

R. E. EMMERICK

**SOME TIBETAN MEDICAL TANKAS**

## GERMAN transliteration of TIBETAN

ñ as in 'onions'

ñ̇ as in 'ring'

c as in 'church'

ć as in 'cats'

ćh as in 'cats' home'

ch as in 'church hall'

j as in 'jungle'

ǰ as in 'lads'

z as in 'rose' but often as in 'sun'

ž as in 'leisure' but often as in 'shade'

š as in 'shade'

# SOME TIBETAN MEDICAL TANKAS<sup>1</sup>

R. E. Emmerick

On 3 August 1983 Professor D. Schuh (Bonn) and I went on an official visit to the Sman-r̄cis-khañ<sup>2</sup> in Lhasa. The present building is situated on the edge of the old city centre just a stone's throw away from the Jo-khañ. Although it was completed only

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is a revised version of that entitled 'Preliminary remarks on the medical tankas in the Sman-r̄cis-khañ. in Lhasa', which formed the basis of a lecture held on 18 September 1983 in Višegrad, Hungary, on the occasion of the Bicentenary Csoma de Kőrös Symposium. I am grateful to Miss Marianne Winder for drawing my attention to Christophe Massin's book, *La médecine tibétaine*. Zara Fleming also provided me with new material, which has been incorporated here with due acknowledgement. On the occasion of the XXII International Congress for Asian and North African Studies that took place in Hamburg from 25-30 August 1986 Professor Cai Jingfeng, Director of the China Institute for the History of Medicine and Medical Literature in Peking, kindly presented me with a copy of his important article on Tibetan medical tankas, which was previously unknown to me. I am grateful to Duan Qing for assisting me with the translation of his article. To Dr. Elisabeth Finckh I am grateful for drawing my attention to the publication *Bod-kyi thañ-ga*.

This paper was originally written before the publication in facsimile of a complete set of the medical tankas in Lhasa, but due to adverse circumstances publication was delayed for several years. I have however tried to take account of relevant material that has been published in the meantime.

In his foreword to the English edition of the facsimile volume dated July 1987 Cai Jingfeng refers to a lecture I held concerning the medical tankas at the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine in London on 18 April 1986. Cai Jingfeng was not present on that occasion and assumed that that lecture was limited to a discussion of the tankas seen by Schuh and myself. It was however rather a summary of what had up till then come to light concerning the Tibetan medical tankas. I concluded that lecture with the remark that 'A great service to the study of Tibetan medicine could be rendered by making available to scholars the complete collection of the medical tankas illustrating the Vaiḍūrya sñon-po'. I am delighted that the whole series has meanwhile been made available in the form of such excellent photographs. It is my fervent hope that those few Chinese scholars who appreciate Tibetan culture will, before it is too late, do much more to preserve for posterity whatever has been left after the rampages of their countrymen.

<sup>2</sup> The visit was made possible by the generous support of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft.

in 1978 it was already in 1983 inadequate for the growing demand for medical treatment. We saw in another part of Lhasa the construction work in progress on a much larger new hospital designed to accommodate 150 to 200 beds. For this project the Chinese government claimed to have budgeted six million yüan.

In accordance with its name and with Tibetan tradition, the Sman-réis-khañ even today includes a department of astronomy, one of whose main functions is to prepare for publication each year the current Tibetan calendar, of which circulation in 1983 was 180,000. The hospital has a library of medical and astronomical works, and books on those subjects are actually printed, published, and sold in the hospital. We were no doubt among the best customers they had ever had. At any rate they had considerable difficulty in handling the large sum of money we had to pay.

The director of the hospital, Byams-pa hphrin-las, informed us that the hospital possesses a complete set of the seventy-nine medical scrolls illustrating the Rgyud-bži. As pointed out by Cai Jingfeng and Zhao Pushan the tankas illustrate the Rgyud-bži as follows :

| <b>Rgyud-bži</b> | <b>Number of tankas</b> |
|------------------|-------------------------|
| Book 1           | 4                       |
| Book 2           | 35                      |
| Book 3           | 16                      |
| Book 4           | 24                      |

Sixteen such tankas were on display in the library and we were allowed to photograph them. A somewhat rickety ladder was produced, and Schuh made use of it to photograph the tankas from suitable positions. Our request to see more of the tankas was firmly refused despite the agreement made with the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft that resulted in our visit. The number of tankas on display seems to be slowly increasing. When Massin visited the Sman-réis-khañ in May 1980 he was able to see and

photograph only twelve tankas, and he appears to have been led to believe that this was the complete set.

A survey of all the medical tankas in Tibet was made by two Chinese scholars, Cai Jingfeng and Zhao Pushan, who published an important article on the subject in 1980. According to them there were at that time 103 medical tankas in Tibetan hospitals. These they classify as follows :

| <b>Period</b>  | <b>Number of tankas</b> |
|----------------|-------------------------|
| before AD 1617 | 1                       |
| 1617-1688      | 1                       |
| 1688-1875      | 96                      |
| 1875-          | 32                      |

Almost all the medical tankas known to exist in 1980 were accordingly made during or after the time of Sde-srid sañs-rgyas rgya-mcho (AD 1653-1705), the famous commentator on the Rgyud-bzi. There appears to be no longer any means of determining how many tankas may have existed before the Chinese began their devastation of Tibetan culture. Complete sets of the 79 tankas illustrating the Rgyud-bzi are said to be found in the Sman-rcis-khañ and in the Nor-bu gliñ-ka. Jingfeng and Zhao do not indicate however how many of these are old. It is known that a number of medical tankas were made in the present century : Vañ-Le expressly mentions the production of three complete sets for teaching purposes in the years 1918, 1923 and 1933. Schuh and I saw work in progress during an unofficial visit to the Sman-rcis-khañ. This may account for the quite different information provided by Vañ-Le in the most recent facsimile edition of the tankas. According to him there are 130 tankas in the Tibetan hospital and 164 in the Commission for Cultural Relics, but many are duplicates and only two complete sets can be made. Close comparison of the facsimile volume with the photographs taken by Schuh reveals that none of the tankas on display in the hospital when we were there was used for the facsimile volume. The editors of the facsimile volume give no

indication of the source or age of the tankas reproduced, and it may accordingly still be useful to survey here the data concerning the medical tankas as a whole.

L. A. Waddell<sup>3</sup> visited Lhasa in 1904 and brought back four copies he had had made of a medical tanka. One of these is now kept in the library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine as MS Tib. 119<sup>4</sup>. Another of the copies is supposed to have been deposited in the India Office Library, but my inquiries concerning its whereabouts have as yet produced no results. A study of the tanka based on one of the copies was published by E. H. Walsh in *JRAS* 1910, 1215-1245. Zara Fleming kindly informs me (letter of 1/10/1986) that Walsh's copy is now in the Royal Scottish Museum under the inventory number 1950.258. It is clear from some of Walsh's remarks (e.g. p. 1234 ad 15.) that the copies were not absolutely identical. However, the tanka he described is identical with the corresponding one seen on our visit (here referred to as 'Lhasa ES 3'), which is in turn essentially the same as 'Bildrolle III' published by I. Veith.

On 20 July 1983 Schuh and I were taken to visit the Yonghegong, a large Lamaist temple in Peking, where we were received by two monks who showed us around. The temple was made famous in the west by F. D. Lessing's work, *Yung-ho-kung. An iconography of the Lamaist Cathedral in Peking*, vol. 1, Stockholm 1942. We were able to see but not photograph some of the medical tankas in the fourth hall that Lessing had in 1947 had copied in their original size 75 cm × 58 cm. The copies are now in a Library at the University of California, Berkeley. Photographs of the copies were published by I. Veith, *Medizin in Tibet*, Leverkusen 1960, and according to F. Meyer (p. 97), by P. Huard at a later date in Paris.

Before Lessing, B. Laufer appears to have acquired copies of four of them. K. Sudhoff published illustrations of two of the

3 See L. A. Waddell, *Lhasa and its mysteries*, London 1905, 376-378; 'Ancient anatomical drawings preserved in Tibet', *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, XXX, 1910, 336-340; *JRAS*, 1911, 207-208.

4 See Body and Mind in *Tibetan Medicine, an Exhibition at the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine*, London 1986, 25.

figures from Peking 3 and 5. Laufer's copies were in the Field Museum in Chicago according to Sudhoff<sup>5</sup>.

For convenience I shall refer to the tankas published by Veith as the 'Peking' tankas. The tankas seen by Schuh and myself will be referred to as the 'Lhasa ES' tankas, those published by Massin as the 'Lhasa M' tankas, and those seen by Zara Fleming as the 'Lhasa F' tankas. The sixteen Lhasa ES tankas do not correspond to the twelve Peking tankas. In fact, only four of the tankas correspond, four of the so-called anatomical charts. The first seven of the Peking tankas belong to this category. Of those the first six are known to me also from excellent photographs of copies sent to me by R. H. Poelmeijer (Leiden). According to Poelmeijer the photographs are of tankas painted by Che-riñ dbañ-phyug at Leh in 1981 under the supervision of Hgyur-med rnam-rgyal of the Tibetan Medical Research Institute at Leh. These can be called 'Leh 1-6'. Poelmeijer subsequently (23/1/85) informed me that Hgyur-med rnam-rgyal 'conceived' the paintings after studying Veith's book.

It may be of interest to observe that most of the plates in Rechung Rinpoche, *Tibetan medicine*, London 1973, pages 105-131 are evidently based on a source similar to that of the seven Peking tankas.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, no collection of the 79 medical diagrams is extant outside Ulan Ude and Lhasa. C. Cüppers, who was at the time in-charge of Tibetan studies in the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project informed me (letter of 11/4/85) that only three anatomical charts have turned up in Nepal. Two of these may well have an origin similar to that of the Leh diagrams.

A complete collection of the medical diagrams is preserved in the Ethnographical Museum of Ulan Ude. The following information was made available about it by Lydia Khundanova in her article 'A medical thesaurus from the roof of the world' on p. 20 of *The Unesco Courier*, July 1979 : 'The commentaries

5 K. Sudhoff, 'Die anatomischen Ganzfiguren in tibetanischer Überlieferung', *Sudhoffs Archiv für die Geschichte der Medizin*, 8, 1914-1915, 143-145.

contained in the Vaidouriaonbo were illustrated by the Atlas of Indo-Tibetan Medicine. This consisted of seventy-seven stylized colour plates containing a total of over ten thousand individual illustrations.'

'Compiled at the monastery of Serkog-Manba in northeastern Tibet, the Atlas was acquired by a Buryat doctor who had gone there to study medicine; it is now preserved in the Ethnographical Museum of Ulan Ude in the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Buryat.'

Further information concerning the material in Ulan Ude is made known by El'bert Bazaron in *Ocherki tibetskoj mediciny*, Ulan Ude 1984. I learned of this work merely by chance from a booksellers' catalogue and was not able to examine it until 11 September 1986. Information concerning the Atlas is to be found on pp. 34 and 40-41. There we are informed that the plates are 81.5 x 66.5 cm and that plate 62 is missing. The book contains also ten unnumbered plates, which I shall refer to according to their sequence as Bazaron 1-10. Bazaron's reproductions are in colour but of extremely poor quality so that the captions cannot be read. Only in one case (Bazaron 5) is the Tibetan inscription at the foot published, but it is so blurred that it is not possible to read it. However, it evidently conforms to the usual formulation.

#### The Bazaron Plates

| Plate No. | Other sources                     | LT |
|-----------|-----------------------------------|----|
| 1         | = Lhasa M 1                       | 1  |
| 2         | = Lhasa ES 13                     | 4  |
| 3         | = Lhasa ES 15                     | 22 |
| 4         |                                   | 63 |
| 5         |                                   | 62 |
| 6         | = Lhasa ES 14                     | 8  |
| 7         | = <i>The Unesco Courier</i> p. 24 | 27 |
| 8         | = Lhasa M 6                       | 25 |
| 9         | = Peking 12                       | 23 |
| 10        |                                   | 74 |



Three of the above items (4,5,10) were made known for the first time by Bazarov in this publication, but the photographs are of such poor quality that nothing can be read and that the Tibetan descriptions were not published. Bazarov's own descriptions were most inadequate. Thus, Bazarov 4 concerning pulse diagnostics is described by him as follows : 'Evil spirits — supernatural powers, inflicting diseases on people. They are depicted in the guise of demons that are the causes of acute incurable and mental diseases. Illustrations from the Atlas of Tibetan medicine (from chapter 4).'<sup>6</sup>

Of the twelve tankas seen by Massin only three were on display in the library when Schuh and I visited it. Caroline Blunden and Zara Fleming visited the library after us in November 1984 and were able to photograph twelve tankas, of which eight are the same as those seen by Schuh and myself. Of the remaining four, three are the same as those seen by Massin and the fourth is known from the Peking copies.

Unfortunately the reproductions published by Massin are of extremely poor quality. He expressly apologises for the bad quality of three of them, but even the others are so poor that their inscriptions cannot be read and plate 19 is even printed the wrong way round ('seitenverkehrt' as one says in German). However, it is possible to read the inscription below tanka 9 on plate 25 and part of that below tanka 6 on plate 16.

Massin's tankas were of particular interest because two of massin's tankas had not previously been published elsewhere.

#### The Massin tankas

| Plate | Massin | LT | Other sources | Description            |
|-------|--------|----|---------------|------------------------|
| *1    | 1      | 1  | = Bazarov 1   | Le Paradis de médecine |
| 8     | 2      | 5  | = Lhasa ES 16 | L'embryologie          |
| 12    | 3      | 17 | = Lhasa ES 8  | Anatomie               |

<sup>6</sup> Translated from the Russian original

| Plate | Massin | LT  | Other sources                            | Description                     |
|-------|--------|-----|--|---------------------------------|
| 11    | 4      | 51= | Meyer p. 165                             | Anatomie                        |
| 13    | 5      | 14= | Lhasa ES F 7                             | Physiologie<br>tantrique        |
| *16   | 6      | 25= | Bazaron 8                                | Produits médicinaux             |
| 14    | 7      | 34  |  | Végétaux et<br>minéraux         |
| 15    | 8      | 36= | Peking 8                                 | Les instruments<br>chirurgicaux |
| *25   | 9      | 27= | Peking 9<br>= Lhasa F                    | Matière médicale                |
| 18    | 10     | 29= | Lhasa F                                  | Plantes médicinales             |
| 17    | 11     | 26= | <i>Unesco Courier</i><br>p. 22 = Lhasa F | Produits médicaux               |
| 19    | 12     | 28  |  | Plantes médicinales             |

(\* Plates 1, 16 and 25 are colour reproductions.)

As far as quality of reproduction is concerned, the nine plates reproducing medical tankas in *Bod-kyi than-ga* [Tibetan tankas], The Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet, Peking 1985, leave nothing to be desired. This publication was of interest in providing us with the inscription on the tanka depicting medical instruments so that its *bris-cha* number was now known and also in making known two further medical tankas that had not hitherto been published (*bris-cha* 33 and *bris-cha* 37).

Apart from the four anatomical tankas that are in the Peking collection, four more of the sixteen Lhasa tankas were already known from published sources. Lhasa ES F 13 is similar to a tanka published as the cover page of *The Unesco Courier*, July 1979 and again as Bazaron 2 and = *Bod-kyi than-ga* 130. Lhasa ES 14 corresponds to Bazaron 6 and Lhasa ES 15 to Bazaron 3. Lhasa ES 16 is similar to the tanka reproduced as plate 95 on p. 124 of Ngapo Ngawang Jigmei et al., *Tibet*, New York 1981 and again in *Bod-kyi than-ga* 131.

The sixteen Lhasa ES tankas can be classified thematically as follows :

- |         |                             |
|---------|-----------------------------|
| [10]    | Famous Physicians           |
| [1-9]   | Anatomical                  |
| [11-13] | Trees of medicine           |
| [14]    | Similes concerning the body |
| [15]    | Daily and seasonal conduct  |
| [16]    | Embryology.                 |

All sixteen tankas bear inscriptions at the foot and all are legible except that below [10]. In many cases the inscriptions begin : *sman-blahi dgoñs-rgyan rgyud-bžihi gsal-byed bai-ḍūr sñon-po-las* 'From the Blue Beryl that sheds light on the Four Tantras, the adornment of the reflexions of the Lord of Medicine', that is, the tanka illustrates the well-known Vaidūrya sñon-po, a commentary on the Rgyud-bži by Sde-srid sañs-rgyas rgya-mcho (AD 1653-1705). The following eleven Lhasa ES tankas have inscriptions beginning in that way : [1 2 4 5 7 11 12 13 14 15 16]. Half of the Peking tankas also have inscriptions beginning with this formula : [12 6 7 9 12]. In this way begin also Lhasa M 4 and the tanka published on p. 24 of *The Unesco Courier*, July 1979. The four Lhasa F materia medica tankas all begin with the above formula. In the case of the facsimile volume the formula is found on all tankas except the second of paired tankas. It is course not found on LT 80.

The well-known tanka depicting numerous medical instruments also bears an inscription beginning with the formula mentioned. The Peking copy (= Peking 8) bears no inscription and the large format black and white reproduction published in New Delhi in 1971 by Lokesh Chandra also bears no inscription, but the corresponding Lhasa tanka made known by Massin's photograph does carry an inscription although it is unfortunately illegible. This tanka was not on display in the library when Schuh and I visited it. The expected inscription is however found on the reproduction on p. 138 of *Bod-kyi than-ga*.

All the tankas whose inscriptions begin with the formula *sman-blahi dgoñs-rgyan rgyud-bžihi gsal-byed bai-ḍūr sñon-polas* are numbered towards the end of the inscription. However, in the case of one of the Lhasa F materia medica tankas the number is not visible on the available photograph. In three instances the tankas are assigned two consecutive numbers. In each of these cases the tankas show the front view of the human figure and are to be combined with an unnumbered tanka showing the back view. Thus, all the Lhasa ES tankas apart from [10] belong to a single series based on the Vaiḍūrya sñon-po.

Sometimes rough copies many times removed from the original come to light. One such copy that was recently acquired on the market in Hungary was published in an article by G. Šomlai, 'Preliminary investigation of a Tibetan medical chart', pp. 313-319 in *Tibetan and Buddhist Studies commemorating the 200th anniversary of the birth of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös*, ed. L. Ligeti, Budapest 1984. It illustrates V ed. 3T85 on the treatment of the upper and lower parts of the trunk. It was drawn on a piece of white silk and bears an extensive inscription that Šomlai was unable to translate. It can now be successfully identified as *bris-cha* 51.

The items made known prior to the first complete publication are the following :

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| <i>bris-cha</i> 1  | = Lhasa M = Bazon 1.   |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 2  | = Lhasa ES F 11.   |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 3  | = Lhasa ES F 12.   |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 4  | = Lhasa ES F 13<br>(= <i>The Unesco Courier</i> cover page)<br>= <i>Bod-kyi than-ga</i> 130. |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 5  | = Lhasa ES 16 = Lhasa M 2 = <i>Tibet</i> p. 124<br>= <i>Bod-kyi than-ga</i> 131.             |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 6  | = Lhasa ES 5.  |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 7  | = Lhasa ES 6.  |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 8  | = Lhasa ES 14 = Bazon 6.   |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 9  | = Lhasa ES 2 = Peking 2 = Leh 2.   |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 10 | = Lhasa ES 9.  |

|                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| <i>bris-cha</i> 11 | = Lhasa ES 4 = Peking 6 = Leh 6.  |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 12 | = Lhasa ES 3 = Peking 3 = Leh 3.  |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 13 | = Lhasa ES 1 = Peking 1 = <i>Bod-kyi than-ga</i> 133 = Leh 1.   |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 14 | = Lhasa ES F 7 = Lhasa M 5.   |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 17 | = Lhasa ES 8 = Lhasa M 3.   |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 22 | = Lhasa ES 15 = Bazaron 3.  |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 23 | = Peking 12 = Bazaron 9.  |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 24 | = Lhasa M 11 = <i>The Unesco Courier</i> pp. 22-23 = Peking 11.   |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 25 | = Lhasa M 6 = Bazaron 8<br>= <i>Bod-kyi than-ga</i> 136.  |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 26 | = Lhasa F 2 = Lhasa M 11<br>= Meyer fig. 35. p. 165<br>= <i>The Unesco Courier</i> p. 22.                             |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 27 | = Lhasa F 3 = Lhasa M 9<br>= <i>The Unesco Courier</i> p. 24 = Peking 9.  |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 28 | = Lhasa M 12 = <i>Bod-kyi than-ga</i> 135.  |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 29 | = Lhasa F 4 = Lhasa M 10.   |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 30 | = <i>The Unesco Courier</i> p. 23 (two sections).   |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 31 | = Lhasa F 1 = Peking 10.  |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 33 | = <i>Bod-kyi than-ga</i> 137.   |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 34 | = Lhasa M 7.  |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 36 | = <i>Bod-kyi than-ga</i> 138 = Lhasa M 8<br>= Peking 8.<br>= Separate reproduction by Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi 1971. |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 37 | = <i>Bod-kyi than-ga</i> 132.   |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 40 | = Peking 7.   |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 49 | = Peking 5 = Leh 5.   |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 50 | = Peking 4 = Leh 4.   |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 51 | = Lhasa M 4 = Meyer p. 165<br>= Šomlai p. 315.  |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 75 | = <i>Bod-kyi than-ga</i> 134.   |
| <i>bris-cha</i> 80 | = Lhasa ES 10.  |

Note that the tanka reproduced on p. 22 of *The Unesco Courier* is said on p. 20 to be 'plate 24 from the *Atlas*', but the reproduction does not include the inscription at the bottom.

Seven tankas are paired : LT 6/7 9/10 11/12 16/17 40/41 49/50 74/75. Only the paired tankas contain inscriptions referring specifically to the fact that front or back views of the figures are illustrated. The formulas are as follows : *kha-byañ klog lugs dañ don thams-cad mdun goñ-ma dañ sprod (dgos)*<sup>7</sup> 'The way of reading the labels and all their meanings must be combined with the (illustration of the) front (view of the figure)' and *kha-byañ klog lugs dañ don thams-cad rgyab rjes-ma dañ sprod (dgos)* 'The way of reading the labels and all their meanings must be combined with the (illustration of the) back (view of the figure).' These formulas have been appended to the inscriptions usually in red ink. However, the formula is in black ink on LT 49 and appears to have been forgotten in the case of LT 12 and 74 although it is possible that it is merely not visible on the otherwise excellent photographs. In the case of LT 12 it is found on the corresponding Lhasa ES 3 added below in red dbu-med. The formula is written in this way in the facsimile volume only in the case of LT 75. *mdun goñ-ma* in this formula occurs on tankas depicting what we would term the back view (e.g. Lhasa ES 3, 6, 8, 9) and *rgyab rjes-ma* on those depicting what we would term the front view (e.g. Lhasa ES 2, 4, 5).

The paired tankas were intended to be hung side by side and for that reason the lines of their inscriptions must be read across from one tanka to the other. This was not realised by the editors of the facsimile volume at the time of the Tibetan-Chinese edition but was to some extent corrected in the Tibetan-English edition. It should be noted however that in the case of the Tibetan-English edition the editors have added material not present on the tankas. Thus after the formula *sman-blahi dgoñs-rgyan rgyud bžihi gsal-byed bai-ḍūr snon-po-las /* the tanka continues with *lehu bži-pahi*

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7 This formula was seriously misread and misinterpreted by E. H. C. Walsh in *JRAS*, 1910, 1232 despite 'the assistance of ... Am-chhi Champa Thin-le from the lChags-po-ri Monastery' (p. 1216).

as in the Tibetan-Chinese edition and not with *bśad-rgyud lehu bži-pahi* as in the Tibetan-English edition.

It is clear that not only did the editors of the facsimile volumes not at first realise how the paired tankas were to be read but also some of the copyists themselves were unaware of the problem. In the case of LT 12 for example the three lines of the text of the inscription are continuous although the text begins in the middle of the inscription and ends in the middle of a sentence. The whole of the third line is in fact duplicated within the third line of LT 11.

Moreover, examination of the paired tankas makes it clear that *the set of tankas reproduced in the facsimile volume is not an original set but made up from different sets*. In some cases this means that inscriptions on the paired tankas cannot in fact be read line by line from one tanka to another. In order to reconstruct the correct wording of the inscriptions it is accordingly necessary to compare several versions. Thus according to the Tibetan-English edition the inscription belonging to LT 11/12 contains a sentence that reads *bdu-ma-las gyes-pa bži-po-las ñer-lña re dan phran lña-brgya res skor-bahi čhul sgo lñahi mnam-śes čhogs drug bskyed-pahi rča yid bzañ-ma sogs-kyi bkod-pa zur-du hbrel-bahi rča srog rča nag-po dbu-ma dan hdres-pahi mdun dan dkar-po rgyab-tu gnas-pahi čhul /*. This is reconstructed from LT 12 (line 1) *dbu-ma-las gyes-pa bži-po-las ñer-lña re dan phran lña-brgya res bskor-bahi čhul sgo lñahi mnam-śes čhogs drug bskyed-pahi rča* and LT 11 (line 2) *ro gsum bskyed-pahi rča yid bzañ-ma sogs-kyi bkod-pa zur-du hbrel-bahi rča srog rča nag-po dbu-ma dan hdres-pahi mdun dan dkar-po rgyab-tu gnas-pahi čhul /*. The *ro gsum* at the beginning of line 2 was presumably ignored by the editors as duplicating *ro gsum* at the end of LT 11 (line 1). However, Lhasa ES 3 (line 1) reads *dbu-ma-las gyes-pa bži-po-las ñer-lña re dan phran lña-brgya res bskor-bahi čhul / sgo lñahi mnam-śes čhogs drug bskyed-pahi rča yid bzañ-ma sogs-kyi méchal-'an /* and Peking 3, which contains a continuous two-line inscription, has exactly the same reading continuing from line one to line two. Lhasa ES 4 (line 2) continues with *yid bzañ-ma sogs-kyi bkod-pa zur-du hbrel-bahi rča srog rča nag-*

*po dbu-ma dan hdres-pahi mdun dan dkar-po rgyab-tu gnas-pahi  
chul /*. Much confusion has been created that can be dissipated  
only by patient collation.

### Comments on the Lhasa ES tankas

#### LHASA ES 1

This tanka is explicitly based on V ad 2T4 and is numbered *bris-cha* 13. Although the Lhasa ES, LT, and Peking tankas are clearly intended to be the same there are evident differences of detail. Thus, there are slight variants in the inscriptions below them. The Lhasa ES and LT tankas have the three labels near each of the three figures in *dbu-med* whereas the corresponding labels on the Peking tanka are in *dbu-can* as they are on the *Bod-kyi than-ga* plate and on Leh 1. The Lhasa ES and LT and *Bod-kyi than-ga* tankas have more numbers on it than the other two. Only the Lhasa ES and *Bod-kyi than-ga* tankas have the label *blo-bu* [abbreviated for *glo-ba bu* 'minor (lobe of the) lung'] four times beside the lungs of the figures. The LT tanka is not sufficiently clear, but it appears to have the label only twice. There are also slight differences in the drawing of the figures. Thus, only on the Lhasa ES and LT tankas is the big toe of the left foot of the figure on the right at a marked angle from the other toes.

Lhasa ES 1 illustrates the *rca*, variously translated 'vein', 'channel', etc. The twenty-four principal *rca* divide into 360 minor *rca*, which in turn divide into 700 minor *rca*. The 360 minor *rca*, are shown in black and the 700 minor *rca* in red. The top left figure shows the connection of the minor *rca*, with the outer skin (*phyi sa lpags*), the figure on the right the connection of the minor *rca*, with the bones and marrow in the intermediate layer of the body (*bar rus rkan*), and the figure below the connection of the minor *rca* with the internal organs (*nan don-snod*).

#### LHASA ES 2

This tanka is explicitly based on V ad 2T4 and is numbered *bris-cha* 9+10. The reverse is Lhasa ES 9. Here again the inscription at the bottom is in both cases in *dbu-can* but the labels



on the Lhasa ES and LT tankas only are in *dbu-med*. Note the presence of a grid over the upper part of the main figure. However, Leh 2 does not have the grid. Here there are quite a few variants in the inscriptions. The formula found on paired tankas (*kha-byañ klog lugs dañ don thams-cad rgyab rjes-ma dañ sprod dgos*) is not found on the Peking tanka.

The text of the inscription concerns the bones and the hair pores. The labels under the arms refer to the 3,500,000 hair pores on each arm.

Another variant of this tanka is kept in the National Library of Ulan Bator. It was described in detail by K. Lange, 'Eine anatomische Tafel zur lamaistischen Heilkunde', *Annals of the Náprstek Museum*, 3, Prague 1964, 65-84.

### LHASA ES 3

This tanka is the reverse of Lhasa ES 4 as pointed out above. It is the unnumbered tanka of a pair. The formula *kha-byañ klog lugs dañ don thams-cad mdun gon-ma dañ sprod* was evidently forgotten at first in the case of the Lhasa tanka and was subsequently added small below in *dbu-med*. Note that only the Lhasa ES and LT tankas have the grid. Meyer does not give the source of his photograph, but it is evidently based on a source different from Lhasa ES 3, Peking 3, and Leh 3. Only the Lhasa and LT tankas have some of the labels in *dbu-med*.

The main figure shows the *rca*, in connection with the spine, the limbs, and one on each of the feet. The figure on the left shows the *rca*, in connection with the internal organs (*don-snod nañ hbreḏ*). The figure on the right shows the connection of the *rca*, with the heart represented here as a wheel (*chos-kyi hkhoro*).

The label at the foot of the main figure reads : *rkañ-pahi mthil-gyi bzag hdra mthil-hphrog gñis*, which was wrongly translated by Walsh P. 1240 as 'The two wheels resembling a coil of rope on the soles of the feet'. *mthil-hphrog* does not mean 'wheel' but is the name of an artery. It is explained by Ḍbañ-hdus, *Gso-ba*

*rig-pahi čhig-mjod g-yu-thog dgoñs-rgyan*, Lhasa 1982, 226 as *rkañ-mthil guñ mjub thad-na gnas-pahi hphar-rčahi miñ* ‘the name of the artery situated on the sole of the foot opposite the middle toe’. Walsh’s explanation of *bžag* as standing for *žags-pa* ‘leash’ is probably also incorrect. It no doubt refers to the large intestine as indicated by Jäschke. These *rča*, are included in the V list at V 165.4 as : *rkañ-pahi mthil-gyi bžag hdra mthil-hphrog-gi rča, gñis* ‘the two *mthil-hphrog rča* on the sole of the feet that resemble the large intestine’.

#### LHASA ES 4

Lhasa ES 4 is explicitly based on V ad 2T4 and numbered *bris-cha* 11+12. Here again only the Lhasa ES and LT tankas have a grid over the central figure. Meyer’s fig. 27 p. 119 appears to be identical with Peking 6. The minor items are distributed alike on Lhasa ES 4 and LT 11, but differently on Peking 6 and Leh 6. Only the Lhasa ES and LT tankas are labelled in *dbu-med*.

Like its reverse, Lhasa ES 3, Lhasa ES 4 illustrates the *rča*. The five wheels (*hkhlor-lo*, Sanskrit *cakra*), so conspicuous on the central figure, are not specifically mentioned by the labels or the inscription. They are described in the V ad 2T2. The relevant passage is translated by Meyer p. 113.

#### LHASA ES 5

This tanka bears the numbers *bris-cha* 6+7. It is paired with Lhasa ES 6. Specific reference is made to the V. Lhasa ES 5 and 6 are also concerned with the *rča*. The labels bear the names of blood-letting *rča* (*gtar-rča*) listed in 4T20, to which reference is made in the inscription below Lhasa ES 6. The labelling is entirely in *dbu-can*. Lhasa ES 5 and 6 resemble LT 6 and 7 most closely. The differences between these ES tankas and their LT counterparts are much slighter than in the case of any of the other tankas.

**LHASA ES 6** : see on Lhasa 5.

### LHASA ES 7

Lhasa ES 7 is numbered *bris-cha* 14. It is explicitly based on V ad 2T4. All labels are in *dbu-med*. The tanka illustrates the three 'life veins' (*chehi rca*).

### LHASA ES 8

This tanka (*bris-cha* 17) is the unnumbered reverse of *bris-cha* 16. According to the inscription the tanka illustrates the *gnad* 'vital spots' since several verses of 2T4 concerning them are quoted and the colours used to represent them are specified. The labels on my photograph are hardly legible but there are noticeably few of them. They are mostly in *dbu-med* but a few are in *dbu-can*. The labels just below the ears appear to read : *phrag gon chu-ba*, the name given to two of the fourteen *rgyus gnad* 'vital spots of (the sinews and) fibres' in V 177.4.

### LHASA ES 9

This tanka (*bris-cha* 10) is the unnumbered reverse of *bris-cha* 9. The inscription quotes several verses of 2T4 concerning the number of various items, bones, joints, etc., in the body. The labels, all in *dbu-med* as on LT 10, agree with these. Note the labels under the arms : *lag g-yon (g-yas)-la rgyus-pa don-liṅa* '75 fibres in the left (right) arm' as in V 149.3-4. Below the label under the left arm we find : *lus-dbyiṅs-la rgyus-pa sum-brgya* '300 fibres in the hidden (parts of) the body' as in V 149.4. To the right of the neck we read : *rgyus-pa nam-choṅ hdi yan-la sum-brgya* '300 fibres in this upper part of the base of the neck (= Sanskrit *urdhva-jatru*)'. Beside the legs occurs : *rkaṅ g-yon (g-yas)-la rgyus don-liṅa* '75 fibres in the left (right) leg'. Thus the total number of *rgyus* is 900 as stated in 2T4.23 and as analysed in V 149.

### LHASA ES 10

This tanka does not belong to the traditional series. According to Byams-pa hphrin-las and Vañ-Le it was drawn under the auspices of the late director of the Sman-réis-khañ and depicts twelve famous physicians surrounding the central figure of Ņa-

dbañ blo-bzañ rgya-mcho. The physician illustrated below the central figure is said to be Mkhyen-rab nor-bu (1879-1962), the head of the Sman-rcis-khañ.

### LHASA ES 11

This tanka, numbered *bris-cha* 2 and labelled in *dbu-med*, is explicitly based on V ad 1T3. It is the first of the three well-known trees of medicine. They have been studied in detail in E. Finckh, *Grundlagen tibetischer Heilkunde*, Band 1, Uelzen 1975 (= *Foundations of Tibetan medicine*, London 1978) and Band 2, Uelzen 1985 (= *Foundations of Tibetan medicine*, London 1985). Her trees were taken from the work of the nineteenth century Mongol physician Hjam-dpal rdo-rje published in facsimile by Lokesh Chandra, *An illustrated Tibeto-Mongolian materia medica of Ayurveda of 'Jam-dpal-rdo-rje of Mongolia*, New Delhi 1971 (16-17, 20-21, 26-27). The three trees are also found in Meyer's book (figs. 21-23 on pp. 106-108). Meyer does not indicate the source of his plates, but they are probably photographs the author made of diagrams in use in Nepal.

Lhasa ES 11 is labelled *gnas-lugs nad-gzihi rca-ba* 'the root of the arrangement (of the parts of the body and) of the bases of disease' and refers to 1T3 *gnas-lugs nad-gzihi lehu* 'the chapter on the arrangement (of the parts of the body and) of the bases of disease'. The root divides into two trunks, the left being that of the healthy organism, the right that of the diseased organism. The left trunk has three, the right nine branches. The left trunk has twenty-five leaves and two flowers, the right trunk sixty-three leaves.

The Lhasa tree tankas are more elaborate than the other tree diagrams mentioned. Note the amusing battle scene at the base of the tree. The supporters of the healthy and diseased organisms are depicted as firing arrows at each other.

### LHASA ES 12

This tanka, numbered *bris-cha* 3 and labelled in *dbu-med*, is explicitly based on V ad 1T4. This tanka depicts *nos-hjin rtags-kyi rca-ba* 'the root of diagnostic signs', which divides into three

trunks, the trunk of observation (*blta-bahi sdon-po*), the trunk of palpation (*reg-pahi sdon-po*), and the trunk of questioning (*dri-bahi sdon-po*). The trunk of observation divides into two branches and six leaves, that of palpation into three branches and three leaves, and that of questioning into three branches and twenty-nine leaves. Only Meyer's tree has flowers. They are not mentioned in the text.

### LHASA ES 13

This tanka, numbered *bris-cha* 4 and labelled in *dbu-med*, is explicitly based on V ad 1T5. *gso-byed thabs-kyi rca-ba* 'the root of the method(s) of healing' divides into four trunks, the trunk of food (*zas-kyi sdon-po*), the trunk of behaviour (*spyod-lam-gyi sdon-po*), the trunk of medicines (*sman-gyi sdon-po*), and the trunk of therapy (*dpyad-kyi sdon-po*). The trunk of food has six branches and thirty-five leaves, that of behaviour three branches and six leaves, that of medicines fifteen branches and fifty leaves, and that of therapy three branches and seven leaves.

Note at the bottom right the picture of Vidyājñāna (*rig-pahi ye-śes*), the seer (*drañ-sroñ*) who emanated from the heart (*thugs-sprul*) of the Medicine Buddha and related the Rgyud-bži.

A similar tree tanka was reproduced without an accompanying inscription in *The Unesco Courier*, July 1979, cover page. Its labels are in *dbu-can*. The tanka is reproduced also in Bazaron 2. A similar tree tanka is reproduced in *Bod-kyi thañ-ga* 130.

### LHASA ES 14

This tanka, numbered *bris-cha* 8 and labelled in *dbu-med*, is explicitly based on V ad 2T3 and the first part of 2T4. The two parts are clearly indicated. Part 1 begins at the left of the first column below the physicians and is headed : *bśad-rgyud lehu gsum-pahi hdra-dpe* 'the similes of the third chapter of the Explanatory Tantra'. Part 2 begins at the right of the third column above the inscription at the bottom and is headed : *bśad-rgyud lehu bži-pa gnas-luñgs-kyi ldan-čhad sogs* 'the quantities, etc.,

of the arrangement (of the body as given in) the fourth chapter of the Explanatory Tantra’.

It is interesting that the chapter on the similes for the body (2T3) is thought worth illustrating. This chapter is not translated in Yeshe Dönden and Jhampa Kelsang, *The ambrosia heart Tantra*, vol. 1, Dharamsala 1977. They remark on p. 56 ‘since this chapter is not of great importance, it will not be translated here’. The chapter has been translated in part by Meyer p. 116.

The section on the similes begins with the first item of 2T3 : *dpyi-rus rciḡ gram*, referring to 2T3.2 : *dpyi-rus gñis ni rciḡ-pahi hgram-gzi hdra* ‘The two thigh bones resemble the foundation wall of a building’. The next item is labelled *rgal-čhigs gser-gyi don-rce*, which refers to 2T3.3 : *sgal-čhigs gser-gyi don-če brcegs-pa hdra* ‘The vertebrae are like a pile of gold coins’.

The section on the quantities begins with the first item of 2T4. The label is identical with 2T4.6 : *rlun-gi ldan-čhad lgan-phug gan* ‘The quantity of wind (in a normal person is enough to make) the urinary bladder full’.

## LHASA ES 15

This tanka, numbered *bris-cha 22* and labelled in *dbu-med*, is explicitly based on V ad 2T13-15. Chapter 13 begins at the top left of the first column, chapter 14 in the middle of column 8, and chapter 15 near the end of the second last column. The beginnings are labelled with reference to the chapter concerned. Chapter 13 is about the proper way to behave each day, chapter 14 about the way to behave according to the season, and chapter 15 about the way to behave appropriate to a particular occasion. Among the ways to behave are shown in column 4 massaging (*dril-phyis*) and bathing (*khrus-byed-pa*). Ways not to behave in column 6 are sleeping by day (*ñin-la spyod-pa*) and sleeping with someone other than one’s wife (*ran-gi chuñ-ma-las gzan-du spyod-pa*). In the third column from below we see depicted the well-known cool and fragrant house for avoiding the summer heat (*bsil-khan dri bzan bsten-pa*) labelled as 2T14.47. Chapter 15 is concerned mainly with the recommendation that

one should not suppress the natural urges. It begins with a man suppressing hunger (*bkres bkag*) and ends with one suppressing semen (*khu-ba bkag-pa*).

### LHASA ES 16

This tanka, numbered *bris-cha* 5, is explicitly based on V ad 2T2. Its labels like those on LT 5 are all in *dbu-med* except in the top left square. This tanka is similar to one of which a photograph was published by Ngapo Ngawang Jigmei et al., *Tibet*, New York 1981, plate 95 on p. 124. In fact the two are almost identical. However, there are slight differences in the spacing and positioning of the labelling. Yet a third variant is represented by *Bod-kyi than-ga* 131, on which all the labelling is in *dbu-can*. As far as I can see, the tanka reproduced by Ngapo Ngawang Jigmei is identical to LT 5. Note that only Lhasa ES 16 depicts a table supporting the bowl in the bottom left corner.

In the first two columns nine kinds of defects of the blood and semen that prevent conception are illustrated. They run from *kha* to *tha*. The week to week development of the embryo begins in the middle of the fourth column and proceeds as far as *yo* in the third column from below, which is labelled twenty-seventh to thirtieth week and is followed by *ri*, thirty-first to thirty-fifth week. The first item (*lu*) at the beginning of the second last column is not numbered but bears the label *mñon-par mi-dgah skyo-bahi hdu-śes hbyuñ*, which is from 2T2.124 'being evidently not contented (with its dark abode) there arises (in it) the feeling of aversion'. This is said in 2T2.123 to apply from the thirty-sixth week on. The final two items are based on 2T2. 125-126 :

*so-bdun-pa-la log-pahi hdu-śes skye*  
*so brgyad mgo mjug log-ste mñal-nas hbyin*

'In the thirty-seventh (week) the feeling of revolt grows. (In) the thirty-eighth (week, the child) turns upside down (and) is expelled from the womb.' Here the formulation is slightly different :

*so-bdun-[pa-la] log-pahi hdu-śes hbyuñ*  
*bdun-phrag so-brgyad-pa mgo-mjug log čhul.*

The last column illustrates the last two verses of 2T2. The parturient is to be surrounded by experienced people, the navel cord must be cut, and the mother must be given nutritious food to restore her (*b'cah myoñ-gis bskor b'cah-ziñ lte-ba gcod-pahi chul* and *chas-kyis gso-bahi chul*).

Not mentioned in the Rgyud-b'zi are the three stages of development represented by the fish (*ñahi gnas-skabs*) shown after the ninth week (V 132.2), the tortoise (*rus-sbal-gyi skabs*) shown after the seventeenth week (V 133.2), and the pig (*phag-pahi skabs*) shown after the thirty-fifth week (V 135.2).

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## ABBREVIATIONS

|              |  |
|--------------|--|
| Bazaron 1-10 | Ten tankas published in facsimile by Bazaron in 1984.  |
| Leh 1-6      | Tankas painted by <i>Che-rin dbaṅ-phyug</i> at Leh in 1981.  |
| Lhasa ES     | Tankas seen and photographed by Emmerick and Schuh in Lhasa in 1983.   |
| Lhasa F      | Tankas seen and photographed in Lhasa by Zara Fleming.   |
| Lhasa M      | Tankas published in facsimile by Massin in 1982.   |
| LT           | refers to the Tibetan-Chinese and the Tibetan-English facsimile editions published by Byams-pa hphrin-las (see above). The number following LT is the tanka number established on the basis of the inscriptions on the tankas. |
| Peking 1-12  | Tankas published in facsimile by Veith in 1960.  |
| T            | = Tantra.<br>(The four books of the Rgyud-bḥi are referred to as 1T, 2T, 3T, 4T.).   |
| V            | = Vaidūrya śṅon-po.<br>(The edition referred to is : <i>Bai Dūr śṅon po</i> , ed. T. Y. Tashigangpa, vols 1-4, Leh 1973 = Smarntsis Shesrig Spendzod vols 51-54.).   |

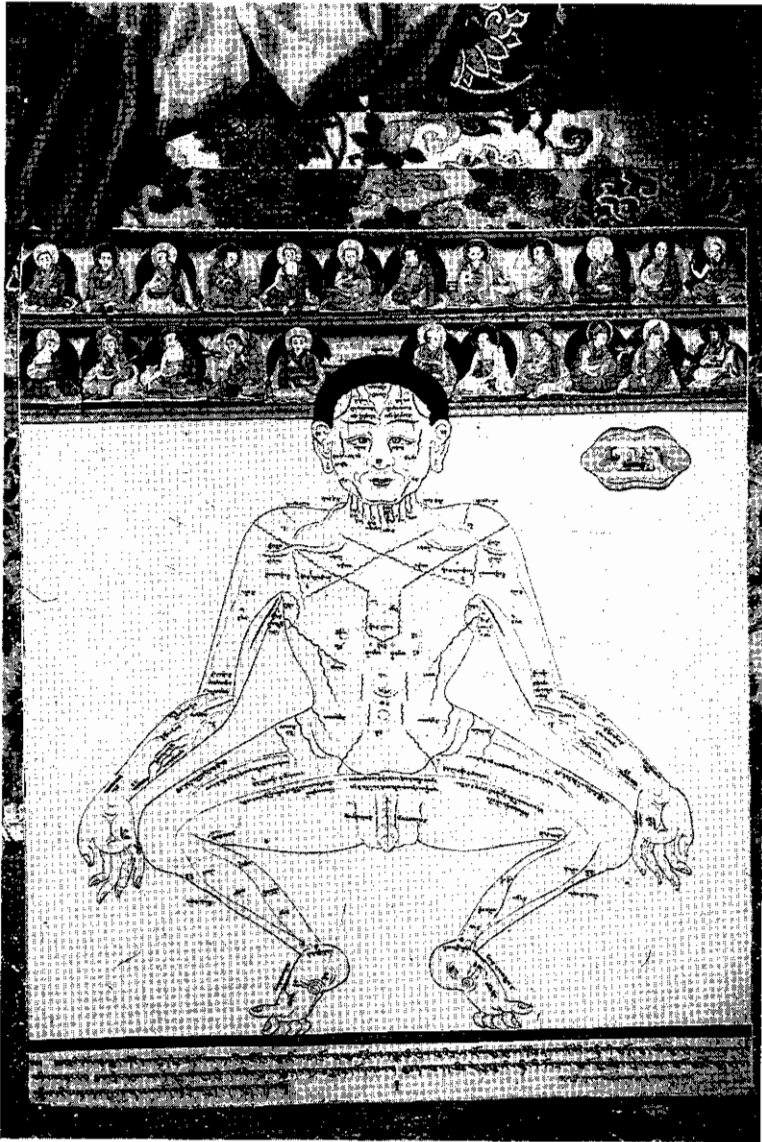


Plate : ES 5

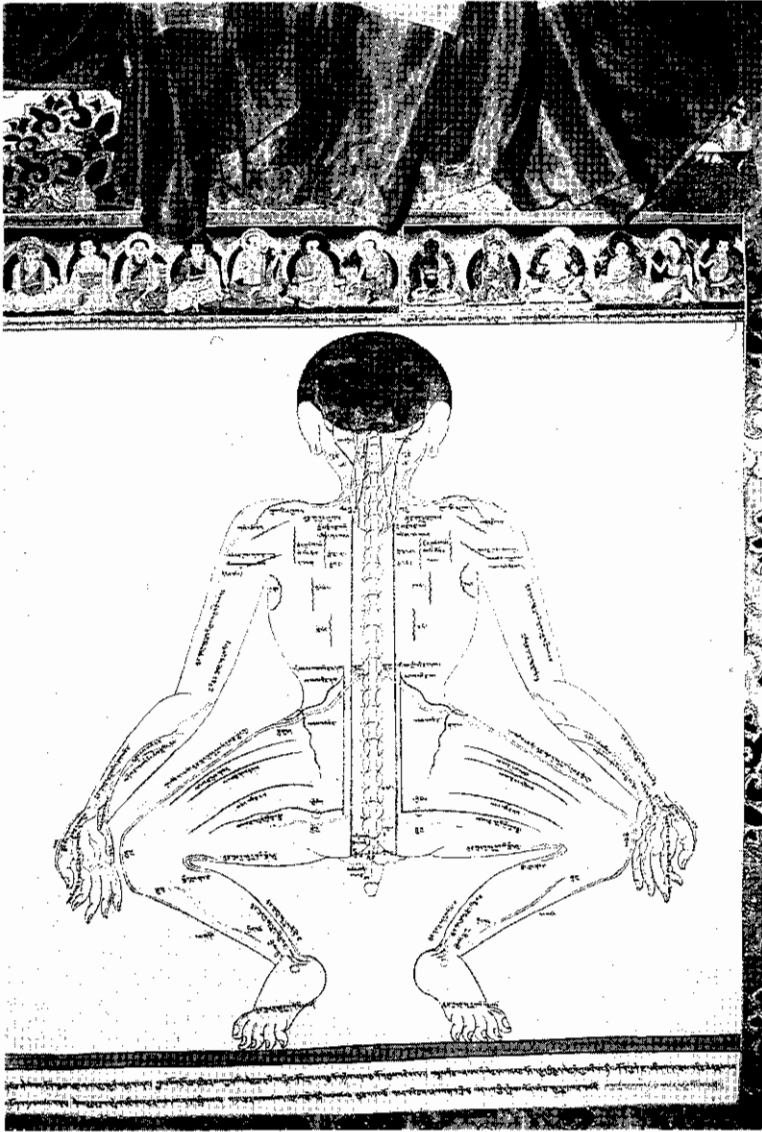


Plate : ES 6

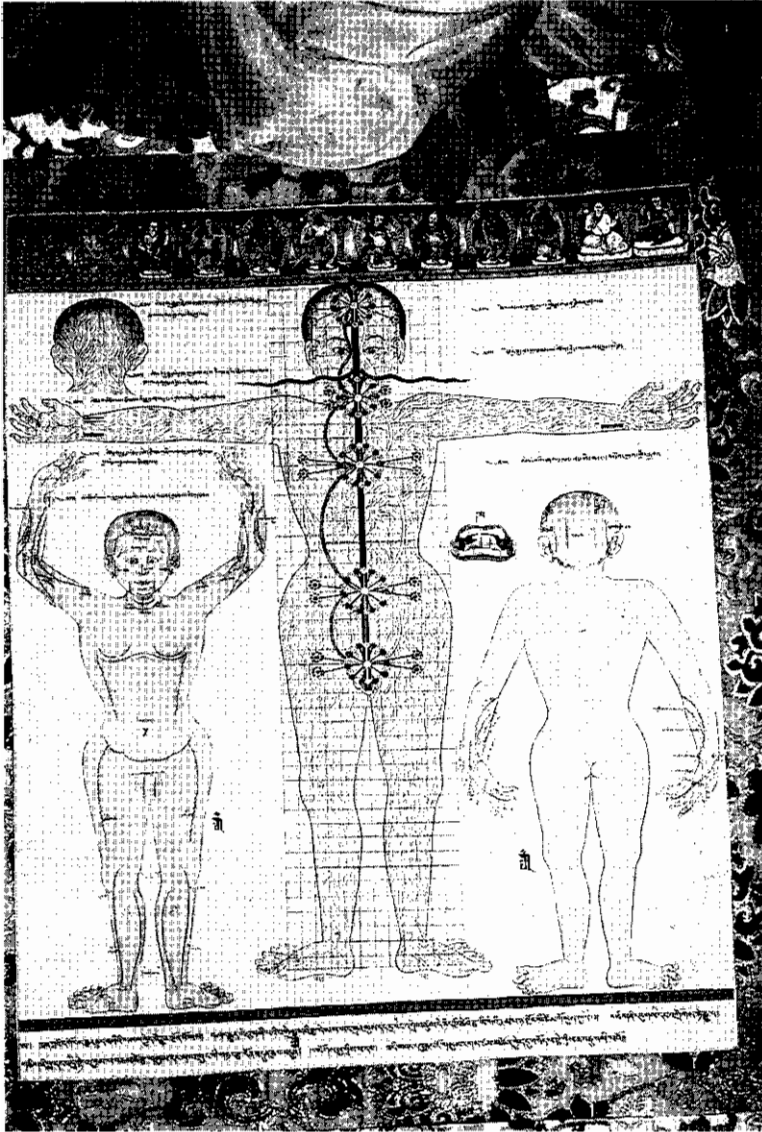


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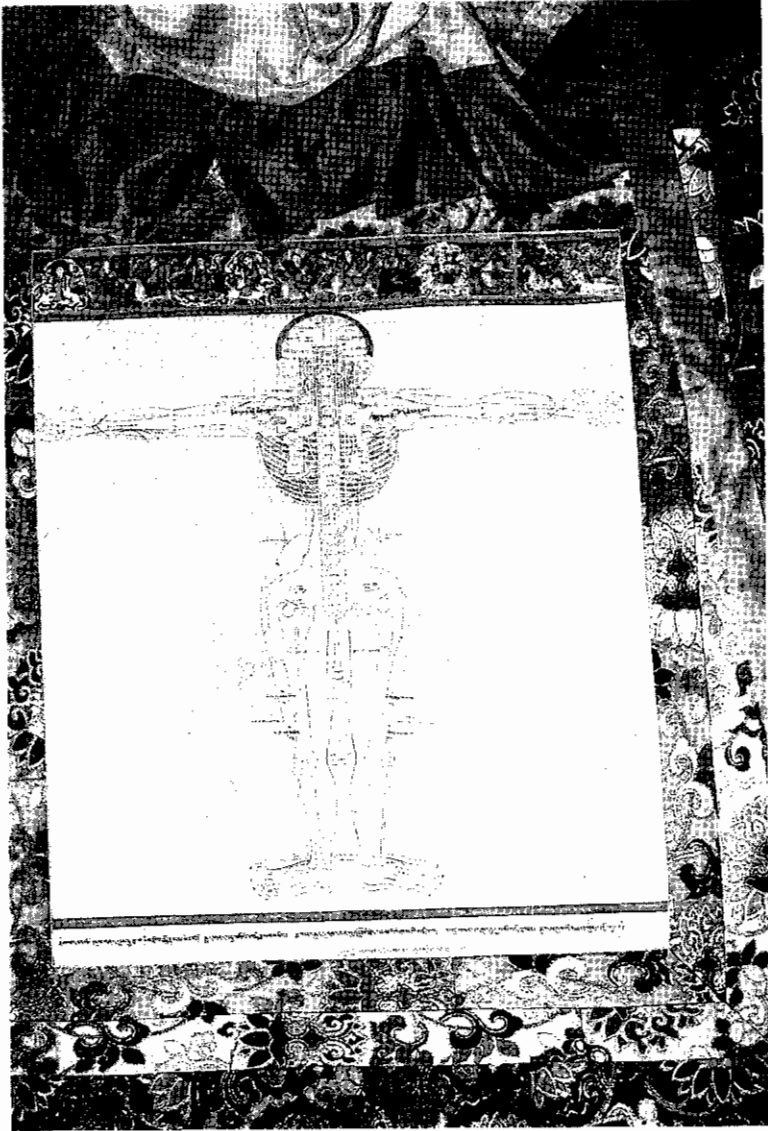


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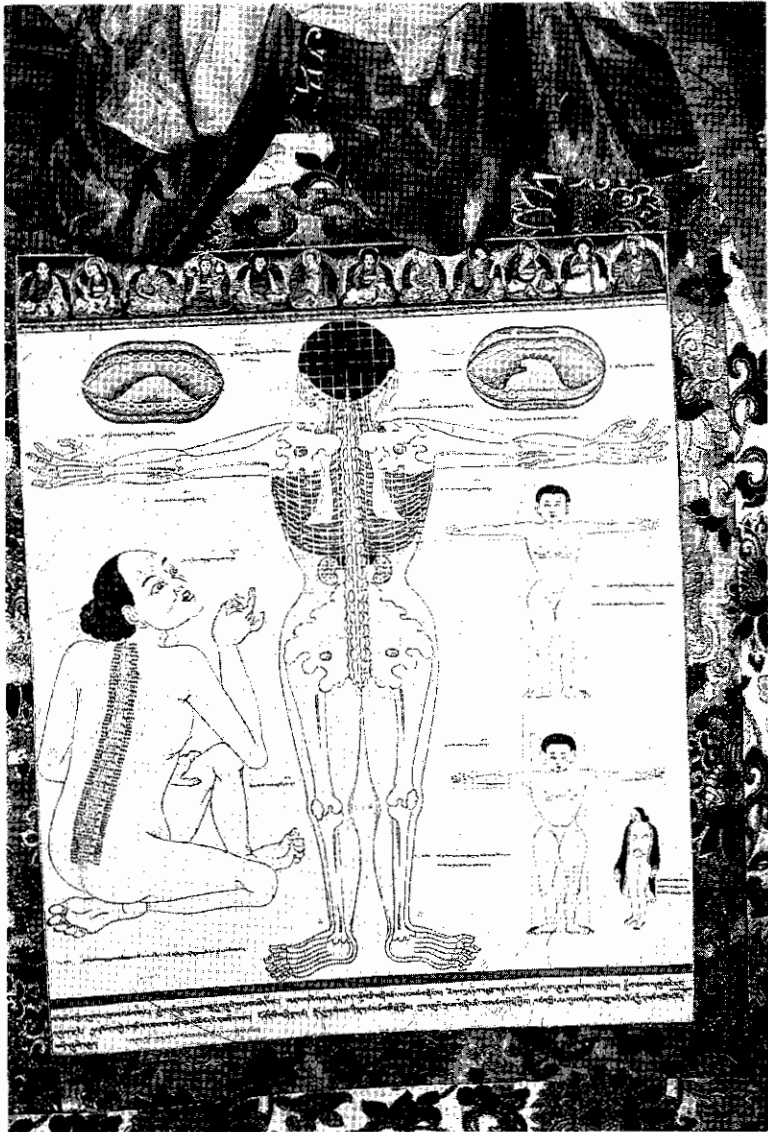


Plate : ES 9



Plate : ES 11

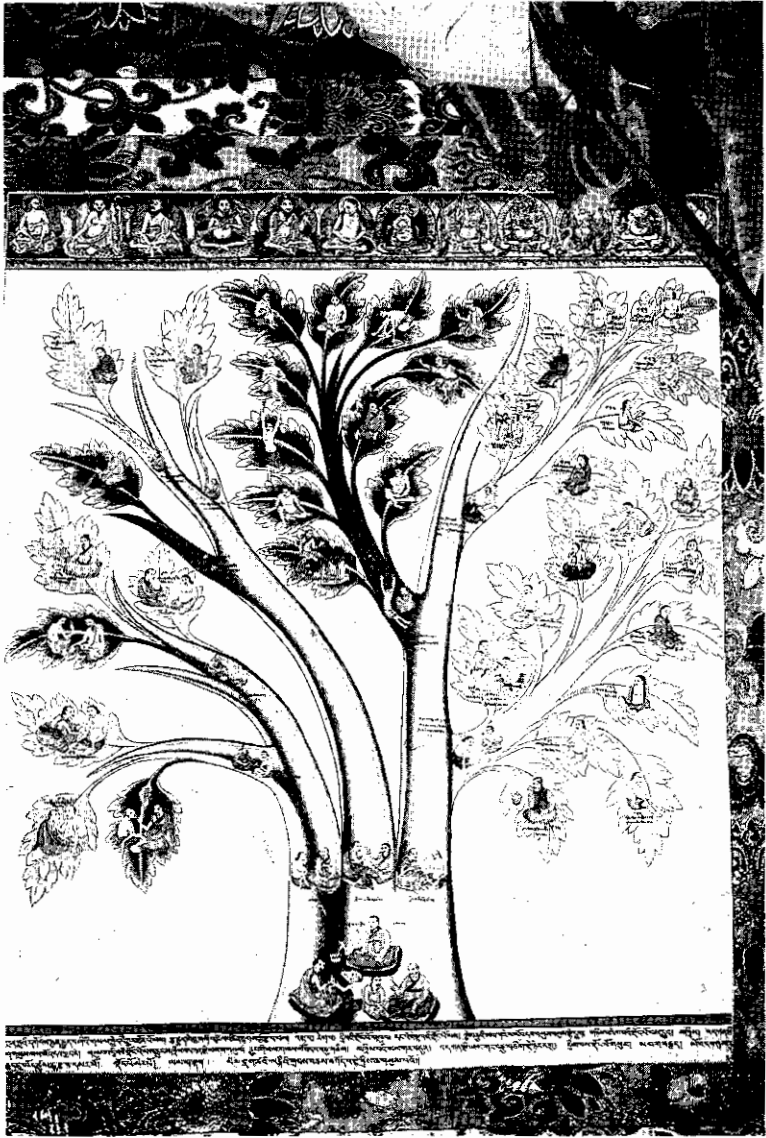


Plate : ES 12



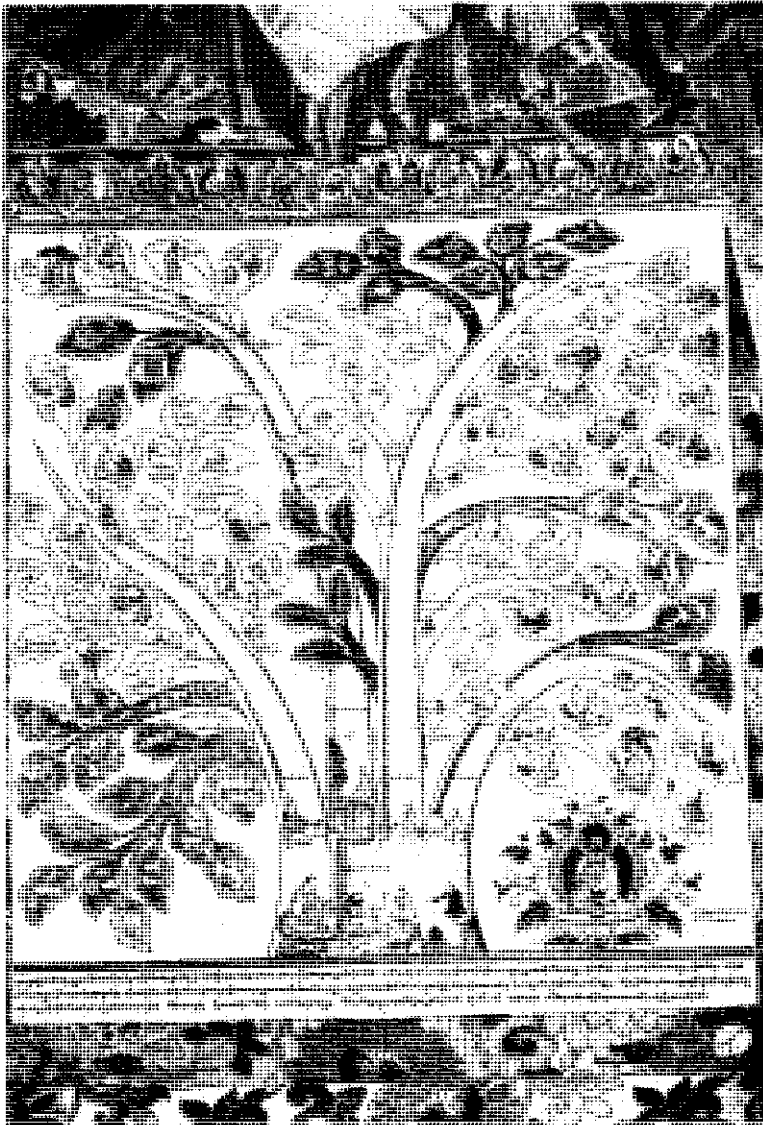


Plate : ES 13

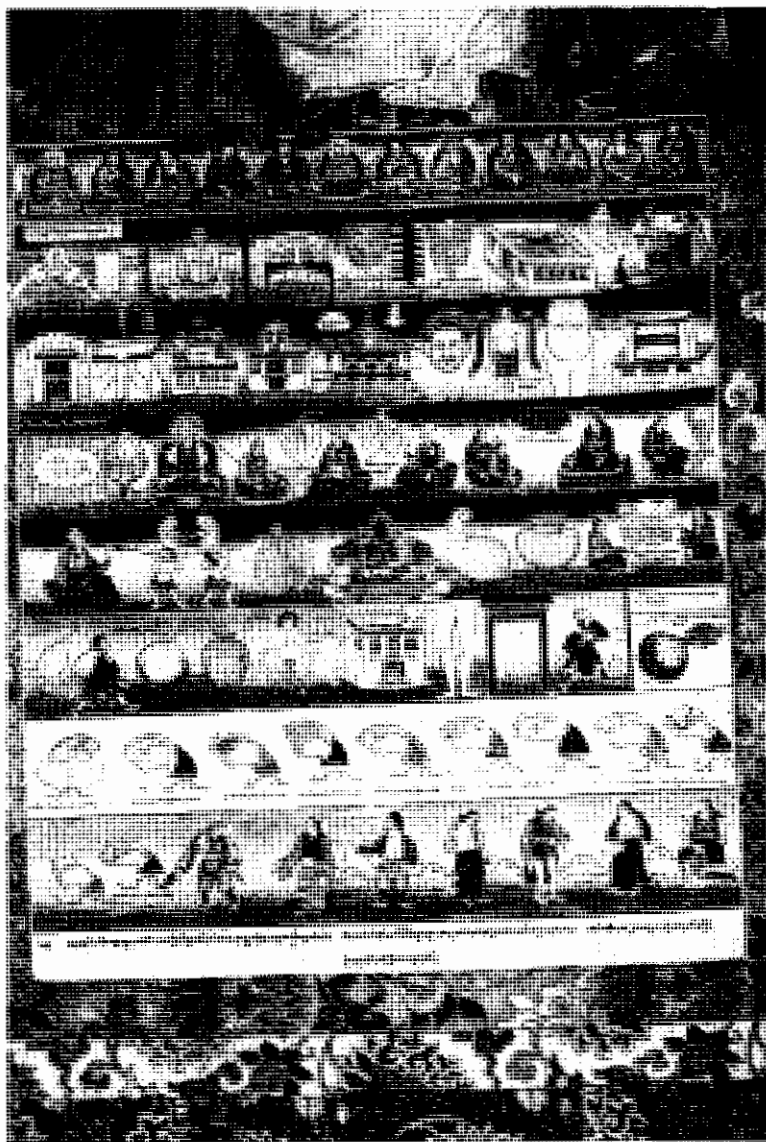


Plate : ES 14



Plate : ES 15

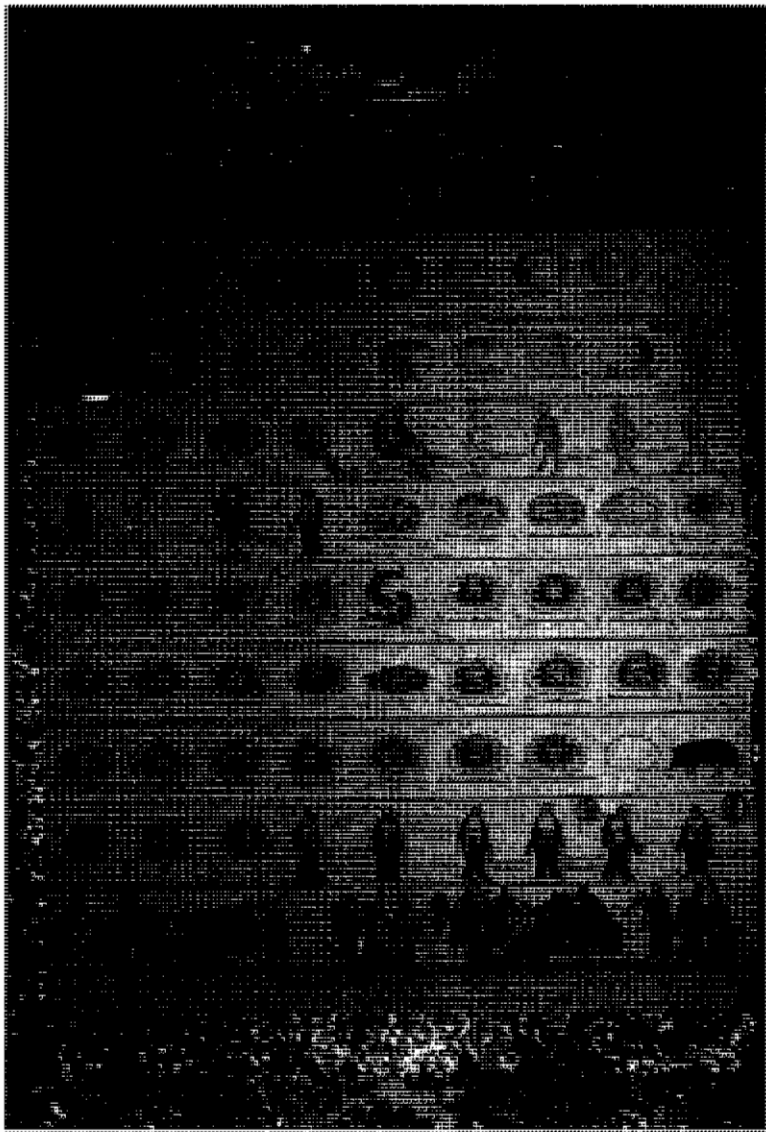


Plate : ES 16

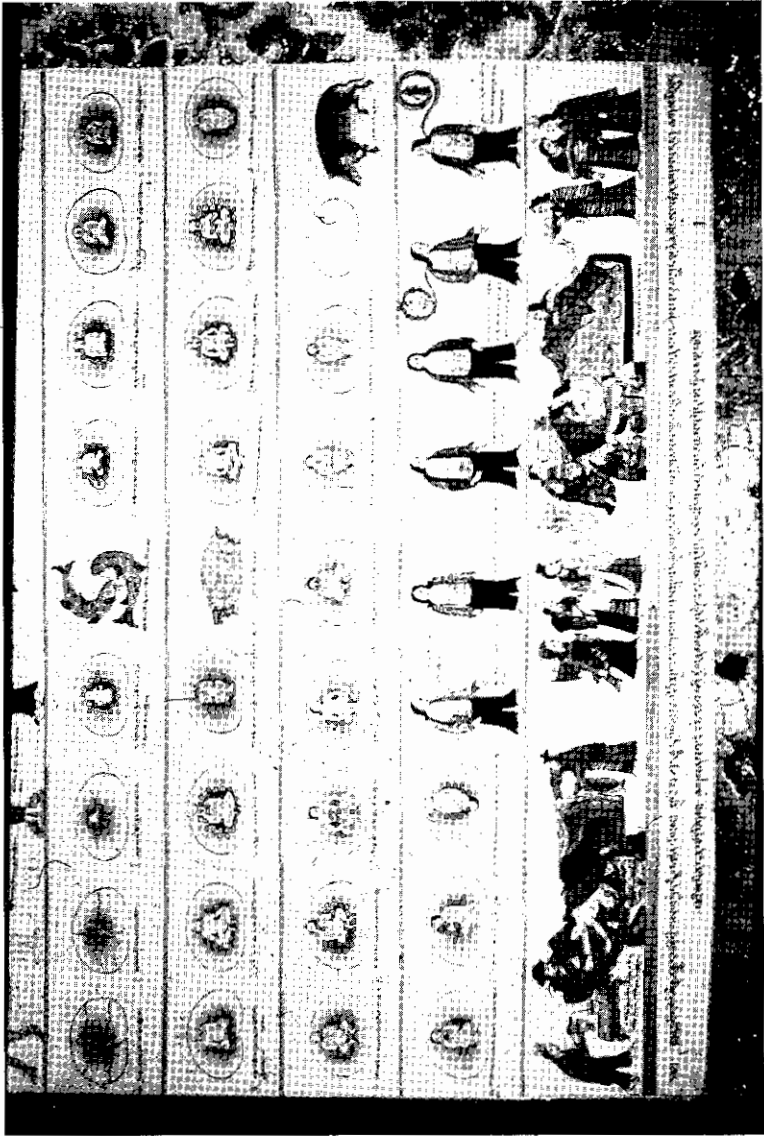


Plate : ES 16