connect the Tibetan and Burmese forms with Thai *muu*, 'pig' (Benedict 1972: 23-24, n. 78).

### Conclusions

The richness of the Old Tibetan vocabulary that is demonstrably of Indo-European origin, its productiveness in the language, and its regularity in both phonology and semantics vis-à-vis Proto-Indo-European, attest to its very great age, to the intensity of the original contact, and to the relatively coherent periodization of that contact (*i.e.*, more or less due to one major event, such as conquest).<sup>47</sup> By contrast, the relative paucity of Old Tibetan vocabulary that is demonstrably and exclusively of Chinese origin (*i.e.*, vocabulary that is not also common to both Tibetan and Indo-European and not simply a general areal phenomenon found throughout East and Southeast Asia) indicates the relative lateness of the Chinese influence on both the language and the culture of Tibet.

The phonetic characteristics of the Indo-European vocabulary in Old Tibetan, together with the reflexes of that same vocabulary in Chinese (to the extent that they exist or can be identified), indicate that the donor language was a very early daughter language of Indo-

<sup>46</sup> H.A. Jäschke, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*. London, Secretary of State for India in Council, 1881, 516: It is widely believed that the Indo-European word for 'dog' was borrowed very early into Chinese (the reconstructed forms are virtually identical): PIE *\*kwon* (= *\*kywon*) ~ PChi *\*kywan*, the only possible difference being the grade of the stem vowel. The word for 'horse' in Chinese is also often assumed to be a loan from Indo-European *\*marko-* 'horse' (> Eng *MARE*), P. 700, A. 1527, but the latter form is found only in Celtic and Germanic. It occurs in both masculine and feminine forms in Germanic, indicating that perhaps a suffixless form *\*mar-* was the root, which would then have been the source of OChi *\*ma* (OMan *hba*; see Takata 1988 [cited in note 43]: 202) < PChi *\*mwa* < *\*mra* (Benedict 1972: 189). A zero-grade form of the same word could then have been the root of the PTB word for 'horse' reconstructed as PTB *\*m-rang* by Benedict and Matisoff (1972: 43, n. 139), with the initial cluster having been subsequently reanalyzed in most TB languages as a prefixed form in *m-*. However, this word is not only not common IE, it is found in many other non-IE Eurasian languages including, among others, Classical Mongolian (*mori* 'horse') and Japanese (*uma* 'horse'); it has been proposed that the Celtic and Germanic word is, in fact, a loanword from some other Eurasian language. It thus appears that the word for 'horse' is not common to Chinese and Tibeto-Burman (see also the discussion of the TB words for 'horse' above in note 35. Note that *\*ekwo*, the IE word for 'horse', is also widely considered to be derived from the IE word for 'dog', *\*kwon-*, and that several IE languages – for example, English (*horse*) and Russian (*loshad'*) – have unrelated words for this animal. It is unfortunate that comparative linguists have not examined the other domestic animal names more closely, both in Chinese and in Tibeto-Burman, as possible loans from Indo-European.

<sup>47</sup> Although a fair number of later loans from identifiable IE languages or language families (including Iranian, Indic, and Greek) may be adduced, few of these borrowings have achieved the depth and breadth of representation of the early loans.

European, close to Proto-Indo-European itself; that it was a centum-language; and that it was not (or at least not yet) identifiably either Tokharian or Indo-Iranian.<sup>48</sup> Further narrowing of this characterization must await additional study.

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<sup>48</sup> If the hypothesis presented in this paper is correct – and the remarkably good correspondences between OTib and PIE, both phonetically and semantically, put the burden of disproof on those who would doubt it – some important consequences for the current model of the reconstructed IE proto-language may be mentioned. Perhaps the most important is clearly the presence of a discrete phone that seems to correspond to the feature distinguishing one series of PIE phonemes, the aspirated voiced (or glottalized) consonants, from the others, namely the OTib phone [h], popularly (but incorrectly) known as *'a chung*. (On the value of which see Beckwith 1996, cited in note 31; cf. the discussion of a glottalized or aspirated voiced series in PTB by Matisoff, in Benedict 1972: 22, n. 76.) Another consequence entails the possibility that Tokharian, which is the descendant of a language that branched off from PIE at a very early date, perhaps as early as the separation of Hittite, may have had other relatives. In any case, the lexical wealth of OTib, once carefully examined to separate out the vocabulary of early IE origin, may provide yet another window onto PIE.

# ON THE ORIGIN OF *SHO* (DICE) AND *SBAG* (DOMINO): EXPLORATION IN THE AMUSEMENT CULTURE OF THE TIBETAN PEOPLE

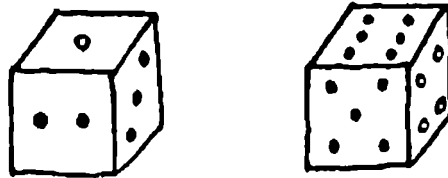
by

Wang Yao, Beijing

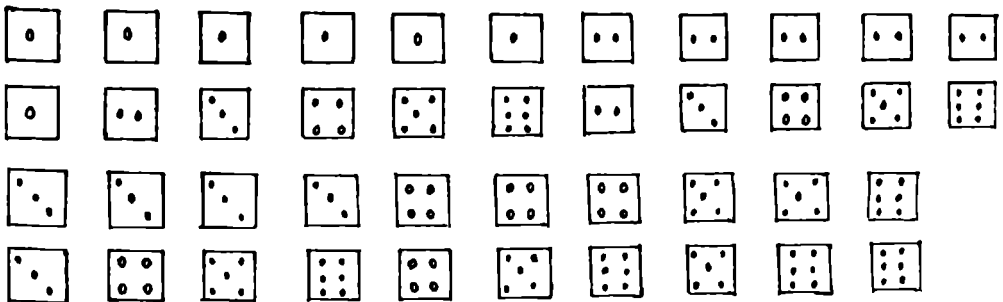
I have been interested in exploring the folk culture in Tibet since 1980, and have introduced the Tibetan folk drama (*a-lce-lha-mo*) (1982, New York), popular divination (*mo, khram*) (1985, Munich), the origin of Polo (1989, Tokyo) and Mahākāla-worship (1992, Oslo) to the colleagues and friends at the international Tibetology conferences. Today I want to introduce another folk amusement, a kind of gambling amusement. The general amusements in Tibetan are flying kites (*phi-phi-blo*), playing the *ke-rem* ball, Tibetan chess (*dmig-dmag*), mah-jong (*ma-cang*), and so on. But the most popular is *sho* (chin. *xiao*, dice) and *sbag* (chin. *bo*, domino).

## I. *Sho* (*xiao*, dice)

*Sho* has another name: *cho-lo*.<sup>1</sup> The two words are pure synonyms which can explain each other. It is a bone-made cube on which different pips (from 1 to 6) have been engraved like in the following illustration:






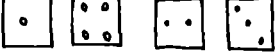
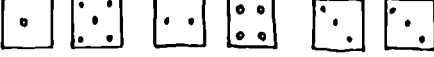

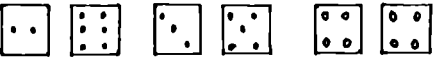
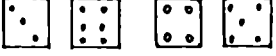

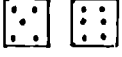
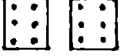
1 (pip) and 4 (pips) are in red, while the others, 2, 3, 5, 6, are in black or blue. If we have two *shos* and arrange them in pairs, 21 combinations can be made up:



<sup>1</sup> According to the Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary compiled by Zhang Yisun, the entry *cho-lo* on page 823 is annotated directly by *sho* with the following explanation: *rgyan-bzhag-nas rgyal-pham rtse-ba'i rtsed-mo zhig* (dice, instrument used in gambling). And the entry *sho* on page 2866 is annotated with *cho-lo* with the following explanation: *brtag-spyad-kyi sho-dang rtsed-spyad-kyi sho* (dice, used in gambling or divination).

The names two pips, three pips, until twelve pips, are very inconvenient to cry for in a *sho* game, hence code names in Tibetan language such as *par-ra*, *sug* and so on, have taken their places. Please see the table below:

Table for the Tibetan code-names of the numbers in the *sho* game<sup>2</sup>

number	possible occasions in gameplaying	Tibetan code-names in different dialects		
		lha-sa	vbav-thang	rgyal-rtse
2		par-ra	spar-ra	
3		sug	sub	sug/ tsong
4		tshigs	zing	zig/tsig
5		kha		
6		drug/ lug		
7		rig	tig/ rig	
8		sha	skya	
9		dgu		
10		chu		
11		rdog	thog	
12		vjang		

<sup>2</sup> The writer here has some materials about *sho-bshad* in the dialects of lHa-sa, rGyal-rtse, Dwags-po, Chab-mdo, 'Brog-sa and 'Ba'-thang, etc. Here only the uses in lHa-sa, 'Ba'-thang and rGyal-rtse are listed as examples. Among these lHa-sa and rGyal-rtse are very close, but 'Ba'-thang is quite apart from them. Those friends who offered me the precious materials are sKal-bzang (lHa-sa), Chung-bdag (rGyal-rtse) and sKal-bzang 'Gyur-med ('Ba'-thang). Here I would like to express my sincere thanks to them.

We can play the *sho* as a two-person game (*nyis-cho*), three-person game (*sum-cho*) and four-person game (*bzhi-cho*). The last one needs two pairs and is actually the same as the two-person-game.

When the game begins, we decide the places by casting the *sho* and keep forging ahead according to dots cast out from 2 to 12, which is called *la-rgyab* (crossing over mountain after mountain). Each player has nine dots (*zir* in Chinese) to enter a game, one dot or two can be put out after a dice-casting. If one gets the desired dot in a casting, he can do it once more. If one's nine dots all have been put out on the final points, he has won the game at last. This is called *la-phud* (cross a high mountain). As the final winner, he can have all the stake. How much and what kind of stake should be agreed upon together before a game begins and no one can go back on his word afterwards.<sup>3</sup>

In order to get a good dot, we can cry out for the good dot according to our place in the game while casting the *sho*. What we're calling out is *sho-bshad* something like Han people's *hūlūhēzhi*. And so many stories like this are spreading among the Han people.

*sho-bshad* are the words started with the Tibetan code-names listed in the table above. If you want two pips, just call out *par-ra* loudly; if you need three pips, call out *sug* aloud, and so on and so forth. And every code-name must be followed by words of song, usually two sentences or four, sometimes even more, which are of infinite interest: some are satirising, some humorous, some fun-making, and some historical or local stories. When rocking *shos* in his hands, a *sho*-player is always murmuring the *sho-bshad* aloud with his eyes closed. And the onlookers are waiting with bated breath for the result, while the gloomy and emotional words of the *sho-bshad* are engraving one by one on their minds. The people will break into cheers as soon as the *sho*-player throws out the *shos* turning around (in the pot) in a twinkling. And peals of laughter and curse-shouting burst out in the mixed smelling of tobacco, tea-urn and sweating.

There is also much sex-mocking, sex-joking in the *sho-bshad* of which some are very salacious. As soon as the *shos* have been cast, all sorts of dirty words which are undisguised, sex-teasing and vulgar can be blurted out in the *sho-bshad*. All the people present will burst into uproarious laughter or click the tongue in admiration. Of course we can also get a glimpse of the forthright, happy-go-lucky, simple and honest character of the Tibetan people from it on the other hand.

But just because of the special reason, women are not allowed to take part in the *sho*-game. And *sho* (dice) and *sbag* (domino) become men's patent.<sup>4</sup>

In a most famous biography in Tibetan classical literature entitled *Mi-la-ras-pa'i-rnam-thar* (by Sangs-rgyas-rgyal-mtshan, 15th century D. C.) we can find a paragraph vividly describing that *Mi-la rdo-rje seng-ge*,<sup>5</sup> the grandfather of *Mi-la-ras-pa*, who was addicted to the *sho*-game

<sup>3</sup> Also it is Prof. sKal-bzang 'Gyur-med who taught me how to play it.

<sup>4</sup> To avoid any reproach, sorry I can't repeat those sex-teasing and vulgar words of *sho-bshad* here.

<sup>5</sup> In order to have a good understanding of *Mi-la-ras-pa*'s life, we can make the following list according to the Biography of *Mi-la-ras-pa*:

Clan (*rus*): Khyang-po

Caste (*i.e.* social status): Jo-sras (actually a teacher of rNying ma ba, profession of religion)

Original family home: gCung-pa-spyi (in a big pasture in the north of the five rus)

Great-great-grand father: Mi-la-jo-sras

Great-grand father: Mi-la-mdo-ston seng-ge: moved to sKya-rnga-rtsa (in Kun-dang of mang-yul)

was forced to leave his native place with his family after he had lost all his family fortune in a *sho*-game.

*mi-la-rdo-rje-seng-ge de sho-la shin-tu brtsi-zhing mkhas-phas rgyal mang po thob-'ong-zhing yod-pa-las. dus-nam zhig-gi-tshe-yul-de-na mi-g.yon-can sho-la shin-tu mkhas-pa-pha tshan-rgas-la mang-ba ... zhig-yod-pa des mi-la-rdo-rje-seng-ge 'i-tshod-bgam-pa 'i-phyir-rgyal-chung-ngu ... btsugs-te-sho-brtses-pas tshod-longs-te. de 'i-nyin-khos-rgyal-rang-bzhin-gyis-thob-pa ltar-byas-pa mi-la-rdo-rje-seng-ge yi ma-rangs-te nangs-par sho ... lan-len byas-pas rung-zer. rgyal-sngar bas-che-ba btsugs-te sho-brgyab-pas kha-drang phyir-khos-lan gsum-gyi-bar-du pham-pa ltar-byas-pha 'i-mthar. da-yang sho-lan len-zer-bas rung-zer. rgyal-che-chung-la-gnyis ka-kha-'chams-nas zhing-khang-nor-gsum sho 'i-rgyal-du btsugs. zhu-'chag-med par-'ba' yi-ges bsdams-nas sho brtses-pas khos-thob ste-zhing khang-nor-gsum kho 'i-pha-tshan-rnams kyis-rtsis blangs-nas mi-la-yab-sras yul-gzhis-kun-dang bral-nas yul-thon byon-te.*

Mi-la rdo-rje seng-ge was said to be addicted to the *sho*-game and so good at the gambling skills that he would win whenever he played it. Once, an infamous swindler who played better at dice came to the gCung-pa-spyi village. The man did not only have a good command of dice-playing, but also had a growing family, many strong men to be his powerful backing. In order to gain a clear idea of Mi-la rdo-rje seng-ge's gambling skills (at the beginning of a game) the man wilfully put down a small stake to play with him, and got to know his ins and outs thoroughly. On the next day, the man made a gesture to play tricks to defeat him. Of course Mi-la rdo-rje seng-ge took it amiss and said, I'll win it back tomorrow. O. K.! the swindler said. He put down a larger stake the next day but after he'd thrown out the dices Mi-la-rdo-rje seng-ge won the game at once. Afterwards, they continued to play at dice three times, but the swindler played the fool intentionally and lost all the games. Then he said, I'll win it back tomorrow, too! Mi-la rdo-rje seng-ge certainly answered, all right! Then they signed a written pledge and agreed to take all their land, house property and belongings (including domestic animals) without the slightest discount as the stake to fight it out the following day.

Mi-la rdo-rje seng-ge was simply no match for the swindler. He lost all his family fortune only after one dice-casting in the game. As a result, he could do nothing but helplessly had all his land, house property and belongings checked by the swindler's strong men and handed over item by item. From then on, the father and son (Mi-la mdo-ston seng-ge and Mi-la rdo-rje seng-ge) had to leave their native place and had become destitute and homeless...

We can see several important things from this paragraph above:

(1) Playing at dice had been a fashionable gambling amusement in Tibet at least in the end of the 10th century or the beginning of the 11th century D. C. This is called *sho*.

(2) The stake in the *sho*-game was sometimes so big that it could make you lose all your family fortune. If one was good at the *sho*-game, he could defraud you of your money and belongings with his excellent gambling skills. And he would be tacitly approved and never be condemned by the public.

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Grand father: Mi-la rdo-rje seng-ge (*i.e.* the one who lost his family fortune in a *sho*-gambling)

Father: Mi-la sher-rab rgyal-mtshan

Mother: Myang-tsha dkar-can

The Hero of the Biography: Mi-la ras-pa (whose original name is Thos-pa-dgar)

(3) He who won the dice-gambling still depended on the strong forces of a growing family, that is to say, he needed the support of robbery (*hei dao* in Chinese). This is much similar to the situation later, that the gambling house always colluded with the sinister gang.





In the historical relics in the ancient Tubo fortress excavated in Nob-chung district of Xinjiang, we unexpectedly found a dice (*sho*) of which the shape is completely the same as one of today.<sup>6</sup> This fully approves that the Tubo army (garrison troops in the Western Regions) had been used to playing *sho* before the 9th century D. C.

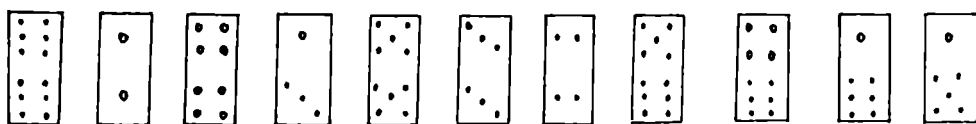
It is undoubted that people had practised divination with *sho* in Tubo's period. On Pelliot tibétain 1046 of the manuscripts preserved in the National Library in Paris (France), there are 42 lines of words about divination with our-side-*sho*.<sup>7</sup>

## II. *sbag* (chin. *bo*, domino)

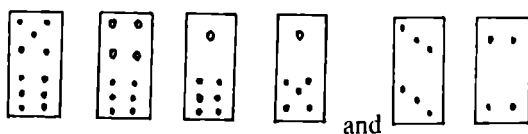
If we engrave 21 kinds of dots (*i.e.* number and distribution of the pips) above on 21 bone-made dominoes, we can make out the *sbag* (*bo*). That is why *sho* and *sbag* are often mentioned together in Tibetan language. And the 21 *sbags* can be divided into two: *rgya* and *sog*. The former (*rgya*) has 11 kinds of dots of which each has 4 dominoes ( $11 \times 4 = 44$ ), the latter (*sog*) had 10 dots of which each has 2 ( $10 \times 2 = 20$ ),  $44 + 20 = 64$ . The 64 dominoes is a complete set of *sbags*. Here we can see the close relation between *sho* and *sbag*.

The *sbag*-game needs four-players among whom 64 dominoes are allotted equally. And 64 dominoes should be divided into *rgya* and *sog* (even some dialects of Chinese and Mongolian languages have the two words *bod* (= Tibetan people) and *rgya* (= the Han people). The trump named *cing* (*jiang* Chinese) in every game should be decided by the way of *sho*-casting. If the

two *shos* were cast out,  then the domino  would be a *cing*; by the way, the two dominoes  and  put together is natural *cing*, also called emperor (*huandi*) which is certainly the invincible domino.



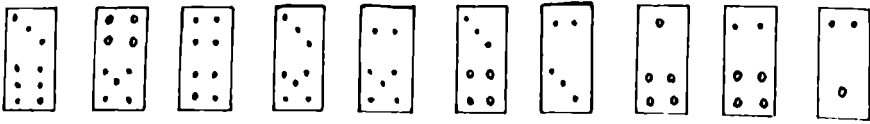
Each of the 11 dominoes named *rgya* (= the Han people) has 4 pieces. The order in the illustration above decides their degree: The first one is the biggest, the last four in the same degree are the smallest:



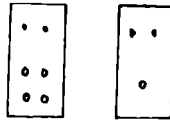
<sup>6</sup> *30 years' Achievements in Archaeological studies in Xinjiang* (pp. 168-189, Wenwu Publishing House, Beijing, 1983). In 1973, we excavated the ancient fortress in Myi-rang, and found a lot of Tibetan inscribed wooden slips... dices used in gambling and divination bones, etc.

<sup>7</sup> Please see my humble writing *Studies of the Divination in Tubo Period: Interpretations of Dunhuang Tibetan Manuscript*. (Hong Kong Chinese University Press, 1987)

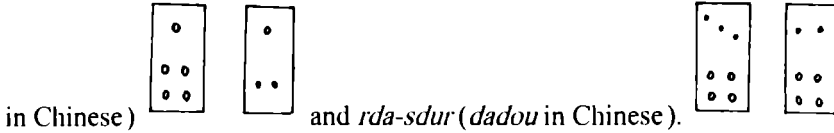
In the same degree which are smaller than the fourth one but bigger than the last four:



Each of the 10 dominoes named *sog* (= Mongolian people) has 2 pieces. The number of the pips on the dominoes illustrated above decides their degree (the more the bigger, the fewer the smaller) with the exception of the last two dominoes which can be an invincible *cing* when put together:

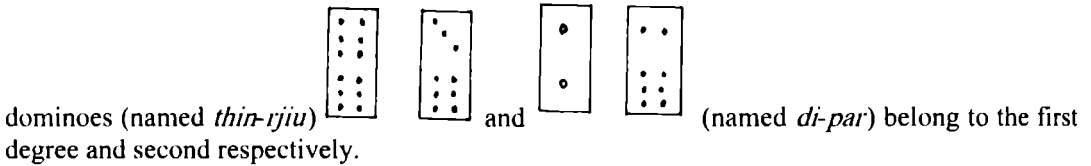


In a four-player game, every player produces his dominoes in turn to see who is the winner. The base for each player is 16 dominoes. If he wins more or all the dominoes, he is certainly the winner of this game. Besides, there are two kinds of powerful dominoes: *sha-sdur* (*xiaodou*



in Chinese) and *rda-sdur* (*dadou* in Chinese).

If a player makes up such pairs, he will win the game, too. The two kinds of powerful



dominoes (named *thin-rjiu*) and (named *di-par*) belong to the first degree and second respectively.

In a game one can produce one piece of domino, a pair of dominoes, (named *mdzo* means in pair), three pieces or four each time, all according to the situation of his own dominoes.

### III. Brief account of the Han people playing *bo*, and *xiao*

It is a time-honoured custom among the Chinese (Han) people to play *osai* and *boxiao* (*sbag-sho*) as a kind of amusement.

The Biography of Prince Wu Ji of Wei in "The Annals" by Sima Qian (shi Ji) Wei Gongzi Wu Ji Zhuan) says: "Prince (Wu Ji) gambles with his father, the king of Wei".

In "Confucius' Family Quotations" (Kongzi Jiayu) there is such a description: "Duke Ai asked Confucius: 'It is said that a superior man doesn't gamble (*bo*), isn't it?' King Xuan of Qi asked Kuang Qian: 'Does a learned gamble (*bo*)?' 'No!' Kuang answered."

The section of Miscellanies in "The Family Instructions" of Yan Zhitui (Yan Shi Jia Xun Za Yi Bian) records: "In the ancient time, a big gamble (*bo*) is with sin chopstick as small one, with two *qionsg* (something like a small stone)."

"On Watching Gambling" (Guan Bo Wen) by Liu Yuxi (772-842) of the Tang Dynasty describes: "A man thought himself gambling best and asked me to go to watch it quickly. At first, the host held something like a spear under the wind-room... then the *bochi*, a bone-made tablets with four equal sides engraved in red and black and put in pairs according to the



number, which is quite different from the ancient *chi* . . .” Here it seems to us that the *bochi*, *boju* are exactly dices, somewhat like the dices of today.

Now let's read Du Fu's (712-770) poem “Song of To-night” (Jin Xi Xing ):

Too late a night of the ending year,  
Light a longer candle to avoid the lone.  
Nothing to do in Xian Yang hotel,  
Let's gamble *boshai* as amusement.  
Leaning on table cry for five whites,  
And barefooted player hates Xiaolu.  
Don't laugh, my friend Liu Yi had been a small potato and  
poorest at home, but he could lose million in a game.

In the “Five Wood Sūtra” (Wu Mu Jing) by Li Ao (772-841), also a poet of the Tang Dynasty, there is such an explanation: “*zhi* stands for two, *xiao* for six and *lu* for four.”

And the Gui Er Ji by Zhang Tuanyi in the Song Dynasty says: “*lu* is cried out in the market place, *lu* stands for four.”

We can see that dice-gambling as a kind of amusement was very popular then. Here is a moving story about dice-casting. The biography of Liang Jiaren in “The Annals of Five Dynasties” (Wu Daishi Liang Jia Ren Zhuan) records:

When ascending the throne, Liang Taizhu (Zhu Wen) made his younger brother Quan Yu the prince of Guang. Once Tai-zhu entertained all the princes in the palace and gambled with them. Quan Yu got drunk and took up the dice pot and cursed Taizhu loudly while hitting on the pot. ‘Zhu san, you were only a populace in Dangshan originally and have been bestowed royal bounties by the emperor to be the Jiedushi of Sizhen. Why did you wipe out the three-hundred-year Tang Dynasty? I will see all your clan to be killed at last. It's unnecessary to divine it by gambling.’ Then Taizhu (Zhu Wen) got unhappy and the party ended.

And here's another story much more ridiculous: The “Biography of Qian Liu” (Wu Dai shi) Qian Liu Zhuan records, Dong Chang of Yuezhou rose in rebellion, but was too stupid to make any decision. When a case was brought to court, he just decided by casting dice; the winner is reasonable. Law is regarded here simply as a trifling matter a very great joke!

The “Biography of Yi Luyan in Annals of Liao” (Liao shi Yie Luyan Zhuan) has such an account:

. . . In his later years, the Emperor wasn't diligent and conscientious in government affairs and couldn't select his officials by himself, so he asked them to gamble with dice-casting, the winner would be bestowed an official title. Yi Luyan had ever won in a game which the Emperor made for a sign of chancellor. At last, Yi got a promotion to be *Shumiyuanshi*!

It's hard to imagine that one can get a promotion to be a chancellor by dice-casting! Strange things of every description could happen in such a great world.

The “Biography of Xuwen of the Aristocratic Family of Wu” (Wu Shi Jia Wu Wen Zhuan) says:

. . . Xu Wen gambled with Liu Xin. Xin held the dice in his hands and blessed in a stern voice: If it's a bad lot, I'll against the kingdom of Wu. If I'm royal to Wu; it

will be a mixed one. Xu Wen stopped him at once. After the dices had been cast out, they found the six pips are all in red.

The origin of the red pips on dices can be found in the "Records in West Villa" (Xi shu Ji Tan):

Once, Emperor Ming of Tang (Tang Ming Huang) played a gambling game with Concubine Yuhuan Yang (Yang Gui Fei) and he would fail unless he got the four pips dice once more. Then he cried out for the four-pip-dice, and it really turned out to be four again! He was so happy that he asked Gao Lishi to redden the four pips which never changed from then on!

The "Miscellanies in You Yang" (You Yang Za Zhu) by Duan Chengshi (?- 863) records: "Lay Buddhist Song said, the incantation of dice-casting is 'Yi Di Mi Di, Mi Jie Luo Di'. He who has repeated it thousands and thousands of times will obtain the one he cries out for."

Qing Yuluby Tao Gu (of the Song Dynasty) says: The Gambling players' enigmatic language makes the dices for the wise number 21. It's reasonable to say so, because a dice has 6 sides with different pips from 1 to 6. If we plus the pips on the 6 sides together, we'll get 21 totally:  $1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 6 = 21$ . Besides, if we arrange the two dices in pairs with different dots, we can have 21 kinds of pips too. No wonder we find 21, the number of 3 times 7, is very very mysterious.

#### IV. Comparison of the Tibetan and Chinese words












(I) *sbag* (domino, *bo*) in Chinese

Archaic (gu):            帮铎            pāk  
Guany yun              补各切        pak

*sho* (dice, *xiao*) in Chinese,

Archaic (gu)            见宵            kiau  
Guang yun              古尧切        kieu<sup>8</sup>

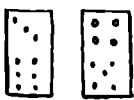
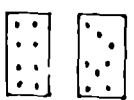
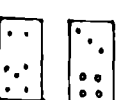
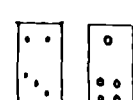
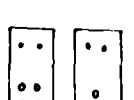
(II) The 21 kinds of *sbags* in Tibetan language has names corresponding to Chinese:

dominos of "rgya"											
Tibetan sound	thin	di	ren	wa	dawu	phron-san	grog-rtse	Hu-thog	i-lug	phag pa	khyi
Chinese meaning	sky (tian)	earth (di)	people (ren)	unity (he)	big five (da wu)	long three (ohang san)	table (zhuozhi)	tiger head (hu tou)	four six (si liu)	pig (zhu) <sup>9</sup>	dog (guo) <sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Zhu (pig) in 'Ba'-thang dialect is also *yao liu* (one six), the same as Chinese.

<sup>10</sup> Guo (dog) in 'Ba'-thang dialect is also *ma-long* (big earring) because it is like an earring very much.

<sup>8</sup> Quotation from "The Archaic Pronunciation of Chinese Characters" (*Hanzi Gu Yin shou Ce*), by Guo Xiliang, Beijing University Press 1986, pp. 24 and 25.

dominoes of "sog"					
Tibetan sound	rju	pav	tshi vi	Wu vu	ma
Chinese meaning	nine (jiu)	eight (ba)	seven (qi)	five (wu)	horse (ma)

Appendix: Examples of *sho-bshad*

*par-ra*: two

*par-ra dpal-'bar-bkra-shis red / rgyag-mkhan rNam-rgyal 'phrin las-red*  
The lucky dice of *par-ra* (2 pips) was cast by rNam-rgyal 'phrin.

*Pa-sangs bu-khird-glu-gtong / glu-med-na bro-'khrab*  
Pa-sang, bu-khrid sing us a song. If not, dance for us.

*pa-sangs shing-la 'dzegs-rgyu-byung-na / gos-chen lpags-tshags ral-yang-ral*  
In order to climb up the Precious Tree even the satin and fur-lined jacket is worth tearing to shreds.

*pa-ra 'i bu-mo mig-dmar-ma / bu-nga-la skal-ma-gcod-a!*  
My good girls with two red eyes (*pa-ra 'i*), do not let a boy like me have bad luck!

*sug (sub)*: three

*sub-sub bla-ma 'i dbu-zhwa-de / rje-Mi-la-ras-pa 'i dbu-zhwa red*  
What a downy hat! That's the one of wise man Mi-la ra-pa's.

*rtsa-rab dGe-bshes rtas dbyugs / rta-bab mi-dgos khe-bzang-red*  
dGe-bshes has fallen down from the horse back. And that saves himself trouble to get down.

*sdig-can dom-gyi lpags-pa-de / 'gro-yar-'dren bla-ma 'i dbu-la yod-do*  
What sin has the bear fur been put on the lama's head?

*tsog-tzog tsog-par bsdod-pa las / nor-med-na Byang-stong-'grim-pa-dga' / sug-sug-sug*  
It's better to go for a trip to Byang-stong in the north than stay at home sulkily, *sug-sug-sug!*

*zi*: four

*pho-zi-ril tsh'a-la song-ba-de / de-yang de-ring 'khor-byung mo-zi-ril tshong-las song-ba-de / de-yang de-ring 'khor-byung / skar-ma smin-drug-rgya-la-song / de-yang de-ring 'khor-byung / grong-pa 'i a-phu phyogs-la song / de-yang de-ring 'khor-byung / Zig-Zig-Zig.*

<sup>9</sup> Quotations from Prof. sKal-bZang 'Gyur-med's handwriting materials offered to me.

The man who went out to carry salt has come back today. The woman who went out to do business has come back today. The pleads (sixth daughter *skar-ma*) who went to the area of Han has come back today. The old man next door who went out far away from home has come back today, *zig-zig-zig!*

*zing-pa mang-po zing-myong / dPa'-rgya-tsha 'dra-li zing-ma myong*

All kinds of power and prestige have been demonstrated, yet never experienced the arrogance of dPa'-rgya-tsha.

*seng-phrug rgya-nag skad-red / rgya-khyi mig-dmar kyi skad-red*

The barking of a pugdog in Han area is the barking of a pink-eyed dog there.

*er-sha spangs-la skyes-pa / spangs-kyi tshil-lu ma-red*

The mushroom growing on the grassland is not the fat meat on the meadow.

*kha*: five

*Kha-sur pa-tra'i mngar-cang / Cang / mi-kha'i am-cog skyur-cus / Cus*

How sweet the date on the market for the couple! But how sour the people around feel in their mouths!

*Khams-pa-gcig-dang grogs-po byas / ming-la a-rogs khyi-rogs btags*

If you make friends with a Khams-pa, you'll be called brother, dog brother scornfully.

*Kha-sha btso-nas slo-ma gang / da-dung btsos-rgyu slo-ma gang*

A large basket of mutton has been cooked. And another basket has not been put into the pot.

*Khams-bzang-po bla-ma-'i bka'-drin yin / na-tsha rnying-pa nga- ra'i rgyud-dag yin*

A healthy body is a favour by the lama. But the old weakness is born in yourself.

*Kha-bde-po ja-pa'i tshong-pa 'dra-byung / lus-ma-dal lha-'dre'i g.yog-po 'dra-byung*

Having a glib tongue like a teahouse proprietress! Wandering to and fro like a bailiff of the ghosts and gods!

*drug (lug)*: six

*'Brug-pa kun-legs phebs-kyis / shig-la mda'-rkyang 'then-gyis 'brug-lung lung-pa chus 'kbyer song / Idem zam-pa Idem-sar-Idem song*

'Brug-pa kun-legs\* has come and pointed at a louse with an arrow. Bhutan has been lashed by flood, and the cane-bridge's rocking and will be rocked away.

\* 'Brug-pa kun-legs, a Bhutanese travelling poet.

*Lug-thug ma-gsod rang-gsod-red / dPon sgra-chen gsol-tshings rdzogs-li-red*

The he-goat has to be killed as dPon sgra-chen\* has eaten up his meat dishes.

\* The Noble man in the Tibetan drama "Maiden snang-sa".

*'brug-ris gos-chen ljang-nag-ma / skya-lo lngo-lo sus-bstan*

Having the blue and green satin weave of dragons, who will care for the white and partially coloured one?

*drug-drug rgod-kyi zer-lug-yin / 'god-mi-sha za-dus drug-drug-zer grub-pa 'gro-don ma shes-pa 'i / brda-ru'i gsum-bkyang zhog-rog-gnang*

When cinereous vulture sings drug, drug, she is eating men's flesh. As the friar you don't know how to expiate the sins of the dead, you should put down the little triangle-drum!

*ri / ting / tig*: seven

*ri-mtho-po 'i rtse-nas bltas-tsa-na / spang me-long gser-gyi gzhong-pa 'dra*

Looking down from the high mountain-top, the lawn with beautiful gold-basin is like a mirror come into our sight!

*ri-mtho-sgang-la smug-pa 'khrigs / a-ne 'i dgon-par jag-gtor-byed*

Heavy fog has risen from the mountain-top. The Buddhist nunnery has been visited by robbers.

*Rig- 'dzin tshangs-dbyangs rgya-mtsho / 'chal-po rgyugs-pa ma-gsung rang-la-dgos-pa 'i yod-tshad / Mi-la-dgos-gi yod- 'gro*

Don't say that Rig- 'dzin tshangs-dbyangs rgya-mtsho has gone to a lover's tryst. The human need of his is the same as other human-beings.

*tig-gcig 'khur-byas skyog-gcig brtungs / bu-nga-la tig- 'khur kyogs-brdung-zer*

Carrying the pot on the back and beating the copper spoon once, I, the young man, is called pot-carrying and spoon-beating man.

*ting-ting zangs-kyi skad-red / dbyangs-can lha-mo 'i gsung red*

*Ting, ting!* That's the sound of the copper pot and the magic voice of the beautiful maiden from Heaven.

*sha*: eight

*sha-khu-zhim-po khyi-la ster / khyi-rgan rgyags-pa de-nas byung sha-ra-ra sha-ra-ra*

The delicious flesh soup has been given to the dog. And so it becomes a big fatty dog, *sha-ra-ra, sha-ra-ra!*

*a-brgyad sha brgyad sha-pho brgyad / sha-pho brgyad-la ri-chu brgyad /*

*chu-kha ma-na nya-ma brgyad / nya-mo brgyad-la gser-shog-brgyad / sha-sha!*

Eight is eight manly men; Eight big rivers and eight mountains;

Eight fish in eight rivers; Eight goldfish shine with golden light in the rivers, *sha-sha!*

*sha-ba Byang-thang gzhung-la-yid / ri-bon Po-to 'i gseb-la yod /*

Deer only appear in the north of Byang-thang. Rabbits can be seen on mount Po-to.

*sha spag-la za res red / ja chang-la 'thung res red*

Beef and mutton, that's something to go with zamba. And tea should go with the wine.

*stag-shar brgyad-la skra-skor brgyad / dman-bu-mo brgyad-la g.yas-dung brgyad*

Eight strong men, eight coils of hair braids. Eight girls have eight couches on their right.

*sgug / dgu*: nine

*sgug-dang sgug-dang nga-sgug-dang / sde-med thang-la mnyam- 'gro-byas*

Tell me, tell me, do tell me! That you'll go to the wasteland with me.

*sgur-tsam sgur-tsam 'gro-stangs-de / a-pha gcod-kyi 'gro-stangs yin*

The stooped and hunch back posture shows how the old man is walking with difficulty.

*dgon-pa ya-gi mtho-ba-la / ka-ba med-pa 'i ya-mtshan-la*

How high that temple is! What a marvellous temple without pillars!

*dgu-gsum-la skar-ma bltan-mi-dgos / de-ring skar-ma kun-bzang-red*

*sgur-ru-ru sgur-ru-ru*

Don't count the stars on the coldest days in winter. Maybe the lucky star is shining tonight,

*sgur-ru-ru, sgur-ru-ru!*

*rgas-po la-la 'gro-dus sgur-ru-ru / rgas-mo klung-la 'gros-dus  
sgur-ru-ru phru-gu me-tog btog-dus sgur-ru-ru / dgu-dgu-dgu*

With hunchback the old man is climbing the mountain;

With hunchback the old woman is walking; With hunchback the young man is picking  
flowers, *gu-gu-gu!*

*dgon-pa skyid-pa se-brag g. Ya' lung-na / bla-ma bzang-po rGyal-mtshan bzhugs*

*g. Ya'-lung* is the most peaceful temple. And Shakya rgyal-mtshan\* is the most beneficent  
lama.

\*Shakya-rgyal-mtshan, a character in the Tibetan Drama "Maiden snang-sa".

*chu*: ten

*chu-pa kar-po skon-mkhan a-ma red / ming-la dGe-'dun btags-mkhan a-ma red / chu-mo chen-  
po yul-gyi-rgyan me-to che-mo spang-gi rgyun phyug-po-chen-po yul-gyi gshed-ma-red / mu-  
ge-byung-na ltogs-skad sngon-la rgyag*

The big coat was told to be worn by mama. The name dGe-'dun was given by her too. Big river  
with flowing water is the beautiful scenery in hometown. Big flowers and blossom are the  
decoration of the lawn. The landlord is the local killer. Hunger indicates disaster is coming  
near.

*Chu-gsum-mdo'i ga'u-pa Byas-pa las / dGa'-sgang-gi mag-par phyin-pa dga'*

It's better to be a son-in-law living with dGa'-sgang's family than to be a small Byas-pa in Chu-  
gsum-mdo.

*chu-ris-shig-shig ngang-pa'i sgro / de-las mdzes-pa rma-bya'i sgro*

Flowers and grasses are the feather of a goose. But the feather of a peacock is more beautiful.

*dbyar-chu dbyar-gyi che-red / dgun-chu dgun-gyi che-red / tsha-ba-rang-gi-chu-red*

Winter water is the water of the winter, summer water is the water of the summer. This is the  
very water of Tsha-ba-rong!

*phyung-po ping-ping-gi wa-zhwa-de / pha-rags-dus bu-la 'jog-le-red / chu-chu-chu*

A rich man is wearing a fox-fur-hat which will be left to his son when he's dead, *chu* (ten), *chu*  
(ten), *chu* (ten)!

*thog / rdog*: eleven

*thog-rgyab-na The'a-rang-mgo-la-rgyab / klad-pa rdza-gu gnam-la mchod (mi-nga-la thog-  
mde'u gi zhag-pa-red)*

Let the thunderbolt strike on the top of The'a-rang-mgo. Wish the Chinaware always make  
offerings to the Kingdom of Heaven. (Be sure not to drop a grain on my head.)

*mthon-po gang-stod 'grim-pa-la / srog-chags gzhan-la skrag-mi-dgos*

Wander along the top of the snow mountain. Be not afraid of any beasts.

*thog-chen-po thad-kar ma-brgyab-na / dngul-rin-chen mi-la shor-rgro-da*

If the thunderbolt did not strike down directly, silver and other treasures would go into other's  
pockets.

*pha-thog dga'-ba rgyal-ba Byams-pa / ma-thog dga'-ba g. Yu-rgyul sgron-ma de-'i phru-gu  
'brum-pa khra-'il / thog-thog-thog*

The manly man likes the god Byams-pa. The girl likes the heroine sGron-ma. And their  
children like the multicoloured pagoda, *thog* (11), *thog* (11), *thog* (11)!

*mtho-mtho gsum-gyis bya-ra-khug / dma'-dma'-gsum-gyis nya-ra-khug / tho-ge'i ri-nag  
mthon-po-khug / rkang-thang rku-mas rgyab-nas-khug / thog-thog-thog*

High, high above three times, keep on guards for me. Low, low down three times, take care for me. Bring it along to the black mountain. A bear-footed thief stole it away, *thog* (11), *thog* (11), *thog* (11)!

'jang: twelve

*cang-mo bcu-gnyis lug-'tsho-yag / lug-'tsho rogs-dgos-nas a-phas byad / ca-mo ca-mo ca-mo*  
At twelve the girl looked after the sheep. The old man is her company, *ca-mo, ca-mo, ca-mo!*

*cang-mo lcam-red / gzhu-mo gzhu-red / khra-chung mig-red / gangs-dkar-seme-red*  
The girl: Lady! The Arrow: Arrow! Small flower: Eye! White snow: Heart!

*'Jang-las Chu-shur skyid-pa / spag-las mo-mos zhim-pa / 'Jam-dpal-long-shog / tshogs-phor  
'khyog-sheg*

Chu-shur is more comfortable than the land of 'Jang, stuffed buns taste better than zamba. Come, the lucky 'Jam-dpal. Come, big dots!

*'Jang-pha-gi'i mi-de skug-pa-red / wa-mo'i gzhu-gur gla-rtsi'i-dri-mi / kha-gis*  
People of 'Jang are somewhat silly. The arrow case made of fur gives off a smell of musk.

*'Jang-sa-Tham-rgyal-mthong-tsa-na / bdud-a-chun byis-pa-lo-brgyad 'dra*  
As soon as Tham-rgyal of 'Jang area appears, I, the young man, become a little boy of eight.





*"THE NET OF COMPASSION FOR THE BENEFIT OF OTHERS":*  
A DEATH RITUAL OF THE  
RDZOGS CHEN KLONG CHEN SNYING THIG TRADITION

by

Jakob Winkler, Munich

With the murder of King Gri-gum bstan-po, the eighth king of the ancient Tibetan ruler genealogy, for the first time the Tibetans were faced with the problem of taking care of a royal deceased and his mortal remains. The myth narrates, the seven predecessors ascended to the sky by means of the *dmu* cord (*dmu-thag*). To solve the problem three foreign specialist, *Bon-po*s were invited. One of them "knew how to perform various types of funerary rites (*bshid*), such as those to liberate the dead from obstacles (*gshin-po 'dur-ba*), to appease the spirits of the slain (*gri 'dul-ba*), etc."<sup>1</sup>

The rite I will describe shows how the Tibetans attempt to help a person through the death process and the post-mortem state. It is described from the perspective of the *bla-ma* or officiant.

In regard to death ritual, one can differentiate between activities focused around the treatment of the corpse, e.g. cremation or celestial interment, and activities concerned with the non-material remains of the deceased. The most important rites executed on behalf of the dying and deceased are:

1. Consciousness transference (*'pho-ba*)
2. Reading of the *Bar-do thos-grol*, the so-called "*Tibetan Book of the Dead*"
3. The name card ritual (*byang-chog*) or guiding the consciousness (*gnas-'dren*)

The final goal of all three rites is to help the deceased attain complete liberation, or to help him achieve a favourable rebirth, or at least to reduce the suffering connected with death and dying. Logically, one of these should be sufficient, however rather than contradicting each other by performing all three, they complement one another.

A quotation from Padmasambhava shows the limited possibilities of such assistance:

"When empowerment (*abhiṣeka*) is given to your name-card, it is too late. The consciousness is already wandering in the intermediate state like a mad dog. Leading [the consciousness] to a higher realm has its difficulties."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hofmann, Helmut (1950), *Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon-Religion*. Mainz, Steiner Verlag, p.186. Quotation: Namkhai Norbu (1995), *Drung, Deu and Bön, Narration, Symbolic Languages and the Tradition in Ancient Tibet*. Dharamsala, LTWA, p.40.

<sup>2</sup> dPal sprul o rgyan 'jigs med chos kyi dbang po, *Kun bzang bla ma'i zhal lung*. Gangtok 1971, p.21,2. The quotation attributed to Padmasambhava reads: *mtshan byang mgo la dbang bskur byed tsa 'phis. rnam shes bar dor khyi glen bzhin du 'khyans. mtho ris dren te de la dka' las yod*. Snellgrove (1957: 264) translates the last sentence: "Even if you could conduct it to heaven, it would still be in difficulty." The translation of *Kun bzang bla ma'i zhal lung* by Kazi reads: "Leading [the consciousness] to the higher regions is indeed a difficult task" [Kazi, Sonam T. (1989), *Kün-zang La-may Zhal-lung*. Upper Montclair, Diamond Publishing, p.24]. The translation of the Association Padmakara states: "Your consciousness [...], will find it very hard to think of higher realms" [Patrul Rinpoche (1994), *The Words of My Perfect Teacher, Kunzang Lama'i Shalung*. New York, Harper Collins, p.17].

dPal-sprul Rin-po-che comments on this:

"In fact the turning point, the only time that you really can direct yourself up and down as if steering a horse with reins, is right now, while you are still alive."<sup>3</sup>

### *The Net of Compassion for the Benefit of Others*

#### Origin and source

The ritual described is part of the rDzogs-chen klong-chen snying-thig tradition,<sup>4</sup> authored by the 18<sup>th</sup> century rNying-ma *gter-ston* 'Jigs-med gling-pa. This death ritual is called: "*The Net of Compassion for the Benefit of Others*" (*gZhan-phan thugs-rje'i drwa-ba*) a ritual connected with [the rite] for purifying bad rebirths through the peaceful and wrathful deities for the benefit of the deceased."<sup>5</sup>

This is a supplement to the *sādhana* "*Stirring the Depths of Saṃsāra Through the Peaceful and Wrathful Deities*" (*Zhi-khro khrom-dkrugs*).

The full title is: *Liturgical Ritual Text: The Ritual Arrangement for Purifying Bad Rebirths Through the Peaceful and Wrathful Deities Called "The Luminous Ornament, Which Stirs the Depth of Saṃsāra."*<sup>6</sup>

In this paper these texts will be referred to as *gZhan-phan* and (*Zhi-khro*) *Khrom-dkrugs*.<sup>7</sup> According to the colophons, the *gZhan-phan* was composed by 'Jigs-med gling-pa, while the *Zhi-khro khrom-dkrugs* is a union of the *gter-ma* and *bka'-ma* traditions, written by the same author. According to my information neither text has yet been studied or translated into a western language. Both texts are found in the '*Jigs-med gling-pa bka' 'bum* published by mDo-grub-chen rin-po-che (Gangtok 1985) and in the *Klong-chen snying-thig rtsa-pod* published by the late Dil-mgo mkhyen-brtse in Bhutan (n. d.).

Related rituals have been described by Evans-Wentz, Snellgrove, Lauf, Brauen, Kvaerne, Mullin, Namkhai Norbu and Winkler.<sup>8</sup> As important as the sometimes terse and cryptic written

<sup>3</sup> Quoted from "*The words of my perfect teacher*" (Patrul Rinpoche 1994: 17); Tibetan source: dPal sprul o rgyan 'jigs med chos kyi dbang po, Col. Works, Vol. 5, *Kun bzang bla ma'i zhal lung*, Gangtok 1971, p.21.3.

<sup>4</sup> There are two other death rituals in the Klong chen snying thig tradition: the very popular *sDung bsngal rang grol* with Avalokiteśvara as the main deity and another with Ḍākinī Yum ka bde chen rgyal mo as the principle deity.

<sup>5</sup> *Zhi khro ngan song sbyong ba dang 'brel ba'i sgo nas tshe 'das la phan gdags pa'i cho ga gZhan phan thugs rje'i dra ba shes bya ba bzhugs so*. This text contains 8 *dbu chen* folios in the *Klong snying rtsa pod*, ed. Dil mgo mkhyen brtse, Bhutan (n. d.), (Vol. II, *ĀḤ*, chapter *phi*, pp.589-606). The *bKa' bum* edition of rDo grub chen contains 7 *dbu chen* folios (Vol. VII, pp.127-140).

<sup>6</sup> *Zhi khro ngan song sbyong ba'i chog sgrigs Khrom dkrugs gsal ba'i rgyan shes bya ba bklags chog mar bkod pa bshugs*. This text contains 30 *dbu chen* folios in the *Klong snying rtsa pod* edition (Vol. II, *ĀḤ*, chapter *po*, pp. 497-557). The *bKa' bum* edition of rDo grub chen contains 22 *dbu chen* folios (Vol. VII, pp. 55-98).

<sup>7</sup> There are various short titles in use for this text. Goodman writes "*Zhi khro chog sgrigs*" based on the A 'dzom 'brug pa edition, carved at the beginning of 20th century [Goodmann, Steven D. (1983), *The Klong chen snying thig: An Eighteenth Century Tibetan Revelation*, Diss., Saskatoon, p. 237].

The *Klong chen snying thig rtsa pod* edition uses the same title on the folios (*Khrom dkrugs*, Vol. *ĀḤ*, 497ff.). In the same edition the table of contents reads "*Zhi khro chog bsgrigs khrom dkrug* (sic!) *gsal rgyan*" (Vol. *ĀḤ*, 1f.). Kunsang Dorje calls it "*Zhi khro khrom dkrugs*" or simply "*Khrom dkrugs*".

Ringu Tulku was most familiar with the title "*Zhi khro ngan song sbyong ba*".

<sup>8</sup> Brauen 1978: 53-63, Brauen & Kvaerne 1978: 9-24, Kvaerne 1985, Evans-Wentz 1968: 20-24, Lauf 1979: 93ff., Mullin, Glenn (1986), *Death and Dying: The Tibetan Tradition*. Boston, London and Henley, Arkana Paperbacks, Chapter 8, Namkhai Norbu 1993: 2-3, Snellgrove 1957: 262-274, Sogyal Rinpoche 1992: 306; Winkler 1993. The same ritual as described in this paper was subject of my M.A. thesis *Totenritual in Tibet*. There I translated all recitations of the *gZhan-phan* and gave an overview of the *Khrom dkrugs sādhana*. Besides that, as an introduction

sources were for my understanding of these rituals, were also my encounters with two holders of the oral transmission of this tradition, Vajrācārya Kunsang Dorje and Ringu Tulku.<sup>9</sup>

## Preparation of the ritual

### 1. Corpse or representation (*byang-bu*) of the deceased

For the execution of the ritual, either the corpse or a representation is needed. 'Jigs-med gling-pa writes:

"If the corpse is actually present, there is no need for more. If it is not present, the *vajra*-master, who possesses highest realisation and the essence of great compassion, prepares an effigy or name card [of the dead]."<sup>10</sup>

The name card (*byang-bu*) is a very characteristic feature of this kind of ritual, whereby it is often called "name card ritual" (*byang chog*).<sup>11</sup> The name card, which represents the dead person's identity is also called *mtshan-byang*.<sup>12</sup>

Generally the corpse will not be present until the completion of the 49 day cycle of rituals. In these cases the representation substitutes the corpse completely. In 'Jigs-med gling-pa's time the deceased was commonly represented by an effigy made out of butter,<sup>13</sup> nowadays a paper card is used with a depiction of an attractive person or a seed-syllable. Often a little prayer is found at the bottom or back of the card with the request that the deceased, here the name is given, be protected and purified. The paper is decorated with various symbols, umbrella, banners, desirable offerings and riches.<sup>14</sup>

The name card is fixed on a stick. Formerly, a piece of cloth carrying the smell of the deceased (*dri-riten*) was attached to the name card; these days the latter is replaced by a ceremonial scarf (*kha-btags*).<sup>15</sup>

to the ritual, the Tibetan concepts of life and death, disposal of the corpse and cremation and the various rituals for deceased are presented.

<sup>9</sup> I also want to thank Felice Bachmann, Janet Gyatso, Ulrich Loseries, Marianne Kneisl and Andrew Lukianowicz for their help and inspiration.

<sup>10</sup> *gZhan phan* 590,2.

<sup>11</sup> A longer title for the ritual is "name card burning ritual" (*byang bu sreg pa'i chog*) or slightly shorter "name card ritual" (*byang bu'i chog*). The abbreviated version then reads "*byang chog*" (Ringu Tulku, personal communication).

<sup>12</sup> Sogyal Rinpoche 1992: 306.

<sup>13</sup> *gZhan phan* 590,3.

<sup>14</sup> There are explications of the meaning of these various symbols. See for example: Brauen & Kvaerne 1978: 14, Snellgrove 1957: 265, Winkler 1993: 44ff.; Lauf 1979: 98.

Pictures of name cards are published by Evans-Wentz 1968: 21; Kvaerne 1985, Plate XI B; Lauf 1979: 97; Waddell, L. Austin (1972), *Tibetan Buddhism*, (1<sup>st</sup> print 1895, reprint 1972 by Dover, New York) p.496; Namkhai Norbu (1987), *Il libro tibetano dei morti, L'antica sapienza dell'Oriente di fronte al Morire a al Rinascere. A cura di Namkhai Norbu*, Roma, pp. 32, 101, 103, 107, 115, 118.

<sup>15</sup> Kvaerne translated the term "*dri ma mtshan byang*" as "unclean name-tablet". But also he suggests: "However, it is likely that this [*dri ma*] at some point of time in the past was a piece of clothing belonging to the deceased (which would explain the reference to 'smell!)" (Kvaerne 1985: 15).

Kunsang Dorje and Ringu Tulku both stated the word "*dri*" means in this context "smell" and not "unclean". They said the meaning of "smell" relates to the former use of a piece of cloth carrying the smell of the deceased, and so it enforces the identification of the deceased with the name card, which represents the deceased.

## 2. The special vase (*khyad-par gyi bum-pa*)

Another important feature of this ritual is the vase (*bum-pa*). This vase is set on a base with a coloured drawing of an eight-petaled lotus. Around, in the four cardinal directions there are small cards with the Tibetan letter *A* written on them in red or brown. This *maṇḍala* is edged with the eight offering bowls. In the vase there is a fan of peacock feathers holding a picture of the *Ādibuddha* Samantabhadra in union (*yab-yum*). The vase is adorned with a silk cloth in the blue colour of Samantabhadra. On top of the vase are *gzungs-thags* and two small *vajras* connected by five coloured cords. 25, 30 or 35 ingredients are added to the water in the vase, to transform it into nectar.

### The ritual

The *gZhan-phan* ritual is a supplement to the *Zhi-khro khrom-dkrugs sādhana*. This *sādhana* belongs to the highest tantra. The view is based on *atiyoga*, the method on *mahāyoga*.

After the material preparations are completed the *vajra*-master starts his inner preparations. By going through the various steps of the *Zhi-khro khrom-dkrugs sādhana* he generates the *maṇḍala* of the 100 peaceful and wrathful deities in every detail. Through complete identification the body, speech and mind of the *tāntrika* are transformed into their *vajra* aspect. This transformation is the starting point and serves to take care of the deceased.

### Special purification practice

Now I will describe the sixfold special purification practice for the deceased, comprising:

- Summoning the consciousness into the support
- Purification of hindrances and *karmic* debts
- Cutting off the connection to *saṃsāra*
- Purification path
- Showing the way
- Burning the representation

This part of the ritual is intended to purify the consciousness of the deceased, by applying different methods. These various methods are all based on the fundamental principle of the buddhist path of the two accumulations (*tshogs gnyis*): merit with concepts and wisdom beyond concepts.

To confer authority on the ritual 'Jigs-med gling-pa quotes from the *Nyi-zla kha-sbyor*, the "*Tantra of the union of sun and moon*", one of the 17 root tantras of the rDzogs-chen man-ngag tradition, which deals specifically with the application of the four *bar-dos* as a gateway to liberation:

"When [somebody] has died, the vase should be set on his head. If purification has taken place by means of *mantric* syllables and wisdom water, the hell realms and so on are empty [of beings]. [The deceased] will be [liberated] permanently in suchness (*de bzhin nyid*)."<sup>16</sup>

### 1. Summoning the consciousness into the support (*rten la rnam-shes 'gugs-pa*)

Our text describes the following visualisation for summoning the consciousness:

"Out of the state of emptiness arise a lotus and moon. Above visualise [the *mantric* syllable] *NR̥*, [which] becomes the same as the deceased called ....., while he was

<sup>16</sup> *gZhan phan* 593,3.

still alive."<sup>17</sup>

While the *bla-ma*'s mind is occupied with the visualisation, with his hands he does the iron hook *mudrā* (*lcags kyu'i phyag*) and recites:

"Homage!

By the power of the truth of the noble *bla-mas* of the lineage of transmission and of the root *gurus*, by the power of the truth of *buddha*, *dharma* and *saṅgha*, by the power of the truth of the wrathful deities, the rulers over the secret *mantras* and awareness *mantras*, by the power of the truth of the wrathful deities, the mistress over the *dhāraṇī-mantras*, by the power of the truth of the naturally pure nature of reality (*dhamatā*), by the power of the truth of profound interdependent arising and the relative truth, by the power of the truth of the all encompassing hosts of deities, the glorious peaceful and wrathful victorious ones, by this great power of blessing, come here!

Consciousness of ....., who left this world for a world beyond, wherever you are, due to your *karma* in *saṃsāra*, in the valley of suffering, whether in the six realms of the three worlds, whether in the *bar-do* of becoming [with the three possibilities] of the four kinds of birth, immediately come here into the support."<sup>18</sup>

"Then the *bla-ma* recite [the *mantra*] *OM VAJRA ṬAKKIRĀJA HŪM* three times or more until the clear appearance of the summoned consciousness is seen, which appears in the space above the support in the form of light."<sup>19</sup>

"Seeing the clear appearance" (*gsal snang mthong*) describes not an actual visible appearance but an inner experience (*nyams*). This experience can manifest in manifold ways. The characteristic way in which the presence of the consciousness of the deceased is felt as an experience of clarity (*gsal ba*). Even if this sign does not manifest, the ritual nevertheless still benefits the deceased.<sup>20</sup>

Since the *gZhan-phan* is a manual for guiding the deceased, it informs us mainly of the activities to be performed by the guiding officiant. In an addition, we should consider the guided person. It is of great importance that the deceased collaborates with the officiant with presence, trust and openness. According to the view of the *Bar-do thos-grol* the consciousness of the deceased often has greater capacity to respond to the *bla-ma*'s guidance than he would have had during his past life. The deceased is clairvoyant and hears everything: even if he was blind and dumb before, now all his senses are intact, so he can read the mind of the necronaut. Since the deceased experiences relentless terror induced by the illusionary appearances of his own deluded mind, he is very keen and focused to find a solution to overcome his traumatic state. Furthermore, as the consciousness is without a physical base and so can move about wherever it wishes, it is easy to direct it. Moreover the consciousness is nine times clearer, and that heightened capacity enables it to follow the instructions.<sup>21</sup>

These abilities enhance the possibility of gaining liberation, nevertheless it is crucial to have been introduced to, and to have stabilised, the nature of mind, the pristine awareness (*rig-pa*),

<sup>17</sup> Literally: "The [the *mantric* syllable] *NR* which becomes the same as the psycho-physical constituents (*skandha*) and *āyatana*s of the deceased ..., while he was still alive" (*gZhan phan* 594,3).

<sup>18</sup> *gZhan phan* 594,4.

<sup>19</sup> *gZhan phan* 595,2.

<sup>20</sup> Personal communication of Kunsang Dorje .

<sup>21</sup> *Bar do thos grol chen mo las srid pa bar do'i ngo sprod*, in *Bar do thos grol chen mo*, Dharamsala 1986, p. 239,3.

by steady application previously during the lifetime in order to have a real opportunity for complete liberation.<sup>22</sup>

In the next step all the evil deeds of the deceased are purified by a *mantra*. Then with the *mantric* syllable *JAḤ* the consciousness comes above the name card, with *HŪṀ* it enters the name card, with *VAM* it is fastened inside the name card and with *HOḤ* it is unified with the support (pronounced *DZA HUNG BAM HO* by Tibetans). This *mantra* is accompanied by *mudrās*, representing these four activities.<sup>23</sup>

Through the summoning and fastening, the deceased experiences great relief, because these bring to an end the *bar-do* state experience of incessantly being tossed around.

Once the consciousness has been summoned the next step starts.

## 2. Purification of hindrances and *karmic* debts (*gegs dang lan-chags sbyong-ba*)

The complete removal of negative *karma*, hindrances, obstructing spirits and *karmic* debts provides the possibility for the deceased to attain liberation.

Three steps can be distinguished in this section:

- a) outer purification: removing obstructing forces and *karmic* debts (*gegs, lan-chags*)
- b) inner purification: removing of negative *karma* and habitual tendencies (*bag-chags*)
- c) secret purification: purifying the components of the individual (*skandhadhātāvāyatana*) into the essence of the hundred peaceful and wrathful deities by empowerment (*abhiṣeka*)

Since this part is the most time-demanding part of the *gZhan-phan*, it will be discussed in more detail in the following.

### 2.a) Outer purification

In order to purify the negative actions of the deceased and to pacify the obstructing forces and spirits, the *bla-ma* asks them to accept the offerings as a tribute or ransom. The support is circled around with each of these three times, while various *mantras* are recited. Then the *vajra*-master says:

"Obstructing forces purify the evil deeds of the deceased, accept this *gtor-ma* as ransom, this butter lamp as a light and this food (*chang-bu*) as provisions for the journey! And go to the other end of the great ocean!"

While he does the following visualisation:

Oneself is the *maṇḍala* of the peaceful and wrathful deities. From the hearts of the deities light emanates. Through this all *karmic* creditors among the beings in the six realms are summoned. Then the *gtor-ma* is transformed into wisdom nectar, possessing the five qualities that please the senses. The whole sky is filled with the most beautiful and desirable offerings. These are offered to the obstructing forces to request them to leave the place.

If some do not comply with this order, they are chased away by burning *gu-gul*<sup>24</sup> resin: this smell makes obstructing forces leave immediately. At this moment "the *vajra*-master threatens

<sup>22</sup> Sogyal Rinpoche 1992: 260.

<sup>23</sup> *gZhan phan* 595,2.

<sup>24</sup> Skr. *guggulu* or *gulgulu*; Chandra Das (1983), *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, Kyoto, identifies it as *Amyris Galloca*. Monier-Williams (1990), *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Delhi, as the exudation of *Amyris Agallochum*. It belongs to the family of *Rutacea*, like all citrus plants and many other plants used for the production of oils for perfumes.

with the *vajra* and rings the bell",<sup>25</sup> after having been held up before the support the offerings are carried out.

In spite of the knowledge of the illusory nature of all appearances, these activities are done in appreciation of the conventional or relative truth of interdependent arising.

## 2.b) Inner Purification

Then inner purification is performed to remove negative *karma* and habitual tendencies (*bag chags, vāsanā*). This inner purification is accompanied by the washing of the mirror.

"By [placing] the vase at the fontanel of the deceased and by the clearly visualised self-existing, supremely secret letter *A*, that emanates rays of light, may the *abhiṣeka* be bestowed. By this and by ablution with the water, may all habitual tendencies and *karmas* leading to rebirth in the hell realms be purified!

The water, whose nature is patience, purifies all stains of hatred. Through this excellent ablution with the water entirely pervaded by the scent of magnanimity, one is purified."<sup>26</sup>

The vase, called special vase (*khyad-par gyi bun-pa*) has been prepared and empowered before, by virtue of the very condensed visualisation of the *Zhi-khro maṅḍala* focusing on the peaceful *tathāgatas*:

"In the middle of the vase, in a limitless palace of five coloured light, with all characteristics and dimensions completely perfect, abides the sky-blue Buddha Samantabhadra in union with Samantabhadri in the posture of meditation. In the four directions [around them] are white Vajrasattva in the east, yellow Ratnasambhava in the south, red Amitābha in the west and green Amoghasiddhi in the north. In front of the lord [of the *maṅḍala*, Samantabhadra] is white Vairocana. From all these [Buddhas] and their embraced consorts, who radiate in their respective colours, rays of light emanate. Above preside the *bla-mas* and deities of the lineage of transmission. This object of meditation serves as the great guide for the deceased."<sup>27</sup>

While the *vajra*-master holds the vase at the fontanel or the corresponding place on the name card, the *mantric* seed syllable *A* of the *Ādibuddha* Samantabhadra is visualised in the same place. From the *A* nectar-like rays of light emanate and pervade the deceased completely, dissolving all *karmas* and habitual tendencies. At the same time through the medium of *A* a very essentialised *abhiṣeka* is transmitted.

During this visualisation the *vajra*-master melodiously chants *OM ĀḤ HŪM SVĀ HĀ* the *mantra* of the five *jina* or *dhyāni-buddhas* and the *A* of Samantabhadra, the same number of times as the years of life of the deceased. For every decade he washes a palm-sized metal mirror by pouring on to it the water or nectar from the special vase. The washing is accompanied by ringing the bell and chanting:

"*OM ĀḤ HŪM SVĀ HĀ A*, All obscurations and evil deeds of the deceased *ŚĀNTIM KURUYE SVĀHĀ* [are pacified/purified]!"<sup>28</sup>

The washing of the mirror symbolises removing the stains of obscurations and evil deeds which cover the mirror. This mirror symbolises the nature of mind, which like the mirror is able to

<sup>25</sup> *gZhan phan* 595,6.

<sup>26</sup> *gZhan phan* 596,1.

<sup>27</sup> *gZhan phan* 591,3-592,3.

<sup>28</sup> *gZhan phan* 596,3.

reflect all appearances, without ever being stained or changed in its nature. The empowered water of the special vase carrying the scent of the teaching is the means to wash off the obscuring layers.

After the potential for rebirth in the hell realm has been purified, the potential for rebirth in the realms of the frustrated spirits, animals, semi-gods, gods and finally humans are removed by following the same procedure (which is slightly shortened for humans, being the realm of the deceased).

body location	mantric syllable	karma for rebirth as	stain	scent of the water	nature of the water
fontanel	A	hell being	hatred	magnanimity	patience
throat	BIYA	preta	envy	generosity	giving
genital	DYA	animal	ignorance	three wisdoms <sup>29</sup>	wisdom
right armpit	KAM	semi-god	distraction	equanimity	concentration
fontanel	TAM	god	laziness	application	enthusiastic perseverance
heart	-----	human	violating the ethical conduct	keeping (the ethical conduct)	ethical conduct

Table 1 Variables in the text of recitation of the inner purification.

### 2.c) Secret Purification

After the *vajra*-master has focused the process of purification on inner obstacles, there follows the *abhiṣeka* of the supreme *vajra*, which discloses the hidden or secret level of existence. The *vajra*-master holds the vase against the fontanel, while visualising the *maṇḍala* of the peaceful and wrathful deities the self radiance of the five *jinas*. From the three *vajras* (*buddha*-body, -speech and -mind) of each deity rays of light blaze, transmitting to the deceased the *abhiṣeka* of the supreme *vajra*.<sup>30</sup> He recites the hundred syllable *mantra* of Vajrasattva, which is the sound equivalent of the hundred peaceful and wrathful deities.

"Through the *abhiṣeka* the components of the individual (*skandhadhātāvāyatana*) are purified into the essence of the hundred peaceful and wrathful deities."<sup>31</sup>

The *abhiṣekha* is done very essentially, without much ritualistic support. As this text states:

In such a condensed ritual the capacity and the state of mind of the *vajra*-master is of the utmost importance.<sup>32</sup>

### 3. Cutting off the connection to *saṃsāra* ('*khor-ba dang 'brel-ba cad-pa*)

After the *karmic* potential of the deceased has been purified, the frustrating nature of cyclic existence is explained in order to cut any attachment to gaining a further rebirth. The deceased is reminded of the transitoriness of life and body, and of the futility of grasping and attachment to possessions and loved ones.

"[Your past life] is like last night's dream. In that dream you are surrounded by your possessions and loved ones. If you wake up nothing remains. ... Since your consciousness is not fastened to a support, you are easily moved around by [any]

<sup>29</sup> Wisdom of hearing, reflection and application.

<sup>30</sup> *gZhan phan* 598,5.

<sup>31</sup> *gZhan phan* 599,2.

<sup>32</sup> *gZhan phan* 593,1.



little incident, just like a tiny boat in water. Since we have taken care of you through this profound practice of the unsurpassed secret *mantra[-yāna]*, generate supreme trust and devotion towards the three jewels and the *bla-ma*, and without any doubt follow the path as shown to you."<sup>33</sup>

#### 4. Purification path (*lam sbyong-ba*)

After cutting off the connection to *saṃsāra* the deceased is ready to proceed on the purification path. 'Jigs-med gling-pa rang-byung rdo-rje mkhyen-brtse'i 'od-zer writes:

"If the deceased has looked through the door of the essential pith instruction of the Great Perfection (*mang-ngag rdzogs-pa chen-po*), one should read to him *"the Teaching of the Single Son"* (*bsTan-pa bu gcig*).<sup>34</sup> For common people, one invokes protection and support by reciting from the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*."<sup>35</sup>

The quotation from the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* serves to inform a common dead person about the nature of his present unpleasant situation of despair and horror. He is advised to go for refuge to the three jewels to overcome his experiences of great fear. Our text states:

"Through these words there also [arises] in you, deceased one, strong desire [for the saving refuge], as a result of which your mind stream is purified. Therefore imagine that you have attained all extraordinary qualities of the five paths."<sup>36</sup>

If during this life the deceased person received rDzogs-chen teachings and gained knowledge of the state of primordial awareness (*rig-pa*), the *"bsTan bu"* text is read out to him. This transmission is the main method to help achieve liberation, by reawakening that experience.

#### 5. Showing the way (*lam bstan-pa*)

After the purification path the *bla-ma* says to the deceased: "Now, the mind is separated from the body and you have taken refuge in the three jewels. Without attachment towards your former *saṃsāric* existence, go to the *buddha* realms." In each *buddha* realm buddhahood can be attained through a particular teaching.<sup>37</sup>

"To symbolise the appearance of the radiant luminosity [of the nature of mind], a butterlamp is held in front of the name card, while reading from the *'Tantra of Self-Existent Perfection'* (*rDzogs-pa rang-byung*)<sup>38</sup>."

"Ho! Homage to the power [aspect] of awareness, Padma dbang gyi rgyal-po (Hayagrīva)! Please remove all obstructing forces and obscurations of the deceased!

<sup>33</sup> This quotation is less than the half of the actual recitation text in the *gZhan phan* 599,3.

<sup>34</sup> *bsTan pa bu gcig* is part of the teachings attributed to Vimalamitra and other early rDzogs chen masters gathered in the *Bi ma snying thig*. *bsTan pa bu gcig* contains secret instructions on the nature of the light appearances such as e.g. experienced while dying and in the after-death states. It is called *bsTan pa bu gcig*, *"Teaching of the Single Son"*, since this kind of teaching was communicated only to one disciple (personal communication of David Germano).

<sup>35</sup> *gZhan phan* 601,6. Here 'Jigs med gling pa quotes 9 verses from Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, according to Batchelor's translation: verses 44-53 [Batchelor, Stephen, (1979), *A Guide to the Bodhisattva's Way of Life*. Dharmasala, LTWA, pp. 17-19).

<sup>36</sup> Quotation not identified. Path of accumulation, connection, insight, meditation, and no-more-learning.

<sup>37</sup> Personal communication of Kunsang Dorje.

<sup>38</sup> I have not been able to identify this text. Martin Brood also quotes from *rDzogs pa rang byung* with the note "unidentified" (*The Cult of the Deity Vajrakīla*. Tring, Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1993, (Buddhica Britannica Series Continua 4) p. 144.

Ho! Deceased One, listen! In the eastern direction of this world, in the realm of Pure Joy (*mngon-par dga'-ba*) Buddha Vajrasattva imparts the teaching of taming through the *buddha*-body (*kāya*). Son of noble family, listen there to the teaching of taming through the *buddha*-body. Get rid of all inner and outer doubts and set off to the *buddha* realm of Sukhāvātī!"<sup>39</sup>

The four cardinal directions follow the same liturgical structure, except for the variables set out in following table:

abode of Buddha	direction	teaching through	in the buddha realm of	set off to the
Vajrasattva	east	<i>buddha</i> -body	Pure Joy ( <i>mngon-par dga'-ba</i> )	Realm of <i>Sukhāvātī</i>
Ratnasambhava	south	<i>buddha</i> -quality	Endowed With Brightness ( <i>dpal dang ldan-pa</i> )	Realm of Primordial Pure <i>Dharmatā</i>
Amitābha	west	<i>buddha</i> -speech	Lotus Pagoda ( <i>padma brtsegs</i> )	Realm of Primordial Pure <i>Dharmatā</i>
Amoghasiddha	north	<i>buddha</i> -activity	Totally Fulfilled Action ( <i>yongs su rdzogs-pa</i> )	Ground of Primordial Pure <i>Dharmatā</i>
Padma dbang gi rgyal-po <sup>40</sup>	centre	<i>buddha</i> -mind	Blazing Volcano ( <i>me-ri 'bar-ba</i> )	Space of Self-manifest <i>Dharmatā</i>

Table 2 Variables in the recitations of "showing the way"

"Deceased One, listen!

In the centre is the Great Cemetery Blazing Volcano. This one too is very frightening and fearsome, and will make one experience panic and dread. There is the supreme Padma dbang gi rgyal-po, therefore noble born, don't be afraid. The Supreme holds the *abhiṣeka* of self-present intrinsic awareness (*rig-pa rang gnas kyi dbang*). After receiving the empowerment go without being startled, frightened or terrified into the Space of Self-manifest *Dharmatā*!"<sup>41</sup>

## 6. Burning the representation (*byang-bu bsreg-pa*)

On the moment of burning the representation 'Jigs-med gling-pa states:

"If one does the ritual for many days, on the last night the consciousness [dwelling] in the representation should be cast into the [*buddha* realms] in the form of [the seed syllable] *HŪM*. If one does the ritual [only] for one day, immediately [at this point of the practice] it should be cast into the *buddha* realms."<sup>42</sup>

At this point of the ritual a very essential consciousness transference is undertaken. The intention of the '*pho-ba* practice is to transfer the consciousness of the deceased to one of the *buddha* realms.

<sup>39</sup> *gZhan phan* 602,5.

<sup>40</sup> Vajrācārya Kunsang Dorje identifies *Padma dbang gi rgyal po* as a form of *Hayagrīva*.

<sup>41</sup> *gZhan phan* 604,3.

<sup>42</sup> *gZhan phan* 604,5.

"The realm into which the consciousness is ejected, either through one's own power or by the help of others depends on the connection to the *buddha* families and *karma*.

In the respective *buddha* realm of rebirth, after the mind stream has been ripened one instantaneously abandons the obscurations to omniscience by the blessing of seeing the face of the wrathful deity in the centre [of the *maṇḍala*]. After that one awakens into the primordial state."<sup>43</sup>

If the five factors of a *karmic* teaching situation are very excellent place, time, capacity of the *vajra*-master, appropriate teaching or method and capacity of the deceased the consciousness does not arrive at a *buddha* realm but awakens directly into the essence of reality, the primordial pure *dharmatā*.

After the consciousness transference the effigy or name card is burnt. The *'pho-ba* is always done on the last day of the ritual, if it lasts one, three or seven days. It is done on the last day and every seventh day (*bdun-tshigs*), if the ritual lasts twenty-one or forty-nine days.<sup>44</sup> If only small resources to sponsor the practices for the deceased are available, they are done particularly on these recurring seventh days (*bdun-tshigs*), when according to the *Bar-do thos-grol* the deceased experiences further 'little deaths'. With the 'little deaths' the possibility for helping the deceased increases, since in this phase the past *karmas* are dissolved for at least some moments.

The burning of the representation concludes the *gZhan-phan* supplement. The ritual is completed by finishing the *Zhi-khro khrom-dkrugs sādhana*.<sup>45</sup>

### Concluding remarks

By looking at the way people treat their dying and deceased, one can understand a lot about their culture, religion, concepts and values.

In Tibetan civilisation death and dying are very important elements, therefore many rituals have been developed to help the deceased in this drastic moment of life.

Certainly indigenous pre-Buddhist elements can be found in these rituals. One is reminded of shamanistic customs of guiding the soul, but in Tibetan death rituals are not the least signs of shamanistic trance ecstasy, one of the characteristic elements of Shamanism.<sup>46</sup>

By collating the three most important rites executed on behalf of the dying and deceased, these seem to contain several concurrent elements. The *byang-chog* or name card ritual described in this paper, which is often also called *gnas-'dren* or 'guiding the consciousness from *saṃsāric* places to pure places' (*khor-ba'i gnas las dag-pa'i gnas su 'dren-pa*) contains a very

<sup>43</sup> *gZhan phan* 604,6.

<sup>44</sup> *gZhan phan* 604,5 and personal communication of Kunsang Dorje and Ringu Tulku.

Concerning the destiny of the deceased: My informants were sceptical about the popular belief that one can ascertain the destiny of the deceased by analysing signs, like the smoke, flames and ashes, while burning the support. Nevertheless they do believe that there are some highly gifted practitioners, who know about the new whereabouts.

<sup>45</sup> After the burning of the effigy or name card follows the fulfilment with lights and fulfilment with the view (*Khrom dkrugs* 550,5). Then the conclusion sections are recited (*Khrom dkrugs* 554,4ff.). These are identical with the conclusion of 'Jigs med gling pa's *Rig 'dzin 'dus pa* of the *Klong chen snying thig* cycle: Activating the oath, renewing the covenant, offering to the *bsTan ma* protectors, [suppression] with the horse dance, receiving the *siddhi*, confession of mistakes [in practice], completion phase: dissolution, dedication and aspiration, prayer for auspiciousness. [Translations of the conclusion: Tulku Thondup (1980), *The Assemblage of the Knowledge Holders: The Inner Sadhana from Long chen Nying thig* by Kun khyen jig med ling pa. Santiniketan; and Sogyal Rinpoche & Gaffney, Patrick (1987), *Rigdzin Düpa. The Inner Sadhana of the 'Embodiment of all the Vidyadharas'*. London.]

<sup>46</sup> Kvaerne 1985: 7; Stein, R.A. (1975), *Tibetan Civilization* Stanford, Stanford University Press, p. 238.

essential consciousness transference (*'pho-ba*) and, in abbreviated form, various elements of the *Bar-do thos-grol* reading ceremonies, especially the direct introduction (*ngo spröd*) to the nature of mind.

The characteristic element of the *byang chog* ritual is mediation. The mediation of *byang-bu* and *bla-ma* allows communication between two different realms, that of the living and that of the dead.

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# TEXTILES, RELIGION AND GENDER IN BHUTAN: A DIALOGICAL APPROACH\*

by

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## I. Bhutanese Textiles

Textiles play a major role in gift-giving in Bhutanese life crisis rituals, as well as in ceremonies for house-inauguration and for official promotion; and textile gifts were formerly crucial in obtaining benediction from important lamas. Along with dyestuffs, textiles were previously Bhutan's most important article of trade, and were also used by villagers to pay taxes and fines.<sup>1</sup> Textiles are still the major source of income in many cloth-producing households. Indeed, textiles, as signifiers of political rank, social status, ethnicity and gender, have recently begun to be viewed by several authors,<sup>2</sup> more than any other Bhutanese art, as reflective of Bhutan's national identity.

In writings by such authors, woven textiles produced by women (including the wrapper style of female dress) have been seen in opposition to appliquéd/embroidered textiles made by men (often lamas) for use in the service of Buddhism, as in monastic decor. Because of their link with Buddhist arts, and because they were formerly produced from silk imported from China via Tibet, such male-produced textiles were viewed as prestigious, and were used in Bhutan, among other purposes, as seating mats (*dengkep*, Dz. *gdan-khebs*)<sup>3</sup> and throne covers (*tikep*, Dz. *khri-khebs*) for élite male officialdom.<sup>4</sup> They thus defined notions of politico-religious hierarchy in a former Bhutanese state which gave precedence to religious values, and in which

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<sup>1</sup> Such trade continued until the closing of the border with Tibet in the 1950s; and cloth was used to pay taxes as late as the 1970s, when a monetary economy gradually supplanted the barter system.

<sup>2</sup> See F. Pommet (1994a), "Textiles in Bhutan I: Way of Life and Identity Symbol," in *Bhutan: Aspects of Culture and Development*. M. Aris and M. Hutt (eds.), Gartmore, Scotland: Kiscadale, 107-189; D. Myers and S. Bean (1994); and S. Bean (1995), "Display and Nationalism: Bhutan," in *Museum Anthropology* 19 (2), 41-49.

<sup>3</sup> Hereafter, the Tibetan language will be abbreviated as T.; Sanskrit, as Skt.; Chinese as C.; the Sikkimese Lepcha language, as L.; the *Dzong-kha* language of West Bhutan, as Dz.; the *Tshangla* language of East Bhutan, as Tsh.; the *Kheng-kha* language of Kheng (lower Central Bhutan), as Kh.; the *Brok-pa-ké* language of Merak Sakteng (East Bhutan) as Br.; and the language called *Kurtö-kha* (of Kurtö District, northeast Bhutan), as K. As all spoken languages of Bhutan, except *Dzong-kha*, are unwritten, spellings can only be approximated, if there is no Tibetan equivalent.

<sup>4</sup> Some seating mats for minor lay officials were made of woven textiles, but only typical appliquéd mats will be considered here.

women played virtually no role.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, in contrast to women's wrappers, which are made up simply of three panels (loom-lengths) sewn together, modern Bhutanese men's robes (Dz. *go*) are constructed of pieces of cloth cut into shapes and joined, which thus employ the same technology (*i.e.*, "cut and stitched" work) used in making appliquéd textiles. The fact that such textiles are "cut" also implies their connection with metal, particularly metal weaponry, which in Bhutan, as in much of the Himalayas, is viewed as quintessentially male, in contrast to woven textiles or looms, which are viewed as symbolic of female gender. It is notable that a similar contrast between woven and appliquéd textiles is also seen with regard to the costumes of the various Bhutanese spirit mediums. Woven textiles are worn by village mediums, the female *nyenjom* (Dz. *bsnyen-jo-mo*, "female invoker") and the male *pawo* (Dz. *dpa'-bo*, often dressed as females),<sup>6</sup> who are not accepted by the Bhutanese Drukpa Kargyupa Buddhist Order. In contrast, silk appliquéd textiles are worn by the *terdak* (K. *gter-bdag*, "treasure-master"), who, in the tradition of the Nechung Oracle of Tibet, engages in prediction on behalf of the Bhutanese Government, and is thus well accepted within the Buddhist tradition.

However, *both* metal (in the form of coins or jewelry) and textiles are given at life crisis ceremonies, and also, as I shall show, respectively constitute male and female offerings on the shamanic altar. In addition, certain all-encompassing symbols, expressive of the lay aspects of religion and reflecting preoccupations with fertility in various ways, are found on *both* woven and appliquéd/embroidered Bhutanese textiles, and thus transcend apparent opposition between men's and women's task-related spheres based on technological factors. Such preoccupations with fertility are embedded not only in textile design symbolism, but also in the very names of Bhutanese textiles. Quite possibly, both the textile nomenclature and the symbolic designs, particularly anthropomorphic and zoomorphic motifs, may have originated with the indigenous non-Buddhist Mon tribals of Bhutan, and also, to a large extent, with Bhutan's ex-slaves: Bodo/Mech tribals originally captured in Bhutanese raids of the plains of Assam and northern Bengal.

Three classes of textile motifs, which may be viewed as metaphors for gender, religious beliefs and sources of tradition, are discussed below: (1) anthropomorphic and zoomorphic motifs are related to textile types (including nomadic costume) and to fertility symbolism, as well as to their possible source in the Bhutanese ex-slave population, whose contribution to Bhutan's national identity has never been studied or acknowledged; (2) gender-specific motifs are discussed in terms of gender roles in textile technology, and in terms of ancient and modern textile types, including shamanic costume; and (3) certain textile motifs are shown to relate to shamanistic ceremonies, which preserve archaic elements of Bhutanese dress (since they refer to a pre-Buddhist period) and provide clues to the meanings of these motifs. As will be seen, design symbolism transcends technological differences between "male" (appliquéd) and "female" (woven) textiles. Moreover, the names of textiles have multiple, often contradictory meanings; and textile designs exhibit ambiguities and transformations which unite and elucidate diverse aspects of Bhutanese culture, particularly with regard to the all-prevalent emphasis on fertility in its various aspects.

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<sup>5</sup> The State was governed by a dual system of administration staffed by monks and administrators who were bound by rules of conduct associated with celibate monks, and were thus not free to live a normal lay family life.

<sup>6</sup> In Kheng, the female counterpart of the *pawo* is called a *pamo*, rather than a *nyenjom*, as in West Bhutan; and in East Bhutan (Tashigang District) a female shaman is called a *jomo*.

## II. Methodology

The fieldwork on which this paper is based was carried out in Bhutan and in Assam, India, over a five-year period, primarily in the 1970s, at a time when the shamanistic component of design symbolism was more familiar to informants than it is at present.<sup>7</sup> In order to focus on the meanings of several textile motifs, this paper, which is abstracted from a larger work in progress, will concern religious ceremonies primarily as related to textiles. The method of analysis used here, a methodology also employed by the anthropologist Stan Mumford (1989), is based upon the *Dialogic Imagination* and other writings of the Russian postmodernist critic, Mikhail Bakhtin,<sup>8</sup> whose model of dialogic interaction describes three socio-cultural eras: (1) the “this worldly” ancient shamanic matrix, which is concerned with the pragmatic benefits of religion (such as fertility and abundance), and which, in its focus on bodily acts, sex organs and an irreverent, carnival-like, joking discourse, is a “reverse world” in relation, for example, to the Buddhist tradition;<sup>9</sup> (2) the individuated doctrinal path, as in the Buddhist tradition, which seeks extrication from this world; and (3) the era of “temporal becoming,” in which two eras/cultures, viewed as discourses, interact, enlightening one another, so that a third layer, the *dialogical*, emerges between them. This third, postmodern phase deals with “layered and unbounded cultures,” in which an upper Buddhist layer retains a “trace” of a former shamanic layer. The dialogue between shamanism and Buddhism thus continues; and there is no longer only a structuralist binary opposition between big and little traditions, and between Buddhism and shamanism, but rather, “interillumination.” Moreover, the rites of the two religious systems often have the same ends with regard to most laymen's views of the mundane benefits of religion: that is, to assure prosperity of various sorts. As regards textile types and motifs, such a *dialogue* (as opposed to polarization) obtains not only in the religious sphere, but also with regard to gender.<sup>10</sup> For example, despite apparent gender oppositions in the culture with regard to textile technology, design motifs, architectural symbolism, and offerings (textile *versus* metal) in rites of passage and in shamanistic ceremonies, such polarities are united, in part, as will be seen, because of the all-encompassing preoccupation in the culture with the mundane aspects of religion.

<sup>7</sup> According to the designs published by Myers and Bean, pp. 73 and 223, certain symbols now appear to have abbreviated names, which conceal their previous overt shamanistic meanings. The bull-horns/arrow motif (fig. 2a), for example, is called, simply, *tranka tshering* (T., “long life”) by these authors.

<sup>8</sup> See M. Bakhtin (1981: 12), *The Dialogic Imagination*. Austin: University of Texas Press, and S. Mumford (1989: 5-18), *Himalayan Dialogue*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin. Bakhtin's methodology is also employed by the Bhutanese anthropologist, S. Chhoki (1994), “Religion in Bhutan: The Sacred and Obscene,” in Aris and Hutt (eds.), *op. cit.*, 107-121.

<sup>9</sup> Thus in a seance of a male *jo-mo* [*sic*] of East Bhutan, the village medium respectfully praised the *nep* (Dz. *gnas-pa*, “landlord”), the local protector deity of Drangling Tsho (a lake near Khaling, Tashigang), who is responsible for the fertility of this area. The *jomo* then mockingly praised Shabdrung Ngawang “Lhamo,” saying that “she” has an immense goiter and “is the bed of everyone.” Not only does the *jomo* poke fun at the sacrosanct figure of Shabdrung (T. *Zhabs-drung*) Ngawang Namgyal, the Lama-Founder of Bhutan, but also reverses the Shabdrung's sex.

<sup>10</sup> See K. March (1983), “Weaving, Writing and Gender,” in *Man*. Ser. 2, v. 18 (4), 729-44, for a similar *dialogue* concerning “text” and “textile” among the Taimangs. In contrast, see F. Pommaret (1994c: 666), who, evidently following a structuralist methodology, speaks of ... “an opposition underlying all of Bhutanese society,” and views the Bhutanese Bon harvest festival of Kurtö District (see under V.2 and VII) *vis à vis* Buddhism as follows: ... “one finds a total opposition in terms of Buddhist schemas, an opposition which can be analyzed as a dichotomy: nature/non-Buddhist/non-normal, *versus* culture/Buddhism/normal” [translation mine].

### III. The male-female dialogue

That Bhutanese identify male with metal, particularly metal weaponry, may be seen in the wooden phalli sometimes hung in conjunction with wood-carved swords from the roofs of newly built houses to protect against *mi-kha* (Dz.), the covetous, demonic spirits of evil talk.<sup>11</sup> The carvings also function as fertility emblems, since one such wooden male organ is kept inside the house to assure male progeny.<sup>12</sup> In contrast, the bamboo latticework, or *drami* (Dz. *dra-mig*, "net with eyes"), between the ceiling and the raised roof of Bhutanese farmhouses, is comprised of diamond motifs with a dot in the centre of each, which are regarded as symbolic of the female human genitals.<sup>13</sup> The *drami* motif is also viewed as a spirit trap. The Bhutanese say that the function of the netting is literally to "keep the birds out"; but, coincidentally, birds are also generally symbolic of spirits.

The *drami* motif, especially (figs. 1a and 3a), and also the motif of the pillar and beam, is featured on Bhutanese textiles. Throughout the Buddhist Himalayas, the central house pillar is regarded as male, and the crossbeam, as female. In Bhutanese housebuilding ceremonies the carpenter, clothed as a female, lowers from the roof a board,<sup>14</sup> which, although it undoubtedly represents the central house pillar, is dressed as a woman wearing textiles and metal ornaments. Both the "hermaphrodite" carpenter and dressed pillar thus signify the union of male and female. The household estate, the most basic unit of social organization, is, then, created by the union of husband and wife, pillar and beam, and metal and textile.

Other expressions of male-female unity may be seen in the fact that Bhutanese males wear their great silver swords of office against their wool or wild silk (*bura*, Dz. *'bu-ras*, "worm cotton") robes woven by women, and that some royal palace doors (as at Dechenchöling, Thimphu) are adorned with metal in repoussé technique superimposed on white velvet.

#### III.1. Textiles and gender in shamanic ceremonies

Moreover, both male and female offerings played a role in shamanic ceremonies I witnessed. On the main altar in a house-inauguration ceremony, presided over by a *pawo* in Kheng District, were offered cotton threads, fresh, unprocessed cotton placed inside a five-lobed crown (T. *rigs-nga*), and also metal coins. The cotton, which symbolized snow on the mountains, according to the *pawo*, represented female offerings, and the metal coins, male offerings. In contrast to the offerings made to high-ranking deities on the main altar, offerings to illness-causing evil spirits were made on a side altar, which consisted of coins, cooked foods placed in leaves and, most notably, textiles arrayed on a line in the manner of Altaic shamanistic rites.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Similar devices to frighten demonic spirits may also be seen in comic Bhutanese *Atsara* (Skt. *ācārya*, "Buddhist teachers") masks topped by wooden phalli, and in Sherdukpen tribal massive wood phalli tied to the waist during interludes between serious Buddhist dance dramas (T. *'chams*).

<sup>12</sup> See C. Wangmo (1982: 114), "Rituals of Bhutanese House Construction," in *PIATS New Delhi 1981*, 107-114.

<sup>13</sup> See M. Oppitz (1992: 74), "Drawings on shamanic drums," in *Res* 22, 63-82, on the same motif among the Nepalese Magars.

<sup>14</sup> See C. Wangmo, *op. cit.*, p. 113. According to my informants, the board is believed to represent King Song-tsen-gam-po's Chinese queen, who is held to be the inventor of certain cloths woven in Bhutan.

<sup>15</sup> See Eliade, p. 193. Offerings to such spirits were made here to prevent illness in children. In another seance performed by a *jomo* of East Bhutan, men's garments were arrayed on the *jomo's* left side and women's garments, on her right, including textiles of nine varieties. Strung in front of the cloths were metal ornaments (fibulae with



Both male and female mediums, furthermore, wore costumes of mixed gender. The *pawo* from Kheng was garbed in a "hermaphrodite" costume, which included a woman's jacket (*tögo*, Dz. *stod-gos*) and waist cloth (*kerä*, Dz. *sked-rags*), as well as a female wrapper fastened with fibulae, or *ko-ma* (Dz.), at the shoulders.<sup>16</sup> Yet he wore a male red scarf (Dz. *buramap*, T. *'buras dmar-po*) designating Bhutanese Government first class officer's rank, which signified, according to the *pawo*, his respect for the rank of his gods. Female *nyenjom* of West Bhutan, especially older mediums, likewise wore the male first class officer's shawl.<sup>17</sup> Female seniority in the shamanic world is thus equated with male rank in the political world, or with the religious status of monks (who also wear red shawls) in the Buddhist world.

#### IV. Men's textiles and symbolism

Yet, as previously mentioned, with regard to Bhutanese textiles in relation to gender and technology, male and female textile types have been viewed by Western scholars as polarized. By implication, "cut and stitched" appliquéd textiles, produced with the aid of metal implements, could be seen as involving a "higher technology," since woven (and brocaded) textiles made by women often utilize wild-silk threads spun directly from the moistened cocoon by means of a dropped spindle. The dropped spindle, in other areas of the Himalayas, has been viewed as exemplifying "simpler" technology.<sup>18</sup>

Regarding symbolism, however, both "male" and "female" textiles, in fact, express the same message, a message concerned, above all, with the mundane aspects of religion: longevity, fertility, prosperity and well-being. Typically shown on men's seating mats are motifs which entered Bhutan via Tibet, but which (although transformed by the Tibetans) were either Chinese- or Indian-derived. A commonly depicted motif is the Chinese phoenix bird, which resembles in art the argus pheasant or peacock, and is believed to confer long life and promote fertility.<sup>19</sup> Connotations of fertility are likewise evident in the "Face of Glory" (Skt. *Kirttimukha*)<sup>20</sup> of Indian origin, representing the wrathful planetary deity, Rahu, who is typically portrayed on men's textiles with luxuriant, life-giving foliage issuing from his mouth. (Rahu in a raven-headed form will be discussed subsequently in connection with the *terdak* oracle.) Also appearing on seating mats are the animals commonly depicted on the "wind-horse" prayer flag (*lungta*, T. *rlung-rta*): lions, tigers, dragons, eagles/*garuḍas*, and horses bearing triple gem symbols on their backs. As S. Karmay has shown in a recent article,<sup>21</sup> the overall message of the *lungta* is a secular one of well-being, luck and prosperity, reflecting (even in the case of the "horse bearing the Buddhist triple gem") the mundane aspirations of

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necklaces, or *japta*, Dz. *ryab-stan*), and behind them were hung nine flags from nine bushes, said to embody a group of nine sister goddesses.

<sup>16</sup> He also wore a beaded face covering to conceal his identity from harmful spirits.

<sup>17</sup> A recent photo, however, shows a *nyenjom* wearing a smaller female ceremonial shoulder cloth, or *rachu* (Dz. *rags-chung*). See illus. p. 115, in Chhoki, *op. cit.*

<sup>18</sup> See P. Kaplanian (1983), "Quelques Aspects du Mythe at des Structures Mentales au Ladakh," in Sander and Kantowsky (eds.), *Recent Research on Ladakh*. London: Weltforum Verlag, 93-106, on the higher technology of male versus female spindles in Ladakh.

<sup>19</sup> C. A. S. Williams (1931: 324), *Outlines of Chinese Symbolism*. Peiping: Customs College Press.

<sup>20</sup> See A. Snodgrass (1985: 306-16), *The Symbolism of the Stupa*. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University, on this complex threshold guardian as the Mask of Death/Time, Immortality and the Sun, and as associated with various animals and with life-giving rain.

<sup>21</sup> S. Karmay (1993), "The Wind-Horse and the Well-being of Man," in *PATH Zürich 1990*, 150-57.

laymen, as well as early Tibetan secular beliefs of mountain cults, rather than Buddhist ideals. Because of their association with Tibet, such seating mats, paradoxically, were valued in a Buddhist politico-religious context in Bhutan despite the non-Buddhist (Bonpo) origins of much of their design symbolism. Similarly, Chinese mulberry silk decorated with the Chinese longevity trigram (*C. shou*), which also entered Bhutan via Tibet, was a prestige item reserved for the political/religious élite of Bhutan.

## V. Women's textiles and symbolism

The majority of Bhutanese textiles woven by women feature rainbow stripes.<sup>22</sup> In the *aikapur* category of textiles, the stripes alternate with plain-faced weave on which are brocaded designs between bars perpendicular to the rainbow stripes, so that the entire configuration appears as a ladder. The bars (fig. 1b), consisting of x-shaped motifs, or "legs/steps" (*kang*, Dz. *rkang*), represent "bridges" between the stripes, which (like the stripes themselves) symbolize the link between the underworld, earth and sky.<sup>23</sup>

Woven textiles made by women employ some of the same motifs having ultimately the same meanings as those found in men's textiles, such as the horse bearing the triple gem and the Chinese longevity trigram; but they are often depicted in a manner which exhibits their *transformation* through contact with tribal cultures. The principles of postmodern methodology, as applied to the names and symbolism of both textile types and designs, may here be briefly summarized as including layering, fragmentation, multiple--even contradictory--meanings (therefore visual punning with regard to motifs), ongoing transformation of systems (the *dialogic*) and the appropriation of the past ("the trace").<sup>24</sup> Bhutanese textile motifs consist of interchangeable parts, or referents, which function ambiguously. Like pieces of a collage having a wide fan of meanings, they accrue meanings by retaining "traces" of significance from other contexts, as, for example, when motifs are *appropriated* from other cultures and reinterpreted (*transformed*) by the Bhutanese in the framework of their own culture.

### V.1. Fertility symbolism and the bull-horns/arrow motif

An illustration of this process may be seen in the Bhutanese woven textile motif entitled, "Tibetan-coin/bull-horns-arrowlike."<sup>25</sup> A visual pun or metaphor is created in which one form of the Chinese longevity trigram, the long form with everted "prongs," is transformed to represent the horns of a bull with an arrow between them (figs. 2a-2b). The Bhutanese adaptation of the design is separated into identical addorsed right-side-up and upside-down halves. Not all Bhutanese motifs are so addorsed, but most, including even realistic zoomorphic motifs, are often represented in right-side-up and upside-down versions on the same textile.<sup>26</sup> In

<sup>22</sup> Such stripes also occur on cloths of other Himalayan countries, and on cloths of Tibet and tribal northeast India.

<sup>23</sup> The "legs" and stripes also have other connotations in Bhutanese culture.

<sup>24</sup> See G. Ulmer (1983), "The Object of Post-Criticism," in *The Anti-Aesthetic*. H. Foster (ed.), Seattle, WA: Bay Press, 83-110.

<sup>25</sup> The motif is called *tran-ka wa-rong* (*sen-po-chen-ma/mo*? "pointed or arrow-like?"). Although Bhutanese often say that the longevity motif entered Bhutan on Tibetan coins, *tran-ka* (Dz.), or "coin," in this case, refers to the circular medallions of the "inverted" version of the longevity motif seen on Chinese silks imported from Tibet. *Warong* (Tsh.) may refer to the horns of any animal, but *wa* means "bull" or "cow." The most culturally all-pervasive bovine in Bhutan, however, is the mithan.

<sup>26</sup> Thus a motif may be placed next to its inverted version (see fig. 3d, the fishbone motif, for example).

this connection, it should be remembered that the shamanic world, in which every ritual is performed “in reverse,” is viewed as the exact opposite of our human world.<sup>27</sup> The transformed design probably signifies a *trace* of a prior animal sacrifice, and most likely refers to mithan sacrifice, indicated by the arrow between the horns, which is commonly portrayed in the art of Nagaland. Eastern Bhutan, India's Northeast Frontier, Nagaland and northern Burma are all the habitat of the mithan (*bos frontalis*), although the mithan in Bhutan is usually crossbred with an Indian cow.<sup>28</sup> The mithan has immense prestige value in Naga Feasts of Merit, in which the sacrificer/feast-giver obtains the life force of the mithan, thereby prolonging his own life and assuring the prosperity and fertility of his lineage.<sup>29</sup> Cloths woven by women, therefore, which have *appropriated* and *transformed* the Chinese longevity symbol into a shamanistically-oriented one, ultimately express the same message of longevity as do the “high culture” seating mats decorated with the phoenix-bird and *lungta* animal motifs, which have been produced by men for use in a Buddhist politico-religious context.<sup>30</sup>

## V.2. Mithans and Bhutanese culture

Mithans play a multi-faceted role in Bhutanese culture. Mithan skulls are hung over doorways of southeastern Bhutanese farmhouses to avert *mi-kha*. Moreover, the Djop (T. *'Brog-pa*) semi-nomadic pastoralists of Merak-Sakteng, in Eastern Bhutan (the meeting point of both Tibetan Buddhist and northeast Indian tribal influences), simultaneously practice a tribal mithan cult,<sup>31</sup> as well as the Gelugpa form of Buddhism dominant in Tibet (whereas the Nyingmapa and Drukpa Kargyupa sects prevail in the rest of Bhutan).<sup>32</sup> The Djop, in addition, wear “tails” (Br. *kobtin*) as part of their costume, as do the Apatani and Naga tribes of northeastern India.<sup>33</sup> Among the Nagas, such tails are adorned with human hair, and are a fertility emblem referring to mithan slaughter at Feasts of Merit and to success in human headhunting exploits (for which the Nagas were notorious), capturing heads, like sacrificing mithans, being a means of gaining access to fertility.

Finally, mithan horns are blown throughout the Bonchö (K. *Bon-mchod*) harvest festival of Kurtö District (*sKur-stod*, northeastern Bhutan), in which the fructitude of the harvest is celebrated in the symbolic marriage to a Bon mountain deity of young village girls clad in the

<sup>27</sup> The *the-'u-brang* (T.) demons, therefore, have backwards-pointing feet (see drawing in Mumford, *op. cit.*, p. 120).

<sup>28</sup> See F. J. Simoons (1968: 5 and 26), *A Ceremonial Ox of India*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press. Formerly imported from the Dafla tribe of northeast India, mithans are now bred in East Bhutan.

<sup>29</sup> See J. Jacobs (1990: 80), *The Nagas*. London: Thames and Hudson, on “fertility-maximization” among the Nagas.

<sup>30</sup> In Bhutanese woven textiles, the bull-horns/arrow motif is often joined with that of the swastika, the latter motif signifying stability, permanence and fertility (see fig. 2b). Thus throughout the Himalayas, newlyweds are made to sit on a carpet decorated with rice grains shaped as a swastika; and, in Ladakh, young boys sit on carpets similarly decorated at harvest time. In China the conjoined motif, meaning “10,000 lives,” emphasizes longevity.

<sup>31</sup> On the Djop mithan cult, see M. Aris (1986: 82), *Sources for the History of Bhutan. Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, Heft 14*. Vienna: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien.

<sup>32</sup> Yet ironically, Gelugpa priests are always monks, in contrast to Nyingmapa priests, who are often laymen, and who are thus more likely to officiate at shamanistic ceremonies. The Djop, however, adhered to the Nyingmapa Sect until the latter half of the 17th century.

<sup>33</sup> On the “tails” of the Djop herders of Bhutan, see R. E. Cooper, (1933), “‘Daktas’--People with a Tail in the East Bhutanese Himalaya,” in *Man* v. 32-33, 125-128; and on the “tails” of certain northeast Indian tribals, see Elwin, p. 106.

two varieties of ancient tunics worn today only ceremonially--the white-colored nettle or cotton *kushung* (K.) and the woolen *shingka* (K.), colored deep blue (K. *ngau*) or blood red (K. *leu*, the color symbolic of animal sacrifice).<sup>34</sup> During the *Bonchö* festival, the mithan horns are blown by "god-men" (K. *lha-mi*) bearing tree-shaped standards, the lowest horizontal member of which is shaped similarly to the arcs representing mithan horns, which adorn immense Naga log drums. The arc, as noted by J. Feldman, is an all-pervasive symbol in Southeast Asia referring to, among other things, buffalo horns and headhunting in honor of ancestors.<sup>35</sup>

### V.3. *Aikapur* textiles, motifs and the slave and Monpa contributions

The bull-horns/arrow motif is seen particularly in the *aikapur* class of woven textiles, the Assamese word *aikapur* (and variations of it) signifying, among both Naga tribals and Assamese, cloths having a protective, evil-averting function.<sup>36</sup> Most likely "Ai" is an abbreviated form of "Mai" ("Mother"), the terrible, cave-dwelling Mother Goddess of Assam, regarded as a source of fertility and prosperity.<sup>37</sup> Although no Bhutanese I encountered was able to translate the term "*aikapur*," an Assamese informant living in Eastern Bhutan mentioned an ancient Assamese cloth similar to the red and yellow variety of Bhutanese *aikapur* cloth (called *mentsimart'ra*), which was used to cover the lower two steps of an altar dedicated to the Mother Goddess. Only a few centuries ago, human sacrifices were offered to the Goddess by Assamese tribesmen variously called the Koches, Mechs, Bodos and Kacharis, though such imprecise names refer to virtually the same people.<sup>38</sup> The Bodos and Garos of Assam, among others, are culturally quite close to the Nagas; and many of the above-mentioned tribes were former headhunters.<sup>39</sup> Significantly, the Mongoloid tribes inhabiting the

<sup>34</sup> An article by D. Myers (1994: 79), "The Kushung and Shingka of Bhutan," in *Hali* 78, 73-81, states that the word "*leu*" for "red" occurs only in those Bhutanese villages of Kurtö where the Bon ceremony (in which ancient tunics are worn) is celebrated. However, in the linguistically related (Dakpa) language of the Northern Monpas of Tawang (Arunachal Pradesh), who celebrate a similar Bon festival called *Plha* ("bird deity"), and who wear a modern red-colored *shingka*, the Monpa words for both "red" and "blue" (*li-u* and *ngou*) are the same as the Bhutanese terms. See Northern Monpa terms given by K. Das Gupta, (1968: 166), *An Introduction to Central Monpa*. Shillong, N. E. F. A. : Philological Section, Research Department, North-East Frontier Agency. There have been migrations of Bhutanese (locally called Drukpas) into Monpa and Sherdupken tribal areas of northeast India, as well as into Penakö, Southern Tibet (where the tunic-style dress is also said to be worn). See P. T. Nair (1985: 70-76), *Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh*. Gauhati, Assam: Spectrum Publications. Djop informants from Merak Sakteng spoke of their close relationship with the Monpas.

<sup>35</sup> See J. Feldman (1994: 13-14), *The Arc of the Ancestors*. Los Angeles: Fowler Museum of Cultural History, University of California.

<sup>36</sup> The word "*kapur*" means cloth in both Assamese and Bengali. On such protective cloths see S. K. Bhuyan (1965: 67), *Studies in the History of Assam*. New Delhi: Omsons Publications; Satyendranath Sarma (1989: 254), *A Socio-Economic and Cultural History of Medieval Assam*, Guwahati, Assam: Pratima Devi and Government of Assam; S. T. Das (1986: 228 and 231), *Tribal Life of North-Eastern India*. Delhi: Gian Publishing House; and Captain Welsh (1794, reprinted 1989: 387), "Report on Assam," in *The North-East Frontier of India*, Alexander Mackenzie (ed.), New Delhi: Mittal Publications. Welsh and Das have also been cited by Myers and Bean, pp. 52 and 205.

<sup>37</sup> "Ai" also means "grandmother" (Tsh. *a'i*) in East Bhutan, but its widespread usage in Assam indicates that it probably refers to the Goddess.

<sup>38</sup> On human sacrifice by Assamese tribals, see Sir Edward Gait (1966: 59), *A History of Assam*. Calcutta: Thacker Spink; and B. C. Gohain (1977), *Human Sacrifice and Head Hunting in North Eastern India*. Gauhati: Lawyer's Book Stall. On the confusion regarding these names, see Gait, *op. cit.*, pp. 299-300; B. N. Bordoloi (1984: 1), *The Dimasa Kacharis of Assam*. Guwahati, Assam: Tribal Research Institute; and S. T. Das, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

<sup>39</sup> See J. H. Hutton (1968: 378-9), *The Sema Nagas*, N. Y.: Oxford University Press, on the interconnections between these tribes. The Kachari, Garo and Sema Nagas have close linguistic ties; and the rounded, wooden Ao Naga pillars

Assam and Bengal Doors, in particular the Mechs, were the former slaves of Bhutan. They made up a not inconsiderable part of the country's population, and were forcibly intermarried with the Bhutanese, which thus allowed Assamese tribal traditions to permeate Bhutanese culture.<sup>40</sup> In fact, one etymology of the *mensimart'ra* variety of *aikapur* textiles is *mechi mat'a*, signifying a cloth originating with the Mech tribals of Assam.<sup>41</sup>

There are, in addition, two other seemingly contradictory etymologies of the word "*mentsimart'ra*": one is the word "*sman-rtse-dmar-khra*" (Dz.), from "*men-tsi-dar*" (Dz.), referring to the Chinese silk (C. *mianzi*) traditionally used to cover Buddhist *thangka* paintings; and the second is "*mon-gser dmar-khra*" (Dz., "a gold and red-colored cloth with indigenous, or Monpa associations"), referring possibly to the indigenous, non-Buddhist Monpas of South-Central Bhutan.<sup>42</sup> The fact that the names of such cloths as *mensimat'a* may be derived from words that have both Buddhist and tribal/non-Buddhist associations is part of the *dialogue* between the two religions, in keeping with the intertwining of both Buddhist and shamanistic motifs on the textiles themselves.

Of the *aikapur* category of cloths, the *mönt'a* (Dz. *mon-'thag*) variety adorned with several shamanistic motifs, and possibly linked to the Monpas, as its name implies, is said to represent the oldest, indigenous weaving.<sup>43</sup> It is also the only *aikapur* type (and one of the few Bhutanese cloths) worn only by women. Between the rainbow stripes, the textile exhibits, among other designs, the *drami* (fig. 3a), the bull-horns/arrow motif (fig. 3b) and the Buddhist *dorje* (Dz. *rdo-rje*, "powerbolt sceptre," fig. 3c), as well as motifs signifying fishbones with rays/fish backbone? (Dz. *zer-pa nya-sog?* fig. 3d), scissors (Dz. *gyem-tse*, T. *jem-tse*, fig. 3e) and horse's teeth (Dz. *rta-so*, fig. 3f).<sup>44</sup> The designs representing hard, protruding objects are said to be male motifs, as opposed to the female *drami* (net) motif previously discussed.

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(similar in their connotations of fertility to the Y-shaped posts of the Garos and Sema Nagas) most closely approximate the phallic shape of the stone megaliths erected by the Kachari kings at Dimapur (at the entrance to Nagaland) in the 16th century.

<sup>40</sup> On such intermarriage see *Political Missions to Bootan, Comprising the Reports of the Hon'able Ashley Eden, 1864, Capt. R. B. Pemberton, 1837, with Dr. William Griffith's Journal, and the Account of Kishen Kant Bose* (1865, reprinted 1972), H. Kuloy (ed.), New Delhi: Manjushri Press, p. 43. Regarding Assamese traditions, a cactus-like plant (*Euphorbia griffithii*), which has blood-red leaves and emits a milk-white fluid when cut, is used by the Central Bhutanese for black mud dyeing. The related *Euphorbia splendens* tree is revered by the Mechs/Kacharis (and also by the Nagas), who regard it as a living symbol of the god Bathan (guardian of family well-being), and who worship the tree in conjunction with the Goddess Ai, represented by a raised altar in Mech houses, where females make offerings at the time of the menses. See S. Endle (1911: 30 and 36), *The Kacharis*. London: Macmillan.

<sup>41</sup> Myers and Bean, p. 211.

<sup>42</sup> See Myers and Bean, p. 220, and F. Pommaret (1994b), "Entrance-keepers of a Hidden Country: Preliminary Notes on the Monpas of South-Central Bhutan," in *The Tibet Journal* XIX (3), 46-62. "Mon," which has a variety of meanings, may also mean southerly or aboriginal (implying non-Buddhist), in general.

<sup>43</sup> Lopen Pemala (*sLob-dpon Pad-ma*), one of my informants, is also cited by Myers and Bean, p. 212.

<sup>44</sup> A variant of fig. 3f may be "tiger's teeth" (Dz. *stag-so*). Other *mönt'a* designs (not pictured) are the "butterfly" (Tsh. *phen-phen-ma*), widely distributed in Asia as the eight-pointed star, and the "fruit pattern/betel-nut tree" (Tsh. *se-rig-pa/gu-ge-shing*), a Bhutanese design also seen on Assamese textiles nearly 200 years old in the museum of Cotton College, Gauhati.

## VI. Textiles, motifs and costumes of the *dpa'-mo*, *dpa'-bo*, and *bsnyen-jo-mo* shamans

The above-mentioned motifs in the *mönt'a* cloth very nearly replicate objects attached to the belt worn by a female shaman (illus. 1), or *pamo* (Kh. *dpa'-mo*), from Kheng (located in the same general linguistic region of Bhutan as is the Bumthang-speaking Kurtö District).<sup>45</sup> Dangling from her belt are bones, teeth, tusks, bells and a piece of metal shaped as a sieve (possibly a representation of the *drami*, although made of metal), all of which act as armor to protect the shaman in battles with hostile spirits. The sieve, according to the *pamo*, acts as a net to strain out evil influences emanating from the lower and sky worlds, which might cause harm to humans.<sup>46</sup> Similar animal teeth and boars' tusks adorn her crossed bandoliers, which, according to the *pamo*, are brocaded with designs important for the success of her seances.<sup>47</sup> In addition to her typically shamanic headband terminating in streamers, the *pamo* also wears an old-fashioned, dagger-like fibula (*tinkap*, Dz. *'thin-khab*), rarely worn nowadays (except by West Bhutanese female nomads from Laya), which is essential for impaling demons. Three of the *pamo's* assistants play unusual barrel-like drums beaten with curved sticks, which I did not encounter elsewhere in Bhutan (illus. 2);<sup>48</sup> although the *pamo* herself does not carry a drum, but, rather, a bell (T. *dril-bu*) and a basketry fan. In this region of Bhutan, the *pamo* officiates at a three-day harvest festival (similar to the *Bonchö* festival of Kurtö), in which one of her five female assistants carries a wooden phallus to present to barren women;<sup>49</sup> and thus here, too, the overriding emphasis is on fertility.

Textiles are often featured as a "house-like" canopy on shamanic altars, as in ceremonies I witnessed in Kheng performed by *pawo* mediums for illness-curing, and also for house-inauguration. As previously mentioned, the rainbow stripes and x-shaped "legs/steps" (which comprise the bars between design motifs) refer to ladder and bridge symbolism. According to his recitation while in a trance state, one such *pawo* stated that he walked in these "steps" when traversing the "bridge" between earth and sky, and that there were nine "steps" between earth and moon, and eleven "steps", in all, between earth and sky. The organization of the textile field thus reiterates the ascensional theme of the shaman's journey to other worlds. In addition, the numbers nine and eleven correspond to the typical number of "legs" contained within a bar between rainbow stripes in the finest Bhutanese men's robes.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>45</sup> See B. Michailovsky and M. Mazaudon (1994), "Preliminary Notes on the Languages of the Bumthang Group," in *PIATS Fagernes 1992*, 545-557.

<sup>46</sup> Since a house is a miniature "cosmos," the bamboo latticework on Bhutanese houses may have a similar symbolic function of "sieving out" inauspicious influences.

<sup>47</sup> To her bandoliers are also attached metal disks, in which she sees reflections of gods present at her seances.

<sup>48</sup> This drum is also employed by the *Llü-bu* female shaman in the linguistically related Na-khi tribal areas of the Sino-Tibetan borderlands. See J. Rock, (1959: 798), "Contributions to the Shamanism of the Tibetan Chinese Borderland," in *Anthropos*, 54, 796-817.

<sup>49</sup> In some villages, the officiator at the *Lha-chen Bon-mchod* festival may be a Bonpo (rather than a *pamo*), who performs ceremonies in the village monastery and in the house of the village headman (Dz. *gup*, T. *gyad-po*), where village males present barren women with a bundle of wooden phalli.

<sup>50</sup> See Eliade, p. 21, on bridge symbolism. Rarely would a textile contain thirteen or more "legs" in a bar. The *pawo* also mentioned that the "sky palaces" of gods whom he "visited" during seances were covered with Bhutanese textile motifs.

## VII. Motifs and archaic Bon ceremonial costumes

As has been seen, archaic features of Bhutanese dress are preserved in shamanic costumes. The *nyenjom*, for example, still wears a full-length, sleeveless petticoat beneath her clothing, which is of the same tunic style as the *shingkha* and *kushung* tunics worn in the Bon harvest festival.<sup>51</sup> In the languages of Kurtö, *shingkha*, in fact, still means "petticoat." Nowadays, plain petticoats of tunic style are also traditionally given by a Bhutanese groom to his bride, indicating that he will be innermost to her heart, and perhaps also signifying links with a shamanic past and its attendant concerns with fertility.

Both types of tunics used in the Bon ceremony are adorned with tassels and/or fringes (at the bottom), which act as protective armor against harmful spirits. They are also often adorned around the collar with Buddhist and shamanistic motifs, such as the Buddhist *dorje* and the shamanic rat's teeth motif (K. *nyi-ya-kwa*), consisting of small appliquéd triangles. The latter motif is reminiscent of the animal teeth which, as noted above, adorn the *pamo* shaman's belt.<sup>52</sup>

The male *lhami* standard-bearers at the Bon harvest ceremony wear shamanic cowrie-shell belts, blood-red capes, female ornaments (an egg-shaped amulet at the neck and fibulae on the shoulders) and female headbands of cloth (either around their bare heads or encircling their five-lobed crowns). Such headbands are worn in the form of silver jewelry by "brides" of the Bon deity during the *Bonchö* festival, similar to those worn by Aka female tribals of northeastern India; and turbans ending in long streamers are worn in tribal festivals by Sherdukpen males. As previously mentioned, cloth headbands are worn by female shamans in Kheng, thus strongly identifying headbands, generally, with a shamanistic past.<sup>53</sup>

The *lhami* also wear an ancient vest-like garment called the *pakhi* (L.), which is crossed over the chest and knotted at the shoulders. Traditionally of nettle, this garment was formerly worn by Bhutanese male farmers up to the mid-nineteenth century, but is today worn only by indigenous non-Buddhist tribals (such as the Lhokpu of southern Bhutan), by some Sikkimese Lepchas and by certain northeast Indian tribals, including the Daflas, Sherdukpens and the females of the Naga tribes. In addition to the "hermaphroditic" character of the dress of the *lhami*, there is also an admixture of shamanistic and Buddhist elements in their costumes, since the *pakhi* worn in this harvest festival (in which animal sacrifice takes place) is, paradoxically, not made of tribal nettle fiber, but, rather, of fine yellow Chinese silk (*men-tsi-dar*, or *mianzi*) adorned with red and green rosettes, used, as noted earlier, in a Buddhist context as *thangka* coverings.

## VIII. Motifs and archaic elements in Bhutanese nomads' dress

Archaic modes of dress are also preserved among the semi-nomadic Djop herdsmen of Merak-Sakteng, whose females wear a modern striped version of the *shingkha*, still called by that name. The older *shingkha* or *kushung* tunics from Kurtö, however, are adorned with motifs of horses, birds or deer.<sup>54</sup> Shamans view these animals as messengers between worlds, and as the

<sup>51</sup> That is, the petticoat and the *shingkha/kushung* tunics are put on over the head.

<sup>52</sup> The motif of the dotted line, found especially in the simplest form of *pangkep* (Dz. *spang-khebs*, an all-purpose cloth formerly used as taxes-in-kind), is also said to mean rat's or horse's teeth (see photo of this *pangkep* in Myers and Bean, p. 76, the left textile).

<sup>53</sup> Eliade, p. 147, notes that the headband is a requirement for shamanizing.

<sup>54</sup> Such tunics were still worn in the early twentieth century. See J. C. White (1914: 427), "Castles in the Air," in

proper mounts for their gods, who come riding on such animals at seances.<sup>55</sup> In some *kushung* tunics, horses are even depicted as right-side-up and upside-down, again indicative, perhaps, of the “reverse” shamanic world. Modern jackets, or *normang tötung* (Br? *normang stod-thung*), decorated with such animals, and also with human figures, are worn in daily life by Djop females, as well as by Sherdukpen and Monpa female tribals of Arunachal Pradesh.<sup>56</sup> In the Chhakur festival of the Sherdukpen tribe, males, moreover, wear not only these Bhutanese women's jackets (presumably signifying ritual inversion), but also long sashes (worn in daily life, as well) made of the same fabric and similarly brocaded with animal and human figures. It is possible that such sashes, which hang down at their sides, function as tails connected with fertility.<sup>57</sup> A description of motifs seen on these jackets and sashes may perhaps reinforce this possibility.

### VIII.1. Anthropomorphic/zoomorphic motifs--the horse and rider

Such jackets feature horses bearing on their backs the triple gem motif, which is abstracted as three diamonds to form the overall shape of a triangle (fig. 4a). Human figures in frontal pose on horses or elephants, many with upraised arms, are also represented on these jackets; and some of these figures are similarly geometricized as a triangle, except for the diamond-shaped head at the apex of the triangle and the upraised arms at the sides (fig. 4b). These same horse and rider figures with triangular body in seated or standing position, often with upraised arms, are likewise depicted on ancient *kushung* tunics (fig. 5). In addition, some *torma* (T. *gtor-ma*, “sacrificial cakes”) appearing on ancient *kushung* are borne on the backs of horses and have diamond-shaped “heads,” as well as upraised appendages resembling the upraised arms of the human figures on horseback (fig. 6).

The horse symbolizes the shaman's otherworldly journeys, including those to the abode of the dead.<sup>58</sup> Throughout tribal India, horse and rider figures (though not necessarily with upraised arms) are seen in painting and sculpture. In central India such figures are called “spirit riders,” and are associated with fertility, since they act as a repository for dead spirits in return for ensuring fertility of village fields and protection of village boundaries.<sup>59</sup> In northeastern tribal India and in the Himalayas, horse symbolism is especially evident in harvest festivals centering on fertility.<sup>60</sup> In the Bhutanese harvest ceremony of Kurtö, villagers dance with leafy

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*National Geographic Magazine* (25, no. 4).

<sup>55</sup> See P. Berglie (1982: 154-55), “Spirit Possession in Theory and Practice--Seances with Tibetan Spirit-mediums in Nepal,” in N. Holm (ed.), *Religious Ecstasy*. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 151-165.

<sup>56</sup> See illus. in Elwin, p. 78.

<sup>57</sup> Sherdukpen men and women exchange sashes when they wish to marry. The women's sash, however, is usually plain-colored and much shorter. See R. R. P. Sharma (1961: 18 and photo), *The Sherdukpens*. Shillong, Assam: P. C. Datta.

<sup>58</sup> See Eliade, p. 469, on the horse as a funerary and ecstatic symbol.

<sup>59</sup> See S. Kramrisch (1968), *Unknown India: Ritual Art in Tribe and Village*. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art. C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, *op cit.* 1982: 172, alludes to a ritual horseback riding among the Northern Monpas of Arunachal Pradesh in connection with their *Plha* Bon harvest festival. In addition, the Bhutanese had a tradition of horse racing.

<sup>60</sup> At the Ladakhi *Shel Srubs-lha* harvest festival, dancers carrying leafy branches ride hobby horses, as do the Garo tribals of northeast India.



branches representing the tails of the horses of local divinities,<sup>61</sup> and also perform dances imitating copulation.

Horse and rider figures from northeastern India may be seen in Naga three-dimensional wooden sculptures and in Aka tribal poker-work on bamboo implements.<sup>62</sup> Naga sculpture, jewelry and textiles (in which figures are often comprised of cowries) also portray standing or half figures (abstracted as a V-shape) with upraised arms (fig. 7). Such figures represent sacrificed victims, and are a sign of the victorious headhunter, who has accumulated the life-conferring powers of the sacrificed victims (concentrated in the head) for the well-being of the entire community.<sup>63</sup> Some older Bhutanese *chaksi pangkep* (Dz. *phyag-gsil spang-khebs*, "towel" or "lap cover") similarly feature standing figures with upraised arms, though cowries are not used.<sup>64</sup> A rare *kushuthare* (K. *skud-shud-thag-ras*, the contemporary Bhutanese woman's dress) portrays six such figures holding unidentified objects in their uplifted arms (illus. 3). It would be tempting, indeed, to identify them with the *pamo* and her five assistants, who, as noted earlier, are connected with fertility rituals. Finally, the previously-mentioned Bhutanese *normang tötung* jackets, in addition to geometricized human figures, also feature realistically depicted figures with upraised arms standing (facing frontally) on horse- or elephant-back (fig. 8a).

There is, then, an ambiguous blurring of the borders or *transformation* between the triple gem on horseback with its possible Buddhist associations, the horse-borne *torma*, and the seated/standing figures with upraised arms on horseback (or standing figures on the ground) having links with sacrifice, hence fertility. Such *transformations* are, moreover, logically sensible, since *torma*, as ransom cakes offered to pacify bloodthirsty demons, replaced blood sacrifice, and thus mediate between shamanism and Buddhism.

### VIII.2. Bird motifs

Another zoomorphic motif expressive of the mundane aspects of religion and appearing on Bhutanese textiles is that of birds, including peacocks (and possibly pheasants), the black-necked crane (*Grus nigricollis*), cocks and falcons, among others. Because of its immense height of five feet and its long legs and beak, undoubtedly it is the crane (Dz. *trung-trung*, T. *kh rung-kh rung*), a supreme symbol of longevity in many Asian countries, which is depicted on an ancient Bhutanese *chaksi pangkep* (fig. 9). The most commonly represented birds on Bhutanese woven textiles, however, are the gallinaceous birds: peacocks, and possibly monal pheasants, recognizable by their long tails and fan-shaped crest of their crowns. The peacock

<sup>61</sup> Also described by Pommaret (1994c: 663).

<sup>62</sup> Illustrated in Elwin, p. 97 (the right figure, in the sixth row from the top).

<sup>63</sup> P. Barbier (1984: 19), *Art of Nagaland*. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art (see also illus., plates 42 and 43). In Sumba, Indonesia, such standing figures with upraised arms seen on textiles (the figures are also frequently delineated with cowries) are associated with ancestors. Although the Nagas (presently Tibeto-Burman speakers) are comprised of a number of tribes, who may have spoken Austronesian and/or Austroasiatic languages at one time, the history of their migrations in relation to those of other Southeast Asian peoples, as well as the history of the spread of such art motifs between Indonesia, mainland Southeast Asia and Nagaland, remains unknown. Feldman, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 and 73, theorizes that figures with upraised arms, seen as reliefs on Sa'dan Toraja (Indonesian) ancestral tomb doors, often in conjunction with buffalo, act as door guardians of tomb entrances, and may symbolize a two-dimensional portrayal of sculpted, squatting figures with hands on chin, representing ancestor figures throughout Southeast Asia. See illustrations of Indonesian figures with upraised arms on textiles, pp. 164-5, in M. Gittinger (1990), *Splendid Symbols. Textiles and Tradition in Indonesia*. Singapore, Oxford University Press.

<sup>64</sup> See illus. in Myers and Bean, p. 132, the left textile, the top and bottom two rows.

and bull-horns/arrow motif on woven textiles are thus the respective counterparts of the phoenix bird and Chinese longevity trigram appearing on appliquéd textiles produced by men.

The body parts of the peacock, including the meat and feathers, are believed to ward off evils, and are also valued in ayurvedic medicine as a cure for infertility.<sup>65</sup> In northeastern India, fans made of the tail feathers of such birds are used, along with a ritual bell, by Mishmi tribal shamans to dispel harmful spirits at funeral ceremonies;<sup>66</sup> and similar fans are also used by Apatani shamans (while scattering rice) to increase the fertility of the soil.<sup>67</sup> Since, as previously noted, the *pamo* shaman of Kheng, Bhutan, carries a bamboo fan, it may be that, as bamboo is regarded as the “wealth” of Kheng, her fan serves the same functions that fans of bird feathers do in tribal India.<sup>68</sup>

Peacock feathers are, moreover, worn in the tall cylindrical hats of the hereditary male Bonpo priests officiating in the *Plha* festival, the version of the Bon harvest festival, as noted earlier, which is celebrated by the Northern Monpas of Arunachal Pradesh,<sup>69</sup> who are culturally and linguistically related to the Bhutanese of Central and northeastern Bhutan (including Kurtö). Bird symbolism and the association of birds with prosperity<sup>70</sup> are also central to the Bhutanese Bonchö ceremony, in the standards bedecked with cock feathers (representing the mountain god as a cock) carried by the *lhami* officiators, in the sacrifice of a pheasant (as well as five fish,<sup>71</sup> likewise emblematic of fertility) to the local mountain deity in some Kurtö villages, and in the representation of cocks and long-tailed birds (perhaps including pheasants) on the *kushung* tunics worn by the young “brides” of the mountain deity.<sup>72</sup> Bhutanese *nornang tötung* jackets feature long-tailed birds perched on the backs of horse-like creatures, which appear to have the manes and torsos of horses, the upraised tails and three-pronged feet of birds, and a peacock's comb atop their heads (fig. 8b). Such ambiguous creatures may possibly represent a pun-like allusion to soul-flight,<sup>73</sup> or to the divinities of luck in the form of birds; but both

<sup>65</sup> P. T. Nair (1977: 60-61), *The Peacock*. Calcutta: Firma K. L. M. The falcon, the feathers of which are probably also endowed with evil-averting powers, is occasionally seen on women's *kushuthare* dresses, as shown in an example on permanent display at the Museum of Ethnography in Neuchâtel, Switzerland. Y. En-hong (1993: 440), “The Forms of Chanting Gesar and the Bon Religion of Tibet,” in *PATH Zürich 1990*, 433-441, mentions the “devil-crushing” powers of eagle feathers. The falcon, also a bird of prey, belongs to the same bird family (*falconidae*).

<sup>66</sup> E. Dalton (1872, reprinted 1960: 13), *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*. Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya.

<sup>67</sup> C. von Fürer-Haimendorf (1955: 167), *Himalayan Barbary*. London: John Murray.

<sup>68</sup> Possibly the fan, of latticework weave, also acts as a “net” to admit good, and to strain out evil influences. Some standards carried by the *lhami* in the Bonchö festival are likewise of bamboo latticework.

<sup>69</sup> See photograph in C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, *op. cit.*, 1982, pp. following p. 120. Also, the Central Monpas of Dirang, Arunachal Pradesh, normally wear a peacock feather wound around their felt hats (P. T. Nair, *op. cit.*, 1985: 73); and Kham-Magar Nepalese shamans wear a costume comprised of feathers of the blue monal pheasant, which displays its tail like the peacock. The word used to denote the shaman himself is, in fact, “peacock” (*rma*, T. *rma-bya*). See D. Watters, (1975: 137), “Shamanism among the Kham-Magars,” in *Journal of the Institute of Nepal and Asia Studies*. Kirtipur, Nepal: Tribhuvan University, 2 (1), 122-165.

<sup>70</sup> See Pommaret (1994c: 660) on the distinction between the *phyu* and the *phyva*.

<sup>71</sup> See Myers, *op. cit.*, p. 77 on animal sacrifice associated with the festival in certain villages.

<sup>72</sup> Older *chaksi pangkep* cloths portray peacocks enclosed by bands of standing humans with upraised arms, and some relatively modern textiles also feature similar human figures holding birds in their hands (possibly emblematic of bird sacrifice). See illus. in Myers and Bean, pp. 68 and 132 (the borders of the left textile).

<sup>73</sup> D. Holmberg (1989: 161), *Order in Paradox*. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University, mentions a ritual implement of the Tamang *bombo* shaman symbolizing the shaman's soul flight, which depicts a *bombo* on horseback.

horses and peacocks are connected with good fortune and fertility.

### IX. The *gter-bdag*, the State Oracle of Bhutan

In the same district of Kurtö, where the Bon harvest festival is held, practices the lay oracle, or *terdak*. He is the lord of Khenpajong (K. *mKhan-pa-ljongs*), a hidden land (T. *sbas-yul*) in Kurtö, which, presumably, like its counterpart in Nepal, also called Khenbalung,<sup>74</sup> grants prosperity, health and fertility (as in the birth of children) to the community as a whole. Perhaps similarly to much of the textile design symbolism, the oracle, too, occupies an ambiguous position between Buddhism and shamanism. Like the Tibetan oracles described by Joseph Rock, Nebesky-Wojkowitz and others, he is a medium into whom the "oath-bound" gods (bound by Padmasambhava to protect Buddhism) of the pre-Buddhist warrior (*btsan*) class descend, and through whom these gods speak successively, as he changes his ceremonial hats.

Appropriately, the appliquéd silk brocade costume of the oracle I witnessed was made by the Dowager Queen (*Ashi*) Püntso Chödrön,<sup>75</sup> mother of the third King of Bhutan, Jigme Dorje Wangchuk, Kurtö being the district from which the present Royal Family originated. The costume (T. *btsan-chas*), typical of oracles acting as mediums for *tsan* deities, included a red outer robe covering a yellow jacket (*tögo*); a blue cloud collar (T. *stod-le*) held in place by crossed silken bandoliers and a sash; a black apron (T. *spang-khebs*) of the type worn by wrathful deities; a thumb ring (K. *tepkor*, T. *bkras-'khor*) for tapping a mirror (K. *me-long*) attached by the bandoliers to the chest; weapons, such as an axe (K. *tari*, T. *sta-ri*) and a noose with iron hook (K. *shakpa*, T. *shags-pa*), typically used by *btsan* deities; a *phur-pa* (T.) attached to a diamond-shaped cloth (K. *yabdar*, T. *gyab-dar*) on which was stitched a hand in palmer position for summoning spirits; a metal goat stove (K. *Ra Jetsun?* T. *Ra rJe-btsun?*) swathed in brocaded silk; and, finally, six ceremonial hats. Except for the red military hat with visor and lappets representing *dGe-bsnyen Jag-pa-me-len* (Dz.), the protective deity and warrior god (*dralha*, T. *dgra-lha*) of Bhutan, and the deep, bowl-shaped, gold-colored hat topped by a half-figure of a green bird (illus. 4), representing the raven-headed Rahu (K. *Drang-srong*),<sup>76</sup> the

<sup>74</sup> The Bhutanese hidden valley is also called *mKan-pa-lung* or *mKhan-pa-ljongs*. See M. Aris (1979: 60-70 and 307), *Bhutan, the Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom*. Warminster, England: Aris and Phillips, and also H. Diemberger (1993), "Gangla Tsechu, Beyul Khenbalung: Pilgrimage to Hidden Valleys, Sacred Mountains and Springs of Life Water in Southern Tibet and Eastern Nepal," in *PATH, Zurich 1990*, 60-72, on these hidden valleys of medicinal herbs (T. *khen-pa*, "artemisia") with similar names in Bhutan and Nepal. The valleys in both Bhutan and Nepal are associated with Khyi-kha Rathod (T. *Khyi-kha-ra-thod*, "Dog-mouth Goat-skull"), the unnatural son born to a Queen of the Tibetan King, Thri-song-de-tsen. Because of his dog's face and goat's horns, the boy was banished, firstly to southern Tibet, then to Kurtö Khenpajong and, ultimately, to Bumthang, Central Bhutan. Subsequently, Kurtö Khenpajong was made a hidden land by Padmasambhava, who entrusted it to treasure guardians. However, originally, according to the oracle I interviewed, the *terdak* oracle did not appear in Kurtö, but in Bumthang. The lay oracle, who practiced prior to this oracle's brother (his brother ceased prophesying due to becoming ritually impure because of smoking), held seances in both Bumthang and Kurtö districts. He is now deceased, but was a relative of the oracle I witnessed. The latter's son was also expected to become an oracle. This contradicts the findings of Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956: 420 and 425), who states that, in contrast to the hereditary *pawo* and *nyenjom* mediums, the profession of oracle is non-hereditary, since the oracle theoretically selects his successor while in a state of possession, or a neophyte attains the position by passing appropriate tests.

<sup>75</sup> The Royal Grandmother of the present Bhutanese King.

<sup>76</sup> The wrathful nine-headed form of Rahu, whose topmost head is a raven, is the Indian ruler of the planetary gods (T. *gZa'*), called *Drang-srong* as a class (see Nebesky-Wojkowitz, pp. 259-60). Doubtless the hat worn here also refers to the raven-headed form of Mahākāla (the Mahākāla of Action), the main guardian of the Bhutanese Drukpa sect, who appeared in a prophetic dream to the Lama Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal, beckoning him southwards

other four hats were of the trapezoidal *btsan-zhwa* (T.) type. These included two nearly identical red hats adorned with three-dimensional skulls, one belonging to *rGyal-po* (K.), or Pehar, King of the *dharmapālas*, and the other, to *Tsimara* (K.), i.e., *rTsi'u dmar-po* (T.), leader of the red *btsan* demons. The remaining two hats included a red one belonging to the “goat born” *Zo-ra-ra-skyes* (K.),<sup>77</sup> the *terdak's* own god, and a black hat representing the *terdak*, the four “treasure-masters” who possess the oracle called by the same name.<sup>78</sup> Of these four “treasure guardians” of past (hidden) teachings distributed in the four directions, *Dam-can* (“Oath-bound”) *rDo-rje Legs-pa* (T.), usually seen in art astride a goat, is here represented by the above-mentioned stave topped by a metal half-figure of a goat.<sup>79</sup> Such paraphernalia is found within the tradition of Tibetan oracles studied by Nebesky-Wojkowitz and Rock.

In contrast to the *pawo*, who engages in “soul flight,” and thus himself plays the large Lamaic drum (T. *rgna*), as well as the small *damaru* (Skt., “hourglass drum”), the *terdak* is accompanied by a lay lama orchestra. Yet despite his “Buddhist-oriented” setting and accoutrements, the *terdak* is, in fact, called by villagers the *terdak pawo*; and his altar, like that of the *pawo* medium, is adorned with both “male” and “female” offerings: Buddhist *thangka* paintings and swords produced by men superimposed on textiles woven by women. Moreover, contrary to the observations of Bhutanese oracles made subsequent to my fieldwork by other Western scholars,<sup>80</sup> the oracle whom I witnessed engaged in illness-curing by “sucking poisons” from the stomach of a patient, as do the *lha-pa* village mediums in Ladakh. A small wooden figure, identified as a *bodhisattva* and ornamented with a male organ of sculpted, colored butter atop the head (illus. 5), was used in this oracle's ceremony, perhaps to frighten, by its explicit sexuality, illness- or obstacle-causing demons. As an aid to the efficacy of the ceremony, which was performed not only for the sake of prediction on my behalf, but also to cure a sick villager, the oracle permitted me, with the help of his two lay assistants, to “ritually disembowel” him with his own sword.<sup>81</sup> Engaged, as is the *pawo*, in illness-curing, and connected with the mundane benefits of religion, as lord of a hidden land bestowing health and fertility, the *terdak* thus transcends the polarization of types of religious practitioners (*pawo versus* oracle) seen in the opposition of textile technologies (woven *versus* appliquéd textiles) discussed at the outset of this paper.

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from Tibet to establish the Bhutanese State. Moreover, the present hereditary Wangchuk Dynasty wears the Raven Crown. The original version of the Raven Crown was designed in the latter half of the nineteenth century as the embodiment of a pair of warrior gods (*dralha*): the Raven-Headed Mahākāla of Action (*Legön Jarok Dongchen*, T. *Las mgon bya rog gdong can*) and the Northern Demon (*Jangdü*, T. *Byang-bdud*). See M. Aris (1994: 56-7), *The Raven Crown*. London: Serindia.

<sup>77</sup> The deity is part of the entourage of *rDo-rje Legs-pa* (Nebesky-Wojkowitz, p. 156). He is also a treasure guardian and local spirit of sTang, Bumthang, and his name (T. *ra-skyes*), like that of Khyi-kha Ra-thod, refers to a goat (Aris, *op. cit.*, 1979: 301).

<sup>78</sup> In the small outdoor ceremony I observed, *Tsimara*, *Jagpamelen* and *Zoraraskyes* only were featured (in that order); but on important occasions, all six hats, and especially that of *Drang-srong*, are worn.

<sup>79</sup> See Nebesky-Wojkowitz, pp. 94, 154-159 and 410-417, for a description of this *dralha*.

<sup>80</sup> According to F. Pommaret (oral presentation, 7th IATS, 1995), the *terdak* oracle she witnessed did not engage in illness-curing practices, which suggests that there is a hierarchy of oracles.

<sup>81</sup> The oracle undoubtedly had cloth tucked in at his waist to avoid injury. Sword feats are typical of oracles' seances, as described by Rock (1959), *op. cit.*

### Conclusion

Since I have discussed Bhutanese textiles and shamanism in the context of similar traditions in neighboring regions, perhaps I may conclude that what is unique to Bhutan is the country's ability to assimilate diverse bits and pieces of motifs and traditions, like Lévi-Strauss' *bricoleur*, and to reinterpret them in the framework of its own culture as visual puns and metaphors. Metaphors have been understood in this paper in three ways: as gender motifs reflected in the costumes of the various Bhutanese religious officiants, as design motifs seen on Bhutanese textiles used in diverse contexts, and as elements reflective of sources of traditions, which include the cultures of the autochthonous Mon tribals and the former slave populations of Bhutan. The overall preoccupation of Bhutanese culture with fertility in its various aspects has in turn cross-cut the three themes treated here of costumes, design motifs and sources of tradition. An in-depth study of related traditions, and also of patterns of trade and migrations in Assam and tribal northeastern India, the territories adjacent to Eastern Bhutan (where most textiles are produced), remains for the future.

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Illustration 1



Illustration 2

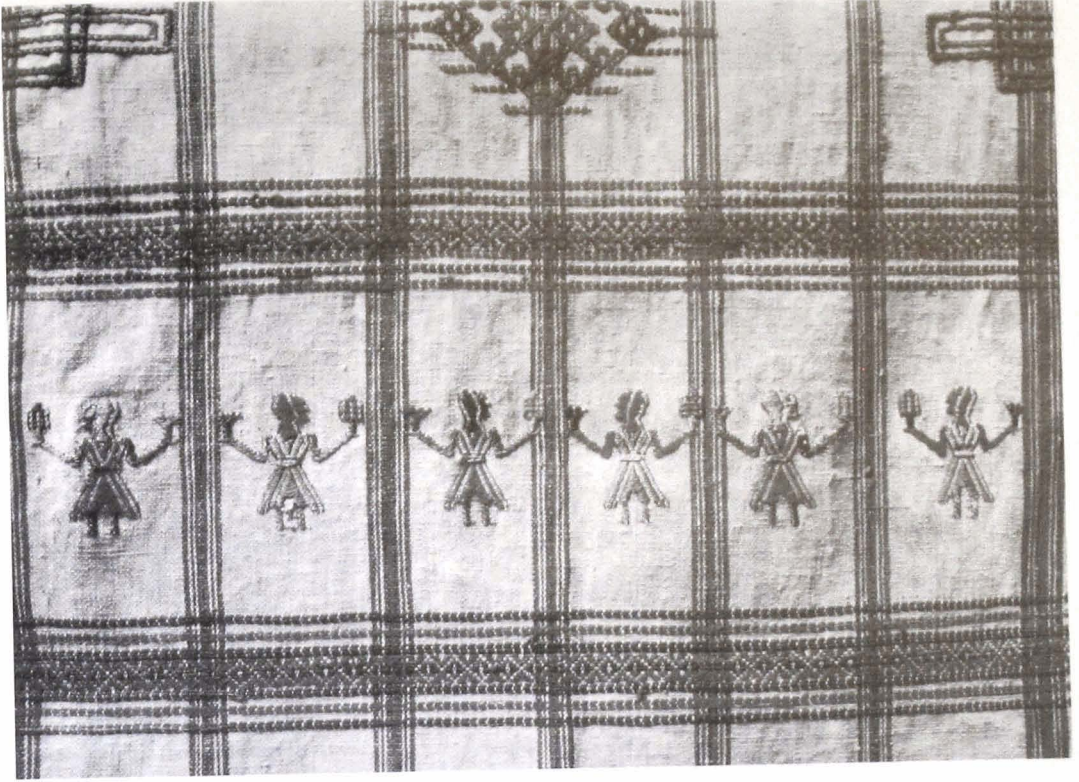


Illustration 3

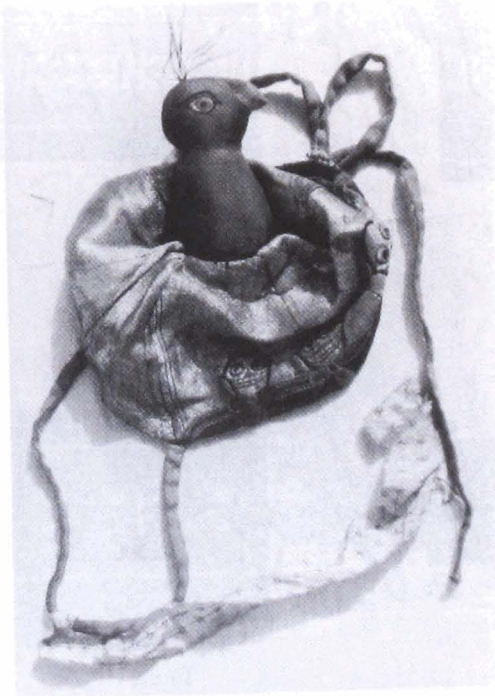


Illustration 4



Illustration 5

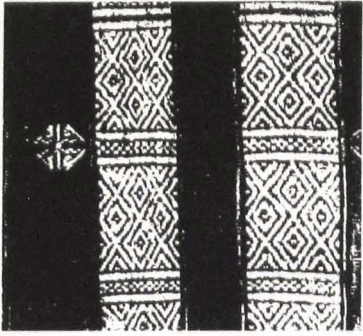


figure 1

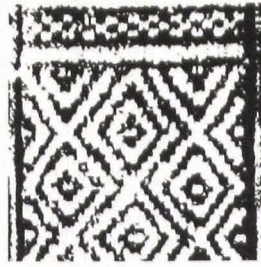


figure 1a



figure 1b



figure 2a

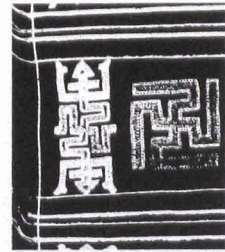


figure 2b

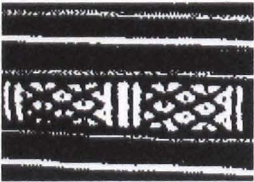


figure 3a

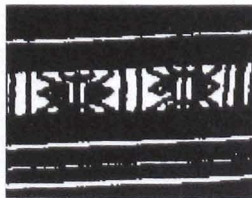


figure 3b

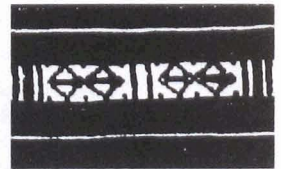


figure 3c

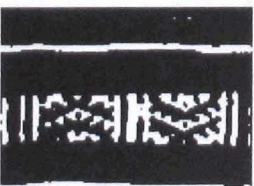


figure 3d



figure 3e

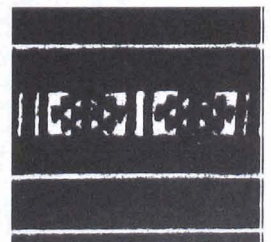


figure 3f



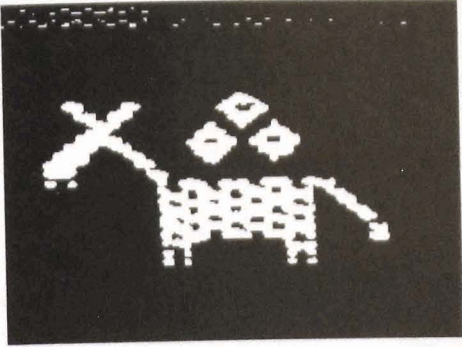


figure 4a



figure 4b

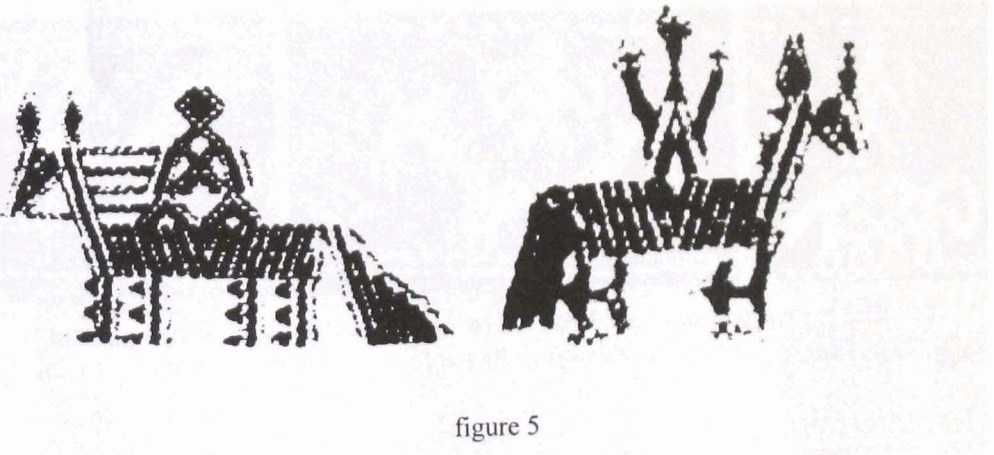


figure 5

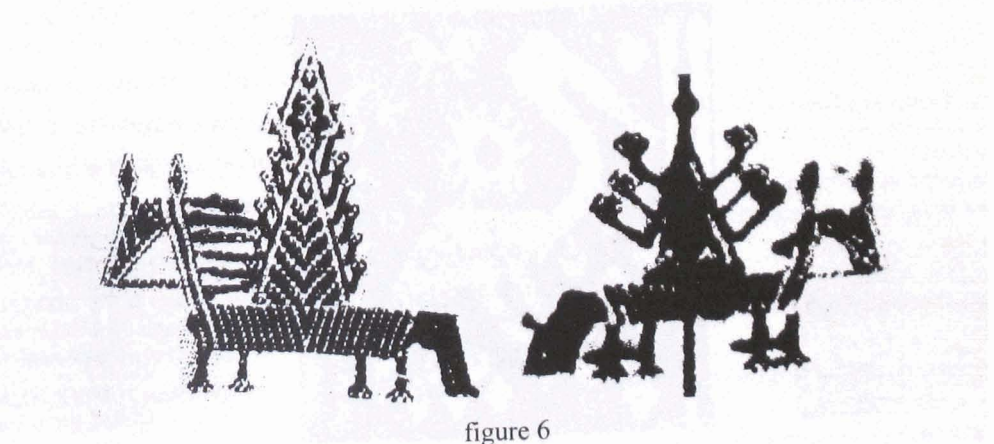


figure 6



figure 7

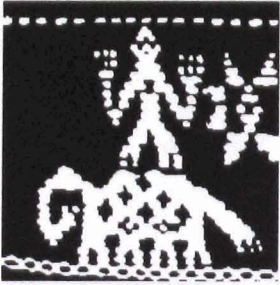


figure 8a

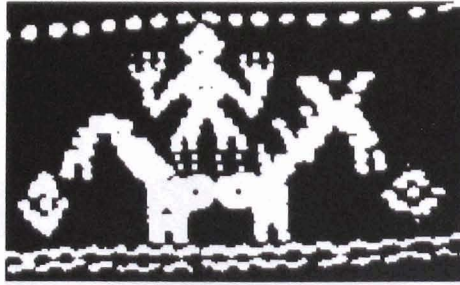


figure 8b



figure 9

# TSON KHA PA ON *DON BYED NUS PA*

by

Chizuko Yoshimizu, Tokyo

I have previously discussed Tson kha pa's acceptance of the idea of "capacity for efficacy" (*arthakriyāsāmarthya* / *arthakriyāśakti*, *don byed nus pa*) in the Pramāṇa school<sup>1</sup> and its problematical relationship to the Prāsaṅgika ontological position in my earlier papers on *ran gi mtshan ñid kyis grub pa*.<sup>2</sup> In his first significant work on Madhyamaka philosophy, the *Lam rim chen mo*, Tson kha pa frequently uses this term, accepting it under the condition that any substantial entity like the particular (*svalakṣaṇa*), which is defined by Dharmakīrti as ultimate existence (*paramārthasat*),<sup>3</sup> is rejected as a basis of *don byed nus pa*.<sup>4</sup> He, however, does not give any detailed explanation thereof. The following is my attempt to read his intention in the LR with respect to the questions of what kind of power *don byed nus pa* is and what sort of things have *don byed nus pa*.<sup>5</sup>

Quite near the beginning of the LR, there is a section called "Presentation of the refutation of the special Madhyamaka doctrine through the system [in which an identification of an object of negation is too broad]" (*lugs des dbu ma'i thun mon ma yin pa'i khyad chos bkag par bstan pa*),<sup>6</sup> where Tson kha pa introduces a fundamental controversy between Mādhyamikas and their substantialist opponents, adducing the objections stated in the first verse of Chapter XXIV of the MMK as well as in the first verse of the VV of Nāgārjuna, which respectively say:

"If all these [things] lack [self-nature], it follows that there is neither origination nor cessation. Nor do the four noble truths exist for you."<sup>7</sup>

"If the self-nature of all these things exists nowhere, your own words lack self-nature (as well), (whereby you are) not able to negate self-nature."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> As regards the concept "*arthakriyā*" in the Pramāṇa school, cf. e.g. Nagatomi 1967-68, Mikogami 1979, Katsura 1983 and 1984, Harada 1990, Kanō 1991, and Kyūma 1995.

<sup>2</sup> Yoshimizu 1993a: 126-140 and 1994: 343-348.

<sup>3</sup> PV III 3: *arthakriyāsamarthaṃ yat tad atra paramārthasat / anyat saṃvṛtīsat proktaṃ te svasāmānyalakṣaṇe //*

<sup>4</sup> Discussed in Yoshimizu 1993a: 126-139.

<sup>5</sup> My best thanks are due to Prof. G. Dreyfus, Prof. A. Saitō, Prof. D. Seyfort Rugg and Prof. T. J. F. Tillemans for their valuable comments and suggestions. I am also indebted to Mr. R. Giebel, who corrected my English, as well as to Prof. Tsultrim Kelsang Khangkar for an interesting talk and suggestions.

<sup>6</sup> LR 348b2-363a3 (Nagao 1954: 122-150; Napper 1989: 181-215). "*Lugs de*" refers to an interpretation of Madhyamaka philosophy that is to be refuted because of its overly broad identification of the object of negation (*dgag bya ños 'dzin ha cañ khyab ches pa*). See the *sa bcad* in LR 347a6.

<sup>7</sup> MMK XXIV 1: *yadī śūnyam idaṃ sarvaṃ udayo nāsti na vyayaḥ / caturṇām āryasatyānām abhāvas te prasajyate //* Cited in LR 349b1f.

<sup>8</sup> VV 1 (Johnston & Kunst 1978: 42; Bhattacharya 1978: 95): *sarveṣāṃ bhāvānāṃ sarvatra na vidyate svabhāvas cet / tvadvacanam asvabhāvaṃ na nivartayituṃ svabhāvam alam //* Cited in LR 349b2f.

In answer to these objections, Tsoñ kha pa sets forth the special doctrine of Madhyamaka as follows:

"While there does not exist even a particle of self-nature that is established as intrinsically real (*rañ gi ño bos grub pa'i rañ bzin*), all the postulations (*rnam gzag*) concerning *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, such as '(that which is) produced' and 'producer' and 'negation' (*'gog pa*) and 'positive proof' (*bsgrub pa*),<sup>9</sup> are to be admitted."<sup>10</sup>

This is the very doctrine that appears repeatedly in his works,<sup>11</sup> and it declares the position that the Mādhyamika does not deny the relationship of cause and effect, nor the functions of things. The Mādhyamika is by no means a nihilist who negates every existent, for he negates solely the existence of self-nature, based on the theory of non-substantiality (*rañ bzin med pa, niḥsvabhāvatā*) or emptiness (*ston pa ñid, sūnyatā*) and accepts the existence of things which are dependently originated. Hence, the ability of things to produce an effect or to perform an action is to be admitted in accordance with worldly conventions. In the LR, Tsoñ kha pa elucidates this doctrine, relying on the idea of *don byed nus pa*. He says:

"One eliminates the extreme of nihilism (*med pa'i mtha'*) too if one induces an ascertained knowledge (*ñes śes*) which ascertains that things (*dños po rnams*) such as a sprout, etc., cannot be a non-existent (*dños med*) that lacks a capacity for efficacy (*don byed nus pa*), but that they have the power (*mthu*) to perform their respective actions (*rañ rañ gi bya byed*)."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Here the verbs *'gog pa* and *sgrub pa* are used in the same meaning as in the preceding statement of the opponent, which says that if there is no self-nature it is possible neither to negate self-nature nor to prove the non-existence of self-nature (LR 349b3: ... *žes rañ bzin med na rañ bzin 'gog pa dañ rañ bzin med pa bsgrub par mi nus so žes* ....).

<sup>10</sup> LR 349b5f. (Nagao 1954: 124; Napper 1989: 184): *rañ gi ño bos grub pa'i rañ bzin rdul tsam med pa la bskyed bya dañ skyed byed dañ 'gog pa dañ bsgrub pa sogs 'khor 'das kyi rnām bžag thams cad khas blañ pas chog pa (ni dbu ma pa'i khyad chos yin te /)*

<sup>11</sup> Cf. e.g. LR 354a5ff. (Nagao 1954: 134; Napper 1989: 194): *chos rnams la rañ gi ño bos grub pa'i rañ bzin rdul tsam yañ med pa dañ / rañ bzin gyis grub na 'khor 'das kyi rnām gžag thams cad byar med pa dañ rnām gžag de mi byad mi ruñ bas // 'ciñs grol la sogs pa'i rnām bžag thams cad 'jog pas ñes par rañ bzin med pa khas blañ dgos pa la / <= (Nāgārjuna teaches as follows:) All things have no portion of self-nature that is established as intrinsically real. If they were established as intrinsically real, all the postulations concerning *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* would never occur. Yet it is not appropriate that these postulations are not given, so that all the postulations concerning *saṃsāra*, *nirvāṇa* and so on are (to be) given. Hence, one has definitely to admit the non-substantiality (of all things). >; LN 88b2f.: *rañ mtshan gyis grub pa rañ bzin ston pa'i phyogs la 'khor 'das kyi rnām gžag thams cad 'thad par yañ dañ yañ du gsuñs pa la / rtags kyis bsgrub bya sgrub pa dañ tshad mas gžal bya 'jal ba'i bya byed mi ruñ bar 'dzin pa rañ gi blo gros yañ bar ston pa tsam mo // <= [The master Nāgārjuna] repeatedly teaches that, under the condition that [all things] lack self-nature that is established as intrinsically real, all the postulations concerning *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* are appropriate. Those who apprehend as impossible the functions such as logical reason's proving what is to be proven and valid cognition's cognizing what is to be cognized only show (their) weak intelligence. >; GR 139a1f. (cited and translated in Yoshimizu 1994: 327, n. 67): *'phags pa'i gzuñ 'grel tshul la rañ gi mtshan ñid kyis grub pa rdul tsam med kyañ / bya byed thams cad bžag pas chog pa'i 'grel tshul gyi lugs thun moñ ma yin pa 'di la brten nas /***

<sup>12</sup> LR 356b1ff. (Nagao 1954: 188; Napper 1989: 200; cited and translated in Yoshimizu 1993a: 129): *des na chos thams cad la rañ gi ño bos grub pa rdul tsam yañ gdod ma nas med par rtogs pas yod mthar mi ltuñ ba yin la de lta na 'aṅ myu gu la sogs pa'i dños po rnams don byed nus pas ston pa'i dños med du mi 'gro bar rañ rañ gi bya byed pa la mthu yod par ñes pa'i ñes śes 'droñs na med pa'i mtha' spoñ ba yin no //* After this statement, a long passage including the following sentence is adduced from the *Prasannapadā* (LR 356b3-357a1): *sasvabhāvānām eva vyāpārādarsanān niḥsvabhāvānām eva vyāpārādarsanāt* (Pr XVII 329, 16f.; cited and translated in Yoshimizu 1993a: 133).

Cf. also the following statements, where *don byed nus pa* is mentioned: LR 349a4f. (Nagao 1954: 123; Napper 1989: 182): ... *rañ bzin gyis ston pa'i ston pa ñid kyi don ni rten ciñ 'brel par 'byuñ ba'i don yin gyi / don byed nus pas ston pa'i dños po med pa'i don ni ma yin no žes* ... / <= Emptiness (in the sense that things) lack self-nature does

To what kind of an action does Tsoñ kha pa refer here? Good examples are to be found in the following citation from the VVV:

"Things like a vehicle, a cloth, a pot and so on perform their respective actions such as carrying wood, grass and earth, containing honey, water and milk, and protecting a person from cold, wind and heat, although they lack self-nature owing to their being dependently originated (*pratītyasamutpannatvāt*). In the same manner, these words of mine perform (their work) to prove the non-substantiality of things, although they are non-substantial too, owing to their being dependently originated (*pratītyasamutpannatvāt*)."<sup>13</sup>

Candrakīrti's words are also adduced from the CŚT elsewhere:

"Also (things like) a pot, etc., if examined as to whether they are identical with or different from their own causes, cannot possibly exist, but still, owing to dependent designation (*upādāya prajñapti*), they are suitable for performing actions such as containing and scooping honey, water and the like."<sup>14</sup>

It should be noted that the things mentioned in both texts are well-known examples of nominal existence (*prajñaptisat*) in early Buddhist tradition, which is designated in dependence on (*upādāya prajñapti*) its own constituents.<sup>15</sup> For Mādhyamikas, dependent designation is a kind

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mean dependent origination; it does not mean non-existence (in the sense that things) lack a capacity for efficacy. >; LR 357b6-358a3 (cited and translated in Yoshimizu 1993a: 132f.): *de yan rten 'brel gyi don rañ bzin gyis ma skyes pa la bśad pas ni dños po yod par smra ba sel la sgyu ma la sogs pa dañ 'dra ba 'i 'bras bu 'byuñ ba rten 'brel gyi don du bstan pas ni dños po med par smra ba sel ba yin no // des na dños po ni rañ bzin la byed pa dañ don byed nus pa la byed pa gñis las dños po yod par smra ba 'i dños po ni rañ bzin gyis grub pa kho na la bya la dños po med par smra ba 'i dños po ni don byed pa 'i dños po la bya ste de gñis sel ba na rañ bzin bkag ciñ sgyu ma lta bu 'i rgyu 'bras yod par bstan pa 'i phyr ro //*; LR 358b3 (Nagao 1954: 142; Napper 1989: 204f.): *de bzin du phyi nañ gi dños po mams don byed nus pas stoñ pa 'i dños med du 'dod na dños po med par smra ba 'am med mthar ltuñ ba yin gyi ... // <=* Similarly, if you assert that internal and external things are non-existents that lack a capacity for efficacy, you fall into nihilism or the extreme of nihilistic (views). >; LR 362b4 (Nagao 1954: 149; Napper 1989: 214): *des na stoñ pa don byed nus stoñ gi stoñ par ma soñ bar rañ bzin med kyañ rgyu 'bras kyi rten 'brel 'jog sa yod pa zig dgos te // <=* Therefore, emptiness is not emptiness (in the sense that things) lack a capacity for efficacy; there must be a basis for positing dependent origination of an effect on a cause, even though (they are) non-substantial. >; LR 366b1f. (Nagao 1954: 157): *skye ba thams cad bkag na mo gśam gyi bu dañ ri boñ gi rva la sogs pa bzin du don byed pa thams cad kysis stoñ pa 'i dños med du 'gyur ba de lta na rten 'brel med pa 'i skyon du 'gyur ba 'i 'jigs pas don byed nus pa thams cad dañ bral ba 'i mo gśam gyi bu la sogs pa 'i skye ba med pa dañ mi 'dra yi sgyu ma la sogs pa dañ 'dra bas na bden pa 'am rañ bzin gyis skye ba 'gog ces pa 'o // <=* If all originations are negated, [things] would be non-existent like the son of a barren woman and the horns of a hare, which lack all capacities for efficacy. Fearing that if it is so there would be the fault of lacking dependent origination, (Candrakīrti) negates real or intrinsic origination, for (dependent origination) is to be compared to an illusion and the like, but it is not the same as the non-origination of the son of a barren woman and the like, which have nothing to do with all capacities for efficacy. >; LR 370a1 (Nagao 1954: 162): *dños por smra bas ni gzugs sgra sogs la rañ gi mtshan ñid du grub pa 'i rañ bzin med na don byed pa 'i nus pa thams cad kysis stoñ pa 'i dños med du 'dod pas ... // <=* Since the substantialists assert that if visual matter, sound and so forth have no self-nature that is established as intrinsically real, they are non-existents that lack all capacities for efficacy... >; LR 382b6 (Nagao 1954: 186): *don byed nus pa 'i dños po ni tha sñad du 'gog pa ma yin no // <=* Conventionally, the existence of the capacity for efficacy cannot be negated. >

<sup>13</sup> VVV ad VV 22 (Johnston & Kunst 1978: 56, 10-15; Kajiyama 1974: 152, 4-8; Bhattacharya 1978: 108, 5-12; cited in LR 352b4-353a1): *yathā ca pratītyasamutpannatvāt svabhāvaśūnyā api rathapaṭaḡhaṭādayaḡ sveṣu sveṣu kāryeṣu kāṣṡhatīṇamīttikāharaṇe madhūdakapayasāṇi dhāraṇe śītavātāpaparītāṇaprabhītiṣu varīante. evam idaṇi madiyavacanaṇi pratītyasamutpannatvān niḡsvabhāvam api niḡsvabhāvatvāprasādhane bhāvāṇaṇi vartate.*

<sup>14</sup> CŚT XIII (Tillemans 1990: I 196, 11-14; II 115, 9f.; Suzuki 1994: 300, 7-10; cited in LR 440b5f.): *ghaṭādayaḡ ca svakāraṇāt tattvānyatvena vicāryamāṇā na saṇbhavanti. tathāpy upādāya prajñaptiā madhūdakādinaṇi sandhāraṇā-haraṇādīkriyāṇiṣṡpādanayogyā bhavanti.*

<sup>15</sup> In the Sautrāntika and Yogācāra systems the idea of nominal existence is opposed to that of substantial existence

of dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*)<sup>16</sup> as seen in these texts. That is to say, these things are considered to be conventionally existent because of their being dependently originated or designated and, therefore, to have the capacity to perform their own actions. Accordingly, one could say that *don byed nus pa* according to Tsoñ kha pa means both the capacity to produce an effect (e.g. a seed produces a sprout) and the function to perform a useful action (e.g. a pot contains water), but the latter seems to be more important since his main purpose is, following Nāgārjuna, to demonstrate that Mādhyamikas are in a position to negate the self-nature of things and prove the non-existence thereof based on words and reasoning.

It is interesting to see that this double meaning of *don byed nus pa* roughly corresponds to the two kinds of *arthakriyāśakti* expounded by Dharmakīrti, i.e. "particular function" (*pratīnyatā śakti*) and "common function" (*sāmānyā śakti*).<sup>17</sup> *Pratīnyatā śakti* refers to the ability of the particular (*svalakṣaṇa*) to produce an effect either instantaneously or after an interval,<sup>18</sup> while *sāmānyā śakti* is the ability of things to fulfill human purposes such as the function of a pot to contain water.<sup>19</sup> Thus, Tsoñ kha pa's usage of the term "*don byed nus pa*" even seems to include both of Dharmakīrti's two kinds of *arthakriyāśakti*, except that he does not identify the ability of objective things to cause a sensory cognition as *don byed nus pa*.<sup>20</sup>

But the issue is not so simple if one examines Tsoñ kha pa's intention with respect to the question of what sort of things have the *don byed nus pa*. Katsura once indicated that for Dharmakīrti even the common function is a quality of the particular (*svalakṣaṇa*) that is an object of direct perception (*pratyakṣa*), since only the particular is a real existent.<sup>21</sup> In accordance with the *apoha* theory based on the Sautrāntika theory of nominal existence (*prajñaptisat*),<sup>22</sup> it should be understood that the word "pot" is applied to different entities to which the function of containing water is commonly attributed through differentiation from entities which do not have the same function.<sup>23</sup> Both "pot" and its "function of containing water" are universals (*sāmānyalakṣaṇa*) that are conceptually constructed through analysing objects, and yet that which has this function is nothing other than each particular named "pot".

(*dravyasat*). Cf. Yoshimizu 1993a: 116, n. 45; 1994: 335, n. 80.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Yoshimizu 1994: 344f.

<sup>17</sup> Discussed in Nagatomi 1967-68, Mikogami 1979, and Katsura 1983.

<sup>18</sup> For Dharmakīrti's classification of effects, cf. HB I: 62, 1-6, 63, 1-4 (translated in HB II: 54): [*kāryadvaividhyaṃ ca sahakārisaṅjanitaviśeṣaparāṃparotpattidharmakam anyac cāṅkurādivad akṣepakārīndriyavijñānavac ca kāryakāraṇayoḥ svabhāvabhedād*]; "*bras bu rnam pa gñis pa lhan cig byed pas bskyed pa 'i khyad par bigyud pa las 'byuñ ba 'i chos can dañ gzan te / myu gu la sogs pa lta bu dañ mi sdod par bskyed pa 'i dbaṅ po 'i mnam par śes pa lta bu ste / 'bras bu dañ rgyu 'i no bo ñid tha dad pa 'i phyir ro ...* //<= The effect is twofold: 1) (the effect) such as a sprout, etc., that arises from the sequence of particularities produced by co-operating causes and 2) the other such as a cognition through a sense organ which immediately functions. (It is thus divided), for the nature of cause and effect is different. >; cf. Katsura 1983: 100.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. e.g. PV II 100-102 (cited and translated in Mikogami 1979: 81): *rūpādīśaktibhedānām anākṣepeṇa vartate / tatsamānaphalāhetuvyavacchede ghaṭaśrutih // ato na rūpaṃ ghaṭa ity ekādīhikaraṇā śrutih / bhedo 'yam idrśo jātisamudāyābhidhāyinoḥ // rūpādayo ghaṭasyeti tatsāmānyopasarjanāḥ / tacchaktibhedāḥ khyāpyante vācyo 'nyo 'py anyādiśā //*; TSP ad TS 323 = TS154 (indicated in Tamaru 1978: 182).

<sup>20</sup> Note, however, his acceptance of *sākāravāda*. See Yoshimizu 1993a: 137, n. 69.

<sup>21</sup> Katsura 1983: 98ff.

<sup>22</sup> As regards the Sautrāntika background of the *apoha* theory, see Hattori 1977a and 1977b.

<sup>23</sup> Hattori 1977a: 55; 1977b: 164f.

To what extent Tsoñ kha pa was aware of this point when he adopted the idea of *don byed nus pa* from the Pramāṇa school is unclear. Neither the epistemological analysis of objects according to the concepts of particular (*svalakṣaṇa*) and universal (*sāmānyalakṣaṇa*) nor the *apoha* theory is a matter of interest in his Madhyamaka presentation. Yet, if one consults his works on the logico-epistemological system of Dharmakīrti, such as the *Tshad ma'i brjed byañ*,<sup>24</sup> the problem may be more or less clarified.<sup>25</sup> In the *Tshad ma'i brjed byañ* he deals with the *apoha* theory, focussing upon its difficult points, and he follows the idea that there are real universals (*spyi, sāmānya*) in order to avoid the undesired consequence of the *apoha* theory that conception (*rtog pa, kalpanā/ vikalpa*) operates solely on unreal things and does not have any contact with real existence.<sup>26</sup> Since I am still not really able to understand details of this discussion, I will confine myself to pointing out some similarities of thought between the two texts, *i.e.* the LR and the *Tshad ma'i brjed byañ*, with regard to the concept of *don byed nus pa* here under consideration. Namely, he possibly sees the same difficulty in the *apoha* theory and in the Madhyamaka theory of non-substantiality, and tries to defend in both theories the position that nominal existents or objects of conceptions are not excluded from having functions to perform their own actions. Though this is just my assumption for the time being, I wish to explain it hereafter.

Tsoñ kha pa elucidates a problem that might arise through a misunderstanding of the *apoha* theory:

"We also see the explanation that universal (*spyi, sāmānya*), difference (*bye brag, viśeṣa*), logical reason (*rtags, liṅga*), what is to be proven (*bsgrub bya, sādhyā*), example (*dpe, dīṣṭānta*), negation (*dgag pa, pratiśedha*), positive proof (*sgrub pa, vidhi*), one (*gcig, eka*), different (*tha dad, anya/ nānā/ bhinna*) and so forth are superimposed (*sgro btags*) by conception (*rtog pa*). If [however, one conceives that] insofar as something is a universal it is pervaded by being superimposed and similarly logical reason, etc., are so pervaded, then it follows that there would be neither general capacities for efficacy (*don byed nus pa phal pa*),<sup>27</sup> which are required when one seeks an effect, nor a basis of the postulations (*rnam gźag bya sa*)<sup>28</sup> of [things] such as omniscience, which is the main aim after which one strives. Supposing it is so, there will be enormous inappropriate (consequences). Therefore, one [should] consider how to unite the pair [of propositions] that these postulations are to be admitted without confusion and that it is excluded that universal, co-reference (*mthun gźi, sāmānādhikaraṇya*) and so forth are established as the reality of entities (*dños po'i de kho na ñid*).

<sup>24</sup> This work represents, according to its title, notes of Tsoñ kha pa's lectures made by rGyal tshab Dar ma rin chen. Although it is likely that Dar ma rin chen's own interpretations are included to some degree, I will attribute to Tsoñ kha pa the ideas presented therein.

<sup>25</sup> I owe this information to Prof. Dreyfus and Prof. Tillemans.

<sup>26</sup> This view of Tsoñ kha pa and his dGe lugs pa followers as well as the Sa skyas' criticisms thereof are fully discussed in the significant studies of Dreyfus 1992 and Tillemans 1995, to which this paper is indebted for much valuable information.

<sup>27</sup> I interpret "*don byed nus pa phal pa rnam*" as abilities to produce an effect or fulfill one's purpose which things generally have and which is presumably differentiated from a special ability such as omniscience.

<sup>28</sup> "*Med pa*" refers, in my reading, to both "*don byed nus pa phal pa rnam*" and "*kun mkhyen la sogs pa'i rnam gźag bya sa*", and not to "*rnam gźag bya sa*" of "*don byed nus pa phal pa rnam*" and of "*kun mkhyen la sogs pa*", since "*don byed nus pa*" itself is considered to be a basis (*sa*) of postulations of things such as a pot. Cf. e.g. LR 362b4 cited in n. 12 above.

Especially, [one should know the following inappropriate consequences:] If the ascertained objects of conception (*rtog pa 'i nes yul*) such as that which apprehends a pot or that which ascertains omniscience are established as particulars (*rañ mtshan, svalakṣaṇa*), these conceptions would be non-erroneous [with regard to the particulars], so that all negations and positive proofs would have to be (established) simultaneously [without any reasoning, *i.e.* all ascertainments would be correct]. If (on the other hand) the ascertained objects (of conception) are negated as being established as particulars, it is extremely difficult to posit particulars [like omniscience] as objects to be ascertained (*nes pa 'i yul*). And if they (*i.e.* particulars) are not objects to be ascertained, then they cannot be ascertained to exist, so that all postulations would be impossible, as is explained (in PV IV 215): 'Who can postulate existence and non-existence without this [valid cognition]?'<sup>29</sup>

Hence, [Dharmakīrti] repeatedly teaches 1) the non-establishment of the ascertained object of conception as a particular, 2) the postulation that particulars are to be posited as ascertained objects of conception, 3) [the manner of] a conception's operating on an object [in which] appearance (*snañ*) and designation (*btags*) are intermingled, and 4) [the manner of its] operating (on the object) determining (*žen, adhyavasāya*) its own appearance that does not correspond to [any real] object (*don*) as a [real] object."<sup>30</sup>

Tsoñ kha pa's assertion here might be understood as follows<sup>31</sup>: A conception (*rtog pa*) operates on an image in which appearance (= *rañ mtshan*)<sup>32</sup> and designation are intermingled, ascertaining, for instance, "this is a pot". The direct object of this ascertainment is a mere superimposition, but an image of a real pot which is a particular appears to this conception too. Therefore, this ascertainment refers directly to the concept "pot", but indirectly to a particular, *i.e.* a real entity named "pot". In this sense, the universals such as "pot" and "omniscience" have bases of their postulations as such which are particulars endowed with *don byed nus pa*.

I tentatively suppose that this argument is given from a similar viewpoint to that in the LR which we considered earlier. In both texts, Tsoñ kha pa's purport or intention seems to consist in claiming that even conceptions can refer to things that have a capacity for efficacy (*don byed*

<sup>29</sup> PV IV 215: *aniṣṭaṅ cet pramāṇaṃ hi sarveṣṭīnāṃ nibandhanaṃ | bhāvābhāvavyavasthāṃ kaḥ kartuṃ tena vinā prabhūḥ ||* (= *med ce na tshad ma ñid || 'dod pa kun gyi rgyu yin te || de med par ni dños po dañ || dños med rnam gźag gañ gis nus ||*)

<sup>30</sup> *Tshad ma 'i brjed byañ* 16b2-17a3 (cited and translated in Tillemans 1995: 860f.): *spyi dañ bye brag dañ rtags dañ bsgrub bya dañ dpe dañ | dgag pa dañ | sgrub pa dañ gcig dañ tha dad la sogs pa rnam rtag pas sgro btags su bśad pa'añ mthoñ žiñ | spyi yin na sgro btags yin pas khyab pa dañ de bzin du rtags sogs la'añ khyab na | 'bras bu don gñer la ñe bar mkho ba 'i don byed nus pa phal pa rnam dañ | mñon par 'dod pa 'i don gyi gtso bo kun mkhyen la sogs pa 'i rnam gźag bya sa med par 'gyur la | de ltar na mi ruñ ba chen por 'gyur bas | mam gźag de dag ma 'chol bar khas blañs pas chog pa dañ spyi gzi mthun sogs dños po 'i de kho na ñid du grub pa khegs pa 'i gñis tshogs de ji lta yin sñam pa dañ | khyad par du bum 'dzin rtag pa dañ kun mkhyen nes pa 'i rtag pa la sogs pa 'i nes yul rañ mtshan du grub na rtag pa de dag ma 'khrul bar 'gyur pas dgag sgrub thams cad cig car bya dgos pa dañ nes yul rañ mtshan du grub bya bkag na rañ mtshan de dag nes pa 'i yul du 'jog tshul de dag śin tu dka' žiñ nes pa 'i yul du ma gyur na yod nes su mi ruñ bas rnam gźag thams cad bya mi ruñ bar 'gyur te | de med par ni dños po dañ || dños med rnam bźag gañ gis nus | žes bśad pa ltar ro || des na rtag pa 'i nes yul rañ mtshan du ma grub pa dañ rañ mtshan rtag pa 'i nes yul du bźag pas chog pa 'i rnam bźag dañ | snañ btags gcig tu bsres nas rtag pa yul la 'jug pa dañ rañ gi snañ ba don med pa la don du žen nas 'jug par lan cig ma yin par gsuñs pa la |*

<sup>31</sup> Cf. also Tillemans 1995: 862-866, with whose interpretation I basically agree.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *Tshad ma 'i brjed byañ* 19b4: *snañ btags gcig tu bsres pa žes bya ste snañ ba rañ mshan dañ btags sgra don do ||*



*nus pa*), whereby one can postulate *saṃsāra*, *nirvāṇa* and so on as well as negate the positions of others and prove one's own position using a reasoning with *rtags*, *bsgrub bya*, *sgrub byed*, etc. For Tsoñ kha pa, it is very important to defend the Madhyamaka position that it is not contradictory to the theory of non-substantiality for a Mādhyamika to negate the substantialists' views and prove the non-substantiality of all things by relying on a logical method.<sup>33</sup> In the same manner, it is said in the *Tshad ma'i brjed byañ* that those which are respectively *spyi*, *bye brag*, *rtags*, *brgrub bya* and *dpe* in a logical reasoning as well as the referents of *gcig*, *tha dad*, *g'zi mthun*, etc., are not non-existent and are related to real entities which have a capacity for efficacy (*don byed nus pa*), though they are primarily the objects of conceptions. Therefore, reasonings are valid for proving reality and one can properly postulate one's own doctrine. Tsoñ kha pa thus seems to defend the validity of logic from the danger of the *apoha* theory that any reasoning would be useless if it did not refer to reality at all.

In the following passage, Tsoñ kha pa himself compares the problems of both systems:

"In the case of investigating the Madhyamaka system [the following misunderstandings may occur]: Thinking that insofar as the origination of a sprout from a seed and so forth are not established as intrinsically real (*rañ gi ño bos ma grub na*) it follows that the sprout does not originate [even on the conventional level], [one concludes that] there can be no other (way of) postulation than stating that all postulations such as the origination of a sprout are (given) only on the side of others (*g'zan ñor*) [*i.e.* only for non-Mādhyamikas]. And thinking that insofar as one admits the origination of a sprout from a seed in one's own system (of Madhyamaka) it follows that a sprout does not intrinsically originate from a seed, [one concludes that] insofar as one admits the origination of a sprout from a seed (in the Madhyamaka system) it annihilates the ultimate (reality) (*don dam*) of non-substantiality, and that insofar as one admits the non-substantiality of a sprout it annihilates (on the other hand) conventional (reality) (*kun rdzob*) (in the sense that things) produce effects.

[Thus] taking one of the two kinds of reality (*bden gñis*) as a criterion (*tshad ma*), one annihilates the other. A cause of error (*'khrul g'zi*) (based on which) all [false interpretations] such as the sixteen misunderstandings (*log rtog*)<sup>34</sup> including (the above-mentioned misconception) occur is nothing other than the very thought that insofar as (something) is merely designated by conception (*rtog pas btags pa tsam*) it contradicts performing an action of producing an effect (*'bras bu bskyed pa'i bya ba byed pa*). Therefore, an obstacle to a correct ascertainment of the division of the two kinds of reality, viz. (the ultimate in the sense that) all things have no portion of self-nature and (the conventional in the sense that things) which are admitted to be non-substantial are suitable for performing an action (*bya byed*) and others [*i.e.* things which are substantial] are not suitable, is nothing other than apprehending the (above-mentioned) pair (of propositions), viz. being merely designated by conception and performing an action, to be contradictory to each other. If one so apprehends, then one would diverge from the ultimate intention of

<sup>33</sup> This is actually a matter of great concern for Tsoñ kha pa and his followers. As regards the dGe lugs pas' criticism of the so-called false Madhyamaka theory that the Mādhyamika has no doctrinal system of his own established by valid cognition, cf. e.g. Seyfort Ruegg 1983, Williams 1985, and Yoshimizu 1993b.

<sup>34</sup> It is not clear what the sixteen misunderstandings (*log rtog*) refer to.

the master Nāgārjuna. Hence, one has to know the manner in which this pair (of propositions) is not contradictory.

In the same manner, also as regards these treatises of logic (*rigs pa'i bstan bcos*) [one might have wrong ideas as follows]: 1) Insofar as one apprehends that the ascertained object of conception is not to be proven by reasoning (*rigs pa*) as merely being designated (*btags pa tsam*), (but) established as the reality of entities (*dños po'i de kho na ñid*), it denies conventional (reality). Supposing it is so, any postulation of ultimate (reality) would be impossible too, since (ultimate reality) should also be understood depending on the conventional such as what is to be proven and means of proof. Moreover, (it follows that) one has to admit that it is impossible to achieve liberation (*thar pa*), for even the (false) apprehension of a person's self (*gañ zag gi bdag 'dzin*) would be a non-erroneous cognition; 2) On the other hand (*yañ*), [insofar as] one says that the ascertained object of conception is negated as being established as a particular, [one thinks that] it is difficult to prove that the particular is an ascertained object of conception. [Then one concludes that] one can do nothing other than admit that there is mere imposition (*rlom pa*) by conception or exclusion (*sel dor*); [but] it denies the side of ultimate (reality), (for) there would be no basis of postulating ultimate (reality) (*don dam b'zag sa*). Therefore, an obstacle to the possibility of postulating the division of the two kinds of reality (in the sense) that in this system all the conventional is to be established correctly by valid cognition (*tshad ma*) as merely designated by conception and that all things are to be postulated as being established as intrinsically real (*rañ gi mtshan ñid kyis grub pa*) is nothing other than apprehending as contradictory the pair (of propositions) that the object of conception is not particular and that particulars are objects of conception.

Hence, if one apprehends that insofar as something is merely designated by conception it is pervaded by being unable to produce an effect, it obstructs a (right) ascertainment of the Madhyamaka position of the master Candrakīrti's system.

[In the same way] in this system (of logic), if one apprehends that that which is merely designated by conception is pervaded by being unable to accomplish an aim (*don byed mi nus pa*) and pervaded by being not established by valid cognition, it is the main obstacle to ascertaining this (system of) logic, so that one should know the division of the two kinds of reality, which I will explain [later].<sup>35,36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> The postulation of the two kinds of reality is actually explained in the section *Tshad ma'i b'jed byañ* 33b2 *infra*, where Tson kha pa defines the two realities as follows (34a1f.): *kun rdzob bden pa'i mtshan ñid ni blo kun rdzob pas btags pa tsam du grub pa'i chos so // don dam bden pa'i mtshan ñid rtog pas btags pa tsam du ma yin par yul rañ gi ños nas grub pa* <= The definition of conventional reality is that which is established as being merely designated by conventional cognition. The definition of ultimate reality is that which is not merely designated by conception but established from the side of the object itself.> This reflects his ontological principle that the idea of "*rañ gi ños nas grub pa* i.e. *rañ gi ño bos / rañ gi mtshan ñid kyis / rañ b'zin gyis grub pa*" is opposed to that of "*btags pa tsam (prajñāptimātra)*", which I have discussed in Yoshimizu 1993a and 1994. It is interesting to note that when he sets forth these definitions, he relies rather on PV I 68cd-69a (*gañ gi rañ gi ño bo yis // g'zan gyi ño bo sgrib byed pa // kun rdzob de dag tha dad kyañ\* // = parārūpaṇi svarūpeṇa yayā saṃvriyate dhiyā | ekārthapratibhāsinyā bhāvān āśrītya bhedināḥ // tayā saṃvṛtanānāṛthāḥ saṃvṛtyā bhedināḥ svayam | abhedina ivābhānti bhāvā rūpeṇa kenacit //*) than on PV III 3, a well-known definition of the two realities (*arthakriyāsamarthaṇi yat tad atra paramārthasat | anyat saṃvṛtisat proktaṇi te svasāmānyalakṣaṇe //*), for the reason that in this verse (= in PV III 3) (the pair of) object (*don, artha*) and mind (*sems*) are (respectively) instances of the definitions (*mtshan g'zi*) of the two realities, which are not

In this quite complicated discussion, the following difficulties due to wrong suppositions are respectively indicated:

(Madhyamaka)

Supposition: Whatever origination exists must be established as intrinsically real.

Undesired consequences:

- 1) If the Mādhyamika admits such an origination, it destroys ultimate reality, since it contradicts his own theory of non-substantiality;
- 2) If the Mādhyamika admits the non-substantiality of all things, it destroys conventional reality, since it contradicts his acceptance of (dependent) origination.

(Dharmakīrti)

Supposition: Insofar as the ascertained object of conception is not established as a particular, particulars cannot be ascertained objects of conception.

Undesired consequences:

- 1) If the ascertained object of conception is established as a particular, it destroys conventional reality, since every cognition would be right;
- 2) If the ascertained object of conception is not established as a particular, it destroys ultimate reality, since one cannot postulate ultimate reality, for particulars are not to be ascertained objects of conception.

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of the same [character, *i.e.* the ultimate is characterized as object and the conventional as subject (*i.e.* mind)], but it is difficult to posit [such] different [characters] in their definitions (*skabs 'dir don sems gñis bden gñis kyi mtshan gzi la mi mthun pa yod kyañ mtshan ñid la mi mthun pa bžag dka' bas, Tshad ma'i brjed byañ 33b4f.*). Presumably, he thereby tries to avoid inconsistency with his own assertion that some universals have the capacity for efficacy, though they are conventional and conceptual objects.

\*According to Tson kha pa, *kun rdzob de dag* is an old translation, while *sgrub byed de dag* is a new one. The canonical version (D282a6) reads: *kun rdzob des bdag tha dad kyañ*.

<sup>36</sup> *Tshad ma'i brjed byañ 18b1-19b1* (partly cited and translated in Tillemans 1995: 861, n. 12): *dbu ma'i lugs dpyod pa'i skabs su myu gu sa bon las skye ba sogs rañ gi ño bos ma grub na myu gu skye bar ma soñ sñam du bsams nas myu gu skye ba sogs kyi nram gžag thams cad gžan ñor yin žes smra ba ma gtogs bžag mi nus pa dañ / myu gu sa bon las skye bar rañ lugs la khas blañs na myu gu rañ gi ño bos skye bar ma soñ sñam du bsams nas myu gu sa bon las skye bar khas blañs na rañ bžin med pa'i don dam 'jig par byed ciñ myu gu rañ bžin med par khas blañs na 'bras bu skyed pa'i kun rdzob 'jig par byed pa'i bden gñis re re tshad mar bzuñ nas cig šos sun 'byin par byed pa'i log rtog bcu drug la sogs pa mtha' yas pa 'byuñ ba'i 'khrul gzi ni / rtog pas btags pa tsam yin na 'bras bu bskyed pa'i bya ba byed par 'gal sñam pa 'di ñid yin pas chos thams cad rañ bžin rdul tsam yañ med pa dañ rañ bžin med par khas blañs pa ñid la bya byed 'thad ciñ de las gžan la mi 'thad pa'i bden gñis kyi mnam dbye phyin ci ma log par nes pa'i gegs ni snar bsad pa'i rtog pas btags pa tsam dañ bya ba byed pa gñis 'gal bar 'dzin pa ñid yin žin de bzuñ na slob dpon klu sgrub kyi dgoñs pa mthar thun pa las phyi rol tu gyur pa yin pas de gñis mi 'gal ba'i tshul la mkhas par byed dgos la / de bžin du / rigs pa'i bstan bcos 'dir yañ rtog pa'i nes yul btags pa tsam du rigs pas bgrub ma šes par dños po 'i de kho na ñid du grub par bzuñ na kun rdzob la skur pa btab par 'gyur žin de ltar na don dam pa'i mnam gžag kyañ byar mi ruñ ste de 'añ bsgrub bya sgrub byed la sogs pa'i kun rdzob la brten nas rtogs dgos pa'i phyir dañ / gañ zag gi bdag 'dzin yañ blo ma 'khrul bar 'gyur bas thar pa thob pa 'añ mi srid par khas blañ dgos so // yañ rtog pa'i nes yul rañ mtshan du grub pa 'gog pa skad byas dañ rañ mtshan rtog pa'i nes yul du bsgrub ma bde nas rtog pas rlom pa tsam mam sel dor yod ces khas len pa ma gtogs don dam bžag sa med pas don dam pa'i phyogs la skur pa btab par 'gyur bas kun rdzob mtha' dag rtog btags tsam du rañ lugs la tshad mas legs par grub pa dañ dños po thams cad rañ gi mtshan ñid kyi grub par 'jog šes pa'i bden gñis kyi mnam dbye 'jog šes pa'i gegs ni rtog pa'i yul rañ mtshan ma yin pa dañ rañ mtshan rtog pa'i yul yin pa gñis 'gal bar 'dzin pa ñid yin no // des na rtog pa btags pa tsam yin na 'bras bu bskyed mi nus pas khyab par bzuñ na slob dpon zla ba grags pa'i lugs kyi dbu ma'i lta ba nes pa'i gegs byed la / rigs pa 'di'i lugs la rtog btags tsam la don byed mi nus pas khyab kyañ tshad mas ma grub pas khyab par bzuñ na rigs pa 'di nes pa'i gegs kyi gtso bo yin pas bden gñis kyi mnam dbye la mkhas par bya ste 'chad par 'gyur ro //*

Therefore, it is said that one should eliminate these false suppositions and learn that there is no contradiction between the two propositions, viz. "being merely designated" and "producing an effect", in the Madhyamaka as well as between "being an ascertained object of conception" and "being a real particular" or "having a capacity for efficacy" in Dharmakīrti's system. For both parties, Tsoñ kha pa maintains, it is acceptable that conceptual cognitions have as their objects existents endowed with *don byed nus pa*, although their ontological positions are totally different, i.e. for the former, that which has *don byed nus pa* is exclusively unreal, whereas for the latter it is real.

To sum up, it might be said that Tsoñ kha pa's arguments both in the LR and in the *Tshad ma'i brjed byañ* are induced with a common intention to defend the validity of conceptual cognitions and logical methods. On the ground of their having contact with real entities, one can properly distinguish from wrong conceptions the right ones, which are valid cognitions because of their being non-erroneous with regard to their determined objects (*žen yul*).<sup>37</sup> In this respect,

<sup>37</sup> This view is, as Tillemans 1995: 878 has indicated, presumably based on Dharmakīrti's own ideas. Dharmakīrti is of the opinion that a conceptual knowledge arises by relying on a real existent, i.e. a particular (*svalakṣaṇa*), whereby it has a connection with the real world. I conjecture that most points of Tsoñ kha pa's discussions in the *Tshad ma'i brjed byañ* are actually grounded in Dharmakīrti's own statements in PV I. Let us consider, for instance, the following criticism of an opponent in PV I (PVSV 42, 8-12; Vetter 1964: 54f.; Zwilling 1976: 135f.): *kiñ punar anena bhedalakṣaṇena sāmānyena svalakṣaṇaṃ samānam iti pratyeyam athānyad eva. kiñ cātaḥ. yadi svalakṣaṇaṃ katham vikalpasya viśayaḥ. anyato vā katham arthakriyā. svalakṣaṇe cānityatvādyapratīter atādrūpyam, teṣāṃ cāvastudharmatā.* <= Is it then the particular or something else, which is to be regarded as identical with this universal that has the characteristic of difference? And what will follow (that)? [The following faults will follow:] If it is the particular, how can this (particular) be an object of conception? In the other case (i.e. if it is not the particular), how can it accomplish an aim? Moreover, since (universals) such as impermanence are not perceived in the particular, (the particular would) not have the qualities of (impermanence, etc.) and they would not be qualities of real entity. > It is conceivable that Tsoñ kha pa in fact considered that this opposition specifies a difficult point of the *apoha* theory.

Dharmakīrti's answer to this opponent is as follows (PVSV 42, 12-22; Vetter 1964: 55f.; Zwilling 1976: 136f.): *naīśa doṣaḥ. jñānapratibhāsiny arthe sāmānyasāmānādhikaraṇyadharmadharmivyavahāraḥ. yad etaḥ jñānaṃ vastusvabhāvagrāhīṇānubhavanāhitāṃ vāsanāṃ āśrītya vikalpakam utpadyate tadviśayam api tadviśayam iva tadanubhavāhitāvāsanāprabhavaprakīter adhyavasītatadbhāvasvarūpam abhinnakāryapadārthaprasūter abhinnārthagrāhīva tadanyabhedaparamāthasamānākāram. tatra yo 'rthākāraḥ pratibhāti bāhya ivaika ivānarthakriyākārya api tatkāriya vyavahāriṇāṃ tathādhyavasāya pravṛtteḥ, anyathā pravṛtityayogāt. tad arthakriyākāritayā pratibhāsanāt tadakāribhyo bhinnam iva. na ca tat tadvaiṇi parīkṣānāgatvāt iti pratipādayiṣyāmaḥ.* <= There is no fault. The transactional usage [of words] such as "universal", "co-reference", "property" and "property-possessor" is directed at the objects appearing to a cognition. This conceptual cognition arises, as if it had [the self-nature of real entities] as its object, although it does not (actually) have it as its object, depending on the residue left behind through the experiences which apprehend the self-nature of real entities. Owing to (its) essential quality of arising on the strength of the residue left behind through the experiences of [the self-nature of real entities], this [conceptual cognition] has its own form that is its determined [object]. It is like (a cognition which) apprehends a non-different object [i.e. the particular] since it arises based on the things which have non-different effects, (but its) common image ultimately consists in the difference from those other than itself. The image of an object appears to this (conceptual cognition), as if it were an external (object), one (thing) and an accomplisher (of an aim), although it is (actually) not an accomplisher of an aim, since those who follow transactional usage take action after having so determined. Otherwise, an action would be inappropriate. Since this [mental image of an object] appears as an accomplisher of an aim, it seems as if it were distinguished from that which does not accomplish that (aim). It is (however) not real, for it is not a support of investigation. We shall explain it [hereafter]. >; PVSV 43, 2ff. (Vetter 1964: 56; Zwilling 1976: 138): *sarvaś cāyaṃ svalakṣaṇānām eva darśanāhitāvāsanākṛto vīplava iti tatpratibaddhajanmanāṃ vikalpānām atra pratibhāsive 'pi vastuny avisajjvādo mañiprabhāyām iva mañibhrānteḥ.* <= All these [conceptions] are erroneous [cognitions] produced from the residue left behind through perceiving exclusively particulars. The conceptions which arise connected with the (particulars) are (nevertheless) not deviating from real entities, although they do not have the appearance of these (particulars), like the [cognition] which wrongly [takes] the splendor of a jewel for a jewel. > Almost the same discussions are repeated in PV I 76-91 (cf. Frauwallner 1932: 264-274; Vetter 1964: 56ff.; Steinkellner 1971: 191, n. 47; Zwilling 1976: 145-149; Akamatsu 1978; 1980: 95ff.)

Tsoñ kha pa criticizes in the *Tshad ma'i brjed byañ* in the same way as in the LR those who deny the validity or correctness of every conceptual cognition, identifying their thought with that of Hva śāñ Mo ho yan, a well-known Chinese Ch'an master.<sup>38</sup>

It seems that Tsoñ kha pa's main arguments in the *Tshad ma'i brjed byañ* which we have seen above can be traced in these statements of Dharmakīrti's, except for the ideas of a real universal and of a particular's being an object of conception. Yet he even asserts that it is also acknowledged by Dharmakīrti that particulars are objects of conception, by adducing his own words from PVSV ad PV 141, which says according to Tsoñ kha pa (*Tshad ma'i brjed byañ* 21a6): *rtog pas rañ mtshan dpyis phyin par rtogs pa kho nar bsad pa yin no* // <= (Dharmakīrti) explains that the particular is lastly understood by conception >. This corresponds to PVSV 25, 17f. (cf. Zwilling 1976: 88), where Dharmakīrti, however, does not say at all that the particular is understood by conception: *te 'pi śabdāḥ sarvabhedānākṣepe 'py ekabhedacodanāt tatsvalakṣaṇāṅiḥ eva bhavanti* (= D275a1: *sgra de dag kyan tha dad pa thams cad mi 'phen yañ tha dad pa gcig brjed pas de'i rañ gi mtshan ñid dpyis phyin pa kho nar 'gyur te*) <= Besides, these words do not refer to every difference either. They are (nevertheless) definitely grounded on a particular of these [things] since they are directed to one difference. >

There must be many other sources of Tsoñ kha pa's discussions, as Dreyfus 1992 and Tillemans 1995 have pointed out, not only in Dharmakīrti's works but also in the compositions of other Indian logicians as well as of Tibetans, especially from the gSañ phu tradition, the logico-epistemological interpretation of which seems to have influenced Tsoñ kha pa to a large extent.

Furthermore, from the same viewpoint, Tsoñ kha pa argues in the LR that the Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamika admits perception (*mñon sum, pratyakṣa*) as valid cognition (*pramāṇa*) for the conventional existent that has a capacity for efficacy: for the Mādhyamika who follows Candrakīrti, the non-erroneousness of not only conceptual but also perceptual cognitions must theoretically be denied since a perception cognizes an appearance of an external object which is non-substantial as if it were substantially existent. Nevertheless, it is a valid cognition for non-substantial conventional objects in conformity with the world (see LR 369b1-370a6; cf. Yoshimizu 1993a: 136f.). If the Mādhyamika did not accept the validity of such conventional knowledge, including perception and inference (*anumāna*), it would be impossible for him to distinguish between right knowledge, such as non-damaged sensory cognitions or inferences, and wrong knowledge, such as the cognition of a double moon or permanent sound; it further leads to the fault that accordingly the Mādhyamika never distinguishes between right and wrong as to conventional occurrences. Concerning the differentiation of conventional reality, cf. e.g. Yoshimizu 1992, Tauscher 1995: 244-251.

<sup>38</sup> *Tshad ma'i brjed byañ* 20b4ff.: *des na rtog pa rañ gi snañ ba don med pa la don du žen nas 'jug par khas blañs pa la žen yul la 'khrul par thal ba'i skyon gyi go skabs cuñ zad kyañ med ciñ gzuñ de dag gi dgoñs pa ma rtogs pa thams cad žen yul la 'khrul bar 'dod pa ni rgya nag hva śāñ gi lugs gsal bar 'oñs pa yin no* // <= Therefore, there is by no means room for the fault that a conception, which is admitted to occur determining its own appearance which does not correspond to any [real] object (*don*) as a [real] object, would be erroneous with regard to (its) determined object (*žen yul*). The assertion that all conceptions are erroneous with regard to (their) determined objects apparently concurs with the system of the Chinese Hva śāñ, for it does not have a right understanding of the intention of these treatises (of logic). > As regards this point, cf. also Tillemans 1995: 878, n. 29.

Cf. LR 386a5f. (Nagao 1954: 193): *'di 'dra ba'i rtog pa la 'añ skyon du bltas nas bzañ rtog dañ nag rtog gañ yin kyañ 'gog na ni rgya nag gi mkhan po hva śāñ gi gzuñ 'dzugs 'dod par gsal ba yin no* // <= If someone sees that there is a fault even in such a conception [as that of non-substantiality] and negates both good conceptions and bad conceptions, it is evident that he wants to plant the tenet of the Chinese master Hva śāñ. >; LR 424b5f. (Nagao 1954: 271): *rtog pa thams cad la skyon du blta ba'i log rtog gis chos mañ du spoñ ba rgya 'i mkhan po ltar gyur pa mañ du snañ go* // <= There seem to be many (scholars) who entirely abandon Buddhist teachings due to misunderstanding such as seeing a fault in all conceptions. >; LR 467b3f. (Nagao 1954: 360f.): *gal te gañ du rtog kyañ rtog pa de thams cad kyi 'khor bar 'chiñ bas tsom 'jog gi mi rtog par 'jog pa grol byed kyi lam mo sñam na | 'di ni sñar mañ du bkag zin la | de lta na hva śāñ gi lugs la yañ skyon 'dogs rgyu cuñ zad kyañ med par 'gyur te* // <= If one thinks that it is the way to liberation to place (oneself) in a stable (?) [condition of] no conceptions since any conception, no matter what it conceives, makes one bound to the cycle of existence ('*khor ba*), this (thought) has clearly been negated. If it were so, there would be nothing wrong or doubtful even in Hva śāñ's theory. >; LR 475a6f. (Nagao 1954: 375): *yoñs su dpyod pas 'tshol ba'i rigs pa 'i dpyad pa sñon du ma btañ bar hva śāñ 'dod pa ltar sems 'phro ba bsodus pa 'i yid la byed pa spañs pa tsam gyis mtshan med dam mi rtog par 'jug pa mi srid par gsal bar bstan no* // <= It is clearly taught that without examining argumentation first, whereby one seeks a thorough investigation, one cannot enter (the stage of) non-characteristic or non-conception only by means of abandoning contemplation, as Hva śāñ maintains, [in which] the distracted mind should be concentrated [on a subject]. >

The principle that if something is a universal it is not pervaded by being superimposed (*sgro btags pa*) by conception (*rtog pa*) accordingly means that some universals that belong to conditioned factors (*'dus byas, saṃskṛta*) such as a pot in general, which is instantiated by particular pots, and impermanence in general, which is instantiated by particular impermanences, are real and not mere superimposition, whereas some universals such as universal itself, means of proof itself and so on are merely superimposed and have no instances in the real world.<sup>39</sup> The former type of universal is, therefore, even identifiable with a particular itself from the ontological viewpoint. Tsoñ kha pa actually states that sound and its properties such as impermanence and being produced, which constitute a well-known reasoning, are particulars.<sup>40</sup> In this regard, it is probably safe to say, as I have previously assumed, that for Tsoñ kha pa and his followers the object of an inference like fire on a hill is imperceptible (*lkog gyur*) but a particular (*rañ mtshan*), since they accept that some perceptions cognize universals and some inferences cognize particulars.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Dreyfus 1992 and Tillemans 1995 have explained this distinction of universals as the separation between *A* itself and the various *A*'s. Besides, according to them, the idea of "universal" (*spyi, sāmānya*) is differentiated from that of "general characteristic" (*spyi mtshan, sāmānyalakṣaṇa*) in dGe lugs pa tradition (cf. e.g. Dreyfus 1992: 33). According to the *Tshig mdzod chen mo*, a general characteristic refers to an unconditioned factor (*'dus ma byas, asaṃskṛta*) that is merely conceptually constructed in contrast to the particular that is defined as a conditioned factor, whereas universals refer to something common to certain particulars and are divided into two, viz. real universals which are concomitant to particulars (*bye brag*) and unreal universals. Cf. *Tshig mdzod chen mo: spyi = rañ gi gsal ba la rjes su 'gro can gyi chos te / śes bya dañ / dños po rtag pa lta bu / rañ gi gsal ba zes bye brag pa dañ khyab bya la rjes su zugs śiñ khyab pa 'i chos / śes bya ni rtag dños thams cad la khyab pas spyi yin pa lta bu 'o ||* <= A thing that is concomitant to its specific appearance like a knowable object, and permanent entities. A thing that is concomitant to (its) specific appearance, i.e. a particular, and to (its) object of pervasion, and that pervades (the object). Knowable object is a universal, for it pervades all permanent entities [i.e. it seems that a knowable object is an example of a real universal and permanent entities of an unreal universal]. >; *spyi mtshan = yul rañ ños nas grub pa ma yin par rtog pas btags pa tsam gyi chos / nam mkha' la sogs pa dgag bya bcad pa dañ don spyi 'char ba la ltos dgos pa 'i 'dus ma byas kyi chos ñams so ||* <= A thing that is not established from the side of the object itself, but merely designated by conception. Unconditioned things such as space that necessarily depend on the elimination of what is to be negated and the appearance of an object-universal. >; *rañ mtshan = rañ gi mtshan ñid kyi grub pa 'i dños po ste / rtog pas btags pa tsam ma yin par yul rañ ños nas grub pa 'i dños po / ka ba dañ bum pa la sogs pa dgag bya bcad pa dañ don spyi 'char ba la mi ltos par mñon sum gyi ñor rañ ñid 'char du yod pa 'i 'dus byas kyi chos ñams so || 'dus byas thams cad rañ mtshan yin / bum pa 'i mi rtag pa de bum pa 'i rañ mtshan du 'jog / gduñ 'dags kyi don byed nus pa de ka ba 'i rañ mtshan yin ||* <= An entity that is established as intrinsically real. An entity that is not merely designated, but established from the side of the object itself. Conditioned things such as a pillar and a pot which exist appearing by itself to a perception and not depending on the elimination of what is to be negated and the appearance of an object-universal. All the conditioned is particular. The impermanence of a pot is posited to be the particular [i.e. the own-characteristic] of a pot. The capacity for producing the effect of supporting beams is a particular [i.e. the own-characteristic] of a pillar. > As regards object-universal (*don spyi*), see e.g. Dreyfus 1992: 35f.

However, it is unclear, insofar as I have examined the *Tshad ma 'i brjed byañ*, whether or not Tsoñ kha pa makes a distinction between *spyi* and *spyi mtshan*, although he seems to refer by the word "*spyi mtshan*" to a quality common to things in accordance with Abhidharma in *Tshad ma 'i brjed byañ* 34b6f. (see n. 41 below).

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *Tshad ma 'i brjed byañ* 24a2f.: *gžan yañ sgra byas mi rtag pa gsum rañ mtshan yin pa yañ sgra śes 'dod chos can yin pa dañ byas pa gtan tshigs yin pa dañ / mi rtag pa bsgrub bya 'i chos yin pa sogs ni sgro btags yin te ||* <= Furthermore, the three, viz. sound, being produced and impermanence, are particulars, while [the postulations] that sound is a property-possessor which one wants to know, that (the property of) being produced is a logical reason, and that impermanence is a property to be proven are superimpositions. >

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *Tshad ma 'i brjed byañ* 34a3-35b2, where Tsoñ kha pa interprets the most fundamental doctrines of the logico-epistemological system of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti that perception cognizes a particular and inference cognizes a universal as follows (I render "*spyi mtshan*" by "universal" here, since this passage mainly deals with Dharmakīrti's own statements): *gžal bya gñis phyir tshad ma gñis / zes sogs kyi tjes dpag tshad ma 'i bzal bya yin na / spyi mtshan dañ / don byed mi nus pa sogs kyi khyab pa dañ / mñon sum tshad ma 'i gžal bya la de las ldog pas khyab par bśad cñi / mñon sum lkog tu gyur pa las || gžal bya gžan ni yod ma yin / zes pa 'i skabs su 'añ lkog gyur yin na rañ mtshan*

Thus considered, it is not surprising that Tsoñ kha pa insists in his LR that nominal existences such as a pot, a vehicle, a cloth, a person, etc., can perform their own actions. When he discusses a person's selflessness, he repeatedly explains that a person (*gañ zag, pudgala*) un-

*ma yin pas khyab pa lta bur bśad pa dañ | yañ rañ gi mtshan ñid gcig gźal bya | zes rañ mtshan kho na gźal byar bśad pa dañ | yañ gźal bya gcig ñid tshad ma gñis kas rtogs tshul tha dad pa 'i sgo nas 'jal bar bśad pa sogs ji ltar yin ze na | gźal bya rañ mtshan gcig pur bśad pa tshad ma 'i dños kyi gźal bya la bsams pa ma yin te | rtogs ldan tshad ma 'i sgo nas dpyad pa byed pa thams cad rañ mtshan kha cig snar ma bkag pa gsar du dgag pa ma byas na gnod pa bskyed pa dañ | snar ma rtogs pa gsar du rtogs par byas pa las gnas skabs dañ mthar thug gi phan pa bskyed par mithoñ nas dgag sgrub byed pa yin la | phan gnod de'an rañ mtshan kho nas byed pas | rañ gi mtshan ñid gcig gźal bya | zes smos te de phan chad du 'bras bu med na bdag med nes pa la'an dgos pa med pa 'i phyir ro || gźal bya gñis phyir | zes sogs kyiis mñon rjes gñis kyi tshad mar soñ sa rañ mtshan dañ spyi mtshan gñis so so kho nar nes par ston ma yin te | sgro 'dogs gsar du gcod pa la rañ mtshan gzuñ yul du byas nas gcod pa dañ spyi mtshan gzuñ yul du byas nas gcod pa gñis mithoñ gi gźan pa la bśad par gzuñ du dogs nas | de ni rañ gźan no bo yis || rtogs phyir gźal bya gñis su bzed | ces bkod pa yin te | yul rañ gi thun moñ ma yin pa 'i no bo gzuñ yul du byas nas 'jal ba dañ | de las gźan pa 'i no bo gzuñ yul du byas nas 'jal ba gñis yod pas | gźal bya gñis phyir zes smos kyi tshad mar soñ sa so sor nes pa 'i dbañ gis ma yin te | mñon sum tshad mas kyañ spyi mtshan dañ rjes dpag tshad mas kyañ rañ mtshan 'jal ba 'i phyir ro || <= If you wonder how [to understand] (Dharmakīrti's following) explanations [about the objects of the two kinds of valid cognition, I will show you their correct meanings]: 1) It is explained in the statement "valid cognitions are two kinds since there are two kinds of cognizable object" (= PV III 1a: *mānañ dvividhañ viśayadvaidhyāc*) that insofar as something is a cognizable object of valid cognition of inference it is pervaded by being universal, being unable to accomplish an aim and so on, and that (whatever is) a cognizable object of valid cognition of perception is pervaded by being the opposite (*i.e.* being a particular and able to accomplish an aim); 2) it is also explained when (Dharmakīrti) states "the cognizable object that is neither perceptible nor imperceptible cannot exist" (= PV III 63ab: *na pratyakṣaparokṣābhyāñ meyasānyasya sambhavañ*) that insofar as (something) is imperceptible it is pervaded by not being a particular; 3) it is further explained in the statement "only the particular is a cognizable object" (= PV III 53d: *meyañ tv ekañ svalakṣaṇam*) that only the particular is a cognizable object; and 4) it is explained that only one cognizable object is cognized by the two kinds of valid cognition (*i.e.* both perception and inference) in different ways of understanding (cf. PV III 54cd: *tasya svapararūpābhyāñ gater meyadvayañ matam*). [These explanations are to be understood as follows:] The explanation that only the particular is a cognizable object does not mean that (only the particular is) the actual object to be cognized by valid cognition. That is to say, whatever a sage investigates through valid cognition is a particular. [The sage] makes negation and affirmation after having observed that if he does not negate something that someone has not yet negated it will cause harm, and that he will get a temporary [or] eventual profit through newly understanding what one has not yet understood. This profit and harm are also brought about only through particulars, so that (Dharmakīrti) says that only the particular is a cognizable object, for there is no need to ascertain selflessness either if there has been no effect so far. By the statement "since there are two kinds of cognizable object", etc., (Dharmakīrti) does not teach that the objects (*sa*) for which the two (kinds of valid cognition), viz. perception and inference, come to be valid cognitions are respectively determined as being only two, viz. particular and universal; this (statement) means that the way of cognizing (objects) is determined as being of two kinds, since, when one newly eliminates a superimposition, two (different ways) are observed: one eliminates its having a particular as an apprehended object, and one eliminates its having a universal as an apprehended object; another way (of elimination) is not observed. Similarly, this is also to be applied to the case in which one has something that is able to accomplish an aim or something that is unable (to do so) as an apprehended object, and so on. It is, however, not taught that the objects for which (perception and inference) come to be valid cognitions are determined (as being particular and universal) respectively. Having been afraid that [PV III 1] might be (wrongly) understood to explain that the objects for which (perception and inference) come to be valid cognitions are determined, [Dharmakīrti] sets forth (the verse) which says "since this (particular) is cognized through its own form and through another form (*i.e.* universal), cognizable objects are admitted to be of two kinds" (= PV III 54cd: see above). Namely, (Dharmakīrti) says "since there are two kinds of cognizable object" because there are two (ways of) cognizing, *i.e.* cognizing (something) having its special nature as an apprehended object and cognizing (something) having another nature (*i.e.* its nature common with others) as an apprehended object. It is not because the objects for which (perception and inference) come to be valid cognitions are determined respectively, for a valid cognition of perception also cognizes a universal and a valid cognition of inference cognizes a particular too. >*

Cf. also 'Jam dbyaṅs bśad pa 'i rdo rje's interpretation according to Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka epistemology in *Tshig gsal stoñ thun* 64a4 (discussed in Yoshimizu 1996: 192, Anm. 426): *spyi mtshan dños gźal byed pa 'i yid mñon rtog pa du ma yod pa 'i phyir dañ | rañ gi mtshan ñid dños su gźal ba 'i rjes dpag du ma yod pa 'i phyir dañ | <= For there are many conceptual mental perceptions that actually cognize universals as well as many inferences that actually cognize particulars. >*

doubtedly appears to one's conventional cognition, although it is just conceptually constructed in dependence on the five aggregates, and that it is not a non-existent that lacks all purposive actions.<sup>42</sup>

Consequently, my previous suggestion that, supposing that Tsoñ kha pa concurred with the Pramāṇa school in all its views regarding the idea of *don byed nus pa*, it would be self-contradictory for him to attribute *don byed nus pa*, which must be concerned solely with a particular, to a universal or a nominal existence such as a "pot"<sup>43</sup> must be retracted as far as the LR is concerned. He never contradicts his own words in the LR, where he clearly asserts that the very nominal existences like a pot have their respective *don byed nus pa*. That is to say, he does not distinguish between the perceptible phenomenal world and the universe of discourse or the conceptual referents of words, as Dignāga and Dharmakīrti do.<sup>44</sup> Otherwise, one could not understand how a pot, although it is unreal and only conceptually constructed, has the ability to contain water. Anyhow, this is *his* way of defending the theory of non-substantiality from the criticism that it is nihilism, made by an opponent such as that appearing in the VV.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> See LR 448a3f. (Nagao 1954: 319): *gañ zag la sogs pa tha sñad pa'i śes pa la bsñon du med par snañ ba dañ | de ñid rañ gi ño bos grub pa'i rañ bzin gyis stoñ par rigs śes kyis ñes pa gñis la bten nas | gañ zag de sgyu ma'am bizun pa'i snañ bar nes pa skye ba yin no //* <= Relying on the pair [of propositions] that a person and the like appear to conventional cognitions without confusion and that it is ascertained by reasoned knowledge that this very (person) lacks self-nature which is established as intrinsically real, the ascertainment arises that this person is an illusion or a delusive appearance. >; LR 448b5f. (Nagao 1954: 320): *gañ zag la sogs pa'i dños po rnamis ri boñ gi tva la sogs pa lta don byed thams cad kyis stoñ pa'i dños po med pa'o sñam pa byuñ na ni chad lta chen po yin pas ... |* <= For, if the idea comes to mind that things such as a person are non-existents which lack all [abilities to] accomplish an aim like the horns of a hare, it is an enormous nihilistic view. >; LR 449b5f. (Nagao 1954: 322): *des na rigs pas rnam par dpyad pa na | gañ zag la sogs pa la rañ gi ño bos grub pa'i yul steñ du sdod tshul cuñ zad kyañ mi 'dug go sñam pa dañ | de la bten nas snañ ba 'di rnamis kyañ ban bun du 'char bu tsam dka' ba min gyi |* <= Therefore, if one investigates by reasoned knowledge, one thinks that a person and the like have no portion of the mode of existing upon the object which is established as intrinsically real, and relying on this [thought], it is not difficult [to understand] that also these appearances merely rise indistinctly. >; LR 451a2 (Nagao 1954: 322): *rañ bzin med pa'i gañ zag la sogs pa de ñid las gsog pa po dañ 'bras bu myoñ ba po la sogs par 'jog pa* <= The very person who has no self-nature is posited as a collector of works, an enjoyer of effects and so on. >; LR 450b5f. (Nagao 1954: 324): *des na gañ zag gi tha sñad bsñon mi nus par snañ ba mams blo'i yul du 'char du gžug la | de las gsog pa po dañ 'bras bu myoñ ba por 'jog pa'i rten 'brel gyi phyogs rnamis yid la bya zin |* <= Therefore, the transactional usage of person, etc. [i.e. appearance and designation of a person] cannot be denied. These appearances come to arise as objects of cognitions, and one (should) think about these [conventional] aspects of dependent origination [in the sense] that this (person) is to be posited as a collector of works and an enjoyer of effects. >; LR 451a2 (Nagao 1954: 325): *gañ zag la yañ rañ bzin rdul tsam med kyañ las gsog pa po dañ 'bras bu myoñ ba po dañ sñon gyi las dañ ñon moñs sogs la bten nas skye ba yañ mi 'gal lo //* <= Although the person has no portion of self-nature either, it is also not contradictory (to postulate) that (this person) is a collector of works, an enjoyer of effects and arises in dependence on (his) previous works and attachments. >

<sup>43</sup> Yoshimizu 1994: 347.

<sup>44</sup> Dreyfus 1992: 42 has also indicated this point by stating that the dGe lugs pas give to particulars and universals the same ontological status. He has also mentioned (*ibid.*: 41) the similarity of their understanding of universals to that of Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamikas. In addition, I suppose that this non-differentiation by Tsoñ kha pa of the phenomenal world and the universe of discourse might be due to the Prāsaṅgikas' non-differentiation of dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) occurring in the phenomenal world and dependent designation (*upādāyaprajñapti*) concerning the universe of discourse, as seen e.g. in Candrakīrti's statement from CŚT XIII cited in n. 14 above.

In this respect, it seems that the distinction between *pratīnyatā śakti* and *sānānyā śakti* is meaningless for Tsoñ kha pa.

<sup>45</sup> Note that this opponent uses the term *kāryakriyāsamartha*. See VVV ad VV 2 (Johnston & Kunst 1978: 44, 9-14; translated in Kajiyama 1974: 138, 3-8; Bhattacharya 1978: 97, 2-12; Saitō 1992: 139ff.): *atha śūnyam asti cānena pratīśedhaḥ śūnyāḥ sarvabhāvā iti tena śūnyā api sarvabhāvāḥ kāryakriyāsamarthā bhavyeḥ. na caitad iṣṭam. atha śūnyāḥ sarvabhāvā na ca kāryakriyāsamarthā bhavanti mā bhūd dṣṭāntavirodha iti kṛtvā, śūnyena tvadvacanena*



Thus, his usage of the term *don byed nus pa* within the presentation of Madhyamaka philosophy in the LR consists in a certain theoretical linking of the Madhyamaka doctrines of Nāgārjuna and Candrakīrti to one of the important ideas in Dharmakīrti's system. Afterwards, however, he gradually came to refrain from using the terminology of the Pramāṇa school in the course of elucidating Candrakīrti's Prāsaṅgika system by contrast with that of the Yogācāra and Svātantrika. The word "*don byed nus pa*" too disappears in his later works.<sup>46</sup> The above-mentioned special Madhyamaka doctrine is restated as the doctrine specific to the Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka in the GR, where the non-substantiality of things is explained as being postulated by means of conception (*rtog pas b'zag pa*).<sup>47</sup> But there is no mention of *don byed nus pa*. As a ground for the doctrine that the relation of cause and effect and functions to perform an action can be postulated in spite of the non-substantiality of all things, the theory of the mutual dependence of the triad of agent, action and object (*kāraḥ, kriyā, karman*) stated in the 12th and 13th verses of Chapter VIII of the MMK<sup>48</sup> is adduced instead.<sup>49</sup> It may reasonably be assumed that Tsoñ kha pa consciously came to refrain from using the term *don byed nus pa* in order to show his distance from the Pramāṇa school, which is to be included among the "substantialist opponents".

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*sarvabhāvasvabhāvapratiśedho nopapanna iti.* Tanji (1992: 58) has reported that this term also appears in Vātsyāyana's *Nyāyabhāṣya* ad *Nyāyasūtra* 3.1.69 and 3.2.60. I owe this information to Prof. A. Saitō.

<sup>46</sup> Insofar as I have examined the LÑ and the GR, it appears only in LÑ 67a1 (cited and translated in Yoshimizu 1993a: 128f.) and GR140b1 (*de la las de 'bras bu 'byin pa 'i s'na logs bar du gnas na ni itag par 'gyur la | rtag pas don byed par mi nus pas las las 'bras bu 'byun ba 'i 'brel pa mi 'thad do //*). One often finds the expression "*bya ba byed pa*" instead.

<sup>47</sup> See e.g. GR 87b1f.: *rtog pas b'zag pa de la rañ rañ gi bya byed 'thad pa ni | tshig dañ don gyi 'grel mdzad mams kyi nañ nas | sañs rgyas bskyañs dañ ži ba lha dañ slob dpon 'di gsum gyis 'phags pa yab sras gñis kyi 'grel lugs thun mon ma yin pa 'o //* <= Those which are postulated by conception are suitable for performing their own actions. The way of interpreting the doctrinal system of the noble father (Nāgārjuna) and the son (Āryadeva) by the threesome of Buddhapālita, Śāntideva and this master (Candrakīrti) among those who gave elucidation to [Nāgārjuna's] words and (their) meanings is specific. > Cf. also GR139a1f. (see n. 11 above and Yoshimizu 1994: 327, n. 67). As regards Tsoñ kha pa's interpretation of non-substantiality as being postulated by means of conception or verbal conventions (*miñ gi tha sñad*), cf. Yoshimizu 1993a and 1994.

<sup>48</sup> MMK VIII 12 and 13: *pratītya kāraḥ karma tañ pratītya ca kārakam | karma pravartate nānyat paśyāmaḥ siddhikāraṇam // evaṃ vidyād upādānaṃ vyutsargād iti karmaṇaḥ | kartuś ca karmakartṛbhyāṃ śeṣān bhāvān vibhāvayet //*

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Yoshimizu 1994: 346f. I still adhere to the opinion, which I have expressed in Yoshimizu 1994: 350, n. 105, that this theory ultimately makes it theoretically difficult for Tsoñ kha pa to make distinctions between things such as a pot, which is merely designated but admitted to exist conventionally, and absolutely non-existent things such as the son of a barren woman, Īśvara, etc. Mutual dependence obtains solely between mentally created occurrences. Such a simultaneous establishment of cause and effect never happens in the phenomenal world. Tsoñ kha pa himself does not seem to pay any attention to this problem, probably because he believes that concepts like "long", "short", "whole" and "parts" are something concomitant to phenomenal existents in the same way as a pot, etc. In accordance with the theory of mutual dependence, however, one can even say that the son of a barren woman is conventionally existent since, although he is merely designated by means of conception, he is established in dependence on interrelated concepts like "daughter", "man", "son of a woman" and so on. Therefore, there is no way of distinguishing between them other than just saying that it is acknowledged to be right or wrong according to worldly conventions.

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