

Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines



Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines

numéro quatorze — Octobre 2008

ISSN 1768-2959

Directeur : Jean-Luc Achard

Comité de rédaction : Anne Chayet, Pierre Arènes, Jean-Luc Achard.

Comité de lecture : Pierre Arènes (CNRS), Ester Bianchi (Dipartimento di Studi sull'Asia Orientale, Venezia), Anne Chayet (CNRS), Fabienne Jagou (EFEO), Rob Mayer (Oriental Institute, University of Oxford), Fernand Meyer (CNRS-EPHE), Françoise Pommaret (CNRS), Ramon Prats (Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona), Brigitte Steinman (Université Paul Valéry, Montpellier III) Jean-Luc Achard (CNRS).

Périodicité

La périodicité de la *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* est généralement bi-annuelle, les mois de parution étant, sauf indication contraire, Octobre et Avril. Les contributions doivent parvenir au moins deux (2) mois à l'avance. Les dates de proposition d'articles au comité de lecture sont Février pour une parution en Avril et Août pour une parution en Octobre.

Participation

La participation est ouverte aux membres statutaires des équipes CNRS, à leurs membres associés, aux doctorants et aux chercheurs non-affiliés.

Les articles et autres contributions sont proposées aux membres du comité de lecture et sont soumis à l'approbation des membres du comité de rédaction. Les articles et autres contributions doivent être inédits ou leur réédition doit être justifiée et soumise à l'approbation des membres du comité de lecture.

Les documents doivent parvenir sous la forme de fichiers Word, envoyés à l'adresse du directeur (jlac@tele2.fr).

Comptes-rendus

Les livres proposés pour compte-rendu doivent être envoyés à la *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, 22, avenue du Président Wilson, 75016 Paris.

Langues

Les langues acceptées dans la revue sont le français (en priorité), l'anglais, l'allemand, l'italien et l'espagnol.

La *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* est publiée par l'UMR 8155 du CNRS, Paris, dirigée par Alain Thote.





Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines
numéro quatorze — Octobre 2008

Tibetan Studies in Honor of Samten Karmay

Part I — Historical, Cultural and Linguistic Studies

Edited by
Françoise Pommaret and Jean-Luc Achard



Préface Par Françoise Pommaret	<i>iii</i>
David Snellgrove How Samten came to Europe	1
Françoise Pommaret "The Messed Up Books" (<i>Pecha trok wa la</i>). A personal recollection of Samten G. Karmay and the O rgyan chos gling catalogue (Bhutan)	7
Dan Martin Veil of Kashmir — Poetry of Travel and Travail in Zhangzhungpa's 15th-Century Kāvya Reworking of the Biography of the Great Translator Rinchen Zangpo (958-1055 CE)	13
Helga Uebach From Red Tally to Yellow Paper — The official introduction of paper in Tibetan administration in 744/745	57
Anne Chayet A propos de l'usage des termes " <i>nyin</i> " et " <i>srib</i> " dans le <i>mDo smad chos 'byung</i>	71
Janet Gyatso Spelling Mistakes, Philology, and Feminist Criticism: Women and Boys in Tibetan Medicine	81

Yasuhiko Nagano	
A preliminary note to the Gyarong color terms	99
Amy Heller	
Observations on an 11 th century Tibetan inscription on a statue of Avalokiteśvara	107
Lara Maconi	
Au-delà du débat linguistique : comment définir la littérature tibétaine d'expression chinoise ? "Spécificités nationales" et "spécificités régionales"	117
Tashi Tsering	
sMar khams 'bom rnam snang ngam/ lha 'dus rnam snang gi skor la cung zad gleng ba	157

PREFACE

"Holding the name high"

by Françoise Pommaret

I am very pleased to write this preface to the Volume of Homage to Samten Gyeltshen Karmay, a great scholar and a close friend. I just hope that I can do justice to his achievements which are well known to all and that he will forgive me if I wander out of the scholarly path. His friends who have taken time to write important contributions for him have taken this path and Samten will be moved by their mark of friendship. My own inadequacy is evident as such a preface can never express the immense respect I have for him, and can only be a personal and probably biased view of Samten.

Samten Gyeltshen Karmay has had a most extraordinary life and intellectual voyage, although being modest, he will hardly consider it so. However, he admits that he was "lucky". The Tibetan astrologers, if they could have seen his horoscope of birth (*skyes rtsis*), would have certainly seen that his *g-yang*, *dbang thang*, and *lung rta* were in an auspicious combination !

Samten was born in 1936, at the beginning of the Fire Rat year, in the Karme'u tshang family of farmers-traders in Sharkhog in Eastern Tibet, and was named Tergya Gawang, abridged as Terko as was the custom in his region. Sharkhog, the south-easternmost part of Amdo, is a beautiful forested and broad valley, looking over the trading Chinese city of Song pan in Sichuan. The Sharkhog people, who call themselves Sharwa, have a strong sense of identity: they have their own Amdo dialect, they practice the Bon religion and their deity is Mount Shar Dungri which is a sacred site for pilgrimages and worship. Bon po monasteries dot the landscape and it was in one of them, in the monastery of the Four Villages, that Samten started his intellectual journey. I will not dwell on Samten's childhood as he has beautifully recollected it in the mesmerizing book *Les Neuf Forces de l'Homme*¹ which he co-authored with the French anthropologist Philippe Sagant.

Besides his mother, who was very close to him, the most influential person of his initial years of religious training was his maternal uncle, the formidable Horwa Akhu from Kyangtsang monastery. Samten paid his uncle an indirect homage in the texts he edited *The call of the Blue cuckoo. An anthology of nine Bonpo texts on myths and rituals*.²

In 1955 after he completed his studies in the Bon monastery and obtained the grade of Geshe, he went with a group of monks friends including Sangye Tenzin, the present *Menri* Trizin of the Bon po school, to the great Gelugpa monastery of Drepung near Lhasa. The Bon po institutes took advantage of the fact that Drepung was considered to be the best place for philosophical

¹ *Les Neuf forces de l'homme*, (en collaboration avec Philippe Sagant), Société d'ethnologie, Nanterre, 1999.

² S. Karmay & Y. Nagano, eds., *The call of the Blue cuckoo. An anthology of nine Bonpo texts on myths and rituals*, Bon studies 6, Senri ethnological Reports 32, National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, 2002.

studies, and sent their monks to study in this stronghold of the Gelugpa. Samten, however, does not hold fond memories of his time in Drepung; he remembers the monastery as being dirty and the monks less than friendly to people of his remote and heterodox background. Nevertheless, it was here that he learned the Central Tibetan dialect and honed his skills at debating as well as studied philosophical texts.

During his stay at the Drepung monastery the political situation deteriorated rapidly but the monks did not seem to understand its gravity. Alarmed by the tragic events she had witnessed in Eastern Tibet, in early 1959, Samten's mother arrived in Lhasa from Amdo with his younger brother Soko and literally forced him to leave for Nepal. Samten recalls with affection and gratitude, that without his mother's intervention, he would not have survived. With a donkey as a companion, they walked through the arid Tsang province, almost starving, to the Kyirong region where they crossed into Nepal.

The months in Nepal and India did not leave Samten, in poor health and in pathetic circumstances, with good memories of the Lands of the Buddha contrary the great Gedun Choephel, his fellow Amdowa and predecessor in the sub-continent.

In 1961 while working at a printing press in Delhi, Samten, because of his Bon po background and his intellect, was selected by David Snellgrove to go to the UK under a Rockefeller fellowship. David Snellgrove who kindly consented to contribute to this volume, described the first steps of Samten and his fellow monks in the West.³ Samten himself retains a vivid memory of the first girls he saw in swimming-suits on the beach and the lessons in table manners given by David Snellgrove. These are mementos consigned to personal history. What was, indeed, a revelation for Samten, was the academic research characterized by thoroughness and critical approach as practised in the West. While some Tibetan scholars never reconciled their traditional monastic upbringing with Western methodology, Samten embraced it with great enthusiasm. He studied with diligence but sometimes impatience under the guidance of his two mentors, both brilliant scholars with very distinct personalities ; first David Snellgrove in the UK and later Rolf Stein in France, While these mentors had a paramount influence on his intellectual development they recognised not only Samten's great knowledge of the Tibetan texts but also his potential as a researcher.

On realizing how important the French language was in his field of study Samten learnt the language and then settled down in France where he entered the CNRS (National Centre for Scientific Research) in 1981. He obtained his PhD from the SOAS in London in 1985⁴.

During his remarkable career at the CNRS, he was awarded in 1994 with the prestigious CNRS Silver Medal given in recognition of his contribution to Human Sciences.

³ See also David L. Snellgrove, *Asian Commitment: Travels and Studies in the Indian Sub-continent and South East Asia*, Orchid Press, Bangkok, 2000.

⁴ *The Great Perfection. A Philosophical and Meditational Teaching of Tibetan Buddhism*, Leiden: E. J. Brill 1988.

His academic career, which is well-known, is paved with books and articles. By combining his vast traditional knowledge with a sharp and critical mind, Samten has been a trail-blazer as the first Tibetan to achieve international academic fame, and this in the field of Tibetan studies. Samten is proud to have been elected as the President of the International Association of Tibetan Studies, a post he held from 1995 to 2000, but his pride rests not so much in his personal achievements but rather in the fact that a Tibetan was elected to that post.

Indeed, underlying his enormous contribution to the studies of Tibetan myths, beliefs, Bon religion and religious history, the recurrent theme is Tibet as an original civilisation and as a nation. His whole work is focused on exploring the ideas and concepts which make Tibet a separate and distinct entity from its neighbours. For Samten, because of his background, does Buddhism is not the major unifying factor of the Tibetans but rather the maze of myths and beliefs which are still alive in the landscape and the ritual practices that are deeply embedded in the psyche of the Tibetans. For him, these myths and beliefs form the hidden threads of the culture which transcend the micro regional differences or the overwhelming culture of Buddhism, and bind the Tibetans together. Of course, Samten would not deny the importance of Buddhism for Tibet but his life passion has been to uncover the threads which lie beyond the obvious representations of a culture. Moreover he believes strongly that the Tibetan government in exile should establish a modern political system separating religion and state, and that should give them more weight in their negotiations with China. In his academic and steadfast way, Samten has proven himself to be a dedicated and passionate advocate of the uniqueness of the Tibetans, and a proud son of this wounded land. In true Tibetan fashion, Samten "holds the name high".

Thimphu 2008

HOW SAMTEN GYALTSSEN CAME TO EUROPE

by
David Snellgrove

The story begins with the offer of the Rockefeller Foundation to provide funds for an extensive programme of Tibetan research, calling upon the expertise of knowledgeable Tibetan scholars who had fled recently from Tibet to India and Nepal, following upon the flight of the Dalai Lama himself to India in 1959. Funds were offered for a three-year period to those universities which were already known to have a active interest in Tibetan studies, namely Seattle in the USA, London, Paris, Leiden, Rome, Bonn and Munich in Western Europe, and Tokyo in Japan. The choice of the Tibetans thus invited, was left to those responsible for Tibetan studies in these various universities, and funds were made available also for us to travel in search of the most interesting possibilities. In May 1960 I made an exploratory tour through northern India and Nepal, meeting others interested in the same scheme, notably Gene Smith from Seattle and Rolf Stein from Paris. As the result of such discussions, I gained the impression that academically it would be more valuable to establish a single research-centre in a suitable place in the Indian sub-continent (I suggested the Kathmandu Valley) rather than invite Tibetan scholars to our particular universities. None of the Tibetans, eventually invited, had any experience of life in our various countries, they had no knowledge of the relevant languages, and much time would be expended in helping them to adapt to this new life. Thus three years seemed a very short period for anything of academic use to emerge from the labours involved. However the Rockefeller Foundation would not agree to this alternative plan, arguing that the underlying intention was to encourage the permanent establishment of Tibetan studies in our various universities, for which the Foundation was merely providing an initial advance programme.

Since Tibet as a political entity was closed to foreigners by the Chinese authorities from 1950 to 1985, it remained inaccessible during my whole period of tenure at the University of London (1949-82). Thus I devoted my "Tibetan travels" to the more remote Himalayan regions, already known to be imbued with Tibetan culture and religion, namely from east to west: Bhutan and Sikkim, Solu-Khumbu and the whole Himalayan range, primarily Mustang and Dolpo, in Nepal, then Himachal Pradesh (India) and finally Ladakh (Kashmir). It was also in such areas that interesting Tibetan refugees might be met. Over the winter of 1960-61 I was making independently a return visit to Dolpo (where I had already been in 1956, see my *Himalayan Pilgrimage*). On this second journey with my companion Pasang Khambache Sherpa (died 1996) we were staying in December 1960 in Tarap, about one

month's trek across the mountains from the small airport at Pokhara (central Nepal), when I heard that the Abbot of Yungdrung Monastery (Central Tibet) was staying nearby on his return journey from the Monastery of Samling (Dolpo). Like other studious Tibetan men of religion who had recently fled from Chinese-occupied Tibet, he was looking for block-prints and manuscripts in small monasteries in these regions of Tibetan culture which remained outside of political Tibet. He was accompanied by a young refugee monk named Sangye Tenzin, who had come up from India to assist him, and they were on their way back to Delhi in order to make reprints of all the books which they had borrowed en route. We met at my camp the following day. I had visited such small local Bon monasteries in my earlier travels in these regions, but this was my first contact with a Grand Lama of an important Bonpo establishment in Tibet itself (see my *Asian Commitment*, pp.168-9). This meeting came about just when I was looking out for possible educated Tibetans to invite to London within terms of the Rockefeller project and it occurred to me at once what an original idea it might be to invite Bonpo monks rather than regular Buddhist ones. Who then in the non-Tibetan world knew anything reliable about Bonpo religion? Regarding the Grand Lama of Yungdrung as too advanced in years, I decided at once to invite his younger companion Sangye Tenzin, and thus arranged to meet him on my return from Dolpo in early summer 1961. He named a small Bonpo gompa (monastery) on the outskirts of the Kathmandu Valley as our place of future contact. He left at once with the abbot on the long trek down to Pokhara and thence to Delhi, while I continued my tour into Dolpo with Pasang. Returning to the Kathmandu Valley at the end of March, "my first thought was to find Sangye Tenzin, who had agreed to meet me in Kathmandu, but when I went to the small 'gomba' on the edge of the Valley, designated as our meeting place, he was not there. Instead I met an older Tibetan Bonpo lama, named Tenzin Namdak from Kham (Eastern Tibet), who also impressed me by his learning, his cordiality and his cheerful good humour. He kindly advised me where Sangye Tenzin might be found in Delhi" (quoted from my *Asian Commitment* page 191). A few days later I was in New Delhi visiting the Indian Ministry of External Affairs, where certificates of identity (in the absence of passports) would have to be issued for any Tibetans who accompanied me to London, and to the British High Commission, where visas would have to be attached. Then with the help of Pasang Khambache I tracked down Sangye Tenzin at the address given by Tenzin Namdak at a printing-business in Old Delhi. Once again he was not there, having gone on pilgrimage (probably also to look for books) to the Riwalsar Lake, famous in the Padmasambhava legend (see my *Himalayan Pilgrimage* pp.173-4), "but we found his younger companion Samten Gyaltzen, who impressed us very much indeed. By their own efforts these two are collecting all the Bonpo texts they can find, rewriting them where necessary and having them printed here in Delhi. The funds for doing this, they collect by their own efforts" (extract from a personal letter, dated 16 April 61). So

this is how Samten, together with Sangye Tenzin and Tenzin Namdak entered my short list as the three Bonpo monks who accompanied me to London later that year 1961, once all the formalities had been completed. These included their presentation to the Dalai Lama, as well as the documentation referred to above. For all documentation purposes family-names were needed (and these most Tibetans lack), so I suggested that Sangye Tenzin and Samten Gyeltsen add their local village-names in Amdo as their respective "family names"(it may be noted in passing that the region of Amdo was already under vague Chinese administration before the occupation of 1950, and that the Dalai Lama's *dGe-lugs-pa* administration extended no further eastwards than the province of Kham.) Thus on all their subsequent documentation the surnames Jongdong and Karmay appear. My final list of Tibetan refugees who were willing to accompany me into a different world, entirely unknown to them personally, came to five, since they included also a young aristocrat from Lhasa, named Sonam Panden Trangjun, and a simple Tibetan monk, named Lhakpa, originally from Sera Monastery in Lhasa.

On an earlier visit to India and Nepal in 1960 when the Rockefeller offer had just been made, Pasang and I happened to meet in Kathmandu a hapless Tibetan refugee with an unusual problem. Sonam Panden Trangjun (in this case a genuine surname deriving from the family-estate) told us that his whole family had been killed in Lhasa during the 1959 uprising, with the exception of his elder sister, who was married to the eldest son of the Râja of Lo (Mustang). Having arrived in India as a refugee, he was now on his way up to Mustang to make contact with her. Thanks to our official contacts we were able to assist him in obtaining some form of documentation and also a travel pass. The problems which these Tibetan refugees suffered when attempting any independent travel could be considerable. Clearly they carried no original identity document issued in Tibet and until they were eventually given Indian Identity Documents, rather scrappy affairs, often with miswritten names and usually of short duration, they had no means of self-identification when confronted by frontier-police or check-post officials. We told Sonam Panden of our plan to visit Dolpo over the coming winter, expressing the hope that we would be able to remake contact there. In the meantime he made the journey up the Kali Gandhaki Valley to Mustang and met us again on my return to India for my winter visit to Dolpo (1960-61). He was also very helpful in our preliminary meetings with the Dalai Lama (April-May 61) in Dharamsala near Dehra Dun, where we went to explain my plan of inviting three Bonpo monks to London. As noted above, he was also helpful during my research-tour in Dolpo 1960-61, joining me there directly from Mustang. Later we both assisted his sister from Mustang (Lo) down to Kathmandu, where she finally settled.

The "fighting monk" Lhakpa was a very different case. Having lost a leg soon after his flight, he approached me when I was on a visit to the Indian-run refugee settlement at Dalhousie (a well known Himala-

yan resort in the old British days). He asked if I could obtain for him an artificial limb. At that time this could only be done satisfactorily by accepting full responsibility for him and eventually taking him back to England. (His only given name was Lhakpa, meaning Wednesday, but I prefixed this by the name Tashi, meaning Good Fortune, and added the "surname" Khedrup from his village near Lhasa. For his life-story see Hugh E. Richardson, *Adventures of a Tibetan fighting monk*, Tamarind Press, Bangkok 1986.) Neither of these two Tibetan laymen survived the loss of the only way of life, the Tibetan way, which they knew so well and which was natural to them (see below). The three monks, so much more self-assured and resilient, are all alive and happy today.

Before starting the journey to the West, we spent a few weeks together in the frontier town of Kalimpong, in British times the beginning of the old route from India into Central Tibet, then easily reached by rail from Calcutta where we would start our air-journey to Europe. Here I started some lessons in English and in world-geography and bought them all European style clothes, which they wanted to have so as not to be so conspicuous in their new setting. I especially wanted them to realize that there were other Buddhist monks in the world beside Tibetan ones. Thus we broke our journey in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) to visit Theravadin sites, notably the ancient capitals of Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa and the Buddha tooth-relic at Kandy. We then travelled via Beirut (solely for historical / geographical reasons) to Rome, where I wanted them to meet my revered master Giuseppe Tucci (d. 1984), and also so that they could meet the important Lama of The Old Tibetan Religious Order, namely Namkha'i Norbu, whom Tucci had just then invited under the same Rockefeller scheme.

Arriving in England, we stayed first in my own house in Berkhamsted until I found a large apartment in London itself. The three monks rapidly accustomed themselves to this entirely new life of study, but during the first year little of academic value was accomplished, and I had problems with our aristocratic layman Sonam Panden who did not fit in at all with the others. Apart from general study, especially of English, I encouraged them to make other useful contacts as wide as was practicable. We kept in touch with other groups of Tibetans elsewhere in Europe. Thus a young lady-student in the anthropological department of the School of Oriental Studies took Sonam Panden on a visit to Switzerland where they might meet other Tibetans in various refugee settlements. Samten, accompanied by Pasang, made a visit to Paris, where they met Professor Rolf Stein and the small group of Tibetans established at La Chapelle Vieil Forêt. He also accompanied me to Dublin where I was invited by Sir Chester Beatty to catalogue the Tibetan collection in his private library. Sangye Tenzin stayed in Oxford for a while with a young Englishman who at that time was preparing for a Ph.D. in Tibetan (regrettably never completed), and later with Professor Per Kvaene in Copenhagen. Soon after their arrival a young friend of mine (Peter Cuming) took them on a visit to Mount St. Bernard Monastery near Leicester with its 30 monks. This impressed

them greatly for they realized that monastic life also existed in Europe. On a holiday tour of Scotland we stayed on another occasion at the Benedictine monastery of St Augustus by Loch Ness. The mountainous setting and the monastic life there pleased them greatly and our Bonpo monks made later visits there on their own volition. It is interesting to note that Sangye Tenzin incorporated certain “western” practices in his “rule” for monks) in the settlement which they founded near Solon (Himachal Pradesh, India) on their return to India. (See below.) E.g. instead of tea and food being served to the monks in the actual temple during a religious ceremony, which is the normal Tibetan practice, he insisted on building a separate dining hall (refectory); he established set daily periods for study and for work around the monastery grounds.

Sonam Panden, so active and helpful when we were in India and Nepal together, became sad and listless soon after his arrival in England. The visit to Switzerland mentioned above, helped in no way at all and within a year he returned to the Dalai Lama’s entourage in Dharamsala. Finally in June 65 I met him quite by chance in a Tibetan refugee settlement in Switzerland (Mönchwillen). He seemed pleased to see Lhakpa and myself, but spoke very little, even in Tibetan. The Swiss lady in charge, having no means of communication with him, was surprised that we knew him and asked my advice in his regard. Later he returned to Dharamsala and died there soon afterwards like one of broken heart (see my *Asian Commitment*, page 201).

The case of our other layman Lhakpa (name in full on his documentation Tashi Lhakpa Khedrup) was first more hopeful but remained personally unfulfilled. He mastered English adequately, and as soon as he was fitted with a properly made artificial limb and had learned to drive an adapted motor-car, he was very helpful in the general running of house in Berkhamsted and the apartment in London. When the 3-year period ended, he stayed on with me as my personal assistant. Lest he felt lonely I encouraged him to meet other Tibetans as much as possible. In England he seemed always welcome at the refugee centre, known as the Ockenden Venture, run by a very kind lady, Joyce Pierce (now deceased) at Woking near London. However she complained to me that he was all too generous in taking the boys out to beer-drinking in “public houses” (beer parlours). Despite my remonstrances he continued to spend all his money in the same way. Finally he was caught twice by the police for “drunken driving” and this put an end to his driving ability, restricting his life accordingly. Apart from the visit to Switzerland, mentioned just above, he accompanied me to India in 1967. He could not fairly be left there, since by that time he had a British passport and still remained my personal responsibility. He died of natural causes in 1986 (probably a heart-attack resulting from high blood-pressure), when he was staying with another benefactor on the Isle of Man.

These stories of non-fulfilment are recounted only as contrast to the extraordinary success in the case of the three Bonpo monks. Apart from

reading and travelling for his own benefit, Samten assisted me with my own work, notably with the final text of *The Nine Ways of Bon*, selections edited and translated in co-operation with Tenzin Namdak, and also with the production of my *Four Lamas of Dolpo*. The intention of the Rockefeller Grant was that these visits should lead to a flourishing development of Tibetan research in our various universities. Samten has certainly achieved this in Paris thanks to his personal attainment of world-wide scholarship. At the end of the 3-year grant in 1964, he elected to stay on with me in London, but later when Professor Rolf Stein invited him to Paris, I urged him to accept these improved prospects. At the same time I was still concerned with the immediate fortunes of Sangye Tenzin and Tenzin Namdak. Both wanted to return to India, Tenzin Namdak was interested in building up an ever larger collection of Bonpo literature, now that so much appeared to have been lost in Chinese-occupied Tibet, while Sangye Tenzin had hopes of founding a Bonpo centre for laymen and monks in some suitable place in the Himalayas. Within a few years this was achieved thanks to a grant of land near Solan in Himachal Pradesh and also thanks to a generous grant from Catholic Relief Services (India). Happily Tenzin Namdak joined him in this very successful project, but later parted from him in order to found his own monastic settlement on the edge of the Kathmandu Valley. Since 1985 when the Chinese authorities have opened Tibet to foreign tourists, it has also become possible for Tibetans resident to India to make visits so long as they have no direct connection with the Dalai Lama. Maybe Samten Gyaltzen Karmay and Sangye Tenzin Jongdong are specially favoured as they come originally from Amdo, which as mentioned above, was not treated even before 1950 as politically part of Tibet. I note that on a visit to Tibet in 1995 Sangye Tenzin was consecrated as Grand Abbot of the reconstructed Bonpo Monastery of sMan-ri in Central Tibet. However with this imposing title he continues to reside at the Bonpo settlement near Solan (India). Famous and not so famous Tibetan lamas who arrive in the western world usually become the centre of a group of western Buddhists. Very few, perhaps only these two, have returned to India or Nepal, to further the cause of their own people, and only one simple Tibetan monk has become an outstanding world-wide scholar in a western world. Congratulations to Samten!



"THE MESSED UP BOOKS" (*PECHA TROK WA LA*)¹.
A personal recollection of Samten G. Karmay
and the O rgyan chos gling catalogue (Bhutan)².

Françoise Pommaret
UMR 8155, CNRS, Paris

It was a beautiful day of October 1999 when Samten arrived in O rgyan chos gling in the sTang Valley of Bum thang³. A short but steep walk of 45 minutes took him in full view of the grand mansion sitting at the top of a hillock and dominating the whole sTang valley. Buckwheat fields, pine trees and little hamlets were towered to the North by the cragged summits of the Three Sisters. Prayers flags and chortens dotted the landscape. He had reached a unique place where six centuries of history⁴ had taken place in an uninterrupted way.

Little did he know that it was the start of a mission which will take him many more times to the top of this hill after a long 11 hours drive from Thimphu. The usual welcoming tea served by impressed ladies for whom Samten was a *dge shes* from 'Bras spung in Tibet, and therefore worth all the respect. Then the landlady Kunzang Choden⁵, given

¹ This Bumthangkha expression is applied to her ancestral books collection by Ashi Kunzang who wrote in her personal introduction to the catalogue (Karmay, 2003): "None of us dared to touch them [books] for the fear of mixing them up further for they were already classified as *pecha throk wa la* ("mixed up texts" in Bumthangkha). At least, we were fully aware of the fact that these manuscripts and texts were a significant part of our religious heritage which had to be protected and revered. But beyond their physical presence the contents, and therefore, the actual value of these texts remained "closed and mixed up" and we would literally be passing on a legacy of unknown significance."

² Samten G. Karmay. *The Diamond Isle. A catalogue of Buddhist writings in the library of Ogyen Chöling, Bhutan*. Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 2003.

³ See www.geocities.com/ogyencholingmuseum/

⁴ For background on O rgyan chos gling see: Kunzang Choden, "Lo g sar Celebration: the Significance of Food in the Noble and Religious Family of O rgyan chos gling (Central Bhutan)", in J. Ardussi & F. Pommaret (eds), *Bhutan. Traditions and changes*. Proceedings of the XIth IATS Oxford 2003, Leiden: Brill, 2007, 27-44. See also Karmay, *Catalogue*, 2003, and Françoise Pommaret, "Historical and religious relations between Lhodrak (Southern Tibet) and Bumthang (Bhutan) from the 18th to the early 20th century: Preliminary data", in *Tibet and her neighbours. Proceedings of the History of Tibet Conference St Andrews University 2001*, A. McKay (ed.), London: Ed. Hansjörg Mayer, 2003, 91-106; *id.*, "Estate and deities: A ritual from central Bhutan. The *bskang gso* of O rgyan chos gling" in J. Ardussi & F. Pommaret (eds), *Bhutan. Traditions and changes*. Proceedings of the XIth IATS Oxford 2003, Leiden: Brill, 2007, 135-158.

⁵ See among her numerous publications, Kunzang Choden, "Lo g sar Celebration: the Significance of Food in the Noble and Religious Family of O rgyan chos gling (Central Bhutan)", in J. Ardussi & F. Pommaret (eds), *Bhutan. Traditions and changes*. Proceedings of the XIth IATS Oxford 2003, Leiden: Brill, 2007, 27-44; *id.*, *The Circle of Karma*, Penguin-Zuban, New-Delhi 2005; and *id.*, *Chilli and cheese. Food and Society in Bhutan*, White Lotus, Bangkok, 2007.

the honorific title of Ashi (*A lce*) in Bhutan, and her husband Walter started to talk about the sorry state in which they found the books when she took over the place in the early 1990s. Both Ashi Kunzang and Walter were much aware of the value of their books and several scholars, such as Gene E. Smith⁶, John Ardussi, and Lam Pemala had already underlined the importance of this private library⁷.

A tour of the mansion confirmed the state in which the books had been kept by the previous landlord. Except for the *Kanjur*, *'Bum* and *Brgyad stong pa* which were wrapped and kept in the bookcases on the altars, most of the books were kept in bundles in different places without any protection against humidity. Samten writes⁸:

"I was shown a collection of books then packed up in boxes made from leather and also bamboo. They were stored away in one of the dark rooms on the ground floor of the temple called Jo bo Lha khang. The boxes of which there were about fifteen were stacked one on top of the other resting against the wall on one side of the room. I opened two boxes and found volumes and volumes of assorted texts in both manuscripts and printed editions. Some were wrapped up in cloth, others in the thick Bhutanese paper. The first thing that caused me to worry was the penetration of damp. As it was damp and cold in the room a fire stove was brought in to keep me warm while I looked through some of the books just out of curiosity. On this occasion the prevalent feeling that one had was that something had to be done rapidly about the condition in which the collection was kept as well as compiling a catalogue."

It was then decided that Samten will come back and start sorting out and cataloguing the books while Kunzang and Walter will have traditional book covers stitched and organize a proper place for them to be kept. A small fund for Samten's travel was given by the French Embassy in India from the Bhutan cooperation funding.

Because of his dual background, as a Tibetan monk and as a Western scholar, Samten was the ideal person for this work. Not only did it required a great amount of knowledge of the religious literature, but he was also considered by the villagers as "empowered" to handle the books because of this religious background.

In 2000 and 2001, Samten spent around ten days each autumn in O rgyan chos gling. The large sitting-room located in the living quarters of the building became a huge repository of texts.

At 3,000m, it was very cold inside except for few hours of sun coming through the small Bhutanese windows. Around 3 pm, everyday when the sun starts setting, he was given a small brazier of charcoal to

⁶ Gene E. Smith was instrumental in having printed in 1985 the 21 volumes of rDo rje gling pa's writings from O rgyan chos gling.

⁷ See also the very personal introduction to the O rgyan chos gling catalogue by Kunzang Choden, Catalogue: 2003, 7-8.

⁸ Karmay, 2004: 350.

help him bear with the cold sipping through, and cups of tea were provided the whole day.

From the room facing east, Samten had a view on the village, the peasants going to work, women milking and washing near the water prayer-mill, cows grazing and children playing in the meadows. However he did not have much leisure to watch the scenery. Because of the lack of electricity, he could work only by daylight and after several hours looking at texts, his eyes were sore. It was compounded by terrible allergies due to the books ancient dust and the pervading cold. His nose ran all the time, but he never complained about anything, totally absorbed in his work. He enjoyed his breakfast which was specially roasted tsampa with butter-tea. Things were a little bit more complicated for the other meals as Samten could not take the hot Bhutanese chillis. So dishes were prepared without chilli for him, much to the surprise of the village ladies who could not understand how one could eat such bland food. During dinner time with the whole family in the dark kitchen, "Geshe Samten", as he was called, would tell stories of his childhood in Shar khog (Amdo), an area which used to look very much like Bumthang. He would also narrate anecdotes of his monk's life in central Tibet and Ashi Kunzang or her brother translated into Bumthangkha. Samten would not hesitate to mimic the scenes, making the people roar with laughter as these were stories they could relate to. Notions of geography were much more difficult to explain and people were surprised to know than Amdo and Khams were much farther from Bod than Bhutan. Days walk had to be the measure of time.

The first two days in 2000 were dedicated gather the books from all over the mansion and bring them in one room. They were carried in baskets up to the sitting-room by women servants, the chaplain, Lopen Ngawang Jampa and Kunzang's nephew, Jigme. Both of them were appointed as Samten's assistants.

The first task for Samten was to sort out and check the books because they were mixed up, pages were missing or torn, as well as clean them. Then the cataloguing *per se* started. Samten used a pen and a notebook as there was no electricity and no facility for computer. Each of the books was given a number and the stamp of Orgyan chos gling, made specially for the occasion, applied to them. Samten went through each book to briefly see the contents and wrote in the notebook all the information he could find: main title, margin title, folio numbers, author, subject, type of edition, folio numbers, and his comments.

That's how Samten found under the title *Blo bzang bka' bum*, a copy of the controversial *dBen sa snyan brgyud* by dBen sa rdo rje 'chang Blo bzang don grub (1504/1505-1566)⁹.

⁹ Karmay, 2004: 354: " Blo bzang don grub is known to have maintained the earlier views of Tsong kha pa. These views were expressed when Tsong kha pa was a young man and were later considered as still immature. There is certainly a leaning towards Rnying ma pa doctrines in the writings of Blo bzang don grub and this was probably the main reason why his tradition remained unfamiliar among the Dge lugs pa themselves. He was the head of the small monastery known as Lha

After much questioning on which classification to adopt, he decided to classify the texts in four sections according to the four religious schools represented in the collection, plus a section of miscellaneous non religious subjects.

When Samten thought it was finished, Ashi Kunzang's younger brother, Ugyen Rigzin, suddenly at dinner remembered that they were some in a place that everybody had forgotten about. And a bundle of *pecha trokwa la* was promptly delivered the next morning.

In 2001, Ashi Kunzang and Walter who were finishing to convert the main tower (*dbu rtse*) into a museum transformed the upper room into the library. Amongst different exhibits showing the quality of the ancient books and woodblocks, a several meter long and enclosed book case was made to receive the books. As a simple measure to protect the books from the humidity and due to lack of funds, the book case was elevated on stilts and set up far from the walls. Moth balls were placed all over. All the books were neatly wrapped in cloth cover (*pe cha nam bza'*) that Ashi Kunzang had stitched, with their codes disposed in the traditional way.

Samten summarized his experience¹⁰:

"There were all together 511 texts. While I began to compile a catalogue Ashi Kunzang had one of the rooms known as *gTor khang* on the fourth floor of the *dbu rtse* building converted into a library. However, my stay of less than two weeks on this occasion at the place was too short to complete the work on the catalogue. On a third visit in October 2001 I stayed there for 12 days and this time I was able to complete a draft of the whole catalogue.

There are other Buddhist texts which are not included in the catalogue. The *Jo bo lha khang* contains a set of *Kanjur* of the Snar thang edition and an unknown edition of the *Klu 'bum* of the Bon tradition in three volumes; in the *rDo sems lha khang*, which is an adjoining piece of the *Jo bo lha khang*, is a beautiful Punakha edition of the *brGyad stong pa* (*Astasahasrika prajnaparamita*, No. 734, *The Tibetan Tripitaka*, Tokyo: Suzuki Research Foundation, 1962); in the *Tshe dpag med lha khang* of the *dbu rtse* building there are Buddhist sutra written in gold and silver as well as manuscript copies of other sutras. In the same temple a few woodblocks for printing the *bKa' thang 'dus pa* of O rgyan gling pa (1239-1367) are kept. It was Mi dbang Dbang chen rdo rje (*alias* Mtsho skyes rdo rje), a prominent member of the family who had these woodblocks carved, but no date is given for the carving of the wood blocks. He lived in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Books for various purposes are also kept in the *gZims chung*, a private bedroom-cum-chapel used by the head lama of the family, Lama Nus ldan (1930-1985). This chapel is found in the building of

phu dben sa chos sde (or simply Dben dgon), situated near Shigatse, hence his title Dben sa rdo rje 'chang, and was recognized as the 3rd reincarnation of Mkhaz grub rje Dge legs dpal bzang (1385-1438), and later retrospectively counted as the 3rd Panchen Lama."

¹⁰ Karmay, 2004: 351.

the living quarters of Ogyen Chöling. There are no particular texts in this place that are not found in the Library or not entered in our catalogue."

In 2001, discussions took place in the O rgyan chos gling kitchen on the lay-out of the catalogue which had to benefit the interested Bhutanese scholars. Many of them cannot read the Wylie transliteration and we decided to have the title in Tibetan script while the other information will be given English.

The Tibetan typing as well as the whole lay-out was done from Samten's notes by Burkhard Quessel, Curator of the Tibetan Collections at the British Library. The funds for the edition and publication were given via the Austrian Cooperation bureau in Thimphu by Prof. E. Steinkellner and the Institute for Buddhist and Tibetan Studies of Vienna University.

The catalogue is far from perfect, some codes may still be "mixed up" but it was a beginning and Ashi Kunzang wrote about Samten¹¹ : "It was through his dedication, his vast and profound knowledge in the field and his monk's discipline that "the messed up" collection became a meaningful and ordered legacy, a library with 511 documents."

In 2007 the "mixed up books" which had been languishing for years or even centuries, in O rgyan chos gling caught up with the latest technology. Under the auspices of the Endangered Archives Programme of the British Library, Karma Phuntsho, our Bhutanese colleague, had the books digitalized and an electronic catalogue will be on line in the future.



¹¹ Choden, *Catalogue*: 2003, 8.

VEIL OF KASHMIR

Poetry of Travel and Travail in Zhangzhungpa's
15th-Century Kāvya Reworking of the Biography
of the Great Translator Rinchen Zangpo (958-
1055 CE)

by
Dan Martin

In November of 1987, I visited Samten G. Karmay at his office, then on Rue du Président Wilson in Paris. With over twenty years' distance, and indeed that many years older, it is difficult to recall exactly what words were spoken during that meeting. As you get older you tend to look back on your past and identify particular turning points, discerning paths both taken and not taken. You are forced to become a historian of your own life. Suspended as I was in a veritable *bardo* between the incipient stages of that dreaded academic disease known as dissertationitis at a North American university and my second and longest sojourn in South Asia, I do not believe I was aware at the time just how important this meeting would be for setting me steadily on a course of research into 11th- and 12th-century Tibetan history, and especially the history of the Bon religion. In a word, it was inspirational.

In 1996, the last week of June, I attended a conference in the Spiti valley, quite near the border with Tibet, in Himachal Pradesh. It was a very long and tiring but eventful three-day bus trip from Delhi *via* Simla and Kinnaur. This conference was intended as a millennial celebration for Tabo Monastery's founding by Rinchen Zangpo in 996 CE. So needless to say, many of the papers were devoted to the Great Translator. When it was over the chair of the conference Samdhong Rinpoche, former head of the Tibetan university in Sarnath (The Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies) who among other things was famous for signing his name "S. Rinpoche" — then not as yet serving as Prime Minister for the Tibetan Government in Exile in Dharamsala — made some closing remarks. Among his criticisms aimed at the conference as a whole was that not one single paper had made reference to the Rinchen Zangpo biography by Zhangzhungpa. I, for one, took the Rinpoche's scolding to heart, and resolved to one day try and read Zhangzhungpa's work. Later on, in Dharamsala, Tashi Tsering Josayma, head of the Tibetan Institute for Advanced Studies (Amnye Machen Institute) and without any doubt one of the world's very best

scholars of Tibetan literature, kindly put in my hands a woodblock print from his personal library with permission to photocopy it.¹

The main topic of this paper is that same rather short *kāvya*² text by the 15th-century author Zhangzhungpa. Unfortunately for the world, but perhaps fortunately for us at the moment since we will not need to spend a great deal of time on it, not much is known about the biography of the biographer. The fuller version of Zhangzhungpa's name is Zhangzhungpa Chöwang Dragpa (Zhang-zhung-pa Chos-dbang-grags-pa). He was originally from the western Tibetan region of Gugé (Gu-ge), an area very closely associated with the subject of the biography, Rinchen Zangpo. Zhangzhungpa was born in 1404, and died in 1469. He composed one of his most famous works, and one of only a very few Tibetan works to be styled a Mahākāvya,³ telling the story of Rāma, in the year 1438. He was a monk, served as an abbot, and eventually founded a monastery, even if it was not among the more famous ones.⁴ If you look in biographies of Tsongkhapa, Zhangzhungpa's name is simply listed among his disciples, numbering upward of one hundred. Since he was only 15 when Tsongkhapa died, he could not have spent very much time studying with him. We can know a little bit from biographical dictionaries and from the colophons to his available works. The oldest reasonably informative passage on his life appears in the catalogue of monasteries known as the *Bai dūrya ser po* (p. 26), which may be translated [with slight paraphrasing to enhance intelligibility]:

The monastery in Nags-shod (in western Kham) named Sbus-mda' Rnam-rgyal-dpal-bar was founded by Zhangzhungpa Chöwang Dragpa. This per-

¹ See the bibliography under Zhang-zhung-pa (n.d.). I should take this opportunity to express my appreciation also for several persons who had a role in the earlier evolution of this paper, including a few who read it in its entirety in its draft stages. In particular I would like to thank Hubert Decler (Kathmandu), since his comments resulted in revisions of real substance.

² I have preserved several Sanskrit terms such as this since there is no sufficient English equivalent. It would certainly be misleading to translate *kāvya* as 'poetry' since it includes so much more than that (drama, poetic prose). The Tibetan word corresponding to *kāvya* is *snyan dngags* (modern Tibetan works sometimes simplify the spelling as *snyan ngag*).

³ Another text so styled was a life of the Buddha written by Bo-dong-pa Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal (1375-1451), which would have been roughly contemporary to the work of Zhang-zhung-pa.

⁴ According to his life as found in a modern biographical dictionary, Ko-zhul (1992: 1464-1465), the name of the monastery he founded and headed, and the place where he died, was Nags-shod Sbus-mda' Rnam-rgyal-dpal-bar (or Nags-shod Sbus-mda'i *gdan-sa*). He first went to this place sometime after his composition of the Rāma story in 1438. In his 55th year (1458) he went to Chab-mdo Byams-pagling (founded in 1437) to teach sūtra and tantra. We may know from the *Vaidūrya ser po* (Sde-srid 1960: 248) that Zhangzhungpa was the second abbot of Chamdo (Chab-mdo) Monastery in Eastern Tibet (Khams), immediately after the founder and first abbot whose name was 'Bodhisattva' Shes-rab-bzang-po. He later on ascended the throne of the 'great monastic community' (*dgon sde chen po*) Gu-ru Dpal-'khor.

son was born in a Wood Monkey year (1404 CE) in Gugé in Western Tibet (Mnga'-ris). As a youth, he went to Central Tibet and studied with Tsongkhapa and his [two chief] disciples, was well educated in all the sūtras, tantras and sciences, and became a great scholar. Later on they would name him, together with Mus-srad-pa, as the 'Two of Perfect Judgment,' among the various other groups of disciples of Tsongkhapa. He finished the Great Commentary [by Mkhas-grub-rje] on the Kālacakra.⁵ His various compositions, praises to Lamas and the like, display charm and much skill in the *kāvya* ornaments. He also held the headship of Chab-mdo Byams-gling, founded a new monastery in Lho-khog,⁶ and did still other deeds for the Teachings. During his 68th year (i.e. 1469), at the place just mentioned, he passed into peace.⁷

Roughly surveying this information, we may see that during his life he migrated as a youth from his homeland in Western Tibet to Central Tibet, while we may know that he stayed in Ganden Monastery, soon after its founding by Tsongkhapa in 1409, since his two major *kāvya* works were written there according to their colophons. Following his studies in Central Tibet, he continued moving east, settling first in Chamdo in Kham, finally departing for the heavens in 'upper' (western) Kham.

The whole set of his collected works is not available, has never been published to the best of my knowledge, although it is known that a collection survives in Tibet. Indeed, we could locate a listing of its titles.⁸ We count altogether fourteen works (the first and last are themselves collections of minor titles), about five of them poetic in nature, to judge from the titles. Several of these works are somewhat more available, in original woodblock-printed form, in the Oriental Institute in St. Petersburg. See the listing in the appendix, where the titles are descriptive, or given in shortened forms, not the full titles (the poetic works are marked with asterisks).

Some basic questions that might be on many people's minds ought to be addressed before going into the text itself. First and foremost, 'Who was Rinchen Zangpo, and what might have led Zhangzhungpa to write a *kāvya* version of his life?' There are two areas in which we may say with much confidence that the Great Translator Rinchen Zangpo had a great and lasting impact on Tibet. Firstly and above all, he was a prolific translator of Indian Buddhist scriptures and commentarial works, well over 150 titles, and a very active reviser or editor of translations done by others. His translations effectively set the stan-

⁵ *The Great Commentary on the Kālacakra*, left incomplete by Mkhas-grub-rje when he died in 1438 CE, was completed by Zhangzhungpa. Woodblock prints of these lengthy Kālacakra works are preserved in the Oriental Institute, St. Petersburg (nos. B7639/4, B7641/1, B9032/1, B8526/1, B5678/1, B5681/1). Composed at Nag-shod Chos-gling, it is dated in the final colophon to a year 2327 years after the Buddha's Enlightenment, which ought to mean the year 1447 CE.

⁶ In about this time in his life he also became abbot of a monastery called Gu-ru Dpal-'khor, although he died at Spus-mda' Rnam-rgyal-dpal-'bar Monastery (Dondor 1993: 509).

⁷ Sde-srid (1960: 26).

⁸ The source is *Bod kyi bstan bcos* (1985:183).

dard for the New Translation schools, the Kadam, Kagyü and Sakya, and starting in the 15th century the Gelug. His translation work, for traditional Tibetan historians, marks the beginning of the 'New Translations' (*gsar 'gyur*), even though the translation work of Smṛti, which took place at the same time, is classified as the last of the 'Old Translations' (*snga 'gyur*). Secondly, he was a founder of numerous important monasteries in the western Himalayan region, and a great promoter of other religious arts, not only architecture, including especially the reproduction of Buddha-images and volumes of Buddhist scriptures inscribed with devotion and fine calligraphy. All these literary and artistic activities were carried out under the patronage of the king of Western Tibet who, according to Butön's Yoga Tantra history, donated one third of the fields he possessed to Rinchen Zangpo, and an equal amount to his ministers.⁹ Just how extensive this translation project was may be indicated in sources that say 75 Indian paṇḍitas were at work on it at the royal temple of Toling.¹⁰

It is more difficult to read the sources for what they do not specifically say, for their silences about other potential areas of greatness. For example, we might wonder about Rinchen Zangpo's greatness as an author. As far as we know only a very few small texts are said to have been composed by him, and next to nothing of this small corpus of writing is available today. Thus we can say with some confidence that his greatness was not due to texts he personally composed. Furthermore, he did not demonstrate greatness as a communicator to Tibetans at large. We have no record of his teaching before enthusiastic audiences, or of ordinary people gathering from all around to see him and hear his words. Some may prefer to find in this silence of the sources just another sign of his greatness as a scholar, as one who sat for endless weeks and months in his temples working on the Indian texts together with Indian paṇḍitas, and training junior translators. That is probably exactly how it was.

His translations bear in themselves testimony that he was not a 'popularizer.' The Tibetan translations he made are often admired for their close adherence to the Indian texts, but they reproduce the original grammar and syntax to a degree that makes their comprehension very difficult — difficult that is without resorting to oral explanations and/or written commentaries — for Tibetans who might be unable to read through the Tibetan words to the words of the Indian original. This style of translation was in fact criticized by some followers of the Old Translations (*snga 'gyur*) school, starting with the famous Nyingmapa intellectual Rongzompa Chökyi Zangpo (Rong-zom-pa Chos-

⁹ In Bu-ston (1968: 157-158) is an independent passage, not found in other sources, which might be translated: "It is said that of all the fields that belonged to the Mnga'-ris King, one third went to the ministers, and an equal part went to the Great Translator. Later on the fields of the Great Translator would be requisitioned as dry goods tax."

¹⁰ For historical details about Toling, see Vitali (1999).

kyi-bzang-po) whose lifespan overlapped with that of the Great Translator. For his words we have to rely on later Nyingmapa writers, since the original historical work by Rongzompa that they cite has not come down to us. In this work he argued for the ‘Six Superiorities of the Old Translations School,’ one of these being the superiority of their translation work. Zhe-chen Rgyal-tshab says,

Since the translators of the past were Emanation Bodies, they set down [their translations] according to the meaning. Hence [their translations] are easy to understand and achieve great power in their use of the etymological roots. Later translators were incapable of translating according to the meaning, so they translated word for word in [the original] order of the Indian text, making them literal and difficult to understand. In their use of the etymological roots there is little power.¹¹

This sort of criticism would suggest that not everyone would have ‘read’ Rinchen Zangpo’s accomplishments as a translator in the same light.

Our most significant source about Rinchen Zangpo is the biography written at Toling (Mtho-gling) by Khyitangpa (full name: Gu-ge Khyi-thang-pa Dpal-ye-shes) — one of his direct disciples — after the death of his teacher and therefore perhaps dating from as early as 1060 CE. Twice this text has been published together with an English summary or translation, while there are a number of other published editions and unpublished manuscripts.¹² By the testimony of its own colophon,

¹¹ Zhe-chen, *Chos-'byung*, p. 153. ‘Etymological roots’ translates Tibetan *byings* (which stands for Skt. *dhātu* in the context of language sciences, just as Tibetan *dbyings* stands for Skt. *dhātu* in Buddhist contexts). The earliest citation of the ideas of Rongzompa, whose exact dates are unknown, seems to occur in a work by Rog Bande Shes-rab-'od (1166-1244 CE; see Martin 2001: 116 for the complete citation, and references to parallel statements).

¹² This biography is the one translated and published in Tibetan script edition in Snellgrove & Skorupski (1980: II 85-98, 101-111). A 19-folio manuscript of the same biography may also be found appended to Tucci (1988: 103-121), in *Collected Biographical Material*, and in Negi (1996), the latter including a Hindi translation. Furthermore, the Tucci collection in Rome preserves a manuscript in 58 folios (De Rossi Filibeck 2003: 330, no. 654), and other manuscripts have been preserved in Tibet (Drepung Catalog, pp. 1529, 1563). There is an English summary in Rigzin (1984). The date would make it one of the earliest specimens of the biographical genre called *rnam thar* to be devoted to the life of a Tibetan (rather than an Indian) religious figure. Although critical historians may well entertain doubts as to the antiquity of this biography, it was certainly known, quite apart from Zhangzhungpa’s *kāvya* version of it, to authors of the 15th century, since it is directly cited in the 1484 history of the Bka'-gdams-pa order written by Lo-dgon-pa (1977: 291, 292), as well as in the 1476 history by 'Gos (1976: 68). A rather short Rinchen Zangpo biography, in the form of verses of praise, was composed by Gser-mdog Paṅ-chen Shākya-mchog-Idan (1428-1507). In a critical vein, we may wonder why the information in Khyitangpa was not used by earlier historians. As far as I know at the moment, there is no mention of Khyitangpa’s biography, or of the unique information found in it, prior to Zhangzhungpa’s reworking of it. Is it possible that it was Zhangzhungpa himself who first made it public? I have no answer to this question, unfortunately, although further research might come up with one.

the biography that we have is only the medium-sized version, while a more abbreviated as well as a more extensive version existed, unfortunately not, or to put it in a more hopeful way perhaps not yet, available to us. Both Snellgrove and Tucci have expressed scholarly reservations about the authenticity of the text, reservations we will not explore here, except to say that we do not accept them as our guide. Some of the problems, inconsistencies and broken narration of the text to which they refer may be explained by its relatively abbreviated nature. Presumably the longer version would have dealt more thoroughly and consistently, and in a smoother narration, with those aspects of Rinchen Zangpo's life that in our medium-sized version seem rather sketchy, truncated, or even very occasionally out of place. A colophon apparently added to the end of some editions of the text by another hand, and not by the author, tells us that the details about "his masters and paṇḍitas and the teachings he received from them, his Dharma treasures, his wealth treasures and his artistic treasures including woodworking treasures and so forth are illuminated in the *Great Biography*."¹³

The content of Khyitangpa's biography brings us to cast heavy doubts on two popular historical narratives which are probably best known from the history of the Fourth Drugchen Incarnate Pema Karpo ('Brug-chen IV Padma-dkar-po), written between the years 1575 and 1580.¹⁴ One of these, a narrative with a background of its own often repeated by historians, is the story that the western Tibetan king Yeshé Ö picked 21 intelligent boys between the ages of ten and twenty to go to Kashmir in order to learn the art of translation.¹⁵ All but two, Rinchen Zangpo and the 'lesser translator' Legpai Sherab (Legs-pa'i-shes-rab), died from the heat. However, from the biography we know that Rinchen Zangpo first went to Kashmir with only two companions, and that Legpai Sherab was not among them. The translators in training were taken with him on the second trip. Samten G. Karmay pointed out these discrepancies long ago.¹⁶

¹³ Compare the slightly different English translation in Snellgrove & Skorupski (1980: II 98).

¹⁴ Hoffmann (1961: 115-116, 118-119) summarizes these accounts, primarily on the basis of Pema Karpo. See Vitali (1996: 179-81, 281 n. 427 *et passim*). When Hoffmann's book was written the Tibetan-language biography by Khyitangpa was hardly available, although Giuseppe Tucci did acquire one version of it for his collection, and published an Italian summary of it in 1932 (English translation in Tucci 1988: 53-74).

¹⁵ Actually, the story of the 21 children appears first in the 1167 history by Bsod-nams-rtse-mo (1968), and then in the 1261 history by Rig-pa'i-ral-gri (n.d.), the latter evidently copying directly from the former. The story of the kidnapping of Yeshé Ö by the Qarluq is missing in these. We do find it in a 14th-century history (Sakyapa 1996) and in the 1474 history by Dge-ye-ba, although the earliest (or next to earliest) one ought to be in the *Bu chos* (passage translated in Gangnegi 1998: 39). See the discussion in Vitali (1996: 187).

¹⁶ See Karmay (1998: 6). Notice also Snellgrove & Skorupski (1980: 87), where the Great Translator's two travel companions were [1] 'brother' (not his actual sibling) Bkra-shis-rtse-mo and [2] an unnamed native of Kulu Valley who accompanied

The other problematic narrative has Yeshé Ö captured by the Qarluq, and held in ransom for his weight in gold. Since Prince Jangchub Ö could not gather this much gold in time, he was asked by Yeshé Ö to use the money instead to invite Atiśa to Tibet, if at all possible. According to this story, Yeshé Ö was thrown in a dungeon by the Qarluqs and died.¹⁷ From the biography we may know that Yeshé Ö died of illness at home in his royal palace, and the stories of his capture and attempted ransom are therefore, despite many centuries of retelling, very likely baseless.

Zhangzhungpa wrote his poetic Rinchen Zangpo biography, as he explicitly states in his colophon, on the basis of the one written by Khyitangpa. One important element in his decision was certainly a sense of pride and allegiance to his homeland. Khyitangpa, like Zhangzhungpa, was a native of the kingdom of Gugé (although it is probable that Khyitangpa was of Kinnauri origins, it is also true that Kinnaur may have been ruled from Gugé in those times), and it was in Gugé's royal temple of Toling that Rinchen Zangpo did most of his translation work (spending there the entire first half of the 11th century). The verse just beyond the point at which I stopped my translation, verse 57, has nothing to correspond with it in the Khyitangpa biography, so we can imagine that Zhangzhungpa is speaking from his own perspective when he says:

The place known as Gugé, while it lies
on the ground of Jambu Island, its qualities
could be counted as far as the peak of existence.¹⁸
There dwell scholars of perfectly clear minds and books.

them only part of the way. According to Khyitangpa, Yeshé Ö sent with Rinchen Zangpo on his *second* trip to Kashmir 15 (not 21) persons (not youths), among them 'five intelligent ones, five to administer to him and five of great faith.' Among the 'five intelligent ones,' Legpai Sherab and two others (Mang-wer Byang-chub-shesrab and Rma Dge-ba'i-blo-gros) survived, while two died from fever. These details do not accord with what we find in other histories, and a thorough study of the problem remains to be written.

¹⁷ See especially Karmay (1998: 3), Eimer's (1974-5) classic study of the Qarluq captivity episode (Eimer gives the reference to the 1950 article by Helmut Hoffmann which I do not have at hand), as well as the more recent article by Gangnegi (1998), independent of Eimer's work. These are just my current thoughts on the subject, which may well require revision. Hubert Decler suggested to me that both stories could remain true if we were to understand that Yeshé Ö, while willing to die in prison, did not actually die there. Yet the king seems to have undergone still other, potentially fatal, tortures in prison. One of these involved applying moxibustion to a part of his body called the *rtsa sgo*, an unusual expression discussed by Eimer (p. 184, n. 3), although I believe it means 'feces gate' and therefore 'anus' (*bshang lam*, as it is glossed in the Yisun Chang dictionary). One translation says they "cauterized all his bodily channels," which clouded his mind and rendered him "no better than an animal" (Śakyapa 1996: 275).

¹⁸ 'Peak of existence' (also used in verse 25), which should correspond to *bhavāgra* in Sanskrit (Pāli *bhavagga*), is used to refer to the fourth of the four stages of the non-form realm (*ārūpya-dhātu*) in Buddhist cosmology.

I think that his writing of this poetic piece based on the classic biography of Rinchen Zangpo was in part at least an expression of his identification with his home area, perhaps even an expression of nostalgia or homesickness. Certainly Zhangzhungpa had personally experienced the hardships of travel far from home. It is unfortunate not to have any source that would enlighten us about the circumstances under which he composed his poetic masterpiece.

Other narratives about Rinchen Zangpo could have been useful to Zhangzhungpa, had he been a history writer and had he taken the trouble to locate them. There is quite significant information in two historical works by Butön which he could have made use of, for example. He could have found more about Rinchen Zangpo's later life in the biographies of Atiśa. However, he was content to limit himself to the classic biography. He was not a researcher.

You heard me correctly, 'He was not a researcher.' I have to admit that for some time I was impatient with Zhangzhungpa because of my personal predisposition to search for information of historical significance when reading such texts. Eventually I began to relax these concerns, admitting to myself that writing history — well, history in any critical sense — was not among Zhangzhungpa's aims. Only then was I able to start seeing his work as being in itself an artistic object of historical interest, and could then come to some historical conclusions about it.

Zhangzhungpa does considerably elaborate and embellish the story in some parts, while omitting or condensing other parts at will. But these innovations are almost all literary, not changes in substance. He basically follows the course of Khyitangpa's narration in his account of Rinchen Zangpo's travels.¹⁹ Nearly every incident on the road receives some kind of attention from Zhangzhungpa, although he seems to miss altogether the incident in which the Rinchen Zangpo's party, now reduced to two, at the mercy of a toll-keeper of a bridge, was swindled out of 50 cowrie shells from his total travel budget of 600 cowries (one text says 500 out of 600). This episode surely has dramatic and poetic possibilities, but perhaps Zhangzhungpa didn't like to see his hero successfully cheated. All the other incidents of the road are represented: the near death from sickness of his sole traveling companion, the close escape from a band of 300 robbers that same night, then three days without food when the two women came to the rescue (note how

¹⁹ Rinchen Zangpo's itinerary is quite obscure, as is the geography of Kashmir, as may be seen in both Tucci's (1988: 60-61 *et passim*) and Snellgrove & Skorupski's attempts to locate some of the places mentioned. I would guess that his most probable route to Kashmir, beginning at Toling in Gugé would have been via the Shipkyi Pass into the Spiti Valley, then into the Chandra River valley via the Kunzom Pass, then following the course of the Chandrabhaga still further west until turning northward at one point or another to reach Kashmir. Alternative routes would have been more difficult, and besides, the person taken as a guide was from the Kulu Valley, and so he could have been expected to be familiar with the general area of the Kulu Valley, and not with routes leading through Ladakh or what is now Uttar Pradesh.

Zhangzhungpa eroticizes this episode in verse 29), the danger from wild beasts, and the final indignity of the racial taunts from the Kashmiri children of which I will tell in a moment. But then came acceptance, and he traveled about Kashmir over the next seven years, with the added side trip to Magadha where he stayed five more years before returning to Kashmir to pack up his library, then home after an absence of thirteen years. All these other travels pass without incident, without the slightest obstacle intervening. He's literally riding on air, thanks to his mastery of the *siddhi* of Fast Feet that Tibetans know as *rkang mgyogs*.²⁰ We might almost fall into the trap of thinking that the trip to Kashmir is a little too action-packed, that it might just be a standard literary catalogue of the hazards of foreign travel, like we see in so much of our modern travel literature. Well, it is true that Zhangzhungpa subtracts some details that might detract from the dramatic effect, much as present-day real-life storytellers do, but he is nevertheless, in his own way, quite faithful to his source.

Zhangzhungpa would seem, at least at first, to show a reluctance to alter the wording when the *dākinīs* are speaking. Verses 15-16 are almost exact in wording (but be aware that Snellgrove's way of translating here is much different from mine), so we are rather surprised when the goddess in verses 25-26 gives a completely different speech. Some of the verses of Zhangzhungpa that I personally found most charming (verses 15-16 and 41) are in fact in Khyitangpa's words. Verse 41 reads:

At first troops of breast-milk drinkers
swarmed 'round to welcome the lord,
"Wow, look at this yellow man
with no mustache, how weird!"

Zhangzhungpa takes these engaging words of Khyitangpa (engaging more for their whiff of realism than for poetic devices) and takes them one imaginative but entirely believable step further:

They were making these cymbal-like sounds with their palms;
they were giggling and whirling their clothes.

After the eventful journey to Kashmir, and the semi-triumphant entry, the interest fades and the description is brief and sometimes extremely hurried (see the second half of verse 46, made up of four terse verbal clauses). Sitting together with paṇḍitas and books, even if it may have been the whole point of the quest, isn't all that exciting after all. Fast-forward to thirteen years later in just ten verses.

²⁰ This is the same phenomenon that was most famously described by Alexandra David-Neel in her book *Magic and Mystery in Tibet* (first published in French in 1929), chapter 6 (1971: 199-241). Although she is aware of the term *rkang mgyogs*, she generally calls it "lung-gom," which is *rlung sgom*, 'air meditation.' *Rkang mgyogs* translates Sanskrit *jaṅghākara*, a quite extraordinary skill nevertheless numbered among the Eight Ordinary Siddhis.

Indianness

Zhangzhungpa is being quite self-consciously 'Indian', and perhaps even more so when the actions are taking place in Tibet, as for example in verse 12, where he takes the unspecified tree of the original biography and makes it into a Sahakāra creeper.²¹ And he does not shy away from specialized *kāvya* vocabulary that might well confuse the naive or uninitiated Tibetan reader. One excellent example of this is in verse 17, where he uses the Tibetan word *ri yig* (the vowel sign for the first 'i' should be, but is not, reversed). This word translates as 'letter RI,' which is a clue that there might be a Sanskrit word with the sought-for meaning that begins with RI. In fact, with help from the glossaries, we may know that this *ri yig* is a word for the gods in general, and from this deduce that it must correspond in some way with the Sanskrit word *ṛbhu* which has this meaning. Much better known to literate Tibetans is the expression *ra gnyis*, which also uses a characteristic letter to hint at a word containing it. *Ra gnyis* means "two 'R's," referring of course to the two 'R's in Sanskrit *bhramara* for 'bee'. If you ask the natural question, what sense would "two 'R's" or 'letter RI' make to Tibetans since their language has neither a word for 'bee' with two 'R's in it nor a word for the gods beginning with the letter RI, I guess you might be missing the point of it all. It is precisely because it can only work in an Indian context that the literarily enlightened ones value it. It has the ring of authentic Indianness, and transplants the Tibetan writer and reader firmly into the Indian realm, forcing them to either 'think Indian' or be left entirely out of the communication loop. What is perhaps anyway remarkable is that the Tibetan reader is forced to 'think Indian' even when the story is taking place in Tibet.

Tibetan composition of kāvya

Just to give a sketchy history of Tibetan composition of *kāvya*, it is known that Tibetans did not attempt to write in full *kāvya* style until some students of Shongtön (who made the first complete translation of the *Kāvyaḍarśa*) did so somewhere around 1300. At about the same time, the Third Karmapa Rangjung Dorjé (d. 1339) composed 66 Jātaka stories in *campū* style,²² inspired by the 34 stories by Āryaśūra.²³ We also have a few *kāvya*-style Jātaka stories by the very famous Nying-

²¹ The Sanskrit dictionaries do not suggest that the Sahakāra was a creeper. Instead they say that it is a kind of fragrant mango tree.

²² The complete collection of 100 Jātaka stories has been published a few times. One sample story, the *jātaka* of Śrīsenā, has been published in *Gold Nugget* (I 192-226).

²³ Tibetans, on what they at least considered good authority, believed that Āryaśūra had intended to compose one hundred Jātaka stories, but only completed 34 before his death. Khoroché (1989: xi-xii) casts doubt on this idea, insisting that Āryaśūra's work is complete as it stands.

mapa teacher Longchen Rabjampa (d. 1363).²⁴ In short, when Zhangzhungpa was active, the practice of writing in Tibetan in *kāvya* style was only a little over a hundred years old.²⁵

Tibetan knowledge of Indian epic

We should at least briefly mention Tibetan knowledge of Indian epic, since this is of general significance for Tibetan *kāvya* studies, and of course more specifically for Zhangzhungpa's version of the Rāmāyaṇa. There did exist early on, in the 9th and mid-13th centuries, a few Tibetan sources for the contents of both the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, and pieces of the latter have been preserved in Dunhuang documents. There have been a few studies of Rāmāyaṇa texts among the Dunhuang documents (these documents ought to be older than the closing of the cave in around 1035 CE). It is known from an autobiography that Tāranātha, in the early 17th century, studied both Indian epics, and this led to the false idea that he had actually translated the Rāmāyaṇa. The only (somehow) complete translation of the Rāmāyaṇa was made by Gendun Chömpel in around the 1930's, parts of which have been published recently in India, although the full 4-volume version is supposedly being edited for publication in Lhasa. So, this leads us to wonder what Zhangzhungpa's source for the Rāmāyaṇa stories might have been, since he didn't have Dunhuang documents available to him, and there was not much literature in Tibetan for him to draw upon. Perhaps future studies will reveal his sources. Granted that our biographical resources are limited, still, there is no evidence that Zhangzhungpa studied Sanskrit in any depth or worked together with a paṇḍita, so we should not assume his ability to benefit directly from Indian language sources.

For Tibetan knowledge of both epics, the most significant early Tibetan source is Martön's mid-13th-century commentary on part of the verses of Sakya Paṇḍita's *Subhāśitaratnanidhi*.²⁶ It is rather impressive just how much of the Mahābhārata is summarized by Martön, but it has been shown (Roesler 2002, 2002a) that he did not base his retelling directly on Indian-language sources, but drew largely from the Tibetan translation of a 9th-century commentary, probably composed in an Indic language in Tibet, by the Bengali Prajñāvarman.

²⁴ One of these, entitled *Po ta la kun tu dga' ba'i gtam*, published in *Gold Nugget* (I 257-300), has been translated by Guenther (1989: 17-58).

²⁵ I have written at greater length along these lines in "Indian Kāvya Poetry on the Far Side of the Himalayas: Translation, Transmission, Adaptation, Originality," forthcoming in a volume edited by Yigal Bronner and David Shulman.

²⁶ It may seem odd to give the title in Sanskrit, since it is evidently a Tibetan composition, but it is clear that some of its verses are more or less exactly copied from previous Indian collections. There is a recent complete English translation by John T. Davenport, *et al.* (Sakya Pandita 2000). This publication is all the more valuable for including a commentary by Sakya Khenpo Sangyay Tenzin.

Some observations on influence and style

Now I would like to spend the remaining pages with some rather scattered observations on the work's characteristic style, and also, along more historical lines, what influences might be perceptible in it. While the conclusions have much more to do with influence than with style, some basic observations on style ought to be attempted. On a rather obvious and superficial level, we may see that Zhangzhungpa engages in various types of enjambment, letting the syntax ride over the *pāda* boundaries in interesting ways. Sometimes these are even rather extreme and potentially disconcerting ways, like in verse 45, where he allows the proper name Dharmatāśīla to ride over the *pāda* break. In my translation I've tried to preserve as best I could, within the limits imposed on us all by impossibility, the enjambment of the original, but I do not try to preserve the original syntax. (Just as I've tried to keep the same number of lines in each of the verses, although I've divided up the lines according to my own lights into 4-, 6-, and 8-line verses. The original has no punctuational device that would hint at the divisions between verses.)

The main thing that distinguishes Zhangzhungpa's poetry in the Rinchen Zangpo biography is the fairly profuse use of figures of meaning. I will not venture to identify the specific types of figures, although they obviously represent a fair range. The meter is simple and regular and there are few perceptible figures of sound. I've used some amount of alliteration in my translation, but there isn't much of it in the original. This is in contrast to his other most famous *kāvya* work, his Rāmāyaṇa, a longer work in 137 *ślokas*. Here there are a lot more varied usages of meters and figures of sound. We also have two detailed commentaries on his Rāmāyaṇa, and these commentaries take care to identify each and every figure of meaning according to the categories of Daṇḍin, which always represented the Tibetan standard. These commentaries are both 20th-century. The one by Zhalshul (Zhal-shul), a monk of Labrang Tashikhyil Monastery in Amdo, must have been composed before his death in around the 1920's. The other, by Khambum (Mkha'-'bum), must have been written shortly before its publication in 1997.

One thing that is both general and fairly obvious when comparing the two biographies is the difference in the 'pace' of the narrative. Where Khyitangpa tells one story after another during the course of the Kashmir travels, Zhangzhungpa sometimes slows things down and indicates, at least in some poetically abstract way, the laboriousness and trouble of the roads in between the cities where Rinchen Zangpo must have spent the majority of his time less heroically (perhaps) confronting the problems presented by the texts and their translation. In other places (verses 46 and 53 for examples), Zhangzhungpa even packs a large number of incidents into a single verse, with brief verbal

clauses in rapid succession, as if he were eager to forget Rinchen Zangpo's long years of studying and get back the road itself.

Somehow worth observing are the several *ślokas* in which the high and low are juxtaposed, usually with a half-*śloka* devoted to each and usually with a very abrupt transition from one to the other. Some of these involve the head (or eyes or hair) and the feet (verses 1, 4, 5[?] 9, 27 & 51, but note also verse 37 which is only partial), while a nearly equal number involve the sky and the earth (verses 5[?], 8[?], 38-40, 57[?]). The head-foot verses are sometimes in close proximity to the sky-earth verses. I don't know quite what to conclude about this, except that it might well be a reflex of the common Indian method of praising persons from head to foot, and gods from foot to head. In verses pertaining to Rinchen Zangpo we find it both ways, as if Zhangzhungpa were unsure if he was human or divine.

Another interesting thing to observe: Rinchen Zangpo is in several verses represented by the moon, in its crescent or waxing phases (verses 18, 20, 29). I think, besides indicating his status as a luminary, these lunar metaphors indicate his youth and his not yet realized potential as a translator.

Zhangzhungpa's poetic lineage

It was only quite recently that I gained the confidence to say something about the lineage of *kāvya* teachers that stands before and behind Zhangzhungpa. Tsongkhapa himself is an obvious candidate for an important predecessor in this field, even if Zhangzhungpa was only 15 when Tsongkhapa died. Within Zhangzhungpa's Rinchen Zangpo biography we find a verse, no. 28, which makes direct reference to the story of Sadāprarudita²⁷:

Giving no mind whatsoever to what came up,
to the cold and heat, the hunger and thirst,
this hero who set out to find
every last way of teaching of the Victor
robbed of his fame Sadāprarudita
who sought only the Perfection of Insight [Sūtra].²⁸

This would at the same time very likely be a reference to one of the two longer and most famous *kāvya* works by Tsongkhapa. In fact, this same verse has a phrase paralleling passages in the opening pages of Tsong-

²⁷ Tibetan: Rtag-tu-ngu, 'Always Weeping.' Part of his story has been nicely told in English in Paul (1985: 115-34).

²⁸ The rather outrageous contrast, making Rinchen Zangpo greater than the hero of a story contained in a set of the most important Mahāyāna scriptures, the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras*, is similar in kind to contrasts made in other verses. Notice in particular verse 52 where Rinchen Zangpo is compared with the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, and even more remarkable, in verse 53, where it is implied that Rinchen Zangpo's deeds surpassed those of all the Buddhas.

khapa's work,²⁹ which serves to strengthen the impression that this verse is an homage, or even a meta-poetic comparison with, Tsongkhapa's work. The following verse, no. 29, has an even more marked phrase parallel with the other main *kāvya* work of Tsongkhapa. Even with this hyperbole that finds Sadāprarudita fading under the comparison, Zhangzhungpa would seem to be telling us in an oblique manner that Sadāprarudita's heroic quest as recounted by Tsongkhapa inspired his own account of Rinchen Zangpo's travel to Kashmir.

So let's have a look at the colophon of Tsongkhapa's *campū* on Sadāprarudita.³⁰ Among the three persons credited with inspiring the work or with teaching him *kāvya*, one is Rendawa, a Sakyapa teacher with whom Tsongkhapa studied many subjects, another is Döndrub Rinchen, his original childhood teacher in Amdo, while the third is a 'bilingual master' named Namkha Zangpo.

Looking into a few of the many biographies of Tsongkhapa, we find that Namkha Zangpo attempted at least to teach Tsongkhapa Sanskrit grammar.³¹ This is very surely the same Namkha Zangpo who is responsible for a few translations of Sanskrit grammatical works that are found in the Tanjur.³² One of the biographies says Tsongkhapa

²⁹ It does seem very likely that Zhangzhungpa is making a metapoetic statement in his verse 28, indicating an important source of his inspiration, and this intuition is considerably strengthened when we see that Zhangzhungpa's words opening verse 28, "*gang yang gang dang tsha ba dang // bkres dang skon pa mi sems shing*," find a parallel (more in meaning and grammatical structure than in wording) in the Sadāprarudita story (Tsong-kha-pa 2000: 1): "*gang yang lus dang srog la mi lta ba'i brtson 'grus...*" ('Assiduity without any consideration whatsoever for body and life...'). In the following verse, number 29, we find a still louder echo of a phrase from Tsongkhapa's *kāvya* biography of Drakpa Jangchub (Zhangzhungpa's words *smin legs zung // yid bsrubs gsal ba bzhin* echoing Tsongkhapa's *smin legs gzugs la yid srubs bzhin*). At the moment I am considering these literary parallels as being very strongly suggestive of influence, not necessarily overwhelmingly persuasive.

³⁰ This work is preserved in the several reprint versions of the Collected Works of Tsongkhapa, but I prefer to make reference to a separate modern edition (Tsong-kha-pa 2000), which also includes an interesting modern commentary (Tshe-tan Zhabs-drung 2000). There are certain places, most clearly verses 4 and 28-29, where Zhangzhungpa echoes specific poetic phrases used by Tsongkhapa in his Sadāprarudita story. I think that there are more general parallels between these two works, since both are *kāvya* rewritings of accounts of journeys in quest of books.

³¹ The only references in English that I know of for this episode in Tsongkhapa's life are in Tucci (1999: 428): "At the school of the lotsāva Nam mk'a bzañ po, he learns rhetoric and obtains the realization of Sarasvatī," and another brief reference in Thurman, *Life and Teachings of Tsong Khapa*, p. 11: "He received teachings on the technical aspects of poetry from the Translator Namkha Zangpo..." From Kaschewsky's German-translated life of Tsongkhapa, we may know that his studies with Namkha Zangpo took place in the autumn of his 23rd year (therefore in 1379; see Kaschewsky 1971: I 87). A very extensive biography of Tsongkhapa written in the years 1843-1845, which has the virtue of quoting at length from earlier biographies, tells the story of Tsongkhapa's relationship with Channga Dragpa Jangchub and his studies with Namkha Zangpo (Dar-han Mkhan-sprul 1992: 162-164).

³² These translations of Sanskrit grammatical works are Candragomin's *Uṇādi* (*U ṇa la sogs pa*; Toh. no. 4427) and Durgasimha's *Kalāṇādisūtra* (*Ka lā pa'i u ṇa la sogs pa'i mdo*; Toh. no. 4425). We might note, since this demonstrates an active interest in

studied with Namkha Zangpo the *Candrapa* and so forth but did not actually succeed in it (certainly the one semester he spent studying it would not have been enough).³³ Namkha Zangpo is described here as a Bodongpa grammarian. Tsongkhapa went on to study with him the *Kāvyaśāstra* and other *kāvya* texts and became very skilled in it, composing a prayer to Sarasvatī³⁴ and other *kāvya* pieces of which it was said that they “reveal the *rasas* of the *alaṅkāras*” (*rgyan gyi nyams 'char*). Immediately the biography adds: “A year after this, the Channga Dragpa Jangchub died, and he was asked by the lay and monastic leaders to compose a biography, so he composed the *Togjō Lhunpo* (*Rtogs-brjod Lhun-po*).” This is a shortened title for the second of Tsongkhapa’s two most famous *kāvya* works, the one devoted to the life of the short-lived Drigung Kagyüpa teacher Channga Dragpa Jangchub (1356-1386).³⁵ Tsongkhapa composed this poetic biography in 1387 at the order (*bkas bskul*, ‘urged on by the command’) of the ruler of Tibet at the time, Miwang Dragpa Gyaltsen (re. 1385-1432), who would in later years prove to be one of Tsongkhapa’s greatest financial supporters. It was in about this same time that Tsongkhapa stopped being primarily a student and became widely recognized, even famous, as a teacher, already some twenty years before he founded Ganden Monastery.

I believe that all of Tsongkhapa’s main *kāvya* pieces were composed when he was about 24 years of age, even while admitting that his later works are not free of *kāvya* influence. One rather long poetic work, his *Praise to Mañjuśrī*,³⁶ written in 1394, is an example. However, in general,

kāvya, that he also completed his uncle Byang-chub-rtse-mo’s translation of Kālidāsa’s *Meghadūta* (*Sprin gyi pho nya*; Toh. no. 4302) and he revised one of the three translations of Ratnākaraśānti’s work on metrics, the *Chandoratnākara* (*Sdeb sbyor rin chen 'byung gnas*; Toh. no. 4304). On Tibetan translations and studies of Sanskrit metrics, see Smith (2001: 202).

³³ Of course, most of the biographies phrase this diplomatically. They put it in ways like this: He learned Sanskrit grammar well, but he would not openly admit this (*gsan nas mkhas par mkhyen kyang dngos su zhal gyis mi bzhes so*). Mkhas-grub-rje’s earlier biography (the *Dad pa’i ’jug ngogs*, ‘Faith’s Port of Entry’) is not quite so diplomatic. He says that Tsongkhapa nourished strong hopes of completely mastering the main outlines of Sanskrit grammar under Namkha Zangpo, but these hopes were not fulfilled on account of a few inclement circumstances (*de dus bla ma lotstsha ba nam bzang pa [-nam mkha’ bzang po] spyan snga bas gdan drangs nas phebs ’dug pas / khong pa’i drung du sgra’i sa ris yongs su rdzogs pa zhig mdzad par bzhed pa’i thugs ’dun che bar yod pa la / ’gal rkyen cung zhig byung bas mdzad pa ma grub*).

³⁴ This definitely means the brief and rather *śrīngāra-rasa*-tinged *stotra* (both a praise and an invocation) to Sarasvatī translated in Kilty (2001: 20-21). The biographies quote one line from it, the one Kilty translates, “Those alluring honeybee eyes in that lotus face.”

³⁵ For Tibetan text and English translation of a devotional prayer addressed to Gagspa-byang-chub, see Kilty (2001: 102-107).

³⁶ For translations of this work, see Thurman (1990: 188-197) and Kilty (2001: 22-69), the latter including the Tibetan in its original script. A remarkable poetic work, one that I haven’t been able to date, is his words of advice for Bshes-gnyen Sba-ba, written without using any vowel signs at all. This is immediately noticeable, and has a special difficulty in that it is impossible to use the genitive and instrumental cases. This work has been published in *Gold Nugget* (pp. 365-373).

his works came to be more and more concerned with strictly Buddhist matters, employing increasingly well-defined philosophical vocabulary, with correspondingly less poetry.

It was possible to learn more about Tsongkhapa's grammar and *kāvya* teacher Namkha Zangpo who appears to have directly inspired the writing of both of his longer *kāvya* compositions (and these two works were considered as a pair, and were even printed together as a pair³⁷). In fact, he was a nephew of Jangchub Tsemo (Byang-chub-rtse-mo), and therefore a member of the main line of Sanskritists (of the Bodongpa school) that descended in uncle-nephew succession directly from the disciple of the translator in around 1270 of the Kāvyaśāstra, Shongtön (Shong-ston). Hence, surprisingly or not, Zhangzhungpa would seem to be a rather direct heir of the main lineage of Tibetan Sanskritists, even though there is no evidence that he (or Tsongkhapa for that matter) was very successful in the Sanskrit language itself — much like later Gelugpa writers who would practice *kāvya* arts as a Tibetan tradition, without the help of any sustained study of Sanskrit. For example, even with all those Indian paṇḍitas at the court of the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682), Giuseppe Tucci could still write his classic 1957 article that sheds light on his disabilities as a Sanskrit scholar. I would say that Tucci's article is rather unfair, however, in the sense that he doesn't mention any of Tibet's better Sanskritists, leaving us with the unfortunate impression there never were any.

Now, fearing you may already be tiring of reading, I would like to invite you to relax your overheated critical minds and imagine with me for a moment a small school of poetics in a larger institute of higher education — let's call it the Gregory Corso School of Disenfranchised Poetics, at the Tilopa Institute in Colorado Springs. A short flashback to the beginning of the story: A group of English and Comp. Lit. majors spend a semester studying with the most highly renowned Sanskritist in the entire eastern seaboard. Finding Sanskrit *sandhi* rules and second aorists somewhat daunting, they drop out and head for the Rockies. In Colorado Springs, they eagerly sign up for night courses in the Gregory Corso School, and as the rapidly balding Beat poet lecturers retire and pass away one by one, some of them take up positions there. Eventually, due to their influence, the idea to write poetry in the Indian *kāvya* mode starts to gather momentum until it catches on and becomes a minor trend. Soon they have literally thousands of enthusiastic admirers all over North America buying their books and trying their hands at poems in near approximation of the various Sanskrit meters, with *yamakās* falling on either side of every other *pāda*-break, all about night lotuses opening under the moonbeams and *cakora* birds feeding off raindrops in mid-air. Their Bible is, of course, Ingall's translation of the *Subhāṣitaratnakośa* and not, mind you, the Sanskrit text edition. But their English poetry, and this is more to the point, is as Indian as it could possibly get.

³⁷ Tse-tan Zhabs-drung (2000: 71).

True, like most analogies, especially hypothetical ones, this one is a ripe grape easily reduced to a thin and empty skin if pressed very hard. But perhaps it succeeds in conveying my own general view about the Gelug *kāvya* tradition. Of course there have been a few notable and perhaps even great Sanskritists within the ranks of the Gelugpas, Darlo Ngawang Puntsog³⁸ for example. In other schools a very few undoubtedly fine Sanskritists like Tāranātha (b. 1575) and Situ Panchen (1700-1775) would appear. In short, in the 14th and particularly in the early 15th centuries when Zhangzhungpa wrote, the *kāvya* tradition in Tibet was in a process of local adaptation. Over time it would form a very solid and enduring part of the mainstream Tibetan literary tradition, one that still has a good number of admirers and practitioners. Zhangzhungpa, as author of two of the most admired Gelug *kāvya* works, very arguably represents a landmark in that developing tradition. True, Zhangzhungpa's was not the first *kāvya* work to be devoted to the life of a Tibetan. In this he was preceded by Tsongkhapa's *campū*³⁹ on the life of Dragpa Jangchub, which might have even given him the idea. However, Zhangzhungpa was the first, as far as I know, to write such a biography entirely in *kāvya*-style verse.⁴⁰ This seems to be the main thing that is new about it, in addition, of course, to the creative freshness and imagination displayed in its composition. That it is truly an homage, and not an exercise in plagiarism⁴¹ ought to go without saying.

³⁸ Dar Lo Ngag-dbang-phun-tshogs was active during the reign of the Fifth Dalai Lama, when he translated Anubhūti's *Sarasvatīvyākaraṇa-sūtra* (*Brda sprod pa dbyangs can gyi mdo*) together with the Indians Balabhadra and Gokulanāthamiśra (Toh. no. 4297). He was the first Tibetan to translate Pāṇinian grammar, and composed his own commentaries on the subject. He also translated Indian medical works, including a work on optometry attributed to Manaho (Toh. no. 4443), a former physician to Shah Jahan who visited Tibet. It seems some of these medical translations are unavailable today. For more on him, see Smith (2001: 196-197, 243).

³⁹ The usual word in Tibetan for the mixed prose and verse genre is *spel ma*.

⁴⁰ I do know about verses in praise of eighteen aspects of the life of the ruler Rabrtan-kun-bzang-'phags by Bo-dong-pa Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal, an author who lived from 1376 to 1451, making him a near contemporary of Zhangzhungpa (*Literary Arts in Ladakh*, vol. 1, pp. 91-106). This may very well be in a *kāvya* style, and is entirely in verse, yet it differs from Zhangzhungpa's work in taking the form of a devotional prayer-petition, each *śloka* ending in a vocative or subjunctive verbal form. If we were to accept praise-petitions entirely in *kāvya* verse, we would need to refer to even earlier works such as a few by Sakyapa figures as early as the mid-12th century as well as mid- or late-11th-century verses of praise recounting the life of Atiśa (although Atiśa was an Indian, he lived for a long time in Tibet, and verses in his praise probably strongly influenced subsequent *stotras* that took Tibetan teachers as their subject). For present purposes we exclude these verse praise-petition biographies from consideration.

⁴¹ Academics frequently express the idea that plagiarism is an alien concept in Tibetan and Indian literature. That this is manifestly untrue in the case of India may be known by consulting Meera (1986) and the sources given there. Plagiarism involves a conscious effort to unjustly assume the authority that comes with authorship by concealing one's actual sources. An homage, quite the contrary, pays honor to the original work and its author.

And since Zhangzhungpa's overriding concern was to create a literary homage to both Rinchen Zangpo and his biography by Khyitangpa, it is on literary grounds that it must be judged. Seeing and appreciating his success as an artist, rather than his missed chance to play the historian, we could also forgive him for obscuring the geography of the Vale of Kashmir, already unclear enough in Khyitangpa. For both of them, the trials of their heroes' travels were much more interesting than an identifiable terrain. In the end it is our problem, not theirs, if we choose to go on valuing information over inspiration and facts over the truths revealed in the unexpected and inexplicably beautiful turns our languages can take.

A note on the translation

The following text edition and translation covers approximately the first two-thirds of the text, the journey to Kashmir that is our concern here. I leave the way open for others to make more perfect and complete studies and translations in the future. I highly recommend those who have not studied Tibetan to read it, if not on the first then on the second reading, together with Snellgrove & Skorupski's English translation of the Khyitangpa biography. In fact, this should be framed as a demand, not a suggestion. I imagine those who do know Tibetan will have an even more enjoyable time uncovering mistakes I've committed, alternative translations and so forth. This is all part of the fun. I suggest that they, too, must follow along with Khyitangpa's biography, but in its Tibetan form. Only by doing so is it possible to appreciate how a single word or two in Khyitangpa can touch off astounding flights of poetic fantasy in Zhangzhungpa's verse. Until you have tried it yourself, you will have to take my word for the fact that reading Zhangzhungpa with Khyitangpa in mind allows you to understand it much better, or even at times prevents the embarrassing situation of not understanding it at all. I am afraid there may be no way to avoid the conclusion that reading Tibetan *kāvya* requires, as Hubert Decler (in homage, as he pointed out, to Frank Zappa) put it to me so felicitously, "a great deal of audience participation." This is my attempt, through a combination of translation and commentary, to plagiarize Zhangzhungpa in a language that was not his own. Or is it, too, like Zhangzhungpa's, a work of homage? So it could seem. Well, at least I hope I haven't created a parody. That was not at all my intention.

A text edition with a translation

gangs can gyi skad gnyis smra ba thams cad kyi gtsug gi rgyan lo chen thams
cad mkhyen pa rin chen bzang po'i rnam thar snyan dngags punḍa ri ka'i
phreng ba bzhugs so //

Puṇḍarika Garland Kāvya: The Biography of the Great Allknowing
Translator Rinchen Zangpo, of all the Snowland's Bilinguals the Crest
Ornament.

[1v]

na maḥ shrī gu ru sarba dznyā na ratna bha drā ya /

Namaḥ śrīguru-sarvajñāna-Ratnabhadrāya.

dpal ldan yon tan sbrang rtsi'i dog pa yis //
'khyud pa'i zhabs sen reg pa'i dge mtshan can //
lha dbang gtsug gi mtsho skyes phreng ba yis //
'gro 'di'i spyi bo rtag tu mdzes gyur cig //

1

“There are virtues in touching the toenail covered over
with the dollop of honey of glorious qualities;
may the lake-born (lotus) garland on the head of Indra
always beautify this creature's crown.

tshogs gnyis rin chen ma lus gcig bsod pa //
bskal bzang bsod nams phung po ya mtshan zhes //
mkhas mang ded dpon tshogs 'dis bstod pa'i gru //
sbyar bas thub bstan mtsho chen gang bar gyur //

2

“The jewels of the two accumulations all gathered together
in a single body, an amazingly fortunate merit heap.”
Ships of praise such as these by hosts of many-skilled sea captains
have been composed. May they fill the great ocean of Buddha's
teachings.

kai la shas mtshan byang du dge slong mchog //
bya yi gdong can thub bstan mig bu zhig //
'byung ngo kun dga' rangs pa bskyed cig ces //
ston pas bstod tshig phreng ba rnam par spel //

3

*2 mig bu: B dmigs bu. 3 'byung ngo: B 'byung po. bskyed: B skyed.

Note that the first three lines of this verse are clearly supposed to be words of the Buddha, but the scriptural source text is not at all clear. “One with a bird face” is a rather obscure but not therefore unknown epithet of the Great Translator. It is rather odd and interesting that it is used, in the form *bya'i gdong pa can*, in the translation colophon of a tantra in the Kanjur. See Tōh. no. 499. Notice also in some following verses some references to the role of birds in his conception, something that may seem shamanic or at least folkloric, but is also known from such literate sources as the Bon scriptures on the conception of Lord Shenrab.

“In the north country marked by Mt. Kailash, a superior *bhikṣu*,
one with a bird face, a guide for those blind to Buddha's teachings
will emerge. Let yourself rejoice, oh Ānanda.”
Thus the Teacher has added to the rosary of praises.

mchod pa gsal byed thal mo sbyar mdzes pa* //
tshangs pa'i cod pan sa la lhung ba na** //
sa skyong tshogs 'di'i gtsug rgyan gser ldan ma'i*** //

4

Ito ba'i rgyan du ci ste mi bgyid lags //

1 mdzes pa: B mdzes su. 4 bgyid: B bgyi.

*Note that *gal byed* and *mdzes pa* in this line may both be epithets of the moon.

Tsongkhapa's work on *Sadāprarudita* (at p. 112) has the nearly parallel phrase "*cod pan sa la ltung byed pa.*" *Gser-ldan-ma (f. Golden One) or *gser ldan ma* (f. golden one) occurs again below. According to *Knowing One Dientangles All*, it may refer to the outer ocean, falling brook, Ganges, surface of the earth, autumn, Ūmā the wife of Viṣṇu, etc. It ought to correspond to Skt. Rukmavati or Rukmiṇī.

As a way of expressing offerings, joined palms are beautiful.
If the diadem of Brahma* has fallen to the ground,
why should it not serve as stomach ornament of Golden One,
as the crest jewel of the whole range of Earth Protectors?*

*Diadem of Brahma' occurs in the title of a work composed by Tsongkhapa, a brief poetic praise to Maitreya (Tōh. no. 5275, part 29). Several later authors composed commentaries on this work. **Earth Protectors may refer to either mountains or rulers.

5

nyid kyi yab rje 'byor pa dul bas rgyan //

yon tan skyil krung 'gro 'di'i spyi bor 'dzegs //

grong khyer sa rnam gser gyi khang pa'i phreng //

mu tig tshogs 'bar brgya byin sar gshegs 'dra //

3 grong khyer sa: BG grong khyer pa.

As for your own father, a lord, ornamented with wealth and a subdued nature,
the crossed legs of his virtues scale to the peak of this creature's crown.*

He was like an Indra on earth [ruling over] the earth of the village,
a blazing heap of pearls, a garland of golden houses.

*Here Rinchen Zangpo's father is, as in *guruyoga* practice, visualized as the Teacher seated cross-legged above the crown of his head.

6

mtho ris dpal mo yum gyi yon tan ches // [2r]

skrag ldan sgyu 'phrul zhag bdun nyid du lhung //

khyod sku'i 'dab ldan yum gyi pad tshal du //

gshegs pa la 'gran chu gter sgröl byed bshes //

legs bris 'di dag bsod nams nor 'dzin gyis //

gdong la skrag pas kun bzang shar gyi ri'i //

phrag pa la 'dzegs de tshe yan lag mchog //

gser gyi 'dab bzang rkang stegs rnam par bsten //

1 dpal mo: dbal mo (?). 3 pad tshal: B dga' tshal. 5 gyis: BG gyi.

Your mother, a glorious goddess in heaven, being great with goodness,
you descended in just seven days with awesome magic.

The winged ones [that would be] your body competed in reaching
the lotus pond that was your mother. The friend for crossing the
watery treasury*

and the finely drawn one** were frightened of her face for its wealth of
merit

and so climbed to the shoulder of the all-good eastern mountain.*** At
the same time

a golden fine-winged [bird]**** used her uppermost limb (head) for its perch.

*This poetic expression is quite ambiguous. *Sgrol byed bshes* can be an epithet for the sun (perhaps Skt. *taraṇi*) which 'crosses' the sky. However, since it is the water treasury (ocean) that is crossed, it probably should mean a ship. But then, from the context, it has to mean a kind of bird (not certain which bird is intended, although from the original biography, it would have to be a cuckoo bird...). **Finely drawn one (perhaps Skt. *lekha* or *sulekha*) may be a name for a god or gods in general, or of the peacock, which is the meaning here. ***In the original biography it is clear that the two birds are on the shoulders of his mother, and the symbolisms of the three birds, including the one on her head, is explained in a passage near the end of the same work. ****Fine-winged (or fine-leafed) may, according to *Knowing One Disentangles All*, mean the *garuḍa* bird or the *somarāja* (hemp) plant. According to the original biography, the bird on her head should be the parrot, presaging his later activities as a translator. Note, too, that uppermost limb (i.e., 'head') may be a name for certain trees (*shing tsha*, or, *shing be ta sa*). *Gold Nugget*, I believe quite wrongly, gives a note explaining the phrase *gser gyi 'dab bzang* as an epithet of coral (I simply fail to comprehend how 'fine leaves of gold' could reasonably qualify coral, which in Tibetan experience generally means the bright red variety).

7

yon tan mtha' dag kun 'gro nags na bde //
 'brug sgra'i gar gyi ngang tshul la chags pa //
 spyod bzang yum gyi 'o ma'i chu gter che //
 gyen du 'phyur ldan 'dir ni rnam par rol //

All her qualities extending everywhere, the Delighter in the Forest,*
 loving the style of the thunder dance[r],**
 disported in this great overflowing water treasury
 of the milk of the mother of good deportment.

*I take the *nags na bde* (delighter in the forest) to be equivalent to *nags na dga'* (happy in the forest), which according to *Knowing One Disentangles All*, may be an epithet of either the cuckoo or the elephant. Note, too, that *kun 'gro* (goes everywhere) is a frequent poetic epithet of the sky. ***Thunder dancer' of course means the peacock (*Gold Nugget* agrees), which becomes agitated at the prospect of rain.

8

mkha' 'gro* dril chen glu dbyangs gre 'gyur brgya'i //
 ser bus 'dar ldan rab sad bu mo'i mtsho** //
 khyab 'jug rkang par bcos pa'i lus kyi ni //
 mgrin sngon ral pa'i mtho ris skas la 'dzegs //
 3 lus kyi: B lus kyi. 4 'dzegs: B 'dzeg.

**Mkha' 'gro* (like Skt. *khaga*) may have a number of meanings, among them bird, *deva*, sun and arrow. It may also mean *dāka* or *dākinī* (*mkha' 'gro* as a shortened form of *mkha' 'gro ma*, omitting the feminine ending). **I am as yet uncertain what to make of the 'maiden lake,' although it may be a misspelling for *bud med kyiis 'tsho* (Skt. *jāyājīva*), one who makes a living through his wife, i.e., a dancer, although one source makes this equivalent to goatherd (possibly Skt. *jāvala*). Or possibly the reading ought to be *bu mo'i tshogs* (group of maidens, possibly Skt. *kanyākula*).

Awakened, shivering, by the breeze of a hundred turnings of the vocal
 chords of song,
 the great bell of the sky goes, the maiden lake,
 body fitted out with Viṣṇu's feet,
 scaled the ladder to the heaven of the Blue Necked with long locks.

phyag mthil rtsibs stong 'khor los mtshan pa dang //
 sa la dbyangs yig phreng ba lhan cig tu //
 legs bkod khyod ni srid pa'i 'khrul pa la //
 bzhad pa'i tshem phreng 'od kyis sa 'di 'gegs //

1 'khor los: B 'khor lo'i. 3 legs bkod: B bkod legs. 4 tshem: B tshems. 'gegs: BG 'gengs.

The thousand-spoked wheels stamped on the soles of your feet
 and the rosaries of vowels on the ground went well together.
 The light from the strands of your teeth, laughing*
 at life's illusions, charmed this earth.

*'Opening' and 'blossoming' are also possible translations.

legs gsung gtsug lag snang byed bzang po yi //
 dkyil 'khor las 'phos ngur smrig mtshon bzang ni //
 nges par 'byung blo 'dab brgya deng 'grogs pa // [2v]
 dge ba kun byed sprul pa'i 'khor lo* nyid //

2 las: B la. 3 deng: BG dang.

**Sprul pa'i 'khor lo (nirmanacakra)* may refer to the navel *cakra*. Note that syllables from the name of Legs-pa-bzang-po, teacher at Rinchen Zangpo's novice ordination, are hidden in this verse.

An emanation from the *maṇḍala*
 of the good illuminator of the practical skill of fine expression,
 the good symbolism of saffron color is the mind revolted [by suffering],
 a veritable wheel for emanating all virtues together with their hundred
 petals.*

*'Hundred petals' may refer to lotus, peacock, chariot, woman and saffron, according to *Knowing One Disentangles All*.

chos rgyal indra bhū ti'i grong khyer pa'i //
 glegs bam brgya byin grong gi yi ge can //
 pho nya'i* gdams pa 'dzin de las dkar brgya'i //
 lcags kyus drangs te phyag gi ldum rar 'ongs //

**Pho nya*, which of course means 'messenger,' is also a frequent synonym for skygoer (*mkha' 'gro ma*; Skt. *ḍākinī*).

A man from the city of Dharma King Indrabhūti
 had a sacred volume in the script of Indranāgara
 containing secret precepts of the Messenger. Pulled by the hooks
 of a hundred good deeds it was coaxed into the garden of your hands.

'phags yul yi ge las 'ongs don bzang po //
 mun par byed gad mngal gyi dri ma yi //
 blo mig rab rib gsal ba'i thabs gang zhes //
 sa ha ka ra'i* 'khri shing grib ma la //
 mnyam par 'jog pa'i bsam gtan la bzhugs tshe //
 rmi lam skrun par byed de nye bar 'ongs //

2 gad: BG gang. 3 gsal ba'i: B bsal ba'i. 5 bzhugs: B zhugs.

**Sahakāra*, a type of mango tree, although here it must be a creeper. *Gold Nugget* explains it as the mango tree which has fruits named *sa ha ka ra* only when it has been watered with milk. The original biography doesn't specify what kind of tree it was.

'What method might I find to remove the film from my eyes and mind that came from the impurity of the womb, a dust that darkens the good meanings that would come from the script of India?' he thought.

In the shade of a Sahakāra creeper
he sat and settled himself into meditation,
and making plans for a dream one came nigh.

13

de tshe de yi yid kyi mkha' //
byu ru'i chu 'dzin nyi gzhon brgya'i //
mdangs kyi rnam par bkra ba bzhin //
mkha' 'gro'i gzugs kyi rnam par khyab //
3 kyi: G kyis. 4 kyi: BG kyis.

On that occasion, the space within his mind,
as if with the vari-colored glowing
of one hundred youthful suns* upon the coral sea,
was completely filled by the forms of sky goers.

*Sunrises.

14

dga' ma gser gyi gdong mdzes ma //
mu tig do shal 'og pag gis //
mkha' la sprin dkar rgod bzhin du //
bung ba'i glu dbyangs 'di byas so //
2 gis: B gi. 3 rgod: B 'god.

A beauty, a golden faced lover,
girdled with strings of pearls,
as if formed of white clouds in the sky,
made this bee melody:

15

srin bu'i kha mchus rang lus 'ching ba ltar //
yul la zhen pa bdud kyi brgya ru chud //
bde 'gro thar pa 'dod pa'i mi su dag //
nub phyogs kha che'i yul du phyin nas kyang //
rgya gar shar nub chu bzhin nyul nas ni //
dam chos rgya mtsho bod du bsgyur na bde //
1 mchus: BG chus. 'ching ba: B bcings pa. 2 zhen pa: B zhen pas. brgya: BG rgya. 3 'dod: B 'don. 4 nub phyogs: B byang phyogs. 5 nyul: B myul.

"Just as the silkworm's spittle binds up its own body,
attachment to homeland puts us in delusion's snare.
Whoever desires better rebirth or liberation, it would be best
if he went to the land of Kashmir in the west,* and
then, meandering like a brook in India's east and west,
bent** the course of the ocean of holy Dharma toward Tibet.

*The original biography says 'north.' **Or, 'translated.'

16

'dab gshog ma rdzogs mkha' lding sras de la //
mkha' yi pha rol rtog zhes yum gyi bka' //
'da' bar dka' ba de thos rnam par 'dar //
ngo 'dzum nag po bdud la bsdigs pa bzhin //
nyin byed gdong pa chu 'dzin yol ba'i gos //
'dzam pa ci zhes bskyed mdzad ti tis dris //

2 rtog: B rtogs; G rnyog. 4 bsdigs: B bsdig. 6 'dzam pa: BG 'dzin pa. bskyed: G skyed.

“The sky-hoverer’s child,* its wings not yet developed,
should set its sights on the horizon.” The command of the Mother,
difficult to disobey, you heard and you shook.
“This dark look of displeasure, as if exorcising a demon,
this water-bearer (cloud), this cloth that veils the bright face of the
sun...

What is it my gentle one?” asked the Titi-bird that raised him.**

*Sky-hoverer means *garuḍa*. In general, in Tibet, it is thought that the *garuḍa* chick doesn’t need to develop its wings, since they have already grown while it was still inside the egg... **Unclear, although one might follow the variant reading. Tib. *ti ti* may stand for Skt. *tittiri*, a partridge which makes the sound *titti*, or it may mean the sound *titti* itself.

17

mkha' 'gro 'brug gi bu mo zab mo'i sgra //
snying la skrag pa ster ba sgrags te smras //
gnag gi gnyen* bcas ri yig** tshogs bcas kyis //
rnam dpyod dbu ba dkar po'i do shal can //
rin chen tshogs 'dzin dzā hu'i bu mo*** de //
'phags yul nub phyogs kha che'i rgya mtshor btang //

1 bu mo: B bu mos. 2 te: B de. 3 gnag: B snag. bcas: B rnams. 5 dzā hu'i: B dza hu'i.

Gnag gi gnyen* is a slight misspelling of *snag gi gnyen*. It corresponds to Skt. *jñāteya* or *sālohita*. Khyitangpa calls him an ‘elder brother’ (a *pho* or *phu bo*, depending on the manuscript) and supplies the name Tashi Tsemo (Bkra-shis-rtse-mo). Apparently it means siblings or relatives, although *Gold Nugget* is more specific, saying that it means siblings who share one or both parents. However, the traveling companion of Rinchen Zangpo, although perhaps in truth some kind of relative, is not listed among his brothers. *Ri yig*, literally ‘the letter *ri*,’ makes obscure reference to an unspecified Sanskrit word that begins with the letter ‘*ṛ*’. This word is Skt. *ṛbhu*, a name for the gods in general. *Gold Nugget* says it may mean either the group of children of a *deva*, or the sons of a king. ****Dzā hu'i bu mo*, ‘daughter of *Dzā hu*,’ is from Skt. *Jāhnavī*, an epithet for the Ganges derived from the name of her adoptive father *Jahnu*.

He told her, uttering the profound words of the sky goer,
daughter of lightning, that strike fear in the heart.
The daughter of *Jahnu*, container for hosts of precious substances,
necklaced in the white foam of her doubts as she was,
sent him together with a sibling
and accompanied by a host of gods
to the ocean that is Kashmir, to the west of the Country of Saints.

18

snying rje'i lang tsho rgyas pa'i zla ba de //
bkra shis rgyu skar 'od zer rtse mo'i tshogs //
khrīd de dam chos mkha' yi lam zhugs kyis //
nya ri (?) tog sde* mun chen bag yod byos //
3 khrīd: B 'khrīd. 4 nya ri: BG nya yi.

**Nya yi tog* is explained in a note in *Gold Nugget*. Literally, ‘fish-tip,’ it means the god of lust. ‘Troops of the god of lust’ here means, according to the same source, spirit (or delusionary) impediments.

This pitiable youth, a waxing moon, brought in his train
 an accumulation of the auspicious ray-tips of the lunar asterisms,
 and through induction into the sky-way of the Dharma
 fled the great darkness of the fish-tipped one's troops.

19

rnga yab g.yo ldan* shing rta'i 'phrul 'khor** gyis //
 chu mthong*** 'gog pa lhur len ri dwags 'dzin //
 'di yi mgon bcas dpal ldan snyan ngag mkhan //
 ku mud tshal 'di kun dga'i ge sar rgod //

1 'phrul: B 'khrul. 2 mthong: B mthongs.

*These are names of two of the eight minor continents in the cosmography,
 Rnga-yab and G.yo-ldan (the latter may also mean the Gtsang-po or Brahma-
 putra River, river in general, woman, deceiver). **'Phrul 'khor, 'contraption.'

****Chu mthong*, slight misspelling for *chu mthongs*, a poetic equivalent for 'sky'.
Ri dwags 'dzin means 'trap game animals.'

A chariot contraption [pulled by] Camara and Utkāṭa
 was blocking the sky, trapping the quarry of his persistence.
 Together with it's lord, the glorious poet,
 this kumuda* pond revealed its stamens of delight.

*The *kumud[a]* is the night lotus. It opens its petals in the evening just when
 the 'normal' lotuses are closing theirs.

20

zla ba rang gi rjes 'brangs skar tshogs dang // [3r]
 'grogs pa rdzogs pa'i dus kyi 'phags pa'i yul //
 nye ba ma hā saṃ gha'i grong khyer du //
 snying stobs bzhon pa kho nas drangs par gyur //
 1 'brangs: B 'brang. 3 ma hā saṃ gha'i: B ma hā pi gha'i.

The moon accompanied by its own followers, the constellations,
 neared the country of saints in its age of perfection,
 and was brought to the town of the Mahāsaṅgha
 through nothing if not the steed of courage.

21

der ni nyal 'gro'i* rgyun chen po //
 indra nī la'i gos bzang can //
 gser ldan ma yi lto ba ni //
 ril gyi 'khyud bar byed pa ste //

4 gyi: BG gyis.

**Nyal 'gro*, 'reclining-motion' may, according to *Knowing One Disentangles All*,
 mean water in general, or more specifically falling water (although this latter
 would seem not to fit well with the literal meaning).

There we find the great reclining-motion stream
 dressed in the finest lapis lazuli silk
 which entirely envelops
 the abdomen of the Golden One.

22

de la rkang pas 'thung ba yis //
 ska rags snying la 'jigs ster ba //
 yod de de bsrung gnod sbyin mo //
 sdig can sog le'i* sems 'chang ba //
 de yi dmod pa'i dug mda' yis //
 'dun na 'don** de rnam par lhung //

1 yis: B yi. 3 bsrung: B srung. 5 de yi: B de yis. dmod pa'i: B dmad pa'i. mda'
 yis: G mda' yi. 6 'dun: B mdun.
 **Sdig can*, 'sinful,' may be an epithet for the early winter. *Sog le* means 'saw'
 [for cutting]. ***Dun na 'don* is slight misspelling for *mdun na 'don*, in Tibetan
 dictionaries said to mean 'minister' (*blon po*), although it is used as a trans-
 lation of Skt. *purohita*, which means 'chaplain, priest.'

There there were [tight] girdles of foot-drinkers (trees)
 that grant fear to the heart
 and, protecting them, a *yakṣiṇī*,
 her heart sinful and saw-like.
 With the poison arrow of her curse
 [our] royal priest was brought down.

23

snying stobs chu yi rdul tshogs kyis //
 gang ba'i gser gyi chu 'dzin yang //
 mi 'dod bye ma'i 'thor rlung gis //
 skad cig rnam par 'khrugs pa thog //
 3 bye ma'i: B bye ba'i. 4. thog: BG thob.

Even a golden cloud filled with
 hosts of water droplets of courage
 collapses when an unwanted sandstorm
 comes suddenly to disturb it.

24

nyi ma dang ni dga' ba'i mig //
 lhan cig zum tshe ltas 'di mthong //
 dpal mo gser gyi go cha can //
 phyogs kun bsrung ba'i yi ge'i phreng //
 gser gyi khu bas 'dri byed pa //
 de yis mgon 'di dbugs phyung ngo //
 4 ge'i: G ge. 5 'dri: B 'bri. 6 de yis: G de yi. 'di: B de.

When the sun and the eye of delight
 closed together, you witnessed this sight:
 The glorious goddess with golden armor,
 a garland of letters to protect all of space
 written in liquid gold —
 by this the lord was relieved.*

*Or, 'Thereby the lord's breath was restored.'

25

kwa yi spyod bzang 'o ma'i mtsho //
 srid rtse'i bar du lud khyod kyi //
 mngag* gzhug gdung byed tshang tshing** ni //
 kho mos da lta thal bar bya //

1. kwa yi: BG ka ye. 2 lud: G lung. 3 bzhug: G gzhug.

Mngag*, meaning 'to seek, to order, commission, send.' According to *Gold Nugget*, *mngag gzhug* means 'messenger' or 'servant.' *Tshang tshing*, 'thick-
 ness, denseness' (like a forest).

"My goodness, the milk ocean of your good actions
 could flood [the world] right up to the peak of existence.
 Your orders I myself will now carry out
 and take you through the beating sun, the impenetrable [forests].

Veil of Kashmir

39

sa 'dir dgra bo nor phyir srog 'dor ba //
mthar byed rta babs ka ba'i dpung ba can //
brgya phrag gnod pa 'byung ngo phyag gis ni //
lcags kyus grogs 'di khrid de myur bar song //
2 babs: B bab. 3 gis: B gi. 4 myur bar: B myur du.

26

In this land are enemies ready to give up their lives for wealth,
executioners with shoulders (troops) that are gateway pillars.
Hundreds have been brought to harm. With your hands
take along the company of this hook* and go quickly."

*One may perhaps only imagine that the 'hook' alludes to the side-path, taken
to avoid ambush, in the Khyitangpa biography.

27

zhes smras pa dang lhan cig nyid kyis ni //
zum pa'i 'dren byed 'dab brgyas nyi 'od thob //
rmi lam ltas de'i rjes zhugs 'dzin ma yi //
lto la gom pa bzhi bcu bkod pa na //
lung bstan ba der sleb ba'i dpung gi tshogs //
mig gi 'od zer cig car mun pas khyab //
1 zhes: B ces. nyid: BG gnyid. 3 de'i: B de. rjes: G rje'i. 4 na: B ni. 5 ba: B sa; G
pa. sleb ba'i: B slebs pa'i.

Even as she said this, simultaneously
your closed conveyors (eyes), lotuses drinking sunlight,
followed after the indications of the dream.
When you had taken forty steps on the stomach of the holder (earth),
the hosts of troops pointed out in [her] prophecy arrived
and all at once the light rays of their eyes covered over with darkness.

28

gang yang grang dang tsha ba dang //
bkres dang skom pa mi sems shing* //
rgyal ba'i chos tshul ma lus kun //
'tshol la zhugs pa'i sems dpa' 'dis //
sher phyin kho na 'tshol byed pa'i //
rtag tu ngu yi grags pa phrogs //
4 'tshol: B tshol.
*I believe there may be echoes here of the following phrase in Tsongkhapa's
kāvya biography of Sadāprarudita: "gang yang lus dang srog la mi lta ba'i brtson
'grus kyi stobs."

Giving no mind whatsoever to what came up,
to the cold and heat, the hunger and thirst,
this hero who set out to find
every last way of teaching of the Victor
robbed of his fame Sadāprarudita
who sought only the Perfection of Insight [Sūtra].

29

rid kyang dga' spro'i gzi brjid can //
zla tshes 'dra de rjes 'brangs bcas //
gshegs tshe rkang 'thung dra ba'i gseb //
khyed pos mngon par sprul pa yi //
nu ma mngon dga' smin legs* zung //
yid bsrubs** gsal ba bzhin du snang //
de dag snying ni dang ba dang //

phrag pa zas kyi khur gyis non //

1 brjid: B byin. 2 'brangs: B 'brang. 3 gseb: G seb. 4 khyed pos: BG byed pos. 6
bsrubs: B srub. 7 dang ba: B dad pa.

Smin legs* may be taken to mean *smin ma legs*, 'fine [pair of] eyebrows,' but the Yisun Chang dictionary says it just means 'beautiful face.' *Yid bsrungs*, or rather *yid srubs*, 'mind churning' equivalent to '*dod lha* (Kāma), the third Hor month, and desire. I believe there are very strong echoes here from words in Tsongkhapa's poetic biography of 'Bri-gung Grags-pa-byang-chub: "*smin legs gzugs la yid srubs bzhin*."

Even in your emaciation resplendent with joy,
like the crescent moon, together with your followers
you went, and in the tight latticework of foot-drinkers (trees)
a pair of beautiful faced [women] appeared, their nipples thrilled,
as if to rid you of a churning mind (lust).
They were pure of heart,
their shoulders heavy laden with food.

30

dwang ba'i mig chus sdig pa yi //
dri ma 'khrud cing zas kyi tshogs //
ro brgya ldan pas nyer mchod de //
bde chen grong gshegs don grub bzhin //
srog dor na yang dam pa la //
phan btags drin lan mi 'dor ste //
de yi mgo skeyes lcang lo'i shas // [3v]
dge legs slad du mngon par bzhes //

1 dwang ba'i : B dang ba'i. 4 bde chen: B sde chen. 5 dor: B 'dor. 6 ste: B te. 7
de yi: B de dag.

They served you stacks of food of hundred tastes,
while the purity of their tears were
washing away the impurities of sin.
As you fulfilled your purpose in traveling to the city of bliss,
even had you given your life you would not leave
without repaying this kindness, so you took with you
some locks that grew on their heads in order to make merit [for them].

31

sbrang rtsis myos pa'i bung ba de //
mkha' lding 'pham byed 'dab ma'i gar //
nyin phyed bskyod pas kha che'i yul //
gnyis skeyes grong khyer mdun sar phyin //

1 de: B des. 2 'pham: B pham. 4 mdun sar: B bdun par.

Those bees drunk on honey
outdid the sky-hoverer* in the dancing of their wings
and in a half day's travel came into the presence**
of the twice-born city in the land of Kashmir.

*Probably here intended as an epithet specific to the *garuḍa*. **Crowd[s] or council[s] are also possible translations of *mdun sa*, or '*dun sa*, the same word spelled two ways.

32

der ni de dag grong pa'i skad //
zur chag la sogs thos bsam gyis //
khongs su chud de ku mud ta //

zla ba mthong ba nyid kyis rgod //
2 bsam: B tsam. 3 khongs su: BG khong du. ku mud ta: B ku mu da.

The dialects of the townspeople there,
Apabhramṣā, etc., by simply hearing and reflecting,
you memorized them just as the *kumud* lotus
laughs (opens) at its very first sighting of the moon.

33

de las rgyang grags song ba'i nags //
'jigs rung lce spyang phem sgra sgrog //
bung ba g.yo ba'i mun gtibs pas //
so ldan 'gram pa gnag gyur pas //
2 lce: B ce. phem: B phai. sgrog: B sgrogs. 3 gtibs pas: G gtibs pa. 4 gyur pas: B
gyur pa; G rgyur pas.

In a forest, a *kroṣa*'s distance from that town,
fearsome jackals yapping "Phem!"
darkened by swarms of swarming bees,
tuskers with temples blackened [with rut],*

*Both the swarms of bees and the blackened temples of the elephant are meta-
phoric for the darkness of the forest, but of course they also belong together,
since in Sanskrit literature the bees always swarm around the rutting ele-
phant's ichor.

34

der ni stag gi chung mas ma yi dngos //
gsar du thob ste bkres pas rnam par 'khrugs //
de mthong chu bur lta bu'i lus 'di ni //
'jig pa ring ba min snyam skad cig bsam //
4 'jig: G 'jigs. bsam: B bsams.

it was there the tiger's wife, finding fresh food,
was suffering excruciating hunger pangs.
He no sooner saw this than thought,
'This bubble-like body's destruction draws nigh.'

35

skabs der mig sman mdog can gcer ngu zhig //
mkha' la gar byed nyi ma 'bum dag spro //
zla ba tshes pa ltar dkar mi rkang gi //
gling bu'i sgra chen mkha' yi pha mthar sgrogs //
1 ngu: BG bu. 4 sgrogs: G sgrog.

It was then that a naked man the color of kohl ('eye medicine')
came dancing in space emitting the light of a lakh of suns.
and roared out the sound of a human thigh-bone flute,
white as the crescent moon, audible on the far side of the sky.

36

de ni grub pa mchog brnyes pa //
ratna siddhi zhes bya ste //
sgra de gdong lnga'i gad rgyangs su //
'khrul ldan stag mo nags mthar bros //
1 de: B der. 2 ratna siddhi: B ratna sirlhi.

This was a man who had attained
the supreme siddhi, Ratnasiddhi by name.

At the sound, mistaking it for the roar of the five-faced (lion),
the tiger fled to the furthest reaches of the forest.

37

ka la ba ti zhes bya'i grong //
khu byug gi rgyas skyed tshal du //
bsod nams pir gyis ri mo yis //
zhabs mthil gzugs brnyan 'dri zhing gshegs //
1 ti: G ri. 2 gi: G gis. 3 gyis: B gyi.

You set out for the town called Kalabati,*
an aviary for raising cuckoo birds,
painting pictures with the designs on your soles,
using the paintbrush of your merit.

*Ka-la-pa-ta, with variant manuscript readings Ka-la-cag-ti, etc., in
Khyitangpa. It seems to be impossible to identify.

38

de nas kasmir rgyal po'i khab //
mig la myos pa ster byed pa //
grong khyer pha mtha' gnam sngon gyi //
pha mtha' rnam par 'khyud pa mthong //
3 gyi: B gyis.

Then you beheld the Kashmir king's fortress
which granted the boon of drunkenness to the eyes,
the furthest reaches of the city
entirely embracing the horizons of the blue sky.

39

skar ma'i tshogs nams nam mkha' la //
rten med gnas par mi nus te //
sa 'dir lhan cig 'khod pa zhes //
bdag nyid chen pos rnam par bsam //
3 'khod: B 'god.

The great personage thought to himself,
'The hosts of stars in space,
with nothing to hold on to, could not stay where they were,
so together they settled down on this earth.'*

*This closely corresponds to a passage found in only one of the manuscripts of
Khyitangpa. See the footnote discussion in Snellgrove & Skorupski 1980: II 88-
9.

40

grib brtan yon tan me tog tshogs //
'thu zhing chu klung bu mo rnams //
phyogs kyi bu mo'i rna lung la //
rna rgyan 'god phyir rings par rgyu //

Picking the flowery clumps of Dribten's* qualities
the riverside maidens wandered afar
in order to place the ear ornaments
in the earrings of the space maidens.

*Dribten (Grib-brtan) means 'stable shadow,' because of a legendary cave in
which the Buddha cast a permanent shadow, which was then regarded as an
important place of pilgrimage. Generally it is identified as being in the neigh-

borhood of Srinagar. Among its most famous visitors were the Chinese travelers Faxian and Xuanzang.

41

thog mar nu zho 'thung ba'i tshogs //
 'dus te mgon de bsus byas nas //
 ka ye ltos shig ser mdog can //

sma ra* med 'di ya mtshan zhes //

2 de: B 'di. bsus: B bsu. 3 shig: G zhid. ser: B gser.

*Tib. *sma ra* may be a 'hidden' borrowing from Skt. *śmaśru*, 'beard, moustache' (Lithuanian *smakrà*).

At first troops of breast-milk drinkers
 swarmed around to welcome the lord,
 "Wow, look at this yellow man
 with no moustache, how weird!"

42

pheg rdog* thal mo'i sgra 'byin zhing //
 ga zha byed cing gos dag 'thor //
 'chi med mdun sas gang gi ni //
 nor bsrung sder mo mchod 'os pa //

1 rdog: B rdog. 4 bsrung: B srung.

*For *pheg rdog*, read *pheb rdog*, a musical instrument of the cymbal type, somewhat larger than the *ting shags* (finger cymbals).

They were making cymbal sounds with their palms,
 they were giggling and whirling their clothes.
 When it's in the councils of the deathless [gods]
 the claw of the property-protector (dog) is worth venerating.

43

bzhi mdo chen por ston pa bzhin //
 'byung po dgongs pas bsod snyoms mdzad //
 der ni gnyis skyes mngon shes lnga //
 'dzin 'dras phyag 'tshal 'dab brgya yis //
 gang ba'i dngul gyi slob phor ni //
 phul te ma 'ongs lung brtan byas //

5 slob: BG spos. 6 brtan: BG bstan.

As they pointed the way to the crossroads,
 they thought you might be an elemental spirit. There you begged alms
 and a twice-born [brahmin] who seemed to have the five super-
 knowledges
 prostrated and offered you a silver incense burner
 filled with hundred-petalled [flowers],*
 and spoke prophetically of the future.

**Dab brgya* is a poetic term much favored in this work, which causes the translator pause, since it has many possible meanings. It could refer to the water-lily, Skt. *nalina* or *śatapatra* (with a multitude of meanings!). Only one of the manuscripts of Khyitangpa seems to identify this *brahmin* as Śraddhākara-varman, but I think this is a misleading insertion. See verse 46 below.

44

ka lingka yi grong dbus na //
 gtsug lag khang chen bi ha ra //
 'jig rten kun la rnam grags par //
 brgya phrag cha yi* lnga rig gis // [4r]
 mdun bdar** gu ṅa mi tra gang //

sgra tshad rig pa gang zhig gis //
 phyogs su lung gyur de bsten nas //
 gang blo chu shel khong par ni //
 ma lus mtshon 'phos dbyangs can bzhin //

1 ka ling ka yi: B ka li ka yi. 4 cha: B lnga. 9 mtshon: B tshon.

*According to *Gold Nugget* (and note the different reading), this refers to five hundred Mahāyāna teachers (for which the area was famous). **In Yisun Chang dictionary [wrongly] spelled *bdun bdar*. It means the soldiers who go out in front, the frontline. The corresponding Skt. is probably *puraskṛta* (or *puraskāra*).

In the middle of the town[s] of Kalinga,*
 in a *vihara* known in all the world,
 a great center of learning,
 was one Guṇamitra,** at the forefront
 in knowledge of five groups of one hundred.
 He fell down at his side and studied with him
 all the sciences of grammar and logic.
 Like Sarasvatī he transferred every single color [of knowledge]
 in the interior of his water-crystal mind. ***

*The geography, again, is impossible since Kalinga was a country south of Orissa, and we are still in Kashmir until verse 48. But the original biography has several readings, in its various manuscript versions, for this city name. **He may or may not be Guṇamitra the disciple of Buddhaśrīrjñāna in the tradition of Prajñāpāramitā that descended from Haribhadra. ***I would like to thank Penpa Dorjee of Sarnath for his help with this verse, particularly the two last lines. *chu shel*, or 'water crystal' is Skt. *candrakānta*. This translucent gemstone, when struck by moonlight, starts to liquify. The close association of Sarasvatī with whiteness in general and the moon in particular goes some distance toward explaining the metaphorical usage here.

45

de dang mkhan po dharma ta //
 shī la dge 'dun bcas pa las //
 gsol bzhi'i cho ga* rnam dag gis //
 bsnyen rdzogs dgra bcom mngon sum nyid //
 bidha ra grong tshogs mchod kyis //
 brnyes byas mal 'byor grub mchog la //
 de nas yid bzhin bsam 'phel zhes //
 bya ba'i rkang mgyogs dngos grub** brnyes //

1 dharma ta: B dharmā ta. 2 shī la: B shri la. 5 bidha ra: BG bindha ra. 6 brnyes: B mnyes. la: B las.

*According to *Gold Nugget*, this is a specific part of the ordination rite for *bhikṣus* (and of other rites as well). *gsol bzhi* is short for *gsol ba dang bzhi*, which corresponds to Skt. *jñāpticatortha[karma]*. *Mvy.* no. 8992. This is the part of the ritual that includes the formal announcement of *bhikṣu* status, and so might be considered the most important moment. In Pāli, *ñatticatutthakamma*. ***Gold Nugget* explains that this is one of the 'ordinary' *siddhis*, traditionally eight in number. A ritually empowered substance is rubbed on the feet, making it possible to encircle Jambu Island entirely in one instant.

Together with him the ordinator Dharmatā-
 śīla* with his community of monks, performed
 the Rite of Announcement and the Four, conferring
 full ordination. Then with your own eyes you saw
 an Arhat in the city of Vidhara,

a yogi with the supreme *siddhi* granted in a group ceremony.
From him you obtained the *siddhi* of Fast Feet
known as 'Wish-Granting Mind Multiplier.'

*At this point, Khyitangpa mentions only the Kashmiri Dharmaśānta, with no mention of an ordination ceremony. The only Dharmatāśīla I know about is the paṇḍita translator active in Imperial Tibet, although he cannot be the one intended for clear and simple chronological reasons.

46

grong khyer ta ma la sinta //
shrāddha ka ras mdzes der gshegs //
dbang rab nos shing rgyud kun thos //
man ngag thob cing grub pa brnyes //
3 nos: B mnos.

Then he went to the city Tamalasinta,
beautified by the presence of Śraddhākara,*
received the high initiations, learned all the tantras,
obtained the precepts, attained *siddhi*.

*Khyitangpa: Ṭa-ka-ka-ra-bar-ma. Śraddhākara varman is a relatively well-known name since he translated many texts together with the Great Translator, and several of his rather short compositions are preserved in the Tanjur.

47

gang yang rung yul gshegs brtson tshe //
lhag pa'i lha yi lung bstan pa //
'jig rten rin chen mtha' dag gis //
rang nyid gcig pu brgyan 'dod 'di //
gdeng can dbang po nā ro pa'i //
rin chen mchog 'di 'dor ba mtshar //
1 tshe: B che. 5 gdeng: B gdengs.

While striving to travel in this and that region
your extraordinary divine form (*yidam*) prophesied,
"Peculiar this desire to ornament yourself alone
with every precious substance in the world,
while throwing away the supreme jewel
of Nāropa, lord of cobras."

48

ces pa'i tshig mda'i 'jam pa'i dbyangs //
dbyangs can rgyud mang lta bu thos //
gur kum dog pas rkang pa yi //
'degs 'jog 'gog pa lhur len pa //
phu la ha ri grub pa'i grong //
yid mgyogs rdzu 'phrul mchog gi gshegs //
1 ces pa'i: B zhes pa. 2 mang: B mangs. 3 dog pas: B dog pos. 5 phu la ha ri: B
phu la ha ri. 6 yid mgyogs: B yi 'grogs. gi: BG gis.

This soft melody (Mañjuḥoṣa) of arrow-like words* he heard
as if it were made by Sarasvatī's *vinā*.
He persisted in the raising, placing and stopping
of his feet spotted with saffron,
and flew with supreme miraculous speed of thought
to the *siddha* town of Phullahari.**

**'Arrow-like words' (or 'one with words like arrows') may refer to the gods in general, since their words, like arrows, always hit their targets. **Phullahari is

Nāropa's hermitage, in a forest probably north of Nālandā in present-day Bihar. See Niyogi (1976: 287) for a discussion on its location.

49

bde chen lang tsho stong nyid kyi //
 dga' mar 'khyud mkhas kun tu bzang //
 tshems phreng ge sar khyod kyi gdong //
 zla ba gsar ba shar pas rgod //
 4 gsar ba: B sar ba.

The boys of bliss are skilled in embracing
 their girlfriends of emptiness. Good in every way,
 your strings of teeth, anthers of your face,
 are revealed upon the rising of the new moon.

50

nyi zla'i rlung bzhon phrogs nas ni //
 gang gis bzhon nas dbu ma'i lam* //
 zhugs te zung 'jug gzhal yas khang //
 skad cig gis bgrod 'dus pa'i lam //
 2 bzhon: B zhon.

**Gold Nugget* unfortunately explains *dbu ma'i lam* as if it were referring to the Mādhyamika philosophical view, when in fact the context here, being yogic, surely refers to the Central Channel of the subtle body. Successful yoga practitioners, whether Buddhist or Nath, dissolve the solar and lunar currents into the Central Channel.

Sun and moon robbed of their wind-steeds,
 what have they to ride on but the Central Channel?
 And what they enter is the palace of union,
 a combination path traversed in an instant.

51

sa gsum rin chen gcig pu des //
 khyod kyi ral ba rnam par mdzes //
 yul dbus 'dzin mar zhabs mthil gyis //
 rtsibs stong 'khor lo'i ri mo bkod //
 3 gyis: B gyi.

This jewel* unique in all the three worlds
 beautified the locks of your hair, and
 in Magadha the soles of your feet
 left thousand-spoked wheel designs in the soil.

*The 'jewel' here means the unique jewel offered by Nāropa, and this ends the account of his trip to Phullahari to meet Nāropa (notice Snellgrove & Skorupski's footnote). Recall that Nāropa was, in verse 47, called 'lord of cobras,' and in India, but not only in India, cobras are believed to bear jewels on their heads (or the markings on their heads resemble jewels...). For a general discussion of folklore associating stones with snakes, see Jeffreys (1942).

52

gang dag dgag sgrub khri' 'dug na //
 'jam dpal dpa' bo dngangs byed pa //
 mkhas mchog gu ṅa mi tra sogs //
 paṅ chen bcu phrag bdun dang lnga'i //
 rigs tshul nor bu'i do shal gyis //
 khyod nyid mgrin pa rnam par bkra //
 3 mchog: B chen. 5 rigs: B rig.

When you sat on the throne for establishing and refuting,*
 even heroic Mañjuśrī would have been left breathless.
 The jewelled necklaces of methods of reasoning
 of the seventy-five Great Paṇḍitas,
 including the supreme scholar Guṇamitra,
 came to beautify your own neck.

*I.e., when he engaged in oral debates.

53

gang yang mdo sngags gzhung bzang brgya //
 bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab //
 rgyal ba kun gyi ma mdzad pa'i //
 ston pa'i bya ba mtha' dag mdzad //

A hundred fine texts of sūtras and tantras
 you translated, corrected and edited.
 You performed all the deeds of a teacher
 such as had not been performed by all the Victors (Buddhas).

54

bya ba byas te zhag drug gis //
 'phags pa'i yul nas rang yul byon //
 ti se gtsug tor 'chang ba yi //
 pu hrang zhes bya gangs kyi yul //
 3 ti se: B ti se'i. 4 pu hrang: B pu hrangs.

These deeds done,* in six days you made it
 from Saint Country to your native land,
 to the land of snows called Purang**
 which bears Kailash as its crown.

*These deceptively simple words, "deeds done," echo an expression in the opening sections of the Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras (and in some other sūtras as well). One who has 'done the deeds' is a Tathāgata. Or alternatively, as *Gold Nugget* explains it, it means one has completed all the deeds associated with the 'three learnings.' **The name of Pu-hrang, like many other place names in Western Tibet, is in pure Zhang-zhung language. The *pu* means 'head,' while the *hrang* means 'horse.' Hence it corresponds to Tibetan **Rta-mgo*, and means the 'head' [of the river that comes from the mouth of the] 'horse.' In Tibetan sources sometimes it is the Brahmaputra River that comes from the mouth of the horse, although there is confusion on this point. Ti-se is also very likely a name of Zhang-zhung origin, which I would like to interpret to mean 'Water Peak.'

Sigla

The main line of text is always based on Zhang-zhung-pa n.d., for which see the bibliography. Variants are supplied from:

B: Text in *Gold Nugget*, vol. 1, pp. 507-519. This version has occasional explanatory footnotes.

- G: Zhang chung ba Phyogs las rnam par rgyal ba chos kyi dbang phyug grags pa'i dpal, *Gangs can gyi skad gnyis smra ba thams cad kyi gtsug gi rgyan lo chen thams cad mkhyen pa rin chen bzang po'i rnam thar snyan dngags punḍa rī ka'i phreng ba*, contained in: Gu ge Khri thang pa Dznyā na shrī, *Byang chub sems dpa' lo tsā ba rin chen bzang po'i 'khrungs rabs dka' spyad sgron ma rnam thar shel phreng lu gu rgyud*, Organizing Committee for the Commemoration of 1000 Years of Tholing Temple (Dharamsala 1996), pp. 37-57.

Unavailable to me is the six-folio woodblock print kept in the Tucci collection (De Rossi Filibeck 2003: 330, no. 653) which, according to the catalog entry, was printed at 'Brog Ri-bo-che Dga'-ldan-gling (actually this is the place of composition, identical to Ganden Monastery). It would seem not to be entirely identical to Zhang-zhung-pa n.d., since it is described as bearing the marginal key-letter MUM (instead of the key-letter KA and the marginal title *Rnam thar*).

Appendix
A preliminary listing of works by Zhangzhungpa

1. **Miscellaneous Works*, including his *Garland of Waves*, written in praise of 'Lord Great Personage' [Tsongkhapa] (*Rje bdag nyid chen po la bstod tshig rba rlabs kyi 'phreng ba sogs gsung thor bu le'u tshan*).
2. **Verse Biography of Great Translator Rinchen Zangpo* (*Blo [sic] chen rin chen bzang po'i rnam thar tshigs bcad ma*). The full title of this work, the main subject of this paper, has just been given.
3. **Cluster of New Moons*, a 'Mixed' [i.e., mixed prose and verse] *Kāvya* (*Spel ma'i snyan ngag zla ba gsar ba'i phon po*).⁴²
4. *Treatise on Glorious Kālacakra* (*Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i rnam bzhaḡ*).⁴³
5. *Rite for Laying out the Lines of the Cloth-Painted [Maṇḍala]* (*Ras bris kyi thig tshon gyi cho ga*).
6. *Treatise that Grinds [to Dust] All Bad Statements* (*Smra ngan thams cad rnam par 'thag pa'i bstan bcos*).⁴⁴
7. *Dedication Passage of the Explanatory Commentary on the 'Thad Idan* (*'Thad ldan gyi 'grel bshad kyi mchod brjod*).⁴⁵
8. *Method for Interpreting the Abhisamayālamkāra according to the Ultimate View, the Prasaṅgika* (*Mngon rtogs rgyan gyi mthar thug gi lta ba thal 'gyur du 'grel tshul*).⁴⁶
9. *A Thousand Doses of Word Clarification* (*Tshig gsal stong mthun*).⁴⁷

⁴² This may be the Avadāna of Prince Moonlight (*Rgyal bu zla ba'i rtogs brjod*), attributed to Zhangzhungpa in MHTL, no. 11047. This is surely the same as the poetical work entitled *Rgyal sras zla ba'i rtogs brjod snyan ngag* (I believe this may be a retelling of Jātakamāla story no. 31, on Prince Candra), in 22 folios, that is listed as being in the possession of the Khri-byang Bla-brang in Bylakuppe, in Karnataka.

⁴³ I am not certain whether this should be identified with the "Ṭik-chen" commentaries, which are available, or some as yet unavailable work.

⁴⁴ A work in 47 folios, its complete title is supplied in Tōhoku catalogue [Tōh.], no. 5462: *Phyin ci log gi gtam gyi sbyor ba la zhugs pa'i smra ba ngan pa rnam par 'thag pa'i bstan bcos gnam lcags 'khor lo*. From the title it is quite obviously polemical in nature, and it seems it ought to be considered a work of Mkhas-grub-rje (as such it is available in the latter's collected works), although Zhangzhungpa might have served (as he did in other cases) as note-taker, transcriber or secretary in its composition. Another possibility is that Zhangzhungpa wrote a further work, one with a similar title, defending the polemic by his teacher Mkhas-grub-rje.

⁴⁵ This work is apparently related to (perhaps a preface to) a commentary on the *Pramānaviniścaya* of Dharmakīrti. Its fuller title is listed in *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature* (MHTL), no. 11864: *Zhang zhung chos dbang grags ba'i rnam nges 'thad ldan gyi 'grel bshad*.

⁴⁶ Copies exist in the Oriental Institute, St. Petersburg (nos. B7568/12, B7638/5, B7836/2). It was composed at Nags-shod Rnam-rgyal-dpal-'bar Monastery in a *sgrol byed* (*bhānutāra*) year, which corresponds to the Wood Monkey year (1464 CE).

⁴⁷ Two different woodblock printings of this work exist in the Oriental Institute, St. Petersburg (nos. B7638/4, B8532/1, B4964/1). It is a lengthy work of 260 (or 272)

10. Commentary on the Praise of Interdependent Origination (*Rten 'brel bstod pa'i 'grel ba*).⁴⁸
11. Guidance on the [Philosophic] View (*Lta khrid*).⁴⁹
12. Method of Purifying the Mind on the Stages on the Path to Enlightenment (*Byang chub lam gyi rim par blo sbyong tshul*).
13. *The Story of King Rāma (*Rgyal po rā mā na'i gtam rgyud*).⁵⁰
14. *Brief Works including the Bhairava Prayer (*'Jigs byed smon lam shis brjod sogs le'u tshan*).⁵¹

One work not listed here by title, although it probably would be included as part of text 1 above, is his *Praise to Milarepa*, which has been published.⁵² We may hope that a complete set of his collected works will be published before long. Meanwhile this information just given may be supplemented by consulting the website of the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (www.tbrc.org; Person RID P4341), which when last I looked listed 27 titles by Zhangzhungpa.

folios. For the complete title of this work, which is based on his notes to the lectures of his teacher Mkhas-grub-rje, *Dbu ma rtsa ba'i 'grel pa tshig gsal gyi mtha' bzhi'i skye ba 'gog pa'i stong thun*, and a discussion of the meaning of the words correctly spelled *stong thun* ['Thousand Doses' or 'Thousand Sessions'], see Cabezón (1992: 403-404) and Thubten Jinpa (2002: 189. n. 12). A shorter related work by Zhangzhungpa, in 25 folios, is also in the Oriental Institute (no. B4950/5).

⁴⁸ See MHTL, no. 11281.

⁴⁹ The full title is *Chos rje thams cad mkhyen pa dge legs dpal bzang pos gsungs pa'i lta khrid zhang zhung pas zin bris su btab pa*, which tells us that it is a kind of memo of oral presentations by his teacher Mkhas-grub-rje.

⁵⁰ Kapstein (2003: 782-6) discusses this text and supplies several verses in English translation. Some parts of it are included in Chapter Two of Matthew Kapstein's "A Reader of Classical Tibetan," which may be located at the THDL (Tibetan and Himalayan Digital Library) website.

⁵¹ A 4-folio work, with the title *Dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi smon lam dang shis brjod*, is preserved in the Oriental Institute, St. Petersburg (nos. B7681/6, B7806/16).

⁵² A copy of this work, with added annotations explaining unusual expressions, is found in *Gold Nugget* (1988: I 467-472), while there is an original block-print located in the Oriental Institute at St. Petersburg (no. B7254/1). Its full title is *Bcom ldan 'das rje btsun bzhad pa'i rdo rje la bstod pa'i tshigs su bcad pa ka la ping ka'i sgra dbyangs* (also listed in MHTL, no. 11050). It was written at Nags-shod Chos-gling at the behest of Drung Rin-chen-mchog-sbyin-pa, a so-far unidentified official. A different work, on the *sādhana* of Vajrabhairava, which includes prayers written by Zhangzhungpa, is located in the Oriental Institute (no. B8079/12). The 13th Dalai Lama composed a commentary on this just-mentioned work (for which see Oriental Institute, no. B9229/1), testifying to its popularity, while the colophon to this work states that it was very commonly recited. Still another work, entitled *Gsang ba'i 'khor lo'i tikka*, is listed in MHTL, no. 11988. There is yet another short prayer listed in MHTL, no. 15931.

Bibliography

Bod kyi bstan bcos

- 1985 *Bod kyi bstan bcos khag cig gi mtshan byang dri med shel dkar phreng ba* ['Stainless White Crystal Rosary: A Listing of Some Tibetan Treatises'], Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang (Xining).

Bsod-nams-rtse-mo (1142-1182)

- 1968 *Chos la 'jug pa'i sgo* ['Gateway for Entering into Dharma'], contained in [his collected works as contained in]: *Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum*, The Toyo Bunko (Tokyo 1968), vol. 2, pp. 318.3.1-345.3 (the history of Tibet begins at p. 343.1.2). Composed in 1167.

Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub (1290-1364)

- 1968 *Rnal 'byor rgyud kyi rgya mtshor 'jug pa'i gru gzings* ['Ship for Entering the Ocean of Yoga Tantras'] (= *Rnal 'byor rgyud kyi chos 'byung*), contained in: *The Collected Works of Bu-ston*, Lokesh Chandra (New Delhi 1968), vol. 11 (DA), pp. 1-184. Composed in 1341.

Cabezón, Ignacio José

- 1992 *A Dose of Emptiness: An Annotated Translation of the sTong thun chen mo of mKhas grub dGe legs dpal bzang*, State University of New York Press (Stony Brook).

Collected Biographical Material

- 1977 *Collected Biographical Material About Lo-chen Rin-chen bzan-po and His Subsequent Reembodiments*, "a reproduction of a collection of manuscripts from the library of Dkyil Monastery in Spiti," Rdo-rje-tshe-brtan (?). This important publication is not currently available to me.

Dar-han Mkhan-sprul Blo-bzang-'phrin-las-rnam-rgyal (mid-19th century)

- 1992 *'Jam mgon chos kyi rgyal po tsong kha pa chen po'i rnam thar* ['Biography of the Mañjuśrī Lord Dharma King Tsongkhapa the Great'], Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang (Xining).

David-Neel, Alexandra

- 1971 *Magic and Mystery in Tibet*, Dover Publications (New York), reprint of 1932 edition; the original French edition appeared in 1929.

De Rossi Filibeck, Elena

- 2003 *Catalogue of the Tucci Tibetan Fund in the Library of IsIAO, Volume 2*, Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente (Rome).

Don-rdor & Bstan-'dzin-chos-grags

- 1993 *Gangs ljongs lo rgyus thog gi grags can mi sna* ['Select Famous Persons in the History of the Snow Land'], Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang (Lhasa).

Drepung Catalog

- Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang*, 'Bras spungs dgon du bzhugs su gsol ba'i dpe rnying dkar chag, Mi rigs dpe

- skrun khang (Beijing 2004), in 2 volumes, pagination continuous.
- Eimer, Helmut
1974-5 Die Gar Log-Episode bei Padma dkar po und ihre Quellen, *Orientalia Suecana*, vols. 23-24 (1974-75), pp. 182-99.
- Gangnegi, Hira Paul
1998 A Critical Note on the Biographies of Lo chen Rin chen bZang po, *Tibet Journal*, vol. 23, no. 1 (Spring), pp. 38-48.
- Gold Nugget
Gangs ljongs mkhas dbang rim byon gyi rtsom yig gser gyi sbram bu ['Gold Nugget: Compositions, Chronologically Arranged, of the Master Scholars of the Snow Land'], edited by Blo-bzang-chos-grags & Bsod-nams-rtse-mo, Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang (Xining 1988), in 3 volumes (pagination continuous). This is the only truly extensive anthology that exists of (primarily) *kāvya*-style pieces composed by Tibetans.
- 'Gos Lo-tsa-ba Gzhon-nu-dpal (1392-1481)
1976 George N. Roerich & Gendun Chömpel, trs., *The Blue Annals*, Motilal Banarsidass (Delhi 1976). Composed in 1476-1478.
- Guenther, Herbert
1989 *A Visionary Journey: The Story of the Wildwood Delights and the Story of the Mount Potala Delights* [by Longchen Rabjampa; Klong-chen Rab-'byams-pa], Shambhala (Boston).
- Hoffmann, Helmut
1961 *The Religions of Tibet*, tr. by Edward Fitzgerald, George Allen (London). Original German version published in 1956.
- Ingalls, Daniel H.H.
2000 *Sanskrit Poetry from Vidyākara's Treasury*, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press (Cambridge).
- Jeffreys, M.D.W.
1942 Snake Stones, *African Affairs*, vol. 51 (October 1942), pp. 250-253.
- Karmay, Samten G.
1998 The Ordinance of lHa Bla-ma Ye-shes-'od, contained in: Samten G. Karmay, *The Arrow and the Spindle: Studies in History, Myths, Rituals and Beliefs in Tibet*, Mandala Book Point (Kathmandu), pp. 3-16. This is a reprint of an article first published in 1980.
- Kapstein, Matthew T.
2003 The Indian Literary Identity in Tibet, contained in: Sheldon Pollock, ed., *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*, University of California Press (Berkeley 2003), pp. 747-802.
- Kaschewsky, Rudolf
1971 *Das Leben des lamaistischen Heiligen Tsongkhapa Blo-bzañ-grags-pa (1357-1419), dargestellt und erläutert anhand seiner Vita "Quellort allen Glückes,"* Asiatische Forschungen series no. 32, Otto Harrassowitz (Wiesbaden), in 2 volumes.

- Khoroche, Peter
1989 *Once the Buddha Was a Monkey: Ārya Śūra's Jātakamālā*, University of Chicago Press (Chicago).
- Kilty, Gavin
2001 *The Splendor of an Autumn Moon: The Devotional Verse of Tsongkhapa*, Wisdom Publications (Boston).
- Knowing One Disentangles All*
Rnam-rgyal-tshe-ring, *Bod yig mngon brjod gcig shes kun grol*, Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang (Lanzhou 1991).
- Ko-zhul Grags-pa-'byung-gnas & Rgyal-ba Blo-bzang-mkhas-grub
1992 *Gangs can mkhas grub rim byon ming mdzod* ['Dictionary of the Generations of Scholars and Accomplished Ones of the Glacier Land'], Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang (Lanzhou).
- Literary Arts in Ladakh*
The Literary Arts in Ladakh, "a reproduction of a collection of Bhotia manuscripts on poetics, prosody, Sanskrit grammar, lexicography, etc., from the library of the former ruling family," Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang (Darjeeling 1972), in five volumes.
- Lo-dgon-pa Bsod-nams-lha'i-dbang-po (1423-1496)
1977 *Bka' gdams rin po che'i chos 'byung rnam thar nyin mor byed pa'i 'od stong* ['A Thousand Lights Making Day of the Biographies and Dharma History of the Precious Kadampa School'], contained in: *Two Histories of the Bka'-gdams-pa Tradition from the Library of Burmiok Athing*, Gonpo Tseten (Gangtok), pp. 207-393. Composed in 1484.
- Martin, Dan
2001 *Unearthing Bon Treasures: Life and Contested Legacy of a Tibetan Scripture Revealer, with a General Bibliography of Bon*, Brill (Leiden).
- Meera, S.
1986 Samvāda or Plagiarism as Viewed by Sanskrit Ālaṅkārikas, *Annals of Oriental Research, University of Madras*, vol. 32, pt. 1, pp. 1-12.
- MHTL
Lokesh Chandra, *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature*, Mrs. Sharada Rani (New Delhi 1985).
- Mvy.
Bon-zo-kan-wa yon'yaku taiko Mahabuyutttopatti (Mahāvyutpatti), ed. Sakaki Ryozauro, Tokyo, 1965, reprint of 1916 edition.
- Negi, Roshan Lal
1996 *Gu ge khyi thang pa dznyān shrīs mdzad pa'i lo tstsha ba rin chen bzang po'i rnam thar shel 'phreng lu gu rgyud (Guge Khyithan Nivāsī Jñānaśrī Viracita Locāvā Ratnabhadra kī Jīvanī Sphaṭika Ratnamālā)*, Karuna Foundation (Delhi). Tibetan text with Hindi translation, and a list of the translations done by Rinchen Zangpo.

- Niyogi, Pushpa
1976 Some Buddhist Monasteries in Ancient Bihar, *Journal of Indian History*, vol. 54 (1976), pp. 273-98.
- Oriental Institute, St. Petersburg collection CD, distributed by Asian Classics Input Project, and also made available on their website.
- Paul, Diana Y.
1984 *Women in Buddhism: Images of the Feminine in the Mahāyāna Tradition*, University of California Press (Berkeley).
- Rig-pa'i-ral-gri
n.d. *Thub pa'i bstan pa rgyan gyi me tog* ['Ornamental Flower for the Sage's Teaching']. A 31-folio manuscript found in the library of the Palace of National Minorities, Beijing, although by now it may have been repatriated to Tibet. Composed in 1261.
- Rigzin, Tsepak
1984 Rinchen Zangpo: The Great Tibetan Translator (958-1055 AD), *Tibet Journal*, vol. 9, no. 3 (Autumn), pp. 28-37.
- Roesler, Ulrike
2002 Not a Mere Imitation: Indian Narratives in a Tibetan Context. Contained in: Alfredo Cadonna & Ester Bianchi, eds., *Facts of Tibetan Religious Tradition*, Leo S. Olschki Editore (Firenze), pp. 153-77.
2002a The Great Indian Epics in the Version of Dmar ston Chos kyi rgyal po. Contained in: Henk Blezer & Abel Zadoks, eds., *Religion and Secular Culture in Tibet: Tibetan Studies II*, Brill (Leiden), pp. 431-50.
- Sakya Pandita (Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan)
2000 *Ordinary Wisdom: Sakya Pandita's Treasury of Good Advice*, tr. by John T. Davenport, with Sallie D. Davenport and Losang Thonden, Wisdom Publications (Sommerville).
- Sakyapa Sonam Gyaltzen (Sa-skya-pa Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan)
1996 *The Clear Mirror: A Traditional Account of Tibet's Golden Age*, Snow Lion (Ithaca). Translated by McComas Taylor and Lama Choedak Yuthok. Originally composed in Tibetan in the 14th century.
- Sde-srid Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho (1653-1705)
1960 *Bai dūrya ser po* (= *Dpal mnyam med ri bo dga' ldan pa'i bstan pa zhwa ser cod pan 'chang ba'i ring lugs chos thams cad kyi rtsa ba gsal bar byed pa bai dūrya ser po'i me long*) ['Yellow Beryl Mirror: Clarifying the Roots of All the Dharma Traditions of the Bearers of Yellow Hats, the Teachings of the Glorious and Incomparable Mountain Gandenpas'], Lokesh Chandra, Śatapiṭaka series no. 12 [1 and 2] (New Delhi). Composed in 1698.
- Smith, E. Gene
2001 *Among Tibetan Texts: History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau*, ed. by Kurtis R. Schaeffer, Wisdom Publications (Boston).

- Snellgrove, David L.
 1987 *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism: Indian Buddhists and Their Tibetan Successors*, Shambhala Press (Boston). In 2 volumes (pagination continuous).
- Snellgrove, David L. & Tadeusz Skorupski
 1980 *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh*, Aris & Phillips (London), in 2 volumes.
- Thupten Jinpa (Thub-bstan-sbyin-pa)
 2002 *Self, Reality and Reason in Tibetan Philosophy: Tsongkhapa's Quest for the Middle Way*, Routledge Curzon (London).
- Thurman, Robert A.F.
 1990 *Life and Teachings of Tsong Khapa*, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives (Dharamsala).
- Tôhoku catalogue
 Tôh. nos. 1-4569: Hakuju Ui, *et al.*, *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, Tôhoku University (Tokyo 1934).
 Tôh. nos. 5001-7083: Yensho Kanakura, *et al.*, *Catalogue of the Tôhoku University Collection of Tibetan Works on Buddhism*, Tôhoku University (Sendai 1953).
- Tshe-tan Zhabs-drung 'Jigs-med-rigs-pa'i-blo-gros (1910-1985)
 2000 *Mkhas dbang tshe tan zhabs drung mchog gis byang chub sems dpa' rtag tu ngu'i rtogs brjod dpe khrid sgrar phab pa che long tsam yi ger bkod pa nyin mo'i snang ba* ['The Light of Day: A Somewhat Rough Composition on the Vocabulary and Similes of the Avadāna of Sadāprarudita, the Bodhisattva, by the Master Scholar Tshe-tan Zhabs-drung'], contained in: *Byang chub sems dpa' rtag ngu'i rtogs brjod snyan dngags dpag bsam gyi ljon pa dang de'i 'grel bshad nyin mo'i snang ba* ['Paradise Creeper Kāvya: The Avadāna of Sadāprarudita the Bodhisattva and Its Commentary, The Light of Day'], Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang (Xining), pp. 53-293.
- Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang-grags-pa (1357-1419)
 2000 *Byang chub sems dpa' rtag ngu'i rtogs brjod snyan dngags dpag bsam gyi ljon pa*, contained in: *Byang chub sems dpa' rtag ngu'i rtogs brjod snyan dngags dpag bsam gyi ljon pa dang de'i 'grel bshad nyin mo'i snang ba*, Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang (Xining), pp. 1-52.
- Tucci, Giuseppe
 1957 *The Fifth Dalai-Lama as a Sanskrit Scholar*, *Sino-Indian Studies*, vol. 5 [Kshitis Roy, ed., *Liebenthal Festschrift*], nos. 3-4, pp. 235-240.
 1988 *Rin-chen-bzan-po and the Renaissance of Buddhism in Tibet around the Millen[n]ium (Indo-Tibetica II)*, tr. by Nancy Kipp Smith, Aditya Prakashan (New Delhi). The original Italian-language publication was dated 1932.
 1999 *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, SDI Publications (Bangkok). Reprint of the 1949 edition.

Vitali, Roberto

- 1996 *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang: According to mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs by Gu.ge mkhan.chen Ngag.dbang grags.pa*, Tho ling dpal dpe med lhun gyis grub pa'i gtsug lag khang lo 1000 'khor ba'i rjes dran mdzad sgo'i go sgrib tshogs chung (Dharamsala).
- 1999 *Records of Tho.ling: A Literary and Visual Reconstruction of the 'Mother' Monastery in Gu.ge, High Asia*, Amnye Machen Institute (McLeod Ganj).

Zhal-shul Ngag-dbang-bstan-pa'i-rgya-mtsho

- 1983 *Rā ma na'i rtogs brjod rgyal po rā ma na'i gtam rgyud las brtsams pa'i snyan ngag gi bstan bcos dri za'i bu mo'i rgyud mang gi sgra dbyangs*, "a Tibetan khandakāvya on the Rāmāyana theme; with its commentary called the *Dri med shel gyi 'bab stegs* by Zhal-shul Ngag-dbang-bstan-pa'i-rgya-mtsho," Pema Wangchen (Gangtok 1983).

Zhang-zhung-pa Chos-dbang-grags-pa (1404-1469)

- n.d. *Gangs can gyi skad gnyis smra ba thams cad kyi gtsug gi rgyan lo chen thams cad mkhyen pa rin chen bzang po'i rnam thar snyan dngags punḍa rī ka'i phreng ba* ['Punḍarīka Garland Kāvya: Of All the Snowland's Bilinguals the Crest Ornament, the Great All-Knowing Translator Rinchen Zangpo's Biography'], a woodblock print in 6 folios (marginal notations: KA, *rnam thar*), photocopy courtesy of Tashi Tsering, Amnye Machen Institute, McLeod Ganj. No printing information is supplied. Guṇamitra is depicted in a woodcut miniature on the left-hand side of folio 1 *verso*, labeled: *'phags yul mkhas pa'i gtsug gi rgyan // paṅ chen gu ṅa mi tra'i zhabs //*. On the right hand side is similarly a miniature of Śraddhākaravarman, holding Vajra and Bell, labeled: *gsum ldan rdo rje 'dzin pa'i gtso // shra dha ka ra warma'i zhabs //*. On folio 2 *recto* is, on the left-hand side, a woodcut of Rinchen Zangpo labeled: *gangs can skad gnyis smra ba'i mchog // sarba dznyā na rin chen bzang //*. On the right-hand side is a woodcut of the author himself labeled: *mkhas dang grub pa'i 'khor lo sgyur // snyan dngags mkhan chen chos dbang grags*.

Zhe-chen Rgyal-tshab Padma-rnam-rgyal (1871-1926)

- 1971 *Snga 'gyur rdo rje theg pa gtso bor gyur pa'i sgrub brgyud shing rta brgyad kyi byung ba brjod pa'i gtam mdor bsdus legs bshad padma dkar po'i rdzing bu* (added English title: *A Concise Historical Account of the Techniques of Esoteric Realization of the Nyingmapa and Other Buddhist Traditions of Tibet*), T.Y. Tashigangpa (Leh, Ladakh). Composed in 1910.



FROM RED TALLY TO YELLOW PAPER

The official introduction of paper in Tibetan administration in 744/745

Helga Uebach
(Munich)

In the Old Tibetan Annals (OTA) one can find a number of terms which still are difficult to understand. In some cases the meaning of the word is not known while in other cases, the literal meaning of a term is evident, however, the details and connotations it once might have suggested are unknown. This is even more so the case with some terms referring to administrative measures reported in OTA, where only the facts are noted whereas the details remain in the dark. In the following I will investigate the terms *khram*, *khram dmar-po*, *khram-skya* and *shog-shog ser-po*.

khram 'tally'

The tally is a simple and ingenious device for concluding contracts. By cutting notches, indentations or incisions into a piece of wood in duplicate and by breaking or by cutting the wooden stick, each party is provided with its matching piece of documentation. The use of the tally was widespread in the administration in our medieval times (German: 'Kerholz', French: 'taille') when great part of the population was illiterate.¹ In Tang dynasty China, too, a variety of tallies is known (Des Rotours 1952) and the tradition of the basic idea of two matching parts of the tally survives to the day, however, in most cases it seems to serve the purpose of identification.

In early Tibetan state organisation and administration the *khram* 'tally', lit. 'notch', 'incision'² or 'indentation' in wood had been widespread, too.³ It served as a fundamental means to effectuate administrative measures, civil and military.

¹ Even when wood was substituted by parchment, the principal idea of the tally survived for some time. The parchment was folded and cut in a way that indentations were produced. In the course of time the use of the tally came to an end and its meaning was forgotten. E.g. in England only the verb "to tally" in the meaning of 'to match' survived; in Germany the reminiscence of the tally is vague and survives in a popular saying "to have a lot [of debts] on the tally", which in general is used [wrongly] for a person supposed to have a criminal record.

² For this meaning see Róna-Tas 1956: 169, n. 37.

³ Apart from the Old Tibetan texts reference of *khram* is also found in the *sBa-bzhed* (R.A. Stein 1961: 41, l. 3-5) with regard to the monastery of bSam-yas: *glo 'bur rnams na bsam yas 'byongs pa'i skor lhag ma 'di na 'di yod kyis rtsis yi ge khram shing sgrom gang de'i srung ma khram khang gi rgyal po / phyi'i chos skyong dpe har la gtad* "The

In OTA I, the version prepared for a civil board (Uray 1975: 165) *khram* is once⁴ attested with reference to the *khav-so*,⁵ lit. the ‘purveyors to the bTsan-po’s household’.⁶ Further more it appears three times⁷ in the compound *thang-khram* / *tang-khram*. From the context, it is hard to decide on the correct translation of the term *thang/tang* which covers the meaning of ‘authority’, ‘rate’, ‘value/s’, ‘valuation’. However, it can be observed that the *thang-khram* had been made on the occasion of changes in the territorial division of Tibet which affected also the offices and officials. In one out of these cases a *thang-khram* explicitly had been established upon the change of officials.

A somewhat more loose combination of *khram* with regard to *thang* is found in an Old Tibetan funeral ritual. Lalou translated *thang* by “valeur” and *khram* by “inventaire”. With regard to the two-pieces system of the tally, it is noteworthy in this attestation that a tally (? or: the two pieces of one tally) had been handed over to each of the two parties.⁸

In Central Asian sites formerly occupied by the Tibetans, Marc Aurel Stein had unearthed Tibetan tallies in great number, differing in size and varying in form, dating from the second half of the eighth century at the earliest.⁹ However, despite the great number of finds of incised and in-

boxes in the niches of the walls filled with tally-sticks and written accounts (? or: with tally-sticks incised with letters) concerning the locations of the remainder of the donations for the completion of bSam-yas are put under the protection of dPe-har, the Lord of the House of Tallies and Dharma-Protector of the Exterior.”

Further the terms *khram*, *khram-kha* or *khram-shing* are transmitted in later ritual texts (Róna-Tas 1956). Its meaning had shifted from the legal administrative level to a figurative religious one.

⁴ I.O. 750, l. 110/year 707-708: *mngan gyi khav soe khram spos* “they changed the tally of the tax-officers under the mNgan [fiscal governor]”.

⁵ In this entry *khram* could possibly refer to *thang-khram*, too.

⁶ I follow Uray 1983: 546 and fn. 3 who interpreted the *khav-so* as “civil servants who levied taxes for the central government”.

⁷ I.O. 750, l. 171/year 721-722: *mngan dang / slungs stod smad gyi thang khram chen po btab* “he established the great tally of authority of the mNgan and the post offices/officials of sTod/West and sMad/East”; l. 200/year 728-729: *mngan chen po bryad las / bzir bcos pa'i tang khram btab* “he established the tally (or: tallies) of authority of the Great mNgans who had been reduced from eight to four” and l. 239/year 742-743: *shud pu khong zung dang / lang khro khong rtsan gnyis / 'byung 'jugi rtsis bgyiste thang khram btab* “after an account/writing concerning the dismissal and appointment of Shud-phu khong-zung and Lang-khro khong-rtsan, the two, had been made, the tally of authority was established”. For the wider context of these measures and the translations compare Uray 1962: 353-360, especially n. 16.

⁸ Cf. Lalou 1953: 357, PT 1042, l. 104-106: *rgyal gyis thang bcad de khram / gnyis bgyis te // gcig ni zha 'bring rje bo thang chen po la gtad // khram gcig ni skyibs lugs la gtad* “the rgyal decided on the authority and made two tallies. One [tally] he handed over to the great authority, the chief-servant, one tally he handed over to the skyibs-sheep.” On the role of the skyibs-sheep as “guide sur le chemin du mort” cf. R.A. Stein 1971: 484.

⁹ For illustrations e.g. Stein 1921: IV, pl. CLXXI. The documents are kept in the British Museum and were first researched by F.W. Thomas in 1927-1933 (s. Thomas TLTD

scribed wooden tallies, the attestation of the term *khram* on the tallies themselves is scarce. There are, however, a few exceptions to be noted in the following.

Takeuchi's observation of inscribed wooden tallies being formed of a *khram-ma* 'mother-tally' and *khram-bu* 'child-tally', with the *khram-bu* cut off on the right bottom corner, is especially interesting (Takeuchi 2003: 49 and pl. 8b). Obviously the tally had developed from an original type with two identical matching pieces into a new type with two pieces of different size with the *khram-bu* serving for both, identification and receipt.

The term *khram-tshan* appears in land registers among the paper finds from Central Asia. Thomas translated it (TLTD 2: 88) as "Khram-account", whereas Takeuchi (1994: 853-854) could show that *khram-tshan* was the designation of "units" [of people]. One could perhaps translate it more precisely as "a unit of people (*tshan*) registered on one tally".

khram dmar-po 'the Red Tally',¹⁰ n. of a conscription

The earliest dated textual attestation of a *khram*, is found in OTA I, where a special tally, the *khram dmar-po* is mentioned altogether six times in the following entries:

- Year 690/691, winter: *rtsang chen pha'i khram dmar po btab pha* "They established the Red Tally¹¹ of the men/males (*pha*) of rTsang-chen" (I.O. 750, l. 55).
- Year 692/693, winter: *khram dmar po btab* / "They established the Red Tally" (I.O. 750, l. 61).
- Year 708/709, summer: *sku srungs gyi khram dmar po brtsis* / "They made an account (or: writing) of the Red Tally of the Guards" (I.O. 750, l. 116).

1951-1955). Tsuguhito Takeuchi presently prepares a complete publication of all the wooden documents – not all being tallies – in total around 2 300 pieces.

¹⁰ The following in part is a revised and enlarged version of my paper "On the Red Tally in the Old Tibetan Annals" presented on the occasion of the 8th IATS Seminar, Bloomington, Indiana 1998.

¹¹ Bacot and Thomas (DTH: 37) translate *khram dmar-po* as "le registre rouge" and refer to *khra-ma* "register, index" in a footnote. There is no doubt that *khram* and *khra ma* are related and *khram* certainly is a short form of *khra ma* (like e.g. *yig* and *yi ge*). So far, this meaning of *khra-ma* is only presented by Csoma de Kóros and it is noteworthy that *khra ma* in this meaning is not found in Old Tibetan texts. However, the word *khra ma* 'judicial settlement' is attested in legal documents dating from the 18th and 19th centuries (cf. Schuh 1981: 114, doc. XIII dated 1773, l. 8: *khra yig* 'letter of judicial settlement'; p. 196, doc. XXVI dated 1830, ll. 2, 22-23: *phra ma* and p. 227, doc. XXX, dated 1861, l. 6: *khra*, l. 20: *khra ma*). It may be noted that *khra ma* occurs also in the spelling *phra ma*. One can frequently observe the spelling *phr* for *chr* (and the reverse) or *gr* for *tr*, but an investigation in order to explain the interchange of these clusters so far has not been made.

- Year 712/713, winter: *ru gsum gyi khram dmar pho brtsis* / “They made an account (or: writing) of the Red Tally of the Three Horns” (I.O. 750, l. 136).
- Year 718/719, summer: *dags poe khram dmar pho btab* / “They established the Red Tally of Dags-po” (I.O. 750, l. 157).
- Year 744/745, winter: *btsan po bkas khram dmar po shog shog ser po la spos* “by the order of the bTsan-po the Red Tally had been changed into yellow paper (I.O. 750, l. 248).

This list shows that the Red Tally was either ‘founded’, ‘established’, ‘fixed’, ‘drawn up’ (*btab*) or ‘counted’, ‘incised’, ‘written’ (*brtsis*) and that it had been changed [from wood] to yellow paper by the order of the bTsan-po [Khri lDe-gtsug-brtsan]. It can be observed that out of six times, the Red Tally was dealt with four times in the winter assembly and twice in the summer assembly. It is important to note that the Red Tally is mentioned with regard to great territorial units like rTsang-chen, the Three Horns (*ru gsum*) which at that time were the territorial units of Tibet proper, further with the former principality of Dags-po and once with the Guards.

Therefore it is unlikely that the Red Tally refers to a simple tally. The usage of the term rather points to an administrative measure of greater dimension. Uray (1963: 206) was the first to elucidate the term in remarking “‘the red notch’ of Dags-po, i.e. a kind of conscription known with reference to territories of the four ‘horns’ only” (transl. HU). In order to provide the complete details, I shall investigate this term more closely in the wider context of OTA I. The entry of the year 743/744 preceding the last attestation of the Red Tally of the year 744/745 allows us to deduce a more specific meaning ‘conscription’. In this particular year we can even observe the sequence of measures that led to the establishment of the Red Tally.

- a) Year 743/744, summer: *pha los gyi byang bu bor* / “he [the Great Councillor] discarded¹² the wooden tablets [of the registration] of the male able-bodied adults”¹³ (I.O. 750, l. 243).
- b) Year 743/744, winter: *skyi rnam su rgod g.yung gyi pha los cen po bkug* / “in rNams in Skyi the male able-bodied adults obliged to military and those obliged to corvée service were convoked for the great registration” (I.O. 750, l. 243-244).
- c) Year 744/745, summer: *yul yul dmag myi khram skya brtsis* / “the ‘Whitish Tally’ of the soldiers of each region¹⁴ was written” (I.O. 750, l. 246).

¹² G. Uray (1972: 27) translates *bor* differently by “were laid down” in the meaning of ‘were prepared’.

¹³ For this interpretation of *pha-los* see Uebach and Zeisler (2008: 315-318).

¹⁴ It is hard to decide whether here *yul* is used in a general way or whether it refers to the defined territorial units, the *yul-sde/yul-tshan* (cf. Takeuchi 1994; Uebach 1997a).

- d) Year 744/745, winter: *skyi sho ma rar ... dmag myi mkhos chen po bgyište* / “In Sho-ma-ra in sKyī they established the great administration (or: institution) of the soldiers” (I.O. 750, l. 247-246).
- e) Year 744/745, winter, immediately following the above entry d): *btsan po bkas khram dmar po shog shog ser po la spos* “by the order of the bTsan-po the Red Tally had been changed to yellow paper” (I.O. 750, l. 248).

Summing up the above data, it becomes evident that in the summer of the year 743/744 the register of the male able-bodied adults formerly made with the help of wooden tablets had been discarded. Therefore in the winter of the same year both, the male able-bodied adults obliged to military service and those obliged to corvée service were convoked for a great registration in order to obtain actual data. On the basis of these data, in the following summer of the year 744/745 the tally of the soldiers only, was written in the “Whitish Tally”. Thereafter, in the assembly of the winter in 744/745 the great administration (or: institution) was established and the bTsan-po decreed that the Red [wooden] Tally should be substituted by [the one written in black and white on] yellow paper.

As to administrative measures preceding the establishment of the Red Tallies in the earlier entries it can be stated:

- Year 690/691: The Red Tally was established for rTsang-chen, a territory conquered only after a rebellion had been quelled in 687/688. The event took place at a site of rTsang-chen.
- Year 692/693: Though in the preceding year administrative measures are recorded, some of which seem to have specifically relevance to military affairs, such as the *zhugs-long dmar-po*¹⁵ — a *hapax legomenon*, the meaning of which has been open to guesswork — it cannot be said with certainty to what unit the Red Tally of this year refers.
- Year 708/709: This is the first reference of the Guards (*sku-srungs*). It shows, that the Red Tally was established also for a specific military unit.
- Year 712/713: This is the first reference of Tibet’s territorial division into Three Horns (*ru gsum*). The establishment of the Red Tally was an overall military reorganisation of Tibet proper, which was preceded by the convocation of many male able-bodied adults for registration (*pha-los mang-pho*).
- Year 718/719: The establishment of the Red Tally of the former principality of Dags-po marks its complete inclusion into the

¹⁵ Uray (1960: 42-43 and fn. 22) by rights takes the term to refer to a conscription, too. Further he refutes Thomas’ translation “fire-tidings [corps]”.

administration of Tibet. It was preceded by the marriage alliance of the imperial princess Khri-mo-stengs and the vassal ruler of Dags-po in 688/689.¹⁶

This review shows that the Red Tally was made for regions conquered or otherwise included into the empire, like gTsang-chen and Dags-po. It was also established for special units within the army, like the Guards (and perhaps the *zhugs-long*). In cases where the Red Tally was established for the whole of Tibet (*ru-gsum* or later *ru-bzhi*) it was preceded by the convocation of the male able-bodied adults for registration necessary among other (cf. fn. 18) to gain actual data.

As to the qualification of the tally by 'red' there are no clues whether it refers to a notch or an incision of a specific form or to a tally-stick showing red paint or whether it was called 'red' only because of the general association of the red colour with blood/army. Interestingly, A.H. Francke (1921: 1463) noted that some wooden tablets are "marked by a broad stroke of red colour, running around the middle. ... On one of these documents the red stroke was apparently painted with blood". These remarks in part are confirmed by Takeuchi (2003: 49), who also noted that some *khram* show a faded red paint.

khram-skya 'the Whitish Tally', n. of a conscription written [in black and white] on paper

The term *khram-skya* is translated by Bacot (DTH: 52) by "registre gris". However, the translation of *skya* as 'grey' is not corroborated by the dictionaries.

According to D. and J. Jackson (1984: 92 and glossary) *skya/skya-bo* is 'light', 'whitish', 'pale'; in combination with colours, e.g. *ljang-skya* 'light green', *sngo-skya* 'light blue' etc. while 'grey' in Tibetan is *thal-kha* lit. 'ash-colour', a combination of white + ink black (*snag*); 'whitish grey' *thal-dkar*, is a combination of white + grey; 'bluish grey' *thal-sngon*, is a combination of whitish grey + light blue (*mthing-skya*).¹⁷

¹⁶ Cf. Uebach 1997b: 61.

¹⁷ An interesting reference of *skya* is also contained in the following remark of dPa'-bo (21b1), first indicated by R.A. Stein 1984: 267, who did not translate *skya*: *yang tha* (Stein emended to *thang*) *shing skya chu ris kyi yi ge* 'bangs phal pa rnams la gnang skad "de plus on dit qu'au peuple ordinaire on donne un insigne (portant) l'image d'un pin et d'un cours d'eau". This quote of dPa'bo seems to be quoted from mKhas-pa lDe'u's text. He enumerates the *shing skya chu ris kyi yi ge* "the ensign of pale wood with a design of water-waves" as the last, i.e. the most inferior of the six minor ensigns (lDeKh256:4). Therefore, the text presented by dPa'-bo does not require an emendation. My interpretation is: "The most inferior (*yang tha*) ensign, [a piece of] pale wood with a design of water-waves is said to have been given to the common subjects." I wonder whether this quote refers to an ensign or whether it describes a tally.

Bettina Zeisler kindly informed me about the following reference of *shing skya* in the Ge-sar epos. In the context of the birth of the 18 heros/relatives of Ge-sar, also the birth of sKya-ba rgod-po, an 'uncle' of Ge-sar (Stein 1959: 56) is described: *shing*

The literal translation of *khram-skyā* therefore should be ‘whitish/light/pale tally’. It is hard to imagine at once to what it might refer. There is, however, another Tibetan term, *skyā-ris*, which provides a clue to the meaning of *skyā* in the present case.

A sketch or an outline for a coloured painting is called *skyā-ris* (TTC; D.+J. Jackson), lit. ‘drawing of whitish’ though it is usually done with charcoal (or later also with pencil) on a whitish underground, either on a substance applied on concrete or fabric or else simply on paper. Thus it corresponds to what we call ‘drawing in black and white’, ‘drawing in ink’ or ‘drawing in charcoal’. The term *skyā-ris* refers to a drawing, but the concept is expressed quite differently from what we are used to. In the Tibetan expression, the whitish, colourless grounding is highlighted while in Western languages the contrast of black and white or the medium is referred to.¹⁸

With regard to the fact that OTA I record the change from Red Tally to yellow paper, the account/writing of the ‘Whitish Tally’ reported in the year of 744/745 therefore may be taken to designate that it was written in black and white on paper.¹⁹ In other words, the Whitish Tally was a tally only in name.

skyā'i mgo 'khur mkhan zhig skye chen / de la skyā ba rgod po btags dgos. Dora and A.H. Francke translated (cf. Walravens and Taube 1992: 353) *shing skyā* as ‘Holzlöffel’ (i.e. wooden ladle). Actually *skyā* may designate a ladle. With regard to the above ensign, one might interpret the sentence differently: “One [child] with a head like pale wood (? or : [showing the ensign of] pale wood) will be borne. To him [you] shall give [the name] sKya-ba rgod-po” (LLV 12, l. 7-8).

¹⁸ This is valid also for the term *skyā chos* ‘Dharma-texts written or printed on whitish paper’. This term is attested in a text by sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho on the different ways of editing Dharma-texts presented by Ch. Cüppers in his paper “Book production in Tibet during the second half of the 17th century” on the occasion of the colloquium “Edition, éditions: l’écrit au Tibet, évolution et devenir”, 29-31 mai 2008, Paris. Compare also the entry in TTC s.v. *skyā chos* where the term is explained by “*shog bu dkar por snag tshas bris pa'am snag tshas spar btab pa'i chos dpe*”, ‘Dharma-text/book written or printed in black ink on white paper’.

¹⁹ The very fragmentary OTA II, a version prepared for a military board (Uray 1975: 165), also records the period of 743-745 in which the change from Red Tally to yellow paper took place. However, this record of the events is far less detailed than the version of OTA I and quite importantly, there is no mention of the Red Tally and its change to yellow paper, at all. Nevertheless, it is in accord with OTA I as to the date and the fact that the registration of the male able-bodied adults had been made. The relevant passages read: Year 743/744, summer: *bod yul gyi pha los gyi mgo mdzad* / “he/they made the beginning of the male able-bodied adults’ registration of Tibet” (Br.M.Or. 8212, l. 1); Year 743/744, winter: *pha los bgyis pa* / “they had made (i.e. finished) the registration of the male able-bodied adults” (Br.M.Or. 8212, l. 2); Year 744/745, winter: *skyi sho ma rar ... ru bzhi mkhos bgyis pa* / “In Sho-ma-ra in sKyi they had established the administration (or: institution) of the Four Horns” (Br.M.Or. 8212, l. 3).

A deviation from OTA I is to be observed in the report for the year 744/745. Instead of *dماغ myi mkhos chen po* “the great administration (or: institution) of the soldiers” we find here *ru bzhi mkhos* “the administration (or: institution) of the Four Horns”. One may argue that in the version serving a military board, it is understood that soldiers are referred to. However, more likely the phrasing is to be explained by the fact, that the administrative organisation of the soldiers is made in thousand-districts of a ‘Horn’. Therefore obviously the administrative measures of

shog-shog ser-po 'yellow paper'

The entry of the year 744/745, it is worth stressing, provides the first dated attestation of the word *shog* 'paper' in Tibetan literature.

This is especially remarkable because according to the Tang Annals, the bTsan-po had asked among other things for paper and ink to be sent already in the year 648 (Pelliot 1961:6). Paper at least had been known for quite some time at the bTsan-po's court, and perhaps had also been used in the correspondence with the Chinese court.

The duplication of the word *shog* in the term *shog-shog* cannot be explained with certainty. It may refer to 'single sheets (or: pieces) of paper', 'a multitude of paper', to 'paper for each' or to the material of paper in general (cf. Uray 1954).

References of paper in later literature with regard to imperial Tibet in general associate paper with yellow colour. Probably by yellow paper the coarse locally made paper known from the Central Asian finds is meant.²⁰ Here it seems futile to discuss the exact colour of the yellow paper introduced in the administration of Tibet in 744/745 since so far not a single specimen has come to light.

The importance of the reference in OTA I lies in the change of material, from wood to paper. Taking into consideration the great number of Tibetan soldiers, a considerable amount of paper was necessary to carry out such a large scale administrative task.

However, there is not only the economic factor. Unless it is assumed that the paper was simply cut with indentations or inscribed with a system of strokes, the change of the Red Tally to yellow paper implies also an advanced literacy of the people involved in establishing the registration and at least basic knowledge of reading/writing among the recipients of the tally.

the years 743-745 should not be seen as being performed only to gain actual population data, but rather in order to take into account the great change of Tibet's organisation from Three Horns into Four Horns, which were first mentioned in 733/734. This change first of all affected the military organisation and led to its great re-organisation as reflected in the wording of OTA II (cf. Uray 1960).

There remains, however, the fact that the term *mkhos* 'administration' or 'institution' apparently implies the establishment of the Red Tally is included. It may therefore be inferred that it also implies — though unrecorded — that a Tally for the soldiers of subdued countries and peoples is made whenever the *mkhos* for the respective country or people is reported. This is the case for Zhang-zhung, the 'A-zha, Sum-ru, mDo-smad, mTong-sod, Khrom and Jang. It is understood that in expanding her empire, an enforcement by soldiers from countries subdued was vital for Tibet (cf. Uebach 2003).

²⁰ J.P. Drège (1987) who had dedicated a number of studies to the research in the quality of paper found in Dunhuang, showed with respect to its colours that there are at least eight different shades of this colour yellow. Therefore in addition to a designation by appearance, he applied the more subtle designation according to the system of A. H. Munsell (1905), which originally had been introduced to describe the colours of the soil.

Finally it must be mentioned with regard to the system of two pieces inherent of the tally that so far it is unknown whether the Red Tally was a tally only in name or whether each soldier of the Tibetan army was provided with one part of the tally perhaps as a token for identification²¹ or whether each unit or subunit received the respective number of tallies for its files.

In concluding it can be said that the fact that paper was officially introduced in Tibet for administrative purposes in the military organisation does not come as a surprise, since her power was built on her military strength. However, it is only about twenty years later that we learn from OTA II and from the Zhol inscription that 'letters' (*yi-ge*), more precisely 'certificates of rank' had been issued.²² Again around twenty years later we are informed by dPa'-bo that the first edict of Khri Sron-lde-btsan was "written in gold on blue paper".²³

Thus the question arises whether the official introduction of paper in Tibetan administration in 744/745 may have paved the way for the rapid spread of Buddhist scripture in the following decades. Or was it perhaps the reverse and an already existing literature, Buddhist and/or secular served as a model in introducing paper in Tibetan administration? At present this question remains but it is hoped that future research will contribute to answer it.

References

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| AF | Asiatische Forschungen, Wiesbaden |
| AOH | Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae |
| Br.M.Or. 8212 | Plts. 592-595, s. Spanien et Imaeda |
| BEFEO | Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient |
| dPa'-bo | s. Lokesh Chandra |
| DTH | s. Bacot, Jacques, F.W. Thomas, Ch. Toussaint |
| IITBS | International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies,
Halle (Saale) |
| I.O.750 | Plts. 581-591, s. Spanien et Imaeda |
| JA | Journal Asiatique, Paris |
| IDeKh | s. mKhas-pa lDe'u |
| Li/Coblin | s. Li, F.K. and Coblin, W.S. |
| LLV | s. Francke, A.H. 1905-1941 |
| MTH | Monumenta Tibetica Historica |
| OTA | Old Tibetan Annals |
| PIATS | Proceedings of the International Association for Tibetan
Studies |
| PT 1042 | s. Lalou 1953 and Imaeda, Takeuchi, etc. 2001 |

²¹ A document of identity is generally imperative for a soldier, but perhaps the Tibetans had invented another device for identification.

²² Br.M.Or. 8212, ll. 59-61, Year 763/764: Cf. Richardson 1985, p. 20, l. 34; Li/Coblin 1987, inscr. II N, l. 37.

²³ dPa'-bo (108b2): *shog bu thing ga la gser gyis bris nas*. See also Tucci 1950: 44, 95.

RAS	Royal Asiatic Society
SOR	Serie Orientale Roma
TLTD	s. Thomas, Frederick William
TTC	s. Zhang Yisun
VOHD	Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland
ZAS	Zentralasiatische Studien, Bonn

*

- Bacot, Jacques, F.W. Thomas, Ch. Toussaint 1940-1946: *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*. Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Etudes LI, Paris.
- Chos-kyi grags-pa 1957: *brDa-dag min-tshig gsal-ba*. Pe-cin.
- Csoma de Kőrös, Alexander 1834: *A Dictionary Tibetan and English*, Calcutta (Baptist Mission Press).
- Cüppers, Christoph 2004: „Ein Glossar zur Terminologie der tibetischen Urkundensprache“ in ZAS 33, pp. 25-98.
- Drège, Jean-Pierre 1981: “Papier de Dunhuang, essais d'analyse morphologique des manuscrits chinois datés” in *T'oung Pao* 67, pp. 305-360. Engl. Version in S. Whitfield 2002, pp. 115-179.
- Drège, Jean-Pierre 1986: “L'analyse fibreuse des papiers et la datation des manuscrits de Dunhuang” in JA 274, pp. 403-415.
- Drège, Jean-Pierre 1987: “Notes sur les couleurs des papiers des manuscrits de Dunhuang” in *Cahiers de l'Extrême-Asie*, Revue de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Section de Kyōto, 3, pp. 147-150 and plates.
- Francke, August Hermann 1905-1941: *gSham yul na bshad pa'i ke sar gyi sgrungs bzhugs so. A Lower Ladakhi version of the Kesar Saga* (Bibliotheca Indica, 168), Calcutta 1905-1909 (Fasc. 1-4), 1941 [Fasc. 5], (Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal).
- Francke, August Hermann 1921: “Notes on Sir Aurel Stein's collection of Tibetan documents from Chinese Turkestan” in M.A. Stein: *Serindia. Detailed report of explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China*. 5 vols. Oxford 1921 (Clarendon Press), vol. III, Appendix G, pp. 1460-1466.
- Imaeda Yoshiro et Tsuguhito Takeuchi 1990: *Choix de documents tibétains conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale complété par quelques manuscrits de l'India Office et du British Museum*, t. III, Corpus syllabique. Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale).
- Imaeda Yoshiro, Tsuguhito Takeuchi, Izumi Hoshi, Yoshimichi Ohara, Iwao Ishikawa 2001: *Choix de documents tibétains conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, t. IV, Corpus syllabique, Tokyo (Institut de Recherches sur les Langues et Cultures d'Asie et d'Afrique (ILCAA), Université des Langues Étrangères de Tokyo).
- Jackson, David and Janice 1984: *Tibetan Thangka Painting*, London (Serindia).
- Jäschke Hermann August 1965 repr.: *A Tibetan-English dictionary with special reference to the prevailing dialects, to which is added an English-*

- Tibetan vocabulary*. London 1881 (Routledge and Kegan Paul).
- Lalou, Marcelle 1953: "Rituel Bon-po des funérailles royales (fonds Pelliot tibétain 1042)" in *JA* 1952, pp. 339-365.
- Li, F.K. and Coblin, W.S. 1987: *A study of the Old Tibetan inscriptions*. Nankang, Taipei, Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Special Publications No. 91.
- Lokesh Chandra 1962: *mKhas-paḥi-dgaḥ-ston of dPaḥ-bo-gtsug-lag, also known as Lho-brag-chos-ḥbyuñ*. Pt. 4 (*ja*). New Delhi (Śatapiṭaka Series 9 (4), International Academy of Indian Culture).
- mKhas-pa lDe'u 1987: *mKhas-pa lde'us mdzad pa'i rgya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa*. Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang.
- Munsell, Albert H. 1905: *A color notation*, Boston.
- Pelliot, Paul 1961: *Histoire ancienne du Tibet*. Œuvres Posthumes de Paul Pelliot V, Paris (Adrien-Maisonneuve).
- Richardson, Hugh 1985: *A corpus of early Tibetan inscriptions*. James A. Forlong Series 29, RAS. Hertford.
- Róna-Tas, Andras 1956: "Tally-stick and divination-dice in the iconography of Lha-mo" in *AOH* 6, 1-3, pp. 163-179.
- des Rotours, Robert 1952: "Les insignes en deux parties (*fou*) sous la dynastie des T'ang (618-907)" in *T'oung Pao* 41, pp. 1-148.
- Sarat Chandra Das 1902: *Tshig gi gter mdzod. mKhan chen bla ma Śes rab rgya mtsho sku žabs kyis bsdus te gsal por bstan pa'o. A Tibetan-English dictionary with Sanskrit synonyms*. Rev. and ed. by G. Sandberg and A.W. Heyde. Calcutta (Bengal Secretariat Book Depot), repr. Alipore 1960 (West Bengal Government Press).
- Schuh, Dieter 1981: Grundlagen tibetischer Siegelkunde. Untersuchungen über tibetische Siegelaufschriften in 'Phags-pa-Schrift. MTH 3. Sankt Augustin (VGH Wissenschaftsverlag).
- Spanien, Ariane et Imaeda, Yoshiro 1978-1979: *Choix de documents tibétains conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Complété par quelques manuscrits de l'India Office et du British Museum, t. 1-2. Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale).
- Stein, Marc Aurel 1921: *Serindia. Detailed report of explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China*. 5 vols. Oxford 1921 (Clarendon Press).
- Stein, Rolf Alfred 1959: *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet*. Bibliothèque de L'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises XIII, Paris (Presses Universitaires de France).
- Stein, Rolf Alfred 1961: *Une chronique ancienne de bSam-yas: sBa-bžed*. Publications de L'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises. Textes et Documents I, Paris.
- Stein, Rolf Alfred 1971: "Du récit au rituel dans les manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang" in *Études tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*. Paris (Adrien Maisonneuve).
- Stein, Rolf Alfred 1983: "Tibetica Antiqua* I. Les deux vocabulaires des traductions indo-tibétaine et sino-tibétaine dans les manuscrits de Touen-houang" in *BEFEO* 71, Paris, pp. 119-236.
- Stein, Rolf Alfred 1984: "Tibetica Antiqua 2. L'usage de métaphores pour des distinctions honorifiques à l'époque des rois Tibétains" in


- BEFEO* 73, Paris, pp. 257-272.
- Takeuchi, Tsuguhito 1994: "Tshan : Subordinate administrative units of the thousand-districts in the Tibetan empire" in *PIATS* 6, pp. 848-862. The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, Oslo.
- Takeuchi, Tsuguhito 1995: *Old Tibetan contracts from Central Asia*. Tokyo (Daizo Shuppan).
- Takeuchi, Tsuguhito 2003: "Military Administration and Military Duties in Tibetan-ruled Central Asia (8th-9th century)" in *Tibet and her neighbours. A history*. Ed. Alex McKay, London (Edition Hansjörg Mayer), pp. 43-54.
- Takeuchi, Tsuguhito 2004: "The Tibetan military system and its activities from Khotan to Lop-nor" in *The Silk Road. Trade, Travel, War and Faith*. Ed. S. Whitfield, London (The British Museum).
- Thomas, Frederick William 1951-1955: *Tibetan literary texts and documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*, Part II Hertford 1951 (RAS), Part III Hertford 1955 (OUP, RAS).
- Tucci, Giuseppe 1950: *The tombs of the Tibetan kings*. SOR I, Roma (Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente).
- Tucci, Giuseppe 1956: *Preliminary report on two scientific expeditions in Nepal*. SOR X, 1. Roma (Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente).
- Uebach, Helga 1997a: "Small units in the territorial division of the Tibetan empire (7th-9th century)" in *PIATS* 7, vol. II, pp. 997-1003. Gen. Ed. E. Steinkellner, eds. H. Krasser, M.T. Much, E. Steinkellner, H. Tauscher. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften 256. Bd., Wien.
- Uebach, Helga 1997b: "Eminent Ladies of the Tibetan Empire according to Old Tibetan Texts" in *Les habitants du Toit du monde, hommage à Alexander W. Macdonald. Études recueillies par les soins de Samten Karmay et Philippe Sagant*, Nanterre (Société d'ethnologie. Recherches sur la Haute Asie 12), pp. 53-74.
- Uebach, Helga 2003: "On the Tibetan expansion from seventh to mid-eighth centuries and the administration (*khö*) of the countries subdued" in *Tibet and her neighbours. A history*. Ed. Alex McKay, London (Edition Hansjörg Mayer), pp. 21-27.
- Uebach, Helga and Zeisler, Bettina 2008: "*rJe-blas, pha-los* and Other Compounds with Suffix -s in Old Tibetan Texts" in *Chomolangma, Demawend und Kasbek*, Festschrift für Roland Bielmeier zu seinem 65. Geburtstag. 2 vols. Ed. Brigitte Huber, Marianne Volkart and Paul Widmer, Halle (Saale), (IITBS), pp. 309-334.
- Uray, Géza 1954: "Duplication, Geminatio and Triplication in Tibetan" in *AOH* IV, pp. 177-241.
- Uray, Géza 1960: "The four horns of Tibet according to the royal annals" in *AOH* X, 1, pp. 31-57.
- Uray, Géza 1962: "The offices of the *Brun-pas* and great *Mñans* and the territorial division of Central Tibet in the early 8th century" in *AOH* XV, 1-3, pp. 353-360.
- Uray, Géza 1963: "Die Lehnfürstentümer des tibetischen Reiches im VII.

- IX. Jahrhundert“ in B.G. Gafurov et al. Eds. *Trudy Dvadcat' p'jatogo Meždunarodnogo kongressa vostokovedov* (Moskva, Izdatel'stvo vostočnoi literatury), V, pp. 206-210.
- Uray, Géza 1972: “The narrative of legislation and organisation of the mKhas-pa'i dga'-ston” in *AOH XXVI*, 1, pp. 11-68.
- Uray, Géza 1975: “L'annalistique et la pratique bureaucratique au Tibet ancien” in *JA* 1975, pp. 157-170.
- Uray, Géza 1983: “Notes on the thousand-districts of the Tibetan empire in the first half of the ninth century” in *AOH XXXVI*, 1-3, 1982, pp. 545-548.
- Walravens, Hartmut and Manfred Taube 1992: *August Hermann Francke und die Westhimalaya-Mission der Herrnhuter Brüdergemeinde*. (VOHD, Suppl. 34), Stuttgart (Franz Steiner Verlag).
- Whitfield, Susan, Ed. 2002: *Dunhuang Manuscript Forgeries*. London (The British Library), The British Library Studies in Conservation Science 3.
- Zhang Yisun 1985: *Bod-rgya tshig-mdzod chen-mo*. 3 vols. Pe-cin (Mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khañ).



A PROPOS DE L'USAGE DES TERMES "NYIN" ET "SRIB"
DANS LE *MDO SMAD CHOS 'BYUNG*

Anne Chayet
CNRS, UMR8155

armi les textes anciens qui se sont attachés à la description du pays tibétain, le *mDo smad chos 'byung*¹ présente d'exceptionnelles qualités de précision et d'exactitude, en même temps qu'un sens de l'organisation géographique² probablement unique dans la littérature tibétaine.

Les textes tibétains classiques d'historiographie, *chos 'byung* et biographies notamment, qui mentionnent des toponymes, donnent rarement les précisions nécessaires à leur localisation sur une carte. Si le lecteur ne sait pas déjà où est situé le village ou la montagne dont il est question, il doit bien souvent se contenter d'une indication cardinale assez vague par rapport à un point mieux connu³, parfois de la mention d'une région ou d'une vallée, souvent décevante dans la mesure où elle n'est pas plus clairement identifiée. Il arrive que l'indication d'une distance, au moins approximative, accompagne celle d'une direction. L'ensemble, même en croisant les sources, reste en général largement insuffisant, en tout cas pour localiser les toponymes dont l'usage s'est perdu⁴.

Au nombre des éléments qui permettent d'apprécier la recherche systématique de précision dont l'ouvrage de Brag dgon pa fait montre, figure en bonne place la constance relative de termes descriptifs ou locatifs, qui s'appliquent notamment à la source des fleuves, à la division de leur cours, à leurs confluent, aussi bien qu'à une certaine hiérarchie des vallées, et à la position des lieux mentionnés par rapport à la pente des vallées ou des montagnes.

¹ Par Brag dgon pa dKon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas (1800-1866). L'ouvrage est également appelé *A mdo chos 'byung*, et *Deb ther rgya mtsho* ; titre complet : *Yul mDo smad kyi ljongs su thub bstan rin po che ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar brjod pa Deb ther rgya mtsho*, désormais *ACB*, références donnée par rapport à l'édition *mDo smad chos 'byung*, Lanzhou, Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1982.

² J'en ai déjà traité, pour un autre point ("A propos de notations géographiques dans l'*A mdo chos 'byung*", *Tibet, Past and Present, Tibetan Studies I*, Leiden, Brill, 2002, 247-262), et ne prétends pas révéler aux spécialistes de la civilisation tibétaine les mérites de ce texte, qui sont bien connus.

³ Une indication cardinale est suffisante pour une région bien connue (par exemple, Wylie, 1962, 10 et 63 : " *sPu rang nas shar smad kyi phyogs su mi ring bar Klo bo sman thang zer ba'i yul yod pa...*": "Not far in a direction down eastward from Spu-rangs is the region called Klo-bo sman-thang"), elle ne l'est pas pour une région moins connue ou des toponymes passés d'usage.

⁴ Depuis une dizaine d'années, des études ponctuelles, des ouvrages plus généraux et des guides bien faits ont permis la localisation de nombreux sites et déterminé une connaissance affinée de la géographie de l'aire tibétaine. Les points d'incertitude demeurent néanmoins très nombreux.

En effet, la localisation de sites importants ou de simples lieux-dits est précisée assez régulièrement⁵ dans le *mDo smad chos 'byung* par l'utilisation des termes *nyin* et/ou *srib / sribs*⁶, qui désignent le versant ensoleillé et le versant à l'ombre d'une montagne ou d'une vallée⁷, soit l'adret et l'ubac du français, mais n'impliquent pas d'orientation de façon absolue et ne sont pas une indication cardinale (même s'il arrive qu'ils correspondent sur le lieu décrit à une position cardinale). Certains dictionnaires⁸ (et à leur suite des auteurs occidentaux) ont eu tendance à traduire ou à expliquer le terme par la position cardinale du lieu et non par son ensoleillement. Il est vrai que l'usage de ces termes dans les textes n'est pas toujours dépourvu d'ambiguïté.

L'équivalence presque automatique faite entre nord et ombre, sud et soleil, vient peut-être, pour les dictionnaires récents du moins, de

⁵ Le *mDo smad chos 'byung* n'est bien évidemment pas le seul texte qui fasse usage des termes *nyin* et *srib / sribs* pour des localisations, ou du moins des positionnements, le *Deb ther sngon po* (Chengdu, Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1984, I, 606/8) note ainsi que Chu gsol 'Od zer bzang po fonda le monastère de Chu gsol sur le côté à l'ombre de lDan smad, "Chu gsol 'Od zer bzang pos lDan smad sribs su Chu gsol dgon btab /", et les exemples pourraient être multipliés.

⁶ Mon intérêt pour ces termes est venu d'abord du fait que notre regretté collègue Yonten Gyatso les utilisait volontiers pour préciser la position d'un lieu, lorsque nous étions engagés, lui, Samten Karmay et moi-même, dans la préparation d'une carte historique de l'A mdo. Ce travail, interrompu par la disparition prématurée de Yonten Gyatso, n'a pu être achevé à ce jour, mais il n'est pas abandonné.

⁷ Le dictionnaire *Bod rGya tshig mdzod chen mo*, 1985, indique : "*nyin srib / nyin sribs* : "gdags srib bam nyin ri dang grib ri", avec pour équivalents chinois : "yan shan he yin shan, shan nan shan bei. Shan de xiang ri mian he bei ri mian", ce dont la traduction anglaise du volume (*Bod dbyin tshig mdzod chen mo*, Beijing-London, Mi rigs dpe skrun khang / SOAS, 2001), qui n'a pas conservé les équivalents chinois, retient : "bright and dark or sun and shade" ; *srib* est expliqué par "mun rub dang mun 'thibs, (c.) hei'an, yin bi mian : mun srib", avec l'expression "ri'i nyin srib", dont les équivalents chinois proposés, "shannan et shanbei, shanyang et shanyin " concernent bien les versants sud et nord de la montagne, exposés ou non à la lumière du soleil, adret et ubac. *Yang* et *yin* peuvent également désigner le côté ensoleillé d'une vallée et son côté abrité du soleil. Le dictionnaire *Dag yig gsar bsgrigs* (Xining, mTsho sngon dpe skrun khang, 1979), ne donne pas d'indications en ce qui concerne *nyin* (sinon en mentionnant *nyin ri*, qui suggère cependant le problème), mais définit nettement *srib*, en expliquant, en premier lieu : "ri bo sogs kyi byang ngos sam nyi 'od mi 'char ba'i gnas ming ste"... , le côté nord des montagnes, ou les endroits que la lumière du soleil n'atteint pas. La précision *nyin* ou *srib* est parfois également donnée pour la rive d'un lac. Les dictionnaires occidentaux traditionnels (Jäschke, Das...) ont retenu la notion de "sunny side of mountains" (*nyin*, écrit *nyib* pour Jäschke), et "shady side, north side of a mountain" (*srib*), sans l'emphase sur le *yang / yin* étendue à l'opposition *nan / bei* des équivalents chinois. Notons que *Ganqing Zangchuan fojiao si yuan*, Xining, Qinghai renmin chubanshe, 1990, (Pu Wencheng, éd.) qui a largement utilisé le *mDo smad chos 'byung*, décrit notamment (132) le Muhong si / dMag dpon sgom grwa (Qinghai, Xunhua, au sud du village de Xuhong) comme placé sur l'adret (*yang shan*) d'une colline.

⁸ C'est le cas du *Dag yig gsar bsgrigs*, comme indiqué à la note précédente, qui indique l'orientation au nord avant de faire référence à l'ensoleillement, ou de Das, qui fait le contraire. Cependant, le *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo* (Beijing, Krung go'i Bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2002, explique *sribs (srib)* comme "*nyi 'od mi phog pa'i ngos kyi lung pa*", ce qui n'implique aucune orientation.

l'imprégnation quotidienne de notions techniques qui n'entraient pas ou peu dans la réflexion ancienne, et d'une tendance commode à la codification et à la simplification. Bien souvent, dans la littérature tibétaine, l'orientation cardinale, quand elle est mentionnée, est plus indicative que précise. Les Tibétains eux-mêmes étaient et sont conscients de cette imprécision, à laquelle des usages plus techniques, et en partie occidentaux, leur permettent de remédier. Dans le *Bod rGya tshig mdzod chen mo*, les équivalences données en chinois au terme *nyin srib*, "*yang shan* et *yin shan*" (versant au soleil et versant à l'ombre, adret et ubac, peut-on dire), puis "*shan nan shan bei*", où l'orientation cardinale est indiquée (*nan* /sud *bei* / nord), sont complétées par un commentaire "*shan de xiang ri mian he bei ri mian*", où apparaissent les termes *xiang* et *bei*, qui confirment en quelque sorte le fait que la notion n'est pas cardinale, ou ne l'est qu'en résultante. Le terme *xiang bei*, évoque le contraste⁹, *xiang* signifie notamment "faire face" et *bei* "tourner le dos"¹⁰, ce qui s'applique fort bien aux versants d'une montagne, l'un exposé à la lumière solaire, lui faisant face, l'autre protégé de cette lumière, lui tournant le dos. En bonne logique, la face de la montagne exposée au soleil n'est pas seulement son côté sud (dans notre hémisphère), mais aussi ses versants est et ouest, mais il est certain que c'est ce côté qui y est le plus longtemps exposé. Le terme chinois suggère aussi l'avert et le revers, la partie antérieure et la partie postérieure, la période antérieure et la période postérieure (cette dernière notion n'apparaissant pas dans le terme tibétain). La face sud, la façade sud, est en Chine la façade noble, la façade principale, le palais impérial ouvre au sud. Cela paraît beaucoup moins évident au Tibet : les temples anciens ouvraient à l'est ou à l'ouest, et ce n'est que relativement tardivement que la préférence fut donnée au sud. On peut donc estimer que les termes *nyin* et *srib*, qui définissent une position par rapport au soleil, sont sans rapport absolu avec l'orientation, mais ont pu subir quelque influence de l'interprétation chinoise et, plus récemment des habitudes occidentales.

Mais *yang* et *yin*, comme équivalents de *nyin* et *srib*, peuvent également désigner le côté ensoleillé d'une vallée (soit au nord de la rivière qui y coule) et son côté à l'abri du soleil (soit au sud de la rivière qui y coule). La notion, qui a été utilisée par le *mDo smad chos 'byung*, paraît plus difficile à saisir et à visualiser, et a sans doute été cause de quelques confusions. Il n'en reste pas moins, qu'induisant un double rapport

⁹ Ryckmans, *Shitao. Les Propos sur la peinture du moine Citrouille-amère*, (Bruxelles, 1970), Paris, 1984, 70-72, en a étudié très finement les divers aspects, en particulier dans la peinture et la calligraphie.

¹⁰ J'ai comparé cette expression au couple tibétain *rgyab ri / mdun ri* : "Remarques sur les représentations d'architectures dans la peinture tibétaine et chinoise", *AOH*, XLIII (2-3), 1989, 210-212, dans un contexte un peu différent, puisqu'il s'agissait d'un objet placé entre deux montagnes et non des deux versants d'une même montagne, mais en fait cet objet faisait face au revers d'une montagne et tournait le dos à l'avert d'une autre.

entre les éléments constitutifs du paysage - la rivière et les montagnes formant les pentes de la vallée¹¹ - elle paraît justifier pleinement l'emploi des termes *xiang* et *bei* dans le commentaire chinois, dans le concept d'inter-relation des formes que ceux-ci sous-entendent, et même si ce concept a quelque peine à traduire toujours exactement la réalité topographique¹². Le *mDo smad chos 'byung* a largement utilisé les termes *nyin* et *srib* pour situer certains sites dans une vallée. Et, puisqu'il a donné dans sa description un rôle primordial au fleuve, le rMa chu, et à ses divers affluents, leur bassin et leurs vallées¹³, il n'est pas surprenant qu'il ait volontiers employé le concept de vallée, c'est-à-dire une localisation par rapport au fleuve et à ses rives. Cela n'est pas toujours aisé à comprendre, car la notion de vallée paraît souvent étendue à celle de bassin, voire à une région.

Le *mDo smad chos 'byung* situe le monastère bDe chen gsung rab gling¹⁴ (dans la région de Chas pa) du côté ensoleillé (*nyin ngos*) du haut (*stod*) Klu chu¹⁵. Il divise en effet souvent le cours des rivières ou leur bassin en *stod* et *smad*, et précise parfois la rive, *rgyud*, avec une indication cardinale. Le haut cours du Klu chu est sa partie en amont et à l'ouest de Minxian, point où il tourne résolument vers le nord, après avoir eu depuis sa source un cours approximativement ouest-est. La région de Chas pa est en général située au nord de Co ne, c'est-à-dire sur la rive gauche du fleuve, qui est, à cet endroit, sa rive nord. Le Chos rdzong dpal mchog sde ou dPal tsang zi de la région de Menju est lui aussi situé par rapport au Klu chu (région de Minxian)¹⁶, sur sa rive ensoleillée. Dans la même région, la localisation du monastère Khya dge Legs bshad gling¹⁷, du côté ensoleillé de la boucle du Klu chu¹⁸, est soulignée par une référence au nord qui vise la direction du fleuve, mais aussi le monastère, plus au nord que son point d'inflexion. En outre la distance entre le monastère et le fleuve, que nous connaissons par ailleurs mais qui n'est pas précisée ici, montre que la localisation par rapport à un fleuve telle que la pratique le *mDo smad chos 'byung*, pour appréciable qu'elle soit, demeure relative. Il n'est pas pour autant précisé qu'un monastère ainsi situé par rapport à un fleuve, c'est à dire

¹¹ Ce rapport n'est pas éloigné du rapport *rgyab ri / mdun ri*, signalé ci-dessus.

¹² Le *mDo smad chos 'byung* utilise d'ailleurs souvent des indications cardinales plutôt que la précision *nyin* ou *srib*, parfois du reste pour souligner celle-ci. ACB, 23/6, situe ainsi sKu 'bum : "Tsong la lho byang gnyis byas pa'i byang dang Tsong chu lho rgyud du rje rGyal ba gnyis pa Shar Tsong kha pa chen po sku bltams pa'i gnas sKu 'bum Byams pa gling...."

¹³ Cf. à ce sujet mon article : "A propos de notations géographiques dans l'*A mdo chos 'byung*", *Tibet, Past and Present, Tibetan Studies I*, Leiden, Brill, 2002, 247-262.

¹⁴ Région de Chas pa, dans l'actuel Gansu.

¹⁵ ACB, 642/6, "yang Klu chu'i nyin ngos kyi stod du dGon li dpon slob Blo bzang mkhas mchog pa'i gdan sa bDe chen gsung rab gling /..."

¹⁶ ACB, 684/26, "'di'i thad Klu chu'i nyin ngos su Chos rdzong dpal mchog sde'am dPal zang zi yod la /..."

¹⁷ Au village de Khya dge (c. Qiagai), à 25 km au nord de Co ne.

¹⁸ ACB, 25/17, "Klu chu byang du 'khyogs pa'i nyin ngos su Khya dge Legs bshad gling /".

sur sa rive au soleil, est également établi sur une pente exposée au soleil, bien que ce soit le plus souvent le cas.

La question se complique, tant pour l'emploi des termes *nyin* et *srib*, que pour ceux de *stod* et *smad* et *byang* et *lho* qui leur sont souvent associés¹⁹, mais sans équivalence, lorsque le fleuve ou le bassin fluvial qui sert de référence à la description est organisé selon un axe nord-sud, cette fois encore parce que le critère retenu n'est pas l'orientation cardinale (comme il en serait d'une description occidentale), mais le rapport qui existe entre le lieu décrit et les éléments qui le portent ou l'entourent.

Parmi les principautés du rGyal rong, bsTan pa, nous dit le *mDo smad chos 'byung*, est du côté ensoleillé du Chu chen, "*Chu chen nyin ngos su...*"²⁰. bsTan pa est en effet à l'ouest du Chu chen, ou rGyal rong chu chen, formé par les rivières venues de rNga ba et du Tsha kho²¹, qui est le Dajin chuan des cartes chinoises, appelé Dadu he au sud de bsTan pa et qui conflue avec la rivière Min à Leshan au Sichuan. Le Chu chen (du moins le segment du fleuve qui porte ce nom dans sa traversée du rGyal rong) coule à peu près nord-sud. Il serait donc difficile de parler de rive nord ou du nord du fleuve dans ce cas (même si, ponctuellement, de courts méandres, déterminant une autre orientation, peuvent avoir une rive nord et une rive sud). Cependant, les rivières dont les confluent successifs assurent sa formation sont décrites comme venant du côté ensoleillé et du côté à l'ombre²², et si l'on se reporte à une carte, il est évident qu'elles sont toutes situées au nord du Chu chen, ou plus exactement dans un secteur situé à son nord, mais qu'elles viennent des secteurs est et ouest par rapport à son axe.

S'agissant du côté à l'ombre, et d'une façon analogue, notre texte localise, par exemple, Ri phug ri khrod bKra shis chos dar gling sur le haut cours du Klu chu et sur sa rive à l'ombre²³, sans que cela signifie pour autant l'immédiate proximité du fleuve. Il faut donc constater que le concept est un peu modifié, ou élargi, lorsqu'il est question d'un positionnement par rapport à une rivière, et que les notions d'ensoleillement et d'ombre portée ne sont pas faciles à visualiser quand la définition s'étend à un territoire, même de dimensions

¹⁹ Cf. plus haut n. 12. Le *mDo smad chos 'byung*, comme il écrit *nyin ngos su* ou *srib ngos su*, écrit aussi souvent *stod ngos su* ou *smad ngos su*, pour une situation à peu près analogue ; il s'agit en général d'une précision sur le secteur concerné, supérieur ou inférieur, du bassin ou de la région dont il est question. Mais cela ne s'impose pas toujours avec une clarté absolue, et certaines formules composées, peut-être du fait de leur redondance, demeurent énigmatiques.

²⁰ ACB, 777/3, "*Chu chen nyin ngos su bsTan pa / Rab brtan / bTsan lha rnams kyi rgyal sa yod la / ...*"

²¹ ACB, 26/7, "*de nas rNga ba dang Tsha kho'i chu rnams Chu chen dang 'dres rGyal mo rong brgyud nas 'gro zhing / ...*"

²² ACB, 779/17, "*phyogs 'di'i nyin srib kyi chu rnams Chu chen du 'dres nas rGya yul lCags zam kha zer bar 'gro*".

²³ ACB, 636/26, "*Klu chu'i srub stod du Ri phug ri khrod bKra shis chos dar gling*".

limitées. Et si le *mDo smad chos 'byung* donne des indications beaucoup plus précises que les autres textes, il est évident qu'il ne réussit pas toujours - et loin de là - à localiser précisément les sites mentionnés.

Les termes *nyin* et *srib / sribs* figurent dans de nombreux toponymes, ce qui témoigne dans une certaine mesure de leur utilité et de la fréquence de leur emploi, au Tibet central comme au Tibet oriental ou occidental. Encore faudrait-il être certain qu'ils y figurent comme référence à la notion contrastée d'ensoleillement et d'ombre, et se livrer à quelques recherches d'onomastique, qui ne sont pas l'objet de cette note. Des noms ou toponymes comme lHa mo nyin²⁴, mGar rtse Shug gu nyin dgon ma lag lnga²⁵, Nyin pa sgar²⁶, Nyin zer la²⁷, Reb gong nyin dgon²⁸, rNga nyin²⁹, The nyin ngo'i ri khrod³⁰, Theb rgya nyin mtha' ma³¹, ou Tsong nyin³², semblent être liés à la notion d'ensoleillement. Sha gu nyin sum khol, attesté à date ancienne³³, comme beaucoup d'autres noms³⁴, ne peut être relié immédiatement à cette notion. Les exemples ne sont pas moins nombreux en ce qui concerne *srib / sribs*, comme le Srib / Srib yul des manuscrits de Dunhuang (PT 1286, 1290)³⁵, la région de Srib skyid au Tibet occidental³⁶, bDag srib du lHo kha³⁷, lHo

²⁴ Dans la région de lHa mo, à la limite entre Gansu et Sichuan, *ACB*, 242/7 et s.

²⁵ Monastère du district de mGar rtse dans la région de Reb gong, cf. *ACB*, 24/11, 339/18.

²⁶ C. Ningba si, à 28 km au sud-est de la ville moderne de Xunhua, *Ganqing Zangchuan fojiao si yuan*, Xining, Qinghai renmin chubanshe, 1990, 133.

²⁷ Col à l'ouest du massif qui occupe la boucle du Tshe chu au Qinghai, une vallée et un torrent en descendent vers le fleuve Jaune. Cf. Rock, *The Amnye Ma-chhen Range and Adjacent Regions*, Roma, 1956, 59.

²⁸ Mentionné comme Re kong nyin dgon par Lama Paltul Jampal Lodoe, *Bod na bzhugs pa'i rnying ma'i dgon deb / Record of Nyingma Monasteries in Tibet*, Dalhousie, sd, n°1201. Un des monastères de Reb gong.

²⁹ Subdivision du pays rNga ba (Sichuan), *ACB*, 760/5.

³⁰ *ACB*, 742/16, "rDo ra'i khog tu The nyin ngo'i ri khrod /", ermitage de la région de The bo rong.

³¹ *Ganqing Zangchuan fojiao si yuan*, Xining, Qinghai renmin chubanshe, 1990, 237, dans la région de Chab cha au Qinghai, proche d'un Theb rgya srib mtha' ma'i dgon pa qu'il faut indéniablement lire srib.

³² *ACB*, 53/3, "Tsong chu byang rgyud dam Tsong nyin dbus kyi dMar gtsang brag ni /...".

³³ Ms de Dunhuang, IO.103, mentionné pour l'année 700. Cf. Uray, "Old Tibetan Drama drangs", *AOH*, XIV, 2, 1962, 224.

³⁴ Pour bSe mo ru nyin (mDo smad), E nyin mkhar, 'Gro nyin (Nag chu), Ko nyin (Hor tshang près de Bla brang, un Ko srib, dans la région de Tongde au Qinghai, n'y semble pas relié), mDzod dge nyin ma (*ACB*, 255/1), Nyin dgon (chapelle de Sa skya), Nyin khang bla brang dgon (*Bod na bzhugs pa'i rnying ma'i dgon deb / Record of Nyingma Monasteries in Tibet*, Dalhousie, sd, n°93), Nyin khron lung pa (rDo sbis), Nyin shig nang (région de Rwa rgya, vallée d'un affluent du 'Ba' chu), Nyin yus dgon pa (Qinghai, Jiuzhi), ou Tum nyin zi (rendu tibétain du nom probablement chinois d'un temple ou monastère du Gansu, Minxian), un rapport plus précis pourrait être cherché, mais serait certainement écarté dans plusieurs cas.

³⁵ Cf. notamment Lalou, "Catalogue des principautés du Tibet ancien", *Journal asiatique*, t.CCLIII, 1965, fasc. 2, 189-216.

³⁶ Egaleme nt écrit Hrib skyes, le "Shipke" des voyageurs anciens.

brag Srib mo ser phug, Srib btsan lung du pays Mon, Reb kong srib dgon³⁸, Se srib³⁹, lHo kha sGron srib⁴⁰, le Srib dgon sprul pa, chapelle de Sa skya⁴¹, Srib mda'⁴², Srib mun khang au lHo kha⁴³, un Srib lha khang au Bhutan⁴⁴. Le rapport est peut être moins évident pour Ko srib⁴⁵, mTsho srib⁴⁶, tandis qu'un usage attesté de Tsong srib⁴⁷ en fait, non pas un nom de lieu ou du moins d'une partie d'un lieu, mais une division d'un ordre plus général et plus systématique. Enfin, comme les noms de famille découlent souvent d'un nom de lieu, il est vraisemblable, par exemple, que sKyar srib pa, nom d'une famille noble *sger pa* du district de Zhangs⁴⁸, vient d'un domaine de cette famille. Le nom de l'un des premiers rois du Tibet, Srib kyi btsan po, du groupe des gNam gyi khri bdun, fils de gDags khri btsan po et Srib kyi lha mo⁴⁹, pourrait également donner lieu à une réflexion, d'autant qu'il semble, en comparant les versions des généalogies royales, que leurs auteurs, au moins les plus tardifs, y ont introduit des éléments variables, sinon fantaisistes, comme au gré d'une certaine volonté d'interprétation ou de reconstruction.

L'emploi de *nyin* et *srib* pour situer sinon localiser des lieux, voire des régions, a entraîné l'usage de ces termes dans le simple sens de division, d'une façon qui peut être comparée, dans une certaine mesure, à celui de *stod* et *smad*. Cela apparaît déjà plus haut, à propos de l'usage de Tsong *nyin* et de Tsong *srib*. Le *mDo smad chos 'byung* en donne un exemple beaucoup plus net, où la notion se trouve en quelque sorte institutionnalisée, lorsqu'il est question des douze *chos 'khor* de A krong, soit douze communautés de Shis tshang, réparties

³⁷ Huber, "A Tibetan Map of lHo-kha in the South-Eastern Himalayan Borderlands of Tiber", *Imago Mundi*, 44, 1992, 9-23, site peut-être lié à bDag lding (également au lHo kha), *lding* en fin de toponyme indiquant en général le nord d'un montagne, donc son versant à l'ombre.

³⁸ *Bod na bzhugs pa'i rnying ma'i dgon deb / Record of Nyingma Monasteries in Tibet*, Dalhousie, sd, n°1202, au mDo smad.

³⁹ Monastère aux confins du rNga ba et du district de Hongyuan.

⁴⁰ Dernier village tibétain de la haute Subansiri, tout près de la frontière de l'Arunachal Pradesh. Huber, "A Tibetan Map of lHo-kha in the South-Eastern Himalayan Borderlands of Tiber", *Imago Mundi*, 44, 1992, 18.

⁴¹ Dans le lHa khang chen mo. Voir plus haut le Nyin dgon.

⁴² Communauté du Khams.

⁴³ Huber, 1992, 19, mais le nom ne fait-il pas allusion à une forme plus spirituelle d'obscurité ?

⁴⁴ Qui aurait été construit par 'Brug pa Kun legs, Stein, *Vie et chants de 'Brug-pa Kun-legs le yogin*, Paris, Maisonneuve & Larose, 1972, 17.

⁴⁵ Qinghai, région de Tongde, en pays A rig.

⁴⁶ Petech, *Aristocracy and Government in Tibet, 1728-1959*, Roma, Ismeo, 1973, 118, 162, cite un lieu de ce nom, mais il peut être, ailleurs, un simple descriptif.

⁴⁷ *ACB*, 153/5 et dernier paragraphe du présent article.

⁴⁸ Yuthok, *House of the Turquoise Roof*. Ithaca, Snow Lion Publications, 1990, 308. sKyar srib lHa sgron, de cette famille, a été informatrice de M. Goldstein.

⁴⁹ Du moins selon dMu dge bSam gtan rgya mtsho, *gSung 'bum*, Xining, mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrang khang, vol. 3, ch.1 "Bod spyi'i lo rgyus bshad pa", 21.

par moitié entre soleil et ombre, car il paraît quand même extrême d'envisager "lumière et obscurité", même pour des *chos 'khor* : "*Shis tshang / rGya sgar / A la / Cha ris / Nya tshang / Chos 'khor te nyin Shis tshang tsho drug / Bla ri mgul / dPa' rgur / Ma nge Hor skyes / rDzas tsha / rDo ra / rMe ru'i nyin te srib tsho drug la A krong chos 'khor tsho bcu gnyis grags so / /*"⁵⁰.

Shis tshang est une région souvent mentionnée dans le *mDo smad chos 'byung*, située dans le haut bassin du Klu chu et, apparemment, de part et d'autre du fleuve, autour et en aval de l'actuelle ville de Klu chu. La première des six communautés "au soleil" porte le nom de *Shis tshang*, nom ancien de la région, certes, mais aussi, de nos jours, d'un village situé à l'est et près de la ville de Klu chu. *rGya sgar* n'est pas situé par le texte avec précision, mais appartient à la même région du haut Klu chu⁵¹. Le nom d'*A la* est aujourd'hui porté par une petite ville, sur la rive du Klu chu, en aval de la ville de Klu chu, celui de *Cha ris sgar*, site d'un monastère, dans le bassin supérieur du Klu chu⁵², il en va de même de *Nya tshang*⁵³, et *Chos 'khor*⁵⁴. Il est difficile de préciser, d'après les seules indications du *mDo smad chos 'byung*, la localisation des six communautés "à l'ombre", qui toutefois figurent toutes dans le haut bassin du Klu chu. *A Bla ri mgul* est mentionné le monastère *bKra shis chos 'phel gling*⁵⁵. Si *dPa' rgur* et *rDo ra* ne semblent pas être mentionnés ailleurs dans l'ouvrage, un *Ma nge dgon*, *dGa' ldan rin chen gling*, est nommé dans le haut Klu chu⁵⁶, de même qu'un *rDzas tsha sgar*⁵⁷. Quand à *rMe ru'i nyin*, qui, curieusement figure parmi les six *srib* de *A krong*, il faut sans doute le reconnaître dans le *rMe ru sgar* du haut Klu chu⁵⁸, dans une liste d'établissements déjà mentionnée.

Un dernier exemple permettra sans doute de mieux voir l'intérêt, et les limites, de l'usage que le *mDo smad chos 'byung* fait de "*nyin*" et "*srib*". Il est question de deux monastères de *A khyung*, *A khyung sgar* et *A khyung sgom grwa*, situés sur la rive du *g.Yon chu* (ou dans son bassin, notre texte glisse facilement de l'une à l'autre notion), qui vient du sud se jeter dans le *bSang chu* (la rivière de *Bla brang*)⁵⁹. Plus loin, le texte précise : "...*g.Yon chu'i nyin ngos su A khyung drung rams pa mKhas mchog ye shes kyi gdan sa A khyung sgom grwa Thar pa gling...*", *A khyung sgom grwa Thar pa gling*, le siège de *A khyung drung ram pa mKhas*

⁵⁰ ACB, 590/13.

⁵¹ ACB, 586/9 et s. mentionne un *rGya sgar* parmi un certain nombre de lieux marqués par des établissements religieux, au nombre desquels figurent plusieurs autres des douze *chos 'khor* de *A krong*.

⁵² ACB, 586/11.

⁵³ ACB, 586/10, *Nya tshang sgar*.

⁵⁴ ACB, 586/10, *Chos 'khor sgar*.

⁵⁵ ACB, 586/7.

⁵⁶ ACB, 586/6.

⁵⁷ ACB, 586/11.

⁵⁸ ACB, 586/10.

⁵⁹ ACB, 24/21, "*bSang chur lho nas 'bab pa'i g.Yon chu'i rgyud du A khyung sgar dang sgom grwa...*".

mchog ye shes, du côté ensoleillé du g.Yon chu. Pour l'ensemble des informateurs consultés, ces deux monastères sont du même côté de la rivière. Le g.Yon chu vient en effet du sud confluer avec le bSang chu⁶⁰, du moins il conflue sur sa rive méridionale (quelle que soit l'orientation réelle du lieu du confluent). Par ailleurs, notre texte précise que A khyung sgar bKra shis chos gling fut établi par ses fondateurs à l'est du confluent du g.Yon chu et du bSang chu⁶¹. Il faut se garder de penser que *nyin* puisse correspondre à *shar*, ne serait-ce que dans ce cas. Du point de vue strict de l'orientation, les deux monastères se trouvent, selon ce passage du texte, à l'est du confluent, à l'est du point remarquable qu'il constitue. Mais ils sont sur la rive "au soleil" et, que le fleuve (et par conséquent la vallée) soit orienté plus ou moins nord-sud ou est ouest, le côté ensoleillé est au nord du fleuve... ce qui semble contradictoire avec ce qui nous est dit, nous fait douter un peu de la rigueur des termes examinés ici, et reconnaître que, toute règle ayant ses exceptions, la superposition des indications d'orientation dans le cas présent, à moins qu'il ne s'agisse d'une inadvertance peu vraisemblable de l'auteur, nuit à leur clarté et qu'il faut sans doute, pour en décider, voir la forme et l'ouverture de la vallée, et les secteurs que le soleil y éclaire ou y laisse dans l'ombre.



⁶⁰ A peu près à la hauteur de gTer lung, si l'on peut se fier à la carte n°3 de Rock, *The Amnye Ma-chhen Range and Adjacent Regions*, Roma, 1956.

⁶¹ ACB, 579/1, "g.Yon chu bSang chu dang 'dres mtshams shar ngos su A khyung Ngag dbang rgya mtsho dang / Ye shes rgya mtsho sogs kyis btab pa'i A khyung sgar bKra shis chos gling / ...".

SPELLING MISTAKES, PHILOLOGY, AND FEMINIST CRITICISM:
WOMEN AND BOYS IN TIBETAN MEDICINE¹

Janet Gyatso

Samten Karmay is a great Tibetologist who has advanced our knowledge of Tibetan culture and history in myriad ways. He has also been for me a wonderful and steadfast friend over many years. In recognition of the major contribution Professor Karmay made in his ground-breaking article on the rGyud bzhi's authorship debate, I offer this study of a few words from that same treatise.

*

Now do we determine what the best version of a text originally read? What kinds of things do we consider in so doing? What do we do if the best reading of a work itself displays ambivalence about the correct spelling of a particular phrase? Worse yet, what if this work might even be deliberately ambivalent, displaying a pun which would make any final decision on an “original” or “correct” reading moot? How would we represent such a situation? What philological principles would enable us to come to such a conclusion?

It should not be surprising that a prime example of a phrase that makes for textual ambivalence comes up in the domain of gender politics. It will not be surprising that this phrase, undecidable in spelling but even more so in meaning — or perhaps we might say in its very being — has to do with the status of women, their value, their purpose. For it is hard to think of a basic category in human experience whose very status in the world, its right to exist on its own terms, has been more open to question than that of woman. Tibetan medical writing offers a wonderfully lucid example of this fundamentally fuzzy category.

This essay is an attempt to deploy what I would like to consider feminist philological practices. It considers a particular and relatively anomalous textual problem that I argue requires feminist analysis in order to be most effectively assessed. While the issues it addresses will not pertain to every instance of textual criticism, it does demonstrate how there can be social dimensions at the very heart of the textual and linguistic matters that philology studies. In other cases such contextual considerations of course would by no means be limited to those taken up by feminist criticism. But what might indeed be a generally applicable point is my further claim that the semantic ambivalence the following discussion grapples with is something that feminist analysis is particularly good at recognizing. It would in any event seem that an eye for such

¹ I am grateful to Michael Hahn and Charles Hallisey for reading a draft of this essay closely and raising some very key questions that have helped to make it better. All mistakes in what follows remain my responsibility alone.

things must be a key tool of textual criticism. Discernment of the linguistic play that writers and editors, wittingly or not, often leave in place, even in the most systematic of compositions, is surely an important piece of the practices that allow us best to critically edit — and appreciate — the texts that we study.

My experience in coming across the material to be presented in this essay is a classic case of looking at something many times, assuming that what I am seeing is a typographical or blockprint carver's error, and brushing it aside as unimportant. Followed by an "oh my God" moment.

The problem revolves around the homonyms *bud med* ("woman") and *bu med* ("no son"). Actually *bu med* is itself ambiguous, and can either mean "no child" or "no boy," but either way, it does not affect the basic pun that ensued from the homophony just mentioned, nor the analysis that follows. To explore the significance of this second ambiguity, that is, surrounding the meaning of *bu*, would require too much space for the current essay.² It's neater, and richer, to translate *bu med* as "no son," which is the most plausible reading in this context in any case, and so I will make that choice for the rest of this essay, although more general terms for offspring will be rendered gender-neutrally.³

The issue comes up in the "*ro tsa*," or, virility/fertility section of the *rGyud bzhi*, or "*Four Treatises*," the principal, or root text for Tibetan medicine since around the 12th century C.E.⁴ The etymology of the Tibetan term *ro tsa* is obscure, but it is defined as having two goals, to foster sexual performance – to "be able to perform one's desire" – and to multiply descendants (*bu tsha*)⁵, i.e. to be fertile and multiply.⁶ There are two

² It has to do with the question of whether sons are more desirable than daughters (many statements in the *Four Treatises* indicate that they are), and whether the privileging of the adult male over the adult female in the *ro tsa* chapter has anything to do with that. I argue that there is a connection between these two questions in a book that I am currently completing on the intellectual history of medicine and its relationship to Buddhism in Tibet, one chapter of which explores sex and gender conceptions.

³ At least one commentator indicates explicitly that he is reading *bu* in the *ro tsa* section as "boy," in contrast to *bu mo*, "girl," or "daughter," even if at the same time he signals that the discussion should really be about children of either sex: "...*bu'am de dang 'dra ba'i bu mo ang mi 'byung bas...*" Gling sman bKra shis (b. 1726), *gSo ba rig pa'i gzhung rgyud bzhi'i dka' 'grel* Chengdu: Si khron Mi rigs dPe skrun khang, 1988, p. 454.

⁴ The full title of the work is *bDud rtsi snying po yan lag brgyad pa gsang ba man ngag gi rgyud*. See below for the available blockprints.

⁵ *Bu tsha* is as ambiguous as *bu*. Dar mo sMan rams pa Blo bzang Chos grags, in his completion of Zur mkhar Blo gros rGyal po's great *rGyud bzhi* commentary, clarifies it as *bu dang tsha bo*, which would seem to mean sons and descendants but can also mean children and descendants. Both lexemes often denote males in particular. *rGyud bzhi'i 'grel pa mes po'i zhal lung* [hereafter *Mes po'i zhal lung*], Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1989, vol. 2, p. 517.6.

⁶ The definition given in the *Four Treatises* reads *ro tsa zhes pa 'dod pa spyod nus zhing/ rigs brgyud bu tsha spel bar byed pa ste*: sDe dge, 242a (see n. 10 below.) The 15-16th century

chapters devoted to *ro tsa* in the *Four Treatises*, and together they make up one of the eight main sections, or “branches,” of medical knowledge, an organizing device that the *Four Treatises* borrows from Ayurvedic tradition, particularly the work *Aṣṭāṅgahrdayasaṃhitā*.⁷ The *ro tsa* section of the *Four Treatises* discusses problems in male virility and the reproductive health of both males and females.

While much of the *ro tsa* section of the *Four Treatises* is indebted to the *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya*’s own discussion,⁸ a curious passage at the beginning of the first of its two chapters is absent in that Indian work, and appears to be unique to the *Four Treatises*. It is concerned with proving why the principal (*gtso bo*) topic of concern to the *ro tsa* section of medical knowledge is male sexuality and fertility, and why female reproductive function is but an auxiliary (*yan lag*) question. This amounts to a rather arcane argument regarding sexual performance, patriliney in Tibetan society, and the canned misogyny that women by nature have a low store of merit. In any event, the passage argues, once the male’s sexual functioning has been properly attended to, it is appropriate, or permissible (*rung*) to attend to the female side of the equation. That would be the auxiliary topic of the *ro tsa* teachings.

The philological problem regards the wording with which that topic is described. The text says, “If the man’s semen is flawless and multiplies, then it is permissible to search for a woman [by virtue of whom] sons will multiply.” But when this topic is mentioned again later, the phrase *bud med btsal ba*, “to search for a woman” is on several occasions rendered instead “to search for [cures to the condition of] lacking sons,” *bu med btsal ba*. Most strikingly, while the chapter of the *ro tsa* section that is actually devoted to this “auxiliary topic” announces its subject matter as “how to search for a woman”, the entire chapter talks only about how to medically redress the condition of lacking sons, that is, how to cure various

commentator sKyem pa Tsho dbang provides a Tibetan etymology of the term whereby *ro* denotes the experience of the taste of desire, and *tsa* means to increase or multiply, but it is not terribly convincing: sKyem pa Tsho dbang, *rGyud bzhi’i rnam bshad*, mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1999, p. 988. *Ro tsa* is used to translate Skt. *vāji*, which names the section on virility and fertility in the *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya*; a related Sanskrit term is *vr̥ṣa*. The conception of *ro tsa* as pertaining to virility and fertility is closely dependent upon the final chapter of *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya*. See Rahul Peter Das and Ronald Eric Emmerick, ed., *Vagbhata’s Aṣṭāṅgahrdayasaṃhitā*, Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998, pp. 346-351. Some have suggested to me orally that *ro tsa* might be connected to the Sanskrit root *ruc*, which can mean “to like,” but I have yet to find evidence of such a Sanskrit word used to denote sexual stimulation.

⁷ This important Indian medical work was translated into Tibetan by Rin chen bZang po (958-1055), and is included in the Tibetan *bsTan ’gyur*.

⁸ The *Four Treatises* also has major sections that are not derived from the *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya* or other Ayurvedic works. The varied sources for the *rGyud bzhi* are the topic of a doctoral dissertation currently being completed by Yang Ga at Harvard University in the Committee on Inner Asian and Altaic Studies.

gynecological and obstetrics problems. In other words, the chapter does not actually address how to search for a woman at all. Indeed, in spite of its opening line, virtually all available versions of the closing colophon to the chapter refer to the chapter's topic as being about searching [for a cure to] the condition of lacking sons (*bu med pa btsal ba'i le'u*).

So which is it? What is the auxiliary topic of *ro tsa* about? This essay will address two dimensions of the dilemma. One regards the method by which we would answer such a question. The other goes beyond philology to reflect on what the very existence of this curious spelling undecidability suggests to us about the sex and gender politics of *ro tsa* medicine as envisioned in the *Four Treatises*.

A text-critical survey of the available blockprint versions of the *Four Treatises* does not readily yield any definitive resolution of which of the two options is the best reading. All of the available prints display variations in spelling between the six occasions where the phrase or a close gloss is used in the text. We further are not in a position now to create a critical edition of the *Four Treatises*, as we are still lacking some of the important early blockprint versions, including the Grva thang, which may have been the first blockprint and reputedly is still in existence, as well as the Potala print.⁹ The blockprint witnesses of the *Four Treatises* that are available to me at present and which were used for this paper are based on these carvings: the sDe dge blocks of 1733, which are said to have been copied from the earlier Potala version of sDe srid Sangs rgyas rGya mtsho from the late 17th century;¹⁰ the Zung cu ze blocks carved in the middle of

⁹ We do have a modern edition of the Grva thang but I am not convinced of its reliability and so I have decided not to use it for this paper: g.Yu thog Yon tan mGon po, *Grva thang rgyud bzhi*. Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, Beijing, 2005. An example of what may be either a typographical error or an emendation of the modern editor is the line *bu med yal ga med pa'i shing dang mchungs*: even setting aside the obvious error of *mchungs*, all of our other versions, as well as Kyem pa, *rGyud bzhi'i rnam bshad*, p. 990, spell the first syllable *bud*; in addition, the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* verse on which this Tibetan rendition is loosely based provides the same metaphor as referring to the woman, *bud med*, viz. “*yal gag gcig pa'i shing gcig bzhin/ bud med med mi de dang 'dra!*” : *Yan lag brgyad pa'i snying po bsdus pa*, sDe dge blockprint, f. 332a. All of that makes it likely that the Grva thang blocks read here *bud med*; hence my lack of faith in the modern edition. A block print of the Grva thang is allegedly held in a private collection in Lhasa. The sDe dge version states in its colophon that it is based on the Potala. See TBRC W00EGS1016257, as in note 10 below.

¹⁰ TBRC W00EGS1016257 [this abbreviation and the ones that follow refer to the numbering system of the Tibetan Buddhist Resources Center, which provides access to scanned Tibetan texts: see www.TBRC.org.] The colophon also states that the sDe dge blocks were carved at the order of bsTan pa Tshe ring. A modern edition of the work published in Lhasa is based on the sDe dge blocks: *bDud rtsi snying po yan lag brgyad pa gsang ba man ngag gi rgyud*, Lhasa: Bod ljongs Mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1992.

the 18th century;¹¹ ICags po ri blocks carved in 1888;¹² and the so-called Lho brug version, based on blocks carved at dBang 'dus Pho brang in Bhutan.¹³ A final version of the *Four Treatises* consulted for this essay is a manuscript copy of the full text of the *Man ngag rgyud*, which happens to be the section of the *Four Treatises* in which the *ro tsa* chapters occur. This manuscript, in 282 folia of *dbu med* script, is from a private collection; its date is not known and it is difficult to assess its significance.¹⁴ I will refer to it as MS-1 in what follows.

There is reason to hope that scholars will gain access to the other versions of the *Four Treatises* that still appear to be extant. But even if it were to become clear that the spelling variation under discussion in this paper developed only in a later phase of the text's history, such a finding would only indicate that at some moment an attempt was made, however inconsistently, to address the more fundamental semantic discrepancy between the label of the auxiliary subject of *ro tsa* and the actual content of the chapter devoted to that subject. That fundamental semantic discrepancy would in any case have been a problem already in the "original" *Four Treatises*, at least for the form of the text that is known to us now. As for the spelling inconsistency, it is at work as early as the commentary by sKyem pa Tshe dbang (b. 1479), who attempts to address it. I will argue that sKyem pa's comments and all of the evidence to be presented in what follows indicate that the spelling variation is not a mere confusion or result of a scribal error. Rather the ambiguity is inherent to the *Four Treatises'* entire position on the question of female *ro tsa* from the start. This ambiguity is meaningful, even if it is not always entirely logical — let alone fair.

¹¹ TBRC 30137. According to the colophon, these blocks were carved under the leadership of Tā Bla ma sMan rams pa Ye shes dPal 'byor of the medical college at Jehol, and the verses of prayer were signed by A kya Blo bzang bsTan pa'i rGyal mtshan, which would date the blocks to the middle of the 18th century.

¹² TBRC 30134. The colophon indicates that errors were corrected in these blocks in 1892.

¹³ TBRC 30141; date of carving is unknown to me.

¹⁴ A note on its final page in cursive script says that it is based on a copy of the text [belonging to?] Drang srong dPal ldan Phun tshogs. As will be seen below, this manuscript differs from all of the prints of the *Four Treatises* in that all occurrences of the phrase in question in this essay are spelled the same. A cursory look at the text discovered a number of missing syllables and patent misspellings. On the other hand it displays certain old orthographical features, such as the use of 'i instead of yi for the genitive particle, and some of its "misspellings" might betray its age, such as 'khal for mkhal, and 'khris pa for mkhris pa. The story I was told is that the manuscript was handed to a man of European origin trekking in the Himalayas who happened upon the escaping party of the 14th Dalai Lama in 1959; the Dalai Lama's retainers gave the man the manuscript, saying they were not able to carry it. The manuscript is currently in the private collection of B. Lietaer in Belgium.

Here are the six occurrences of references to the auxiliary subject of *ro tsa* in the *Four Treatises*:

1. An introductory chapter of the *Four Treatises* lists all of the chapters in the work. All available versions of the text refer to the second *ro tsa* chapter, which is the one dealing with the auxiliary subject, with the abbreviated label *bud med btsal*, i.e., the chapter that deals with the “search for a woman”.¹⁵

2. Towards the beginning of the first of the two *ro tsa* chapters, the text makes the case that there are two sections of medical knowledge concerning *ro tsa*, a principal (*gtso bo*) subject, and an auxiliary (*yan lag*) subject. The man is the principal subject in this area of medical learning, the text argues, for if he can’t perform the sex act, even if he is surrounded by a hundred woman, the purpose will not be accomplished. Then it goes on to state that once a man is virile and fertile, then it is allowable, or appropriate, to “search for a woman,” in order to (or, who can) multiply descendents (*bud med bu tsha ’phel ba btsal du rung*). Again, all available versions of the *Four Treatises* spell the first term in this phrase *bud med*, “woman.”¹⁶ This spelling is confirmed as well by the 16th century commentator sKyem pa, who may have been working from a manuscript edition of the *Four Treatises*.¹⁷ A line later, the text reiterates that for this reason, the man is the principal subject of *ro tsa*.

In remarking on this passage, the late 17th century commentator sDe srid Sangs rgyas rGya mtsho indicates that the phrase “to search for a woman” means specifically “another woman.” In other words, if the male is ready and able, and if one woman will not be able to propagate the family line, then it is alright to find another woman. Again, this in fact is why the principal subject of *ro tsa* is the man.¹⁸ A similar point is made by a sKyem pa, remarking on the next occurrence of our ambiguous phrase.¹⁹

3. Right after Occurrence 2, the *Four Treatises* turns to the auxiliary subject of *ro tsa*, which, in accordance with the preceding discussion, it glosses as

¹⁵ sDe dge 5a; Zung cu ze 5b; lCags po ri 6a; Lho brug 5a. We lack this section of the *Four Treatises* for MS-1.

¹⁶ sDe dge 242a; Zung cu ze, 269b; lCags po ri 242b; Lho brug 207b; MS-1 279a. Zung cu ze and Lho brug have *’phil ba* instead of *’phel ba*, but that would appear to be a scribal error; *’phil ba* does not occur in Tibetan.

¹⁷ sKyem pa, *rGyud bzhi’i rnam bshad*, p. 989.9. See note 40 below.

¹⁸ sDe srid Sans rgyas rgya mtsho, *Bai dūr sñon po* [hereafter *Bai sñon*], Leh: T. Y. Tashigangpa, 1973 [print of lCags po ri blocks of 1888-1892], vol. 3, f. 512: *skyes pa’i khu ba de skyon med par ’phel bar gyur na bud med gcig gis rigs rgyud spel ma thub kyang bu tsha ’phel ba gzhan nas btsal du rung bas de’i phyir na ro tsa’i gtso bo ni skyes pa yin no*.

¹⁹ See n. 25 below.

the woman (*za ma bud med*).²⁰ All versions spell that the same way. It continues with the rather convoluted point that since she merely holds his seed, and since females are not able to hold the patrilineal lineage (*pha yi rabs brgyud*), she is not the principal subject of *ro tsa*. Then the text states, “The man can perform with all, but if [her] karma, power, and merit are low there will be no son. In that case, the auxiliary [subject], the means to search for [a cure for the condition of] no son (*bu med btsal thabs*) is valuable.”²¹

This is the first time the text renders the auxiliary subject “no son” (*bu med*) rather than “woman” (*bud med*). It is curious especially in this context, where the immediately preceding sentence faulted not a medical condition that would prevent her from getting pregnant, but rather her religious merit, a condition that medicine cannot address. In fact, more than any of the others, this reference to the auxiliary subject of *ro tsa* would really seem set to advise the male unambiguously to seek another, more meritorious consort, rather than offer a medical technique to cure the first one’s infertility. Indeed, the lCags po ri print does say instead “In that case, the auxiliary [subject], the means to search for a woman (*bud med btsal thabs*), is valuable.”²² The same reading is found in MS-1, although it should be noted that MS-1 stands alone in rendering all references to the auxiliary subject *bud med*, and may represent a unilateral attempt to standardize the phrase.²³

This reading of lCags po ri and the MS-1 makes much more sense. If her karma is bad and she can’t bear a man sons, he would do well to find another woman. It is also the reading provided by the commentator sKyem pa, who clarifies the issue by glossing the line as “It is valuable to search for a woman who possesses a glorious boy” (*bu dpal ldan pa’i bud med btsal bar gces*).²⁴ By the phrase “possesses a boy” what he apparently means is that this woman has the capacity to bear the man a son. In this he brings together the two homonyms, *bu* and *bud*, in one meaningful phrase, *bu dpal ldan pa’i bud med*, although he does not thereby solve our problem.²⁵

²⁰ *Za ma* in this context is a synonym of *bud med*. Elsewhere Tibetan *za ma* refers to a kind of third sex, associated with the *ma ning*. For the reasons why a single term can mean either woman or the third sex, see my “One Plus One Makes Three: Buddhist Gender Conception and the Law of the Non-Excluded Middle.” *History of Religions* 43: 2 (2003): 89-115.

²¹ sDe dge 242a; Zung cu ze 270a; Lho brug 207b. That the line “if karma, power, and merit are low there will be no son” refers to *her* karma etc. is implied by the logic of the statement, and is also specified by the commentators, such as sKyem pa, *rGyud bzhi’i rnam bshad*, p. 989: *bud med de bsod nams dman pa la bu mi ’byung bas...*

²² lCags po ri 242b.

²³ MS-1 279a.

²⁴ sKyem pa, *rGyud bzhi’i rnam bshad*, p. 989.11, see also 989.14 and 994.5.

²⁵ The *Four Treatises* passage itself had already implied as much in Occurrence 2, when it said *bud med bu tsha ’phel ba btsal du rung*. Dar mo sMan rams pa, *Mes po’i zhal lung*, vol.2, p. 517 also juxtaposes the two options in commenting on an earlier line in the

sKyem pa also now goes on to lay out the full ambiguity of the spelling inconsistency that we have identified, representing it as a choice. Commenting on the condition in which a female is not able to bear a son due to her bad karma and merit, he says, “In that case, the auxiliary [topic] — the means to search for another woman, or, to cure the illness in her herself and give birth to a glorious boy, and so on — is valuable.”²⁶ Two points on that: One, the comment makes clear that the rendering *bu med btsal thabs* or variation thereof refers to a medical solution. Two, by saying “her herself” (*mo rang*) sKyem pa is explicitly referring to the original woman, in contrast to the other option he recognizes, namely, to find “another” woman. But by leaving in place as one of the options an effort to cure the first woman’s condition, he is still participating in the illogical argument of this passage as represented in all the versions save lCags po ri and MS-l: the suggestion that medical means could address the woman’s bad karma. It is even possible that his own version indeed accorded with the majority of our witnesses, and his comment was trying to ameliorate its illogical implication. Perhaps the lCags po ri editors were depending on sKyem pa in introducing their change into the text itself.

In any case, the introduction of the alternate spelling “no son” into the mix will recur again, in the next chapter, the one devoted to the auxiliary subject of *ro tsa*. Also note that this alternate spelling requires a stretching of the way that the verb *btsal*, a form of the verb *tshol*, functions. Rather than its usual meaning of “search,” or, “look for something” where it takes a direct object, here it would mean “to look for a cure to,” or perhaps we could say, “to look after,” or care for, someone with this boyless condition. Now its direct object is not something desired, but is rather something that needs to be fixed.

4. The rest of the first *ro tsa* chapter is devoted to the man, the principal subject: what will arouse him, and what will cure whatever problems he might have with his reproductive fluids. The next time the auxiliary topic of *ro tsa* is mentioned is at the beginning of the next chapter, the one devoted to it. Here all of the versions of the *Four Treatises* save one open the chapter with the phrase “Auxiliary [topic of] *ro tsa*, the method for searching for a woman” (*ro tsa’i yan lag bud med btsal ba’i thabs*).²⁷ That title of the chapter is also confirmed by sKyem pa.²⁸ But it is especially jarring since the very next line goes on to address the causes of that situation,

passage. But again, it does not solve the problem. To say that one might find a different woman who possesses [the capacity to bear a] a son is a different solution than to provide the first woman with the medical means to bear a son.

²⁶ sKyem pa, *rGyud bzhi’i rnam bshad*, p. 989.18-19: *de la bud med gzhan btsal ba’am yang na mo rang la nad bsal ba dang bu dpal skyed pa sogs kyi thabs yan lag gces so*.

²⁷ sDe dge 243b; Zung cu ze 271b; lCags po ri 244a; MS-l 281a.

²⁸ *rGyud bzhi’i rnam bshad*, p. 990.12; also 994.3. Also so identified by sDe srid, *Bai sngon*, vol. 3, f. 521.6.

which it lists as five – possession by demons, imbalances in the humors, a dead fetus from a previous pregnancy remaining in the uterus, her use of contraception, and barrenness. These clearly are medical conditions (demons are recognized in Tibetan medicine as a common cause of illness, and they can be ameliorated) that interfere with a woman's ability to bear children. They have nothing directly to do with searching for a woman, be that a first consort or a second one.

Again, one of the *Four Treatises* versions available to us, the Lho brug, does indeed provide the other spelling, labeling the chapter as “the means to search for [a cure to the condition of] no son (*bu med btsal ba'i thabs*).²⁹ But if the editor of that version noticed the incommensurability between the announced topic and the actual content of the chapter, he was alone. All the other *Four Treatises* editors we have access to labeled the chapter as if it discusses how to search for a woman.

But the commentator sKyem pa does take the problem up here, even though he accepts the incompatible chapter title. At the beginning of his comment on the second chapter he clarifies that the connection between the topic of how to search for a woman who possesses a glorious boy and the chapter's content is that what follows in the chapter addresses the infelicitous qualities a proper woman will lack (*gang gi mi mthun phyogs dang bral...*). He also specifies several lines later that the material in the chapter is a way to fix these conditions (*'di dag gi bcos thabs*), referring the reader for more details to the female pathology (*mo nad*) section of the *Four Treatises* (a point, it will be noted, that is at odds with his previous claim that the discussion of female malfunctions is simply a list of what is to be avoided in a female mate).³⁰ Finally, at the end of his comment on the second chapter he adds lines from *Aṣṭāṅgahrdayasamhitā* which actually do describe the desirable consort that the man should go and seek.³¹ All of these interventions on the part of sKyem pa indicate that he noticed the discrepancy between the title of the chapter and its content. It is particularly striking that he felt the need to introduce new material from another source that would finally accomplish for the chapter what the root text *Four Treatises* did not.³²

²⁹ Lho brug 208b

³⁰ sKyem pa, *rGyud bzhi'i nam bshad*, pp. 994.5-6; 994.14. sDe srid, *Bai sngon*, vol. 3, p.522 follows sKyem pa's general lead but simply identifies the chapter as discussing the causes of not attaining a son, which would have been the definitive sign that one has a proper woman: *gang gi mthun pa'i phyogs na mthun phyogs 'grub pa'i nges pa thob bya bu mi 'byung ba de'i rgyu...*

³¹ sKyem pa, *rGyud bzhi'i nam bshad*, p. 994-5, and repeated by sDe srid, *Bai sngon*, vol. 3, p.525. Cf. Das and Emmerick, p.348, vss. 40.39 - 40.40.

³² While sKyem pa and other commentators often fill out their comments on the *Four Treatises* with quotes from *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya*, they usually restate the *Four Treatises'* point rather than, as in this case, making an entirely different point.

5. Actually one brief moment in the *Four Treatises'* second *ro tsa* chapter does at least make reference to the topic of searching for a new mate, even if it doesn't say *how* to do so. This constitutes the fifth reference to the auxiliary subject of *ro tsa*, although here another term is used for "woman" rather than *bud med*. The phrase occurs in the discussion of barrenness (*mo gsham*), the last of the five causes of the condition that the auxiliary *ro tsa* chapter addresses. Here the text baldly maintains that one can try to cure the condition of barrenness through various means but it is not possible to succeed. In such a case, i.e., if one's female partner is barren, one should look for a "friend with the right marks," this being a common euphemism for a suitable female consort.³³ In this case it would imply a consort capable of bearing a child (or son). The commentator sKyem pa adds to the picture of what the implications are for the first consort, the one who is barren, by using the verb *spang*, "reject," or "abandon," to specify what he will do with respect to her.³⁴

Let us also note that the wording of this passage, viz., *de la thabs kyis btsal bar nus ma yin/ des na mtshan ldan grogs su btsal bar bya'o/* confirms the unusual usage of the verb *btsal ba* to mean "look for a cure to a condition," even while it is followed in the next clause by a second sense of the same verb, now explicitly referring to the search for [another] consort. All of our available blockprints as well as MS-1 are unanimous in this reading.³⁵

6. In the final reference to the auxiliary topic of *ro tsa*, which is the colophon to the second chapter, all of the blockprints are unanimous again. Here some semblance of sense has finally been achieved. In spite of the chapter's initial topic heading, its colophon calls the topic of the chapter "searching [for a means to address] the condition of lacking a son," (*bu med pa btsal ba'i le'u*) which is indeed what the chapter talks about.³⁶ For the first time too, "lacking son" has been made into a substantive condition: it is no longer the strict homonym of "woman" (*bud med*), viz., *bu med*, but now clarifies itself as *bu med pa*. Even though there occurs in the chapter one very explicit mention of the possibility of looking for a different female mate, that topic was confined to a single clause; the rest of the chapter is much more reasonably characterized as the medical means to address a woman's infertility so that she might bear a son.

The single exception to this departure from the phrase *bud med btsal ba* in the colophon to the chapter is MS-1. As already mentioned, MS-1 renders

³³ This is a very common term for the female consort also found in tantric writing. We already see "friend" (*grogs*) in the *Four Treatises* as a gloss for "woman," one of the categories pertaining to his arousal: sDe dge 242b.2. sDe srid, *Bai sngon*, vol. 3, p. 514.4 confirms its specific usage as a synonym of *bud med*.

³⁴ sKyem pa, *rGyud bzhi'i rnam bshad*, p. 994.18

³⁵ sDe dge 244a; Zung cu ze 272b; lCags po ri 244b; Lho brug 209b; MS-1 281b.

³⁶ sDe dge 244a; Zung cu ze 272b; lCags po ri 244b; Lho brug 209b. Confirmed also by sDe srid, *Bai sngon*, vol. 3, p. 526.6; not given by sKyem pa.

all forms of the label of the auxiliary subject, including this one, with the spelling *bud med*.³⁷

* * *

There are at least two immediate questions in front of us: Which is the best reading in those cases (Occurrences 3, 4, and 6) where our textual witnesses do not agree? More centrally, should all of the references to the auxiliary subject of *ro tsa* be made consistent? This second question is motivated by that fact that the phrase labeling this subject refers both to a particular chapter and an explicitly identified section of medical knowledge. It seems that such a label should be consistent.

There are a variety of grounds upon which to answer such questions. One would be to try to reconstruct the original author's final best version, and see how that version rendered our phrase. But as already pointed out, we have no access to manuscripts versions of the *Four Treatises*, save one of questionable significance, nor do we have the earliest block prints of the text. The fact that we know at least some of the earlier witnesses are extant makes us reluctant to focus on an "authorial fair copy" as the goal of this analysis for now.

If we turn instead to the internal logic of the text, we are still facing a dilemma: Do we privilege the argument of the first *ro tsa* chapter, which conceives of the auxiliary topic as the pair to the main topic of *ro tsa*, which is the man, and which clearly indicates that the auxiliary topic is about finding a "woman"? Or do we privilege the evidence of the second *ro tsa* chapter, where the actual content of this auxiliary topic is about addressing medical obstacles to a woman's fertility, which would suggest that "no boy" is preferable?

In any event, the discrepancy in what the text tells its readers this auxiliary subject is actually about does make it undesirable that the text should be emended so that all the occurrences of the term are the same. On the one hand, the introduction to the *ro tsa* section strongly suggests that there was a real debate about whether the male or the female — or both — should be the principal subject of *ro tsa* knowledge. The text in fact makes several concessions which indicate its awareness that there are reasons to argue that both male and female are central to the aims of *ro tsa*, and indeed elsewhere in the *Four Treatises* it is repeatedly made clear that both mother and father are responsible in a variety of ways for reproduction of a child.³⁸ And yet the passage contorts this tradition in order to insist that

³⁷ MS-I 282a.

³⁸ One salient example is this statement from the same *Four Treatises*' first *ro tsa* chapter, which admits explicitly that, medically speaking, male and female should be treated equally in the *ro tsa* section: *don snod spyi de bsam se'i nad du bshad/ bcud kyi dangs ma sa bon dkar dmar rten/ de phyir pho mo gnyis ka'i thun mong nad/* (The organ common [to both

the male is primary whereas the female is secondary to both sex and reproduction. There can be no question that this introductory section is arguing that there is an auxiliary topic of *ro tsa*, that it concerns the woman, and that a major part of the reason for rendering it “auxiliary” is to suggest that a man has the power to choose and reject a mate, while a woman does not. On the other hand, the fact that the second chapter is all about medical diagnostics and procedures prevents us from easily concluding that the chapter should be titled “how to search for woman.”

But if that discrepancy makes us pause before maintaining that all references to the auxiliary topic should read “how to search for a woman”, we must also concede that we cannot argue that they should read instead “no boy.” That is, if we were to say that what the auxiliary topic is in fact discussing is how to redress medically the lack of sons, such a label would equally describe the first *ro tsa* chapter, and the principal topic of *ro tsa*, the man, since that chapter too is about how to fix the condition of lacking sons. And so “how to address the condition of having no sons” could not serve as the overall label of the auxiliary topic of *ro tsa* either.

If we can agree that it would be problematic to emend the text so that the phrase is spelled consistently in all of the places where it occurs in the *Four Treatises* (even if in fact MS-1 does that, a point to which I will return), we still have further questions to consider from the perspective of the text’s own logic. How do we explain the patent lack of sense in Occurrence 3, where the majority of witnesses posit a search for medical cures for the condition of no sons as a way to redress a karmic reason for that lack? Moreover, how do we explain the fact that the second *ro tsa* chapter is introduced in almost all cases with a title that is completely at odds with its content (Occurrence 4)? Finally, how do we explain the inconsistent spelling for the title to that chapter between its Occurrence 4 at the beginning of the chapter and in Occurrence 6 in the colophon to the chapter? Which way would we emend the text to get the preferable reading?

One might suggest that we deploy an “eclectic” method and follow the preferable reading in lCags po ri for Occurrence 3 and in Lho brug for Occurrence 4.³⁹ That would effectively separate the two chapters, whereby the first referred consistently to the auxiliary topic as the search for a woman, and the second considered it to consist in the means to cure a

male and female], the *bsam se*, is explained as the [main site of *ro tsa*] illness. It is the basis for the distillate of nutriment, the white and red seeds [i.e. the male and female reproductive seed]. Therefore it is an illness common to both male and female.” *rGyud bzhi*, sDe dge 242a. The next line goes right back to casting the male as the principal subject of *ro tsa* without acknowledging the contradiction.

³⁹ An extremely thorough survey of the eclectic method, as well as an incisive critique of some of its presuppositions, may be found in Eldon Jay Epp, “The Eclectic Method in New Testament Textual Criticism: Solution or Symptom?” in *The Harvard Theological Review* 69.3/4 (July-October 1976): 211-257.

woman's infertility. But that would still not have solved the problem that the first chapter refers to the second chapter in a way that does not match its content; it would also be to favor the minority opinion in both cases, and to adopt solutions that in each instance had only one taker. Most of all, such a resolution would fail to explore what produced the textual discrepancies in the first place.

I would argue that we should not follow lCags po ri and Lho brug merely because they seem to make more sense. They are both relatively late editions; both appear to be struggling with difficult readings that they attempt to set right, but it is possible that in solving a local issue they gloss over a deeper ambiguity in the text that may have value in itself. In any case we can note that the only places where our blockprint witnesses disagree, i.e., where lCags po ri or Lho brug dissent from the majority, are the very spots where we too noticed a dissonance in logic at the local level. This suggests there was probably awareness of the same issues that we are laying out here. What I would like to explore now, then, is the possibility that despite these signs of discomfort there might be value in letting the textual variants as found in our prints stand, and actually respecting the discomfort that they betray.

We might first consider one more option that suggests itself as a way to neatly resolve the problem at hand. Perhaps the two spellings of our phrase really in the end say the same thing. This would entail reading *bud med btsal ba* not as "to search for a woman" but something like "to search for [a cure to] a woman[*'s* condition of having no sons]," or, more elliptically, "to look after the woman" {i.e., with regard to *ro tsa* matters.} But not only would that ignore the commentators who explicitly gloss *bud med btsal ba* as "to search for *another* woman." It would also be a very stretched meaning of *bud med btsal ba*; indeed, it is also a stretch for *bu med btsal ba* to mean "search for [a means to cure the condition of] having no sons." I will return to the verb *btsal ba* once more below. For now let me just say that I am actually not adverse to granting in the most general of ways that actually *bud med btsal ba* and *bu med btsal ba* do in fact name the same general point, but that the difference in spelling teases apart two sides of that point, sides that there was value in disaggregating. I would like to suggest that the appearance in the text of the two spellings mirror these two sides of the auxiliary topic. But there was also something to be gained in holding them together. And the pair of close homonyms exactly accomplish both. But before unpacking this point further, we do need to note that if we grant that *bud med btsal ba* and *bu med btsal ba* actually mean the same general thing but point to two sides of that thing, then we have only succeeded in begging the question. To which side is Occurrence 3 referring? And to which Occurrence 4?

Occurrence 5 explicitly refers to a choice between the two senses of the phrase. We have seen as well the comment of sKyem pa regarding Occurrence 3 which also teases apart the two senses of the phrase and presents them as a choice. Recall, Occurrence 5 says that one can look for a cure to barrenness in a woman but will not be able to find one, and therefore should look for a consort with the right marks. Here the very repetition of the verb *btsal* with two distinct senses underlines the reading that is emerging in this analysis, namely that there are two kinds of “searching,” and a real choice between them. Actually Occurrence 5 is saying that there *is* no real choice, since it is not possible to find a cure to the condition, but it is trading on the assumption throughout the *ro tsa* auxiliary topic that such a choice is at least being held out as an option. sKyem pa’s comment on Occurrence 3 makes the point far more front and central, however, in a way that can govern all the instances of the label for the auxiliary topic of *ro tsa*. Occurrence 3 also occurs at a moment of logical discrepancy, as we have already pointed out: a man whose woman’s bad karma causes her to lack sons is directed to medical methods to address her condition. It would appear that sKyem pa was working from a version of the root text that recommends instead that the man look for another woman. But the fact that sKyem pa presents also the other choice, to attend to the first woman’s medical condition, here either indicates that he knew of the other version of the line,⁴⁰ or that he knew that the phrase labeling the auxiliary topic of *ro tsa* had two possible meanings. Perhaps both are true.

If it is correct that the *Four Treatises ro tsa* section as we have it conceived of the auxiliary topic of *ro tsa* as twofold, a choice between curing the first woman’s infertility or finding a second one, we still have not answered the question of why the phrase is spelled differently in different places in the text. Nor have we settled why in some contexts, where clearly one of the two sides of the auxiliary topic was being discussed rather than the other one, the spelling for the other side was deployed.

I suggest that there was an ambivalence in the very constitution of the *ro tsa* auxiliary topic, an ambivalence which is fundamental to the entire approach that the *Four Treatises* is taking to it. This is as close to a statement about an “original” *Four Treatises* as I am willing to go, for a variety of reasons, not the least of which is the fact that, as already indicated, much remains unknown about the long and complex history of the *Four Treatises*’ development before it reached the form that it has today. But the case under discussion in this paper adds a further and important

⁴⁰ The Grva thang blockprint of the *Four Treatises* was edited and carved under the direction of Zur mkhar ba Blo gros rGyal po probably during the lifetime of sKyem pa, and it may be that in representing the text this way sKyem pa was weighing in on how he thought it should read.

dimension to why it is sometimes fruitless to search for an original version in any event. In this case, I believe that there was an undecidability at the very heart of the label of the auxiliary *ro tsa* topic. This undecidability is reflected not only in the disparity of ways that the phrase naming the auxiliary topic is spelled. It also may be seen in the entire way that the issue is discussed, such that no matter how the phrase is spelled, the nature of the auxiliary topic is left ambiguous.

I submit that a variety of agendas came together in the constitution of the auxiliary *ro tsa* topic, agendas that in some respects were at odds with each other. On one hand, there was a demonstrable effort to include women's medicine in the *Four Treatises* and to redress some of the medical tradition's evident androcentrism.⁴¹ Hence the impulse to address the issue of *ro tsa* for both men and women. And yet on the other hand, we find in the introductory passage to the *ro tsa* section the concerted argument that the man is the principal topic and the woman is the auxiliary topic. We can see nonetheless that there was considerable discomfort around this argument, especially since the *Four Treatises* elsewhere shows repeatedly that the mother and father are equally responsible for both reproduction as a whole, and the sex of the child. We can only conclude that the effort to label the woman the auxiliary topic – instead of, as would have been very possible, one of two prongs of *ro tsa* medicine, each with equal if separate treatment – reflects a gender politics at work. While unfortunately we lack sociological information about mating, marriage and paternity in most periods of Tibetan history, the concerted tone and special effort to include an entire passage on it give a clear impression that the decision to render male and female primary and auxiliary was participating in a debate. Thus the introductory passage as we have it shows an androcentric, if not patriarchal, wing of medicine insisting that if we must cover her treatment we must still signal rhetorically who is the boss and who is subordinate. *gTso bo* and *yan lag* are strong terms that make such a relationship very, very clear. The implications of this disparity in status is nowhere more overt than in the extremely patriarchal implication of the auxiliary topic that signals male prerogative to find another woman if the first one does not bear him sons. Note that never is the opposite option even hinted at, that the woman might want to seek another partner if her first one was impotent or infertile, which of course is a perfectly plausible scenario. Even if human biology is such that a woman can conceal the paternity of her child in a way that a man cannot do with regard to the mother of his offspring, the fact that his right to seek a different partner is explicitly affirmed while hers is never even mentioned makes it quite clear where the *Four Treatises* stood on mating and paternity patterns.

⁴¹ This is another topic that I am exploring in detail in my current book manuscript.

The listing of chapter titles in the introductory section of the *Four Treatises* positions the *bud med*, or “woman,” version of the label as the main one for the second *ro tsa* chapter. My own reading is that *bud med*, or “woman” is in fact the main taxonomical unit at stake, a pair with that of “man,” *skyes pa*. My guess is that the basic impulse all along was to provide medical means to repair a woman’s reproductive capacities in that second chapter. However, a strong patriarchal will to assert male dominance over women, coupled with a misogynist tendency to blame both lack of children and lack of sons on the woman – despite the *Four Treatises’* own clear recognition to the contrary – conspired to hold out the option of finding a different woman altogether if the first one did not seem worthy, be that in regards to her moral value, her reproductive powers, her sexual attractiveness, or all three.⁴² Having suggested that *bud med btsal ba* refers to the search for a woman in Occurrence 2, the text engages in some dissimulation in Occurrence 3, where it is speaking out of both sides of its mouth, as it were, at once. While the condition it is addressing here, bad karma, is surely only to be redressed by finding another woman — or giving up on the prospects of having progeny altogether — the final statement in the passage looks forward instead to the proper medical content of the following chapter. The overall *ro tsa* message is certainly ambivalent by the time it gets to Occurrence 4, suggesting medical cures to all of the female reproductive problems save one; here when it calls the chapter by the old name of “searching for a woman” it is anticipating – almost cynically, it would seem – the bottom-line outcome, when all of its medical means fails, to resort to the patriarchal prerogative. Occurrence 5 is most honest about that option, while Occurrence 6 faithfully represents the content of the chapter.

I don’t mean to suggest here that this is literally or precisely the logic (or lack thereof!) that the redactors of the *Four Treatises* “had in mind” in each of the six references to the auxiliary topic of *ro tsa*. I only rehearse it as a minimally plausible picture. Nor am I suggesting that the sDe dge rendition as we have it necessarily reproduces an “original” form of a studied undecidability. But while we can consider the possibility that our MS-1 witness, which has no linguistic pun in evidence, represents an earlier version of the text than our blockprints, and might even reproduce some more original or authentic version of the *Four Treatises*, even then we would still have a situation wherein some very reputable printing houses went on to introduce a linguistic ambivalence, which was also taken up by our commentators. Certainly, if the imputed ambivalence for which I am arguing were really only a spelling or copyist’s mechanical error, one would think that at least the ICags po ri edition, the product of the

⁴² Her sexual attractiveness is discussed in the first *ro tsa* chapter as being one of the factors that stimulates virility in him: sDe dge p. 242b.2.

principal medical college of Tibet in its heyday, and also subject to a further set of emendations some years after its carving, would have corrected the problem.⁴³ But even then, even in such a scenario in which the consistent renderings of MS-1 indeed turned out to be the oldest, and the later spelling inconsistencies a mere product of sloppiness, we would still have the deeper problems of sense and consistency in the original two *ro tsa* chapters, as has been explored in this article. We would still have the problem that the text announces the auxiliary topic as “searching for a woman” but then goes on to address that topic with an entire chapter on medical cures to infertility. One might say that even if MS-1 was the original copy written by the *Four Treatises*’ author, the apparent confusion introduced by the sDe dge or older exemplar thereof would actually represent a considered effort to emend such an imputed, “original” text, to make better — i.e., more ambivalent — sense.

As for the play on words that we find in the majority of our textual witnesses — whether they are “original” or represent later emendations — more than anything I am suggesting that the pun that we have discerned may have been a fortuitous ambiguity that was deployed only incidentally. But *bu med* as a gloss for *bud med* does turn out to be a good way to express a kind of patriarchal misogyny, whereby alternation between the homonyms reflects quite fittingly the alternating take on the entire question of a woman’s child bearing: either cure her medically or leave her. And while ostensibly the medical treatise should only be concerned with the first option, there is an irresistible urge to hint at the other as well, a wry wink of the eye that says if you can’t fix your *bu med* situation, fix your *bud med* situation.

I am guessing that the pun is fortuitous because despite various attempts to figure out the etymology of the odd term *bud med*, I am not aware of an explicit play on words in Tibetan literature about, say, the impure or debased “*bud med*” who will land you in a situation of “*bu med*” — that is, other than the case examined here.⁴⁴ I think rather that it was

⁴³ See note 12 above.

⁴⁴ dBang ‘dus, *Bod gangs can pa’i gso ba rig pa’i dpal ldan rgyud bzhi sogs kyi brda dang dka’ gnad ‘ga’ zhig bkrol ba sngon byung mkhas pa’i gsung rgyun g.yu thog dgongs rgyan*. Mi rigs dpe skruin khang, Beijing, 1981, p. 363, provides the following, seemingly contrived etymology of the term, which he attributes to sDe srid Sangs rgyas rGya mtsho’s *gSo rig khog ‘bugs*, regarding the origin of the sexes: “During the time of the first aeon, when the male and female organs were close to emerging, at one point a protuberance sort of thing in a lump-like shape grew in some. It became the male sign (*pho mtshan*, i.e., the penis) and thus [he is called] ‘grown’ (*skyes pa*, Skt. *jana*, in Tibetan the common term for a male, or man). In some it fell off (*bud nas*) and so they became ones who possessed a hole that lacked it, and therefore they were known as ‘fell off [and] gone’ (*bud med*).” (*bskal pa dang po’i dus pho mo’i dbang po’i sgo dod par nye ba’i skabs lba ba lta bu’i dbyibs ‘bur po re yod pa re zhig na la la ni skyes te/ pho mtshan du gyur pas skyes pa/ la la ni bud nas med pa’i bug pa can du gyur pas bud med du grags/*” Cf. the definition supplied by Sarat

accidental that the two main topics of concern to the male in the medical treatise with regard to sex and reproduction — i.e., women and sons (or the lack thereof) — are homonyms. I say it is fortuitous because it allowed the text to say things that might have been difficult to say too directly. If there was indeed a dissenting voice or aggrieved party who might have taken issue with the readiness of men to take another wife, it would have been easy to say, oh no, what we are talking about here is how to cure the condition of *bu med*. The text fumbles along awkwardly, shifting back and forth between *bud med* and *bu med*, not always entirely convincingly. But in the end the lucky homophony allows the male subject of *ro tsa* to have it both ways.

I have claimed that the text-critical method pursued in this article is feminist in character for two reasons. It is obvious that a consideration of patriarchal privilege, with its accompanying androcentrism and its not-infrequent misogyny, is central to what we normally think of as feminist analysis. But I would also add that the heightened tolerance for — and interest in — semantic ambiguity that was at the heart of this analysis might be characteristic of feminist criticism as well. This is not only because of the central feminist insight that part of the problem with things like androcentrism and misogyny is that they are frequently covert, and subject to a certain dissimulation. Feminist analysis has had to become good at looking behind masked agendas and pretension in order to do its work. But it is also comfortable, in any event, with a fundamental ambivalence in the location of meaning, given its close alignment with those movements in 20th century philosophy that have subjected the distinction between sign and signified to critical examination.⁴⁵ To be sure, the medical alternation between *bud med* and *bu med* does not achieve the metaphysical proportions of a famous exploration of another pun recognizable only in writing, that between *différence* and *différance*.⁴⁶ But it is probably safe to say that the Tibetan example is made possible by a similar undecidability in the very structure of linguistic signs, even if its politics are quite reversed, and the ambiguity it introduces into the Law of the Father is not necessarily to the advantage of women.




Chandra Das, *A Tibetan English Dictionary* (1902), repr. Kyoto: Rinsen Book Company, 1981, p. 872: *mtshan ma phyi la ma bud pas bud med ces pa yin* (“a *bud med* is one who is not put out (*bud pa*) at night outside.”) Das does not indicate his source for this definition.

⁴⁵ One example is sufficient, even if it is cited far too often: Judith Butler’s *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, New York: Routledge, 1990.

⁴⁶ Cf. Jacques Derrida, “Différance,” in *Margins of Philosophy*, translated by Alan Bass, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982. French original published in *Bulletin de la société française de philosophie*, July-September 1968.

A PRELIMINARY NOTE TO THE GYARONG COLOR TERMS

Yasuhiko Nagano
National Museum of Ethnology
Osaka

his small paper aims at describing analytically the color terms of Gyarong (*rGyal rong* in Written Tibetan [WT]), which is a Tibeto-Burman (TB) language spoken in the northwestern part of Sichuan Province, China. For the phonology, outline of grammar and genetic position of this language, refer to Nagano (2003).

Color terminology is an interesting topic of lexical semantics and cognitive anthropology. In the present paper, I will analyze the Gyarong color terms linguistically, and then, touch upon the so-called “evolution” of color terms. The informant is Rev. Sherap Lekden, a Bon monk at Bola (WT 'Bo la) monastery in Ma'erkhang (WT 'Bar khams), Aba Prefecture, Sichuan. His collaboration is highly appreciated.

1. Physics of color

Color is electromagnetic wave, the length of which is roughly between 380 and 740 nanometers. This is the range of wavelength we humans can perceive and is generally called as visible light. For instance, “red” as a pure spectral color has 630-700nm as wavelength and 480-430THz (terahertz) as frequency, while the wavelength of “violet” is 400-450nm with the frequency of 750-670THz.

Needless to say, all the humans can physiologically perceive the continuous optical spectrum equally, but the categorization of colors is multifarious. In Japanese, for example, the traffic light “Go” is called “blue” instead of “green,” although Japanese people physically distinguish the two and indeed have two distinct words. It means that “green” is included in “blue” as cognitive category which is reflected in lexical level.

Another example is Bassa in Africa, which has only two color terms, *hui* “cyanic” and *zīza* “xanthic” (Gleason 1961: 4-5). This categorization is parallel to the wavelength distribution of photosynthesis.

2. Description

Color is described by the combination of hue, brightness and saturation (chroma). In Munsell's system which is regarded as the most rigorous way of description, “purple,” for instance, for most English speakers is defined as 5P 4/10. 5P is a hue (name of color) for purple, whose brightness is 4 and saturation is full (=10). It is most desirable to use the set of Munsell Color Chart, but it is not so appropriate for fieldwork since its large number of color chips often confuses informants.

I used PCCS Harmonic Color Charts 201-L produced by Japan Color Research Institute, which is accepted among industrial designers worldwide. PCCS arranges 24 key colors in circle and other 204 color chips according to the color tones such as deep, soft, dull, vivid, and so on. I referred to the Munsell Color Charts only when the brightness and saturation markers are particularly investigated.

The key color terms of Gyarong are described as follows:

PCCS code	PCCS hue	Munsell code	Gyarong
1:pR	purplish red	10RP	kə wu rne
2:R	red	4R	kə wu rne
3:yR	yellowish red	7R	kə wu rne
4:rO	reddish orange	10R	li thi
5:O	orange	4YR	li thi
6:yO	yellowish orange	8YR	li thi
6:yO-dp	charcoal	7.5YR 5/8	ser muk
7:rY	reddish yellow	2Y	li thi
8:Y	yellow	5Y	sii po
9:gY	greenish yellow	8Y	sii po
10:YG	yellow green	3GY	jañ ku
11:yG	yellowish green	8GY	jañ ku
12:G	green	3G	jañ ku
13:bG	bluish green	9G	jañ ku
14:BG	blue green	5BG	jañ ku
15:BG	blue green	10BG	lañ kar, non kya
16:gB	greenish blue	5B	lañ kar, non kya
17:B	blue	10B	lañ kar, non kya
18:B	blue	3PB	non po
19:pB	purplish blue	6PB	lañ
20:V	violet	9PB	lañ
21:bP	bluish purple	3P	lañ
22:P	purple	7P	lañ
23:rP	reddish purple	1RP	lañ
24:RP	red purple	6RP	kə wu rne

In the brightness scale, the following three terms are found:

W	white	N9	kə pram
Gy-8.5	gray	N8	kə pki, kə phyi
Gy-7.5	gray	N7	kə pki, kə phyi
Gy-6.5	gray	N6	kə pki, kə phyi
B	black	N1.5	kə nak

No other color terms are obtained in color chips with different tones of each key term. Several rounds of this check lead the same result, and,

therefore, the eleven lexical items shown above can be regarded as “foci.”

2-1. Etymology of the lexical items

kə wu rne

This *kə-* prefixed word behaves as verb in Gyarong, and *rne* seems to be a cognate to PLB *ʔ-ni¹ (Matisoff 2003:40) and PTB *(r-)ni (Benedict 1972:91).

li t̥hi

This word is a loan from WT *li khri* “minium, red lead.”

ser muk

Ser is from WT *gser* “gold”, while *muk* seems to be from WT *smug* “dark bay, cherry-brown, brownish.” Gyarong “charcoal” is expressed as “brownish gold.”

sii po

This term is a complete loan from WT *ser po* [Lhasa Tibetan: ʼseebo] “yellow”.

ʃaṅ ku

This is also a loan from WT *ljang khu* “green”. WT *ljang khu* originally means “(pine) sprout,” and it seems cognate to WT *lcang* “willow.” As a universal tendency, “green” stands for “young, vivid, growing, immature.” Thus, WT *ljang phrug* is “a new-born baby.”

laṅ kar

Laṅ is a loan from Chinese *lan* 藍 “indigo” and *kar* from WT *dkar* “white.” This particular “blue” is expressed as “whitish indigo.”

ṅon kya

The same hue as *laṅ kar* has another name, *ṅon kya*. The first component *ṅon* is a loan from WT *sngon po* “blue,” while *kya* is from WT *skya* “gray, faint.”

ṅon po

A complete loanword from WT *sngon po* “blue.”

laṅ

A loan from Chinese *lan* 藍 “indigo.”

kə pram

Behaves as verb in Gyarong, and *pram* seems to be a cognate to PLB *plu (Matisoff 2003: 74) and PTB *plu “white” (Benedict 1972: 205) .

kə pki

Behaves as verb, but, no cognates to PLB or PTB

kə phyi

Behaves as verb, and may be a cognate to PLB *pwəy “gray” and PTB *pwa:y “husks” (Matisoff 2003:213).

kə nak

Behaves as verb, and *nak* is a TB root, corresponding to PLB *ʔ-nak^L “deep,” PLB *s-nak^H “black” (Matisoff 2003:603), and PTB *nak (Benedict 1972:88) and PLB/PTB *s-nak “black” (Matisoff 2003:317) .

2-2. Brightness check

Brightness of each foci color was checked by the Munsell chart. As is seen in *lan kar*, *-kar* appears after *ser*, *sii*, *lan*, and *non* when these are relatively brighter. *-kar* is from WT *dkar* “white,” which, suffixing to the root, functions as a brightness marker, as is the case in Tibetan (Nagano 1979:16-17).

Besides *-kar*, *-kya* appears for *non* “blue.” *-kya* is from WT *skya* “gray, faint,” and it may mark that the root color goes brighter. However, this does not appear for any other root color, and might be a saturation marker for a dull and somber tone.

Darker color is marked by *-nak*, which is from WT *nag*. This marker appears only with *ser*, *sii*, and *non*.

2-3. Saturation check

Saturation of each foci color was checked by the Munsell chart, but, there is no such lexical item which marks a more saturated or a less saturated color, except for *-kya* mentioned above.

In Tibetan, WT *-dmar* “red,” when it is suffixed, represents a higher saturation. Thus, WT *ljang dmar* is not the mixed color of “green” and “red” but highly saturated green (Nagano 1979: 22-24). I could not find any similar marker in Gyarong.

3. Structural analysis

The following can be deduced from the description shown in the previous section. For the hues, we have four kinds of lexical items:

- *kə-* prefixed terms, which behave as verb,
- loans from WT,
- loans from Chinese, and
- compound of loans from WT and Chinese.

For brightness, *-kar* “brighter” and *-nak* “darker” function as the markers. Both of them are loans from WT.

For saturation, we find no marker for it.

4. Developmental analysis

There seem to be several ways of establishing criteria for identifying basic or fundamental color terms. On the anthropology side, Berlin and Kay proposed their criteria to identify universal color categories and their evolutionary patterns, which has been widely accepted. Although their hypothesis was criticized from various angles, it is still valid in the sense that they pointed out monolexemicity and mono-significance as primary criteria for basic color terms (BCT; Berlin and Kay 1969:5ff, Kay 1975).

In this paper, I would like to claim another criteria based on linguistic viewpoint. They are:

- a. whether it is root-morphemic,
- b. whether it is mono-significant,
- c. whether it is not a loan from other language, and
- d. whether the root-morpheme is not reminiscent of some substance.

Applying these criteria to the lexical items shown in my description, only the *kə-* prefixed lexical items satisfy all the conditions above and are defined as the BCT of Gyarong.

All of the rest violate criteria (c) and (d), and they are not BCT's. Unlike Tibetan color terms, it is extremely difficult to determine the degree of basicness of non-BCT's.

As I mentioned earlier, *kə-* prefixed lexical items behave as verbs. This is parallel to the system of Tibetan color terms, in which *-po* suffixed ones are original adjectives descriptively and historically, behaving as verbs, and are regarded as primary BCT's.

5. Universal evolution?

5-1. Berlin and Kay's hypothesis on evolution of color terms

Interpretation of colors has been attempted since the time of Aristotle (for instance, his *De Coloribus* 792a:3-20, 1913 Oxford), and the scientific investigation of color was accelerated by the 18th century physics. In the field of lexical semantics, active research has been done for the past three decades by some anthropologists such as Conklin, Berlin, Kay et al. Above all, Berlin and Kay's hypothesis proposed in 1969 caused a great sensation among both anthropologists and linguists, and is now

regarded as a good starting point.

Their idea, which is basically unchanged from 1969, is that, contrary to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, in the case of color at least, rather than language determining perception, it is perception that determines language; in other words, Berlin and Kay tried to do away with relativism and to establish semantic universalism. In Kay and McDaniel's 1978 article, they seem to deepen this attitude, attacking Katz's idea of "semantic discreteness" and, instead of this, proposing a "fuzzy set" theory which serves to provide the most concise and adequate description of the semantics of BCT; that is, they abandoned discrete semantic primes and adopted continua.

Berlin and Kay set criteria for identifying BCT and applied these to their fieldwork (20 languages) and laboratory work (78 languages). Their criteria for BCT are: (a) it is monolexemic, (b) it is mono-significant, (c) its application is not restricted to a narrow class of objects, (d) it is relatively salient as evidenced by frequent and general use. These are followed by four sub-criteria, including those which exclude name of objects and recent foreign loans (Berlin and Kay 1969:6) .

Their basic experimental finding after applying the criteria is that "color categorization is not random and that the foci of BCT are similar in all languages" (Berlin and Kay 1969: 10). They conclude that "Although different languages encode in their vocabularies different numbers of basic color categories, total universal inventory of exactly eleven basic categories exists from which the eleven or fewer basic color terms of any given language are always drawn....The distributional restrictions of color terms across languages are: 1. all languages contain terms white and black, 2. if a language contains three terms, then it contains a term for red, 3. if a language contains four terms, then it contains a term for either green or yellow, 4. if a language contains five terms, then it contains terms for both green and yellow, 5. if a language contains six terms, then it contains a term for blue, 6. if a language contains seven terms, then it contains a term for brown, and, 7. if a language contains eight or more terms, then it contains a term for purple, pink, orange, grey, or some combination of these" (Berlin and Kay 1969: 2-3).

On the basis of their findings above, they interpreted that it "represents not only a distributional statement for contemporary languages but also the chronological order of the lexical encoding of basic color categories in each language. The chronological order is in turn interpreted as a sequence of evolutionary stages" (Berlin and Kay 1969: 4-5). Their temporal-evolutionary ordering is illustrated as follows:

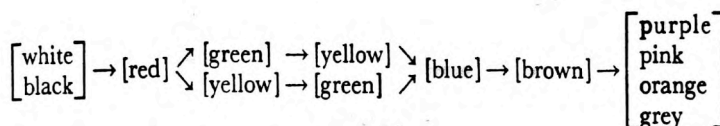


FIGURE 1.

This chart was improved upon several times and was finally shown as follows in Kay and McDaniel’s paper (1978: 639):

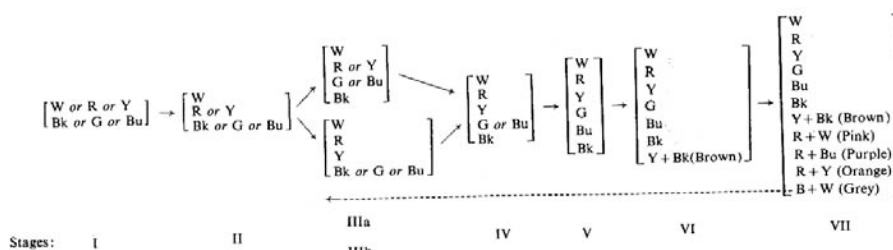


FIGURE 2.

Their work on color terms is a great contribution for the universal approach to semantic categorization. However, there seem to remain some problems to solve:

They seem to have relied excessively upon “foci” when they decided BCT and ignored the etymology of each term. English belongs to Stage VII of Figure 2, but “pink,” for instance, is one of carnations (therefore, a name of flower), and “orange” is apparently from the name of fruit. According to me, these two cannot be regarded as BCT of English.

Kay and McDaniel says “this distribution of color categories in the ethnographic present must reflect a sequence through which EACH language has to pass as it changes its number of basic color terms.” If they wish to attest this point, they are supposed to investigate each language’s history more carefully.

5-2. Gyarong’s basic color terms and their evolution

As I mentioned in Chapter 4 of this paper, RED, WHITE, BLACK and GRAY are the BCT’s of Gyarong. If we apply this categorization to Berlin and Kay’s Figure 1, its chronological order would be:



The sequence of WHITE, BLACK and RED perfectly corresponds to Stage II of Kay and McDaniel's Figure 2, whereas GRAY's position is lost, since it appears at Stage VII only. Berlin and Kay first thought that GRAY may occur after Stage IV, but this idea was instantly criticized, and they re-defined GRAY as a "wild card at various points in the sequence" (Kay and McDaniel 1978: 640). Similar discrepancy occurs for Russian *goluboy* (faint blue); faint color's position in the sequence must be reconsidered, whether you believe in "wild card" or not.

6. Epilogue

This small paper is a humble contribution to the lexical semantic approach to Gyarong that was left unstudied. But, it has a limited scope in extensiveness of both field research and dialect variation. A more detailed research is expected in the near future.

References

- Benedict, P. 1972 *Sino-Tibetan; A Conspectus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Berlin B. and P. Kay 1969 *Basic Color Terms*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gleason, H.A. 1961 *An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Kay, P. 1975 Synchronic variability and diachronic change in basic color terms. *Language in Society* 4:257-270.
- Kay, P. and Ch. K. McDaniel 1978 The linguistic significance of the meaning of basic color terms. *Language* 54(3): 610-646.
- Matisoff, J.A. 2003 *Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Nagano, Y. 1979 *An Analysis of Tibetan Color Terminology*. Qualifying paper at University of California, Berkeley.
- Nagano, Y. 2003 Cogtse Gyarong. in Thurgood, G. and R.J. LaPolla (eds.) *The Sino-Tibetan Languages* pp. 469-489, London: Routledge.



OBSERVATIONS ON AN 11TH CENTURY
TIBETAN INSCRIPTION ON A STATUE OF AVALOKITEŚVARA*

Amy Heller

This paper will review a dedication inscription first studied by Rahul Sanskritayana in 1957, more recently by Per Kvaerne and Laxman Thakur¹. The inscription is on the base of an Avalokiteśvara statue from Kamru (Kinnaur, India). Thanks to comparative photographs, here I present a new reading and interpretation of this inscription, which sheds light on the identification of the officiant of the consecration ceremony, thus establishing the chronological context of this statue c. mid-11th century. To my knowledge, this inscription is one of the most complete Tibetan consecration inscriptions of the early *phyi 'dar* period because it comprises the name of the subject of the statue, the donors, the officiant and the circumstances of the creation of this image.

Sanskritayana discovered the statue in the village temple of Kamru, Kinnaur in 1948, and published his observations. Unaware of Sanskritayana's study, in 1991, A. K. Singh and M. Chaturvedi re-discovered it there and brought photographs of the inscription and the statue to the 1992 IATS seminar where P. Kvaerne, C. Luczanits and I studied the inscription. According to Singh, Kamru is a small, ancient settlement lying along the trade route linking Kulu and Chamba with Tholing, about 4 to 5 days walk via Chitkul. The village of Kamru, called Mone in Kinnauri tradition, was the former capital of Kinnaur. Singh noted a local tradition that the village deities of Kamru (Kinnaur), Badrinath (Garhwal) and Tholing (Guge) are brothers and that they used to visit each other in former times.² Furthermore, local ritual songs narrate that the deity of Kamru first came from Tholing monastery.³ The statue was stolen in 1992, recovered in 1993, whereupon L. Thakur examined it in 1994 and visited the Kamru sanctuary. According to Thakur, an inscription in this temple dated 1974 records the name as A hra rang Mone lha khang.⁴ Thakur further stated that the temple was founded during the 11th century along with those of Ropa, Tasarang and Thangi.⁵

* Dedicated with esteem and friendship to Samten whose commitment to excellence in Tibetan studies has been an inspiration since more than thirty years!

¹ See R. Sanskritayana, *Kinner-deśa*, second edition, Allahabad, 1957, pp. 234-49; P. Kvaerne's reading is published in A. K. Singh, "An Inscribed Bronze Padmapāṇi from Kinnaur" *Acta Orientalia* 1994: 55: 106-110; L. Thakur, "A Magnificent Bronze Statue of Avalokiteśvara from Kamru and its Himalayan Legacy" *Oriental Art* 1998: 44/3: 57-61.

² A.K.Singh, *ibid*: 106.

³ A.K. Singh, *ibid*:108.

⁴ L. Thakur, *op. cit.* : 57.

⁵ L. Thakur, *ibid*: 61. Ropa is mentioned among the 21 smaller places where Rin chen bzang po is said to have founded a temple, Tibetan spelling Ro dpag, in the

The statue is exceptional for its large size (78 cm), skilled modeling of the body and jewelry, and fine craftsmanship of the brass alloy with inlay of silver and pitch (Figure 1), reflecting Kashmiri esthetic tendencies as known in western Tibet in the 11th century.⁶ The statue represents a crowned male Bodhisattva standing in slight *déhançement* inside a mandorla of stylized flames. The figure has a robust torso yet very narrow waist. His thighs are hefty but the lower legs are slender; the body is smoothly modeled revealing no muscular exertion. His four arms flank his torso. The arms are joined at the elbows: the upper left hand holds prayer beads, the lower left hand forms the *varada mudrā* of boon bestowing/generosity; the upper right hand holds a book in *dpe cha* format, the lower right hand clasps the stem of a lotus which is in full bloom above the right shoulder. This lotus is one factor for iconographic identification as a form of Avalokiteśvara. The most salient factor is the seated Buddha Amitābha in the central panel of the triple point crown. At present, to my knowledge, no *sādhana* in Tibetan or Sanskrit language describes this precise aspect of Avalokiteśvara.⁷ There are however two *sādhana* which describe peaceful aspects of six-armed Avalokiteśvara whose attributes include prayer beads, the book, and the lotus; a statue in this iconography, attributed to Kashmir, late 10th to early 11th century, is now conserved in the collections of the Musée Guimet (Figure 2); it bears the Tibetan inscription *na ga*, referential to the name of the early 11th century Guge prince Nagaradza (see note 6).⁸ It is therefore presumed that this iconography of Avalokiteśvara with four arms may represent a transient form of Avalokiteśvara popular in India and/or Kashmir, whence it was introduced to Tibet during the early *phyi dar*.

biography of Rin chen bzang po attributed to his immediate disciple. See discussion on this chronology for Ropa in C. Luczanits, *Buddhist Sculptures in Clay*, 2004: 57. Luczanits does not include Mone/Kamru among the 21 temples, according to the biography of Rin chen bzang po. The name Mo ne lha khang may perhaps be indicated by the temple Mo nang near Ro pa, according to *Mnga' ris rgyal rabs* (Vitali 1996: 110, 268-269).

⁶ As a contemporary example of this Kashmiri esthetic in western Tibet, compare the standing Buddha (98.1 cm) inscribed lha btsun na ga ra dza'i thugs dam ("personal image of lHa btsun Nagaradza"), who was a prince and monk of the Guge royal family, historically identified by Heather Karmay, 1975: 29-30 (Cleveland Museum of Art accession no. 66.30). This Buddha is Sakyamuni and has no jewelry. For similar crown and earrings in an Avalokiteśvara sculpture, said to have been imported to Guge by Rin chen bzang po, see D. Pritzker, "The Treasures of Par and Kha-tse", 2000: fig. 11; Tucci 1932/1988: 66 discussed this statue.

⁷ See M.-T. de Mallmann, Introduction à l'iconographie du bouddhisme tantrique, 1986: 109. In the two *sādhana* reviewed here for the white four-armed Avalokiteśvara, the principal pair of hands are joined in either *samadhi mudrā* or *anjali mudrā*, the attributes are a strand of prayer beads and the ubiquitous lotus; the bodhisattva is seated. In contrast, the Kamru statue is standing, has the book as attribute, and the principal hands are not joined.

⁸ See M.-T. de Mallmann, *ibid*: 110. The Musée Guimet Avalokiteśvara (MG 5493) is illustrated in A. Heller, *Tibetan Art*, 2000: plate 33 and p. 62.

Sanskritayana's transcription of the two line inscription is as follows⁹:

1. *lan bit ya ba das phyag len mdzad/ smon blon che klu mgon mched yum sras kyis yon bdag bgyis che 'das pa smon blon che shes*
2. *bcan gyis bsod nas su rigs gsum gyis ku bzhengsu bsol pas/ che 'das la dang mar yas pa'i sems can thand cad sgrab pa pyad bar gyurd cig/*

Sanskritayana published in Hindi, and his remarks have been summarized thus by Thakur, " He observed that a high minister of Mone named Nāganātha and his family members set up the Trijātika statues for the merits of a high minister named Jñānī or Prajñāvāna."

Kvaerne observed that the script and spelling of the inscription reveal specific archaic features (e.g. gyurd cig for gyur cig), stating that undoubtedly the inscription was co-eval with the creation of the statue (see Figure 3, photograph of the inscription by A. K. Singh). Kvaerne's translation corresponds to a large degree with Sanskritayana, but differs especially for the transcription of the first words and the name of the family line which he does not associate with any geographic locality:

1. *man bi ta byi dya (?) ba dras phyag len mdzad/ sMer blon che Klu mgon mched yum sras kyis yon bdag bgyis nas/ tshe 'das pa sMer blon che Shes*
2. *stsan gyi bsod nams su/ rigs gsum gyi sku bzhengs su gsol bas/ tshe 'das pa dang mtha yas pa'i sems can thams cad sgrib pa byang bar gyurd cig/*

Kvaerne translated thus:

Man-bi-ta-byi-dya-ba-dra applying the artisanal dexterity, and Klu-mgon, the great minister of the Smer-clan, together with his brothers, wife and sons acting as lay patrons, a request was made for the production of statues of the (Lords of the) Three Families for the good destiny of Shes-stsan, the late great minister of the sMer-clan; may the sin of the deceased and of living beings without number be removed thereby!

Thakur published additional photographs of the statue and the inscription.¹⁰ Thakur's reading of the inscription mainly corresponds with that by Kvaerne, but again the first few words differ¹¹:

⁹ Sanskritayana 1957: 234-49, cited by Thakur 1998: 61.

¹⁰ I thank Laxman Thakur for kindly sending me his article in 2006. It was his insistence that the first letter was pa which lead me to review the inscription.

¹¹ Thakur 1998: 57. Thakur does not cite Singh's publication with Kvaerne's translation of which he was apparently unaware. Thakur's translation, " Successfully gained admiration or glorious invocation: The Chief Minister of sMer, brother Klu-mgon, mother and son offered alms for the merits of the expired Chief Minister of sMer Shes-tsan, and after offering prayers, set up the statues of

1. *pana ba ti bye rya (tra?) ba cas phyag len mdzad/ smer blon che klu mgon
mched yum sras kyis yon bdag bgyis nas/ tshe 'das pa smer blon che shes*

2. *tsan gyi bsod nams su/ rigs gsum gyi sku bzhengsu gsol bas/ tshe 'das pa
dang ma' (>mtha') yas pa'i sems can thams cad sgrib pa byang par gyurd
cig//://*

Thakur remarked that the inscription is absolutely clear with the exception of the first line; the gist of his translation otherwise concurs with Kvaerne. Thakur further noted that sMer occurs in several petroglyphs in the Ladakh region recorded by Denwood and Orofino, although the precise individuals named in the statue's inscription are otherwise unknown.¹²

Due to the exceptional esthetic qualities of this statue, which relate to early 11th century sculptures of Kashmir and Guge, I have long been intrigued by the history of the statue and its ancient inscription, and its possible relation to an early family line documented specifically in the vicinity of Alchi, as the petroglyphs have been attributed to the period of the end of the Tibetan empire or early *phyi 'dar*. Comparison of the previous readings and photographs lead me to understand the first phrase quite differently, as follows:

*pan bi (>di) ta byi rya ba dras phyag len mdzad*¹³

which, in view of the adaptation into Tibetan letters of Sanskrit names, I understand as "Paṇḍita Vīryabhadra performed the ritual practice".

The full inscription reading is thus:

Paṇḍita Vīryabhadra made the ritual practice,

Trigotrānātha or Trijātika (i.e. Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi) for purifying the mental and moral defilements of a departed soul (i.e. Shes-tsan) and all infinite sentient beings".

¹² Among the 14 rock inscriptions discussed, see rock inscription 1(b) in P. Denwood, "Temple and Rock Inscriptions at Alchi" in D. Snellgrove and T. Skorupski, *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh*, vol.2: 118-163. See rock inscription Fig. 40 (Dep. 6014/36) in G. Orofino "A note on some Tibetan Petroglyphs of the Ladakh Area" in *East and West*, 1990: 173-200. Subsequently Tsuguhito Takeuchi has recovered some one hundred inscriptions among the rocks on the Alchi road (in press: *Old Tibetan Rock Inscriptions near Alchi*). I am grateful to Tsuguhito Takeuchi for informing me in 1992 that he had discovered several more inscriptions there notably mentioning sMer blon. I presented this data in 1995 at the IATS seminar, Graz, in the art history panel "The Middle Asian International Style, 11th-14th Century".

¹³ Long ago Kvaerne, Luczanits and I all read Man bi ta but it actually is pan bi ta: in fact the scribe missed the da due to a slip of the hand, adding an extra vertical stroke on the right, thus forming the letter ba. Kvaerne and I had read byi dya(?) but in the light of the photograph by Thakur, it is apparent that the superscribed letter is ra, not da.

/ ' ' / Pan bi ta (sic: paṇḍita) byi rya ba dras (>sic: bha dra) phyag len mdzad,

The great Smer minister Klu mgon, his brother(s), his wife and children acted as donors,

Smer blon che Klu mgon mched yum sras kyis yon bdag bgyis nas

For the merit of the deceased great minister Smer Shes (shes rab?) stsan it was requested to make the statues of the Three great (Protectors),

Tshe 'das pa sMer blon che Shes stsan gyi bsod nams su

Rigs gsum (mgon) gyi sku bzhengs su gsol bas

May the sins of the deceased and all sentient beings without limits be purified!

Tshe 'das pa dang ma' (mtha') yas pa'i sems can thams cad sgrib pa byang bar gyurd cig!://

An additional remark about the punctuation: after the siddham, the initial punctuation mark between two *shad* / ' ' / is similar to the scribe's marks at the beginning of manuscripts rediscovered in Tabo and Tholing¹⁴. Tucci listed the Paṇḍita Vīryabhadra as a translator who worked with Rin chen bzang po.¹⁵ There are 3 texts attributed to their translation preserved in the bstan 'gyur: the Samantabhadravṛtti (Cordier 1.149), the Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhīkā (Cordier 1.150) and the Suviśiṣṭasādhanopāyikā (Cordier 1. 154). In addition to his work with Rin chen bzang po, Vīryabhadra was the author of the Pañcakramapañjikāprabhāsārtha text included in the Tibetan canon, and translated Kṣemendra's text Bodhisattvāvadāna-kalpalatā.¹⁶ This means that the date of the statue can be inferred to be ca. 1025-50, roughly mid-11th century, due to the period of Vīryabhadra's translation activities in Tibet.

The chronological context of this sculpture is significant in regard to the production of art, painting and sculpture, in Guge by Kashmiri artists or their Tibetan students. In comparison to dated Kashmiri sculptures of the 10th to 11th century, which are fully finished in the round, the sculptures made in Guge adopting the Kashmiri esthetic idiom are often only partially finished in the back, which is indeed the

¹⁴ See C. Scherrer Schaub and G. Bonani, "Establishing a typology of the old Tibetan manuscripts: a multi-disciplinary approach" 2002: 191 and fig. 20.5; A. Heller (in press): "Three Ancient Illuminated Manuscripts from the Tucci Collection, IsIAO".

¹⁵ G. Tucci, Indo-Tibetica vol. 2: Rin chen bzang po e la rinascita del Buddhismo nel Tibet intorno al mille. 1931/ 1988 reprint: 45-48.

¹⁶ Naudou, Les Bouddhistes Kashmiriens, 1968: 200-202. I am grateful to Dan Martin for the data on Vīryabhadra (Brtson 'grus bzang po) as follows: Chimpa, THBI, p. 305; Biographical information in M. Mejer, Kṣemendra's Bodhisattvāvadāna-kalpalatā: Studies and Materials, Studia Philologica Buddhica, Monograph Series no. 7, International Institute for Buddhist Studies (Tokyo 1992), p. 3, n. 3. Contemporary of Atiśa, Kṣemendra and Rin chen bzang po. Re: Pañcakramapañjikāprabhāsārtha (Rim pa lnga pa'i dka' 'grel don gsal ba). Tōh. no. 1830. Derge Tanjur, vol. CI, folios 142v.7-180v.3. Its translation is attributed to Shes rab brtson 'grus in Gangs can mkhas grub, p. 171; Black Hat Tanjur, p. 428. Tr. by 'Bro Shes rab brtson 'grus.

case of the Kamru Avalokiteśvara. In their renditions of multiple arm deities, one may note the Kashmiri penchant for multiple arm deities where their arms are joined at the elbow, i.e. the multiple forearms extend from one elbow. In the Tibetan manuscripts re-discovered at Tholing by Tucci and Huo Wei, the illuminations of the goddess Prajñāpāramitā conform to this model; these paintings have long been believed to be the work of Kashmiri artists.¹⁷ The Kamru Avalokiteśvara statue also has the arms joined in this manner. The crown with three isosceles triangular panels is very similar to that of the life-size brass alloy statue of Avalokiteśvara now conserved near Tholing in Kha tse village, which Rin chen bzang po is believed to have commissioned in Kashmir as a funerary homage to his father. It is also similar to the crown of the inscribed Avalokiteśvara of the Musée Guimet. Although the crown of the Kamru Avalokiteśvara has lost the inset stones over time, these are still present in the Kha tse Avalokiteśvara which allows better appreciation of the successive layers of the crown, starting from the inset central stone, now red coral, in the Kha tse Avalokiteśvara.

We may recall the local legend in Kamru that the Kamru deity originally came from Tholing. The identification of Viryabhadra who worked with Rin chen bzang po, presumably at Tholing, as the officiant who performed the ritual consecration of the statue tends to corroborate the local legend. Where were the ministers of the sMer lineage then living — near Alchi, or Tholing or elsewhere? For now, we cannot say. The migration of clans and family lineages from one locality to another is a well known phenomenon, as is the migration of statues, of which this particular statue of Avalokiteśvara, now conserved in Kamru, may well be a pertinent example.

¹⁷ P. Harrison indicates concrete proof of Kashmiri artists upon magnified inspection of the manuscripts due to Indic script beneath the frames of the illuminations of the Tholing Prajñāpāramitā manuscripts collected by Giuseppe Tucci c. 1933 (“West Tibetan manuscript folios in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art”, 2007: 235). In 2002, Huo Wei discovered illuminated Prajñāpāramitā manuscripts in Kha tse, near Tholing (Huo Wei, Xizang Ali Zhada-xian Paerzong yizhi tanchengku de chubu diaocha” Wenwu 2003/9:60-73).



Figure 1. Avalokiteśvara, Kamru, photograph by A. K. Singh.



Figure 2. Avalokitesvara, Musée Guimet, photograph by H. Dubois.



Figure 3. Inscription on Avalokitesvara, Kamru, photograph by A.K. Singh.

Bibliography

- Harrison, P. 2007. Notes on some West Tibetan manuscript folios in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. In B. Kellner *et al* (eds.). *Pramānakīrtih. Papers dedicated to Ernst Steinkellner of the occasion of his 70th birthday*. WSTB, vol.70.1.
- Heller, A. 1999. *Tibetan Art, Tracing the Development of Spiritual Ideals and Art in Tibet, 600-2000 A.D.*, Milan, Jaca Book.
- Heller, A. (in press) Three Ancient illuminated manuscripts from the Tucci Collection, IsIAO. In *Stromata* (abstract) and *East and West*.
- Huo Wei, 2003. Xizang Ali Zhada-xian Paerzong yizhi tanchengku de chubu diaocha. In *Wenwu* 2003/9:60-73.
- Karmay, H. 1975. *Early Sino-Tibetan Art*, Warminster, Aris and Philips.
- Kvaerne, P. 1994, see Singh, A.K. 1994.
- Luczanits, C. 2004. *Buddhist Sculptures in Clay*. Chicago, Serindia Publications.
- Mallmann, M.-T. de. 1986. *Introduction à l'iconographie du bouddhisme tantrique*, Paris, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient.
- Orofino, G. 1990. A note on some Tibetan Petroglyphs of the Ladakh Area. In *East and West*, vol. 40:173-200.
- Pritzker, D. 2000. The Treasures of Par and Kha-tse. In *Orientalia* vol. 31/7: 131-133.
- Sanskritayana, R. 1957. *Kinner-deśa*, second edition, Allahabad. pp. 234-49.
- Scherrer-Schaub, C. and G. Bonani. 2002. Establishing a typology of the old Tibetan manuscripts: a multidisciplinary approach. In S. Whitfield (ed). *Dunhuang Manuscript Forgeries*, London, The British Library, pp: 184-215
- Singh, A. K. 1994. An Inscribed Bronze Padmapāṇi from Kinnaur. In *Acta Orientalia* vol. 55: 106-110.
- Takeuchi, T. (in press) " Old Tibetan Rock Inscriptions near Alchi."
- Thakur. L. 1998. A Magnificent Bronze Statue of Avalokiteśvara from Kamru and its Himalayan legacy. In *Oriental Art* vol. 44/3: 57-61.

Tucci, G. 1932 (1988). *Indo Tibetica, vol. II. Rin chen bzang po and the Renaissance of Buddhism in Tibet Around the Millenium*. New Delhi, Aditya Prakashan.

Vitali, R. 1996. *The Kingdoms of Guge-Pu.hrang According to Mnga'.ris rgyal.rabs by Gu.ge Mkhan.chen Ngag.dbang grags pa*. Dharamsala, Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang lo.gcig.stong 'khor.ba'i rjes.dran.mdzad sgo'i go.sgrig tshogs.chung.



AU-DELA DU DEBAT LINGUISTIQUE :
COMMENT DEFINIR LA LITTERATURE TIBETAINE D'EXPRESSION CHINOISE ?
« SPECIFICITES NATIONALES » ET « SPECIFICITES REGIONALES »¹

LARA MACONI (INALCO, PARIS)

Littérature chinoise, littérature *en* chinois : ou comment une simple préposition peut faire toute la différence. La littérature tibétaine d'expression chinoise, *en* chinois, fille illégitime de la littérature tibétaine, née de l'interface politique et culturelle sino-tibétaine depuis les années 1950s, n'a de cesse de justifier son existence face aux détracteurs qui l'assimilent d'office à la littérature chinoise. N'empêche, l'hybride dérange, le soupçon demeure : s'agit-il de littérature tibétaine ou de littérature chinoise ? La prolifération des œuvres littéraires en chinois, écrites par des écrivains tibétains d'expression chinoise a incité des intellectuels tibétains de divers milieux, surtout depuis les années 1980, à remettre en question la nature tibétaine de cette littérature, et à poser la question de sa définition et de sa classification. Des points de vue très contrastés continuent à faire obstacle à l'émergence d'un accord sur la définition exacte de la notion de « littérature tibétaine » en RPC².

La diversité des points de vue adoptés par les différents intellectuels tibétains sur la question de la langue en littérature a empêché jusqu'à présent l'émergence d'une définition satisfaisante de ce qu'est la littérature tibétaine contemporaine, et notamment la littérature tibétaine d'expression chinoise. Le grand nombre d'expressions utilisées pour ne serait-ce que désigner ce phénomène littéraire inédit jusqu'aux années 1950s prouve la difficulté à définir sa vraie nature et à négocier la moindre définition consensuelle. La liste des expressions employées pour désigner la littérature tibétaine d'expression chinoise, aussi appelée sinophone, est très longue; elle comprend, sans toutefois s'y borner, les expressions suivantes : *zangzu wenxue* 藏族文学 (littérature des Tibétains), *zangqu wenxue* 藏区文学 (littérature des régions tibétaines), *Xizang wenxue* 西藏文学 (littérature de la RAT), *Xizang difang wenxue* 西藏地方文学 (littérature régionale de la RAT), *Xueyu wenxue* 雪域文学 (littérature du pays des neiges), *caoyuan wenxue* 草原文学 (littérature des prairies), *zangzu hanyuwen wenxue* 藏族汉语文文学 (littérature tibétaine

¹ La publication de cet article n'aurait pas pu avoir lieu sans l'aide précieuse de Françoise Pommaret qui l'a patiemment relu et corrigé, et la gentillesse de Jean-Luc Achard, directeur de la *RET*, qui m'a fait l'honneur de bien vouloir accepter ma contribution.

² Pour une analyse détaillée de la question de la langue dans la littérature tibétaine contemporaine, et du débat linguistique et littéraire concernant la littérature tibétaine d'expression chinoise, voir, Lara Maconi, 2008(b). Pour les débats littéraires concernant plus précisément les cercles tibétophones de la littérature tibétaine, voir Luran Hartley, 2003, 2007, 2008.

d'expression chinoise), *yong hanyu xie de zangzu wenxue* 用汉语写的藏族文学 (littérature écrite par des Tibétains en chinois), etc. Parfois, la littérature tibétaine contemporaine en chinois est incluse dans des catégories plus générales telles que *shaoshu minzu wenxue* 少数民族文学 (littérature des minorités nationales), *minzu wenxue* 民族文学 (littératures des nationalités³), *Xibu wenxue* 西部文学 (littérature de l'Ouest [de la Chine]), *Xiyu wenxue* 西域文学 (littérature de [Chine] occidentale), *Xibei wenxue* 西北文学 (littérature du Nord-Ouest [de la Chine]), *Xinan wenxue* 西南文学 (littérature du Sud-Ouest [de la Chine]). Toutes ces définitions suggèrent que la question de la compréhension et de la situation de la littérature tibétaine d'expression chinoise n'est pas qu'un simple problème de « rectification des noms ». Trouver les termes adéquats pour décrire un phénomène littéraire qui défie les catégories critiques et les définitions admises traditionnellement reste un problème délicat sur les scènes littéraires tibétaine et chinoise.

Dans cet article, sur la base de documents en chinois publiés et inédits collectés sur le terrain, j'étudie l'émergence et l'évolution en RPC, à partir du début des années 1980s, des notions de *minzu xing* 民族性 (« caractère national » ou « spécificités nationales ») et *diyu xing* 地域性 (« caractère régional » ou « spécificités régionales ») en tant que catégories littéraires aptes à définir la littérature tibétaine d'expression chinoise au-delà du critère linguistique qui a constitué l'argument central des débats littéraires de l'époque. L'environnement littéraire étudié ici inclut à la fois les cercles critiques des littératures des nationalités chinoises, en général, et les acteurs littéraires plus directement concernés par la littérature tibétaine d'expression chinoise, en particulier. Dans un premier temps, j'analyse l'évolution des contenus et du débat autour des « spécificités nationales » (*minzu xing*). Ensuite j'étudie le débat autour des « spécificités régionales » (*diyu xing*), le phénomène litté-

³ Dans cet article, j'utilise le mot « nationalité » pour indiquer les populations non *han* (dont les Tibétains) qui sont de nos jours englobées dans la RPC. Une nationalité est un « groupement de personnes ayant une histoire et des traditions communes, et qui ne forme pas un Etat » (*Petit Larousse Illustré*, 1984, 672). Il est pertinent d'appliquer cette définition à la nation tibétaine dans son état actuel ; cela permet de faire la différence avec un état-nation indépendant politiquement tel que la RPC. Le mot chinois *minzu*, par lequel les populations non *han* sont généralement désignées en RPC, signifie à la fois « nation » (comme dans *zhonghua minzu*, la « nation chinoise ») et « nationalité » (comme dans *minzu zhengce*, « politique des nationalités »). Dans cette deuxième acception, il a souvent été traduit par la critique internationale par « ethnie » (ch. *renzhong*) ou « minorité » (en écourtant l'expression *shaoshu minzu*, « minorité nationale »). Depuis quelques années, néanmoins, dans les études chinoises et ethnologiques, on note un changement dans la traduction de *minzu* avec l'adoption de la traduction « nationalité ». Cela est dû au fait que le mot « nationalité », par rapport à « ethnie », est plus proche de l'original chinois et plus avantageux pour la population désignée en tant que *minzu* : le mot « nationalité », en effet, implique théoriquement une plus grande autonomie culturelle, et une plus grande affirmation identitaire que le mot « ethnie ».

raire de *xibu wenxue* 西部文学, « littérature western »⁴, et des relations entre la littérature tibétaine et la littérature de l'Ouest étant au cœur de mon analyse à ce sujet. Mon article voudrait donc montrer la diversité, la complexité, et la nature évolutive des débats politiques et littéraires autour de la littérature tibétaine d'expression chinoise au Tibet et en Chine dans les années 1980s. Cet article analyse également comment les changements politiques, économiques, et culturels cruciaux des années 1990s au Tibet et en Chine ont mis un terme à des débats qui, faute de briller pour l'originalité des solutions soulevées, avaient au moins le mérite d'exister.

I. Spécificités nationales et/ou spécificités régionales ? Lignes évolutives des débats

Très tôt au début des années 1980s, les tentatives d'appréhender d'une façon pertinente la littérature tibétaine d'expression chinoise et la recherche d'une définition satisfaisante pour ce phénomène littéraire nouveau se focalisèrent essentiellement autour de deux notions proposées par la critique littéraire concernant les nationalités chinoises : d'une part, il y avait *minzu xing* 民族性, à savoir le « caractère national » et ses diverses variantes, telles que *minzu tese* 民族特色 (caractéristiques nationales), *minzu tezheng* 民族特征 (spécificités nationales), ou encore, *minzuhua* 民族化 (nationalisation), cette notion posant le sentiment national des diverses nationalités chinoises au cœur du débat littéraire ; d'autre part, il y avait *diyu xing* 地域性, à savoir le « caractère régionale » et ses diverses variantes, telles que *diyu tese* 地域特色 (caractéristiques régionales), *diyu tezheng* 地域特征 (spécificités régionales), et *diqu tese* 地区特色 (caractéristiques régionales), cette notion incluant deux acceptions diamétralement opposées de la notion du territoire des régions frontières de la RPC qui reflétaient des climats politico-culturels très différents à des époques diverses en RPC. En effet, dans les années 1980s, dans les critiques concernant les nationalités chinoises, *diyu xing* signifiait le lien étroit et privilégié d'appartenance d'une nation ou d'une nationalité à un territoire originaire donné. Par la suite, la notion de *diyu xing* devait évoquer une conception plus pluriethnique, pluri-culturelle et pluri-linguistique du régionalisme où la nation se trouvait dépossédée de son territoire traditionnel en vertu du mélange des ethnies. Cette évolution de la façon d'appréhender la notion de *diyu xing* entre le début des années 1980 et les années 1990s, reflétait les changements du climat politique sino-tibétain, et l'évolution des conditions de vie sur le terrain au Tibet, la politique

⁴ J'utilise exprès l'expression « littérature western » (évoquant le western américain) pour désigner un phénomène cinématographique et littéraire qui a vu le jour en RPC dans les années 1980s. Je reviens largement sur ce sujet et ses relations avec la littérature tibétaine sinophone plus loin dans cet article.

d'implantation massive des populations de l'intérieur de la Chine depuis la fin des années 1980s radicalisant le sentiment de dépossession territoriale chez les Tibétains.

Selon les intentions initiales de la critique littéraire concernant les nationalités, entre la fin des années 1970s et le début des années 1980s, les deux notions de *minzu xing* et *diyu xing* devaient guider la réflexion littéraire tibétaine de la nouvelle époque d'une façon impartiale et équilibrée, aucune ne devait être privilégiée dans le travail littéraire, les deux notions offrant des approches critiques de la littérature tibétaine complémentaires, voir alternatives, mais non exclusives et univoques. Yang Enhong, par exemple, dans son « Panorama des textes littéraires et critiques des nationalités de l'année 1981 »⁵ présenté au « 2^{ème} Symposium sur la création littéraire tibétaine dans les cinq régions tibétaines »⁶ à Lhasa en 1982, défend les liens inséparables et complémentaires qui unissent *minzu xing* et *diyu xing* en tant que critères analytiques incontournables des littératures des nationalités chinoises :

Au sujet des caractéristiques nationales et des caractéristiques régionales [dans les littératures des nationalités ...], nous notons que certains critiques ont traité d'une façon exclusive les caractéristiques ou spécificités nationales. D'autres critiques ont mélangé les caractéristiques nationales et régionales ; ou ils ont carrément considéré que, les caractéristiques régionales faisant partie des caractéristiques nationales, il n'était pas nécessaire de les traiter séparément. [...Mais] j'estime que la situation de relative correspondance entre une même nation et une même région a déterminé la richesse, la complexité et la diversité des caractères nationaux et des tempéraments psychologiques des peuples. Cela explique pourquoi dans la création littéraire, il faut leur accorder la même importance [aux caractéristiques nationales et régionales].⁷

Ensuite Yang Enhong continue son argumentation en détaillant le statut paritaire détenu par *minzu xing* et *diyu xing* au sein de la critique littéraire des nationalités à ce stade initial du débat littéraire de la nouvelle époque littéraires en RPC :

Je reconnais aussi bien les points communs que les différences [qui existent] entre les caractéristiques nationales et les caractéristiques régionales.

⁵ Voir Yang Enhong, 1982, 12-25.

⁶ Pour une description détaillée des « Symposiums sur la création littéraire tibétaine dans les cinq régions tibétaines », voir Lara Maconi, 2008, vol. 1, 296-324 ; vol. 2, 189-237.

⁷ Yang Enhong, 1982, 16, 17 : *Guanyu minzu wenxue shang de minzu tedian he diqu tedian [...], women kandao zai tantao zhong, yixie lunwen jin jiu minzu tedian huo minzu tese, zuo le danyi de lunshu ; ling yixie ze jiang minzu tedian yu diqu tedian rouhe zai yiqi, huo gancui renwei diqu tedian baokuo yu minzu tedian zhi zhong, bubi fenkai taolun. [...]* You renwei : tongyi minzu, tongyi diyu de « datong, xiaoyi » de zhuangkuang, jue ding le minzu xing yu renwu xinli suzhi de fengfu xing, fuza xing, duoyang xing. Zhe ye jiushi women zai wenxue chuanguo zhong weishenme yao jiang « minzu tedian » yu « diqu tedian » bing ti de yuangu. [...]

ristiques régionales [en littérature]. Je ne considère point que la deuxième [catégorie] est supérieure à la première ou inclut la première ; je n'estime non plus que la première [catégorie] est plus importante que la deuxième ou englobe la deuxième. Je considère en revanche, qu'entre [ces deux catégories analytiques], il y a des liens croisés qui font que tantôt on retrouve des caractéristiques régionales parmi les caractéristiques nationales et, inversement, tantôt des caractéristiques nationales se trouvent parmi les caractéristiques régionales.⁸

Mais au-delà des positions officielles et des argumentations théoriques qui conféraient une importance égale à *minzu xing* et *diyü xing* en tant que critères de définition littéraire, dans la pratique littéraire et dans le vif du débat littéraire tibétain, ces deux concepts reçurent un support et un accueil très différents, l'intérêt des Tibétains se focalisant essentiellement autour de *minzu xing* 民族性, « le caractère national »⁹. Et si une lecture attentive des publications littéraires parues depuis la fin des années 1970s montre, à partir de la fin des années 1980s, l'émergence d'une désaffection vis-à-vis de la notion de *minzu xing*, cela, encore une fois, était dû aux changements du climat politique en RPC et au Tibet à cette époque. Ainsi, si pendant la décennie 1980-1990, tous les acteurs littéraires impliqués dans le débat littéraire tibétain, soutinrent sans réserves l'importance littéraire des « spécificités nationales » pour déterminer la tibétanité en littérature, à partir de 1986, en concomitance avec les premières émeutes tibétaines contre l'establishment chinois, le ton de la critique littéraire tibétaine sinophone (et, plus généralement, concernant les nationalités) commença à changer. L'importance de *minzu xing* en littérature fut alors de moins en moins évoquée jusqu'à disparaître graduellement entre 1989 et 1990 (avec la radicalisation des tensions politiques en RPC), pour ne jamais plus apparaître d'une façon déterminante par la suite. Parallèlement, d'autres catégories d'analyse littéraire, telles que *diyü xing*, furent mises en avant par la critique officielle. Elles dominèrent le paysage critique littéraire des nationalités et, par conséquent, tibétain pendant les années 1990s¹⁰.

À propos du changement du climat politico-culturel en Chine et au Tibet entre les années 1980s et 1990s, il est intéressant de noter que les critiques littéraires portant sur la littérature tibétaine sinophone ont

⁸ Yang Enhong, 1982, 17 : *Wo shi ji chengren wenxue de minzu tedian yu diqu tedian de lianxi xing you chengren qi chabie xing. Wo bu renwei erzhe zhi jian shi ni dayu wo, ni baokuo wo huo wo dayu ni, wo baokuo ni de guanxi, er renwei erzhe zhi jian de guanxi shi youshi ni zhong you wo, youshi wo zhong you ni de jiaocha guanxi.*

⁹ Les articles, en chinois et en tibétain, parus en RPC sur la question des « spécificités nationales » en littérature sont très nombreux ; voir, entre autres, Ban de mkhar, 1994 ; Bsod nams, 1987 ; Chas pa rTa mgrin tshe ring, 1998 ; Danzeng, 1981 ; E Ji'en, 1986 ; Jiang Yongzhang, 1987 ; Li Jiajun, 1989 ; Li Qiao, 1982 ; Sangs rgyas, 1987 ; Tshe dbang stobs 'byor, 1988 ; Tshe lo thar, 1994 ; Yang Jiguo, 1989.

¹⁰ Ces conclusions sont basées sur le dépouillement régulier et minutieux de la presque totalité des revues littéraires tibétaines sinophones. Voir, entre autres, en bibliographie, *Gesang hua*, *Gongga shan*, *Minzu wenxue*, *Xizang wenlian tongxun* et *Xizang wenxue*.

parfois utilisé des formules « combinées » qui, à première vue, semblaient vouloir proposer une solution de compromis entre les références au « caractère national » en vogue dans les années 1980s, et l'importance conférée aux « spécificités régionales » dans les années 1990s. Cette recherche du compromis entre des critères analytiques qui paraissaient désormais inconciliables, s'expliquait par le fait que, officiellement, les « caractéristiques nationales » étaient toujours perçues comme nécessaires et incontournables pour la définition d'une littérature nationale. Ainsi, Baima, par exemple, dans sa « Communication présentée à la 1^{ère} Session du 2^{ème} Cycle de Symposiums sur la création littéraire tibétaine des cinq régions tibétaines »¹¹ en 1994, parle de la nécessité d'une littérature tibétaine basée sur « *minzu diyu tese* » (expression qui, hors contexte, peut à la fois signifier « spécificités nationales et régionales » et « spécificités régionales des nationalités »). Mais cette expression accrocheuse car elle combine dans une même formule les mots-clés des débats de l'époque (*minzu*, nation ou nationalité ; *diyu*, région ; et *tese*, caractéristiques), ne signifie de fait, dans le contexte du discours de Baima, rien d'autre que « caractéristiques régionales des nationalités ». « *Minzu diyu tese* » est ici un synonyme de « *minzu de diyu tese* » qui évoque cette acception pluriethnique, pluri-culturelle et pluri-linguistique du territoire où le lien traditionnel entre nation et territoire s'est désormais perdu. L'époque où la notion de « nation » était au cœur du débat littéraire des nationalités et tibétain était définitivement révolue.

II. Autour de « *minzu xing* » 民族性 : les « spécificités nationales » de la littérature tibétaine d'expression chinoise

L'importance conférée aux « spécificités nationales » dans la littérature des nationalités chinoises, et, plus généralement, le soutien officiel à renforcer la cohésion *intra*-nationale des nationalités dans les années 1980s, doivent être appréhendés dans le contexte sino-tibétain d'après la Révolution culturelle. Le fait de mettre au centre des débats culturels et littéraires l'idée d'« appartenance nationale » et de « spécificités culturelles » après le dénigrement et la souffrance des années noires de la Révolution culturelle, ne fut pas perçu, par les autorités de Pékin, comme dangereux pour l'intégrité politique de la RPC. Au contraire, jusqu'à 1986, il fut considéré comme nécessaire et salutaire pour la stabilité sociale tibétaine et chinoise. Dans ce sens, la revendication des caractéristiques nationales dans des domaines culturels était encouragée par les instances culturelles officielles, au niveau central et régional. La revalorisation de la notion d'identité nationale auprès des nationalités de la RPC signifiait, pour l'establishment de l'époque, stimuler l'« esprit national » (*minzu jingshen* 民族精神) et la « vitalité nationale » (*minzu huoli* 民族活力), favoriser l'expression de l'« estime de soi » (*zi-*

¹¹ Voir Baima, 1994, 3.

zunxin 自尊心) et de la « confiance en soi » (*zixinxin* 自信心) auprès des nationalités, pour qu'elles aspirent à un plus grand « développement et perfectionnement de soi » (*ziwo fazhan* 自我发展, *ziwo wanshan* 自我完善)¹². Il ne s'agissait pas, de la part des organismes officiels de la culture, d'adopter des directives philanthropiques vis-à-vis des nationalités. La position officielle chinoise à ce sujet était au contraire très pragmatique, bien qu'excessivement optimiste. Comme le précise E Ji'en, critique et membre de la Fédération des arts et des lettres de la RAT, dans son article, le fait de promouvoir l'auto-considération nationale des Tibétains, leur auto-estime et leurs sentiments de force et de cohésion ne pouvait qu'être bénéfique pour la RPC, car cela revitalisait les Tibétains, les rendait plus actifs, forts et confiants, et favorisait leur adhésion spontanée aux projets de modernisation et développement de la RPC dans sa totalité¹³. De plus, continue E Ji'en, le fait d'attribuer la due considération aux spécificités nationales d'une nationalité favorisait la stabilité socio-politique régionale, tandis que la préservation des traditions nationales favorisait le développement du tourisme¹⁴. Cette vision progressiste, optimiste et pragmatique des valeurs nationales auprès des nationalités, en général, et des Tibétains, en particulier, reposait sur la confiance renouvelée que les hommes d'Etat chinois, aux divers niveaux du gouvernement, mettaient dans la nouvelle politique chinoise de réforme, d'ouverture, et de modernisation lancée par Deng Xiaoping en 1979.

La revalorisation des spécificités nationales auprès des nationalités chinoises et l'encouragement à l'expression des « caractéristiques nationales » en littérature pendant les années 1980s constituaient des orientations politico-culturelles nouvelles en RPC. Mais elles ne défiaient pas pour autant la vision fondamentalement socialiste du monde sur laquelle se fondait la RPC de la nouvelle époque. Au contraire, l'importance conférée aux questions identitaires et nationales en littérature dans les années 1980s reposait sur de solides bases théoriques socialistes dans la plus pure tradition soviétique. Dans ce sens, les références aux théories stalinienne des nationalités sont très fréquentes dans la plupart des articles que j'ai consultés sur ce sujet¹⁵ ; de même, l'importance primordiale conférée à la langue parmi les caractéristiques nationales en littérature peut être également considérée comme l'expression, légitimée par les théories stalinienne, d'une revendication identitaire tibétaine¹⁶.

¹² Voir, entre autres, E Ji'en, 1986, 36-38 ; Zhang Zhiwei, 1989, 12-32.

¹³ Voir E Ji'en, 1986, 36-38.

¹⁴ Voir E Ji'en, 1986, 36-38.

¹⁵ Dans les articles que j'ai consultés, les théories stalinienne sur les nationalités servent de référence historique et de justification aux argumentations du critique en question. Voir, par exemple, Bai Chongren, 1988, 87-92 ; Ding Shoupu, 1995, 330-342 ; Li Qiao, 1982, 90-91 ; Minzu wenxue zazhishi, 1986, 1988, 1990 ; etc.

¹⁶ Selon Staline, la langue nationale est la caractéristique incontournable d'une nation. Pour la définition stalinienne de nation, voir, Joseph Staline, 1994. Les théories stalinienne des nationalités sont connues en Chine depuis longtemps, avant même la

II-1. La création des revues littéraires des nationalités

L'encouragement officiel chinois à exprimer les « spécificités nationales » dans la littérature des nationalités après la Révolution culturelle signifia également la création de périodiques littéraires (ou de critique littéraire) spécialement conçus pour la littérature et les questions littéraires des nationalités chinoises. Ces périodiques servaient de vitrine de l'« establishment » pour la publication et la divulgation des directives officielles en matière de littérature des nationalités, des nouvelles orientations de la recherche sur les littératures des nationalités, et des textes d'écrivains des nationalités. Je ne citerai pas ici les périodiques littéraires édités au niveau provincial ou départemental concernant les nationalités autochtones de ces régions. Cependant les revues principales créées au niveau central après la Révolution culturelle afin d'encadrer et diffuser le discours chinois sur les caractéristiques et les questions nationales en littérature sont les suivantes : *Minzu yuyan* 民族语言 (*Langues des nationalités*) et *Minzu yicong* 民族译丛 (*Collection de traductions des nationalités*), bimensuels lancés en 1979 et édités à Pékin par l'Institut de recherche des littératures des nationalités de l'Académie chinoise des sciences sociales ; *Minzu wenxue* 民族文学 (*Littératures des nationalités*), mensuel de création littéraire lancé en 1981 et organe officiel de l'Association chinoise des écrivains pour les littératures des nationalités ; et *Minzu wenxue yanjiu* 民族文学研究 (*Etudes sur la littérature des nationalités*), trimestriel de théorie et de critique littéraire des nationalités chinoises lancé en 1983 et édité par l'Institut de recherche des littératures des nationalités de l'Académie chinoise des sciences sociales.

Mis à part *Minzu yuyan* et *Minzu yicong* – qui ne traitent pas directement de littératures des nationalités mais, respectivement, de questions linguistiques des nationalités chinoises et de traductions chinoises des littératures nationales étrangères – *Minzu wenxue* et *Minzu wenxue yanjiu* demeurent, de nos jours, les références officielles incontournables pour les questions littéraires des nationalités en RPC. Si l'intérêt scientifique de *Minzu wenxue yanjiu*, pour l'observateur des questions des littératures nationales chinoises, est certain, *Minzu wenxue*, en revanche, jouit d'une réputation défavorable parmi les écrivains des nationalités chinoises, et en particulier parmi les Tibétains. On reproche à

création de la RPC en 1949. Traditionnellement, elles constituent la référence théorique fondamentale pour les questions des nationalités en RPC. Il faut rappeler ici que dans la philosophie marxiste, les questions nationales et des nationalités (leur définition, leur statut et leur intégration dans un état conçu selon la philosophie marxiste) sont plutôt négligées, Marx conférant une place de choix à la notion de « classe sociale » mais pas à la notion de « nation ». Le monde vu par Marx est en effet un monde réglé par des contradictions économiques entre « classes sociales ». Joseph Staline (1879-1953), lui-même un géorgien, fut le premier homme d'Etat soviétique à élaborer une véritable théorie socialiste des nationalités sur laquelle je reviendrai dans ce chapitre. Pour une analyse des théories marxistes et de la question nationale en Chine, voir Germaine A. Hoston, 1994.

cette revue de privilégier d'une manière excessive le « politiquement correct » et de faire de la littérature un instrument sciemment politique au détriment de sa qualité littéraire. Les contributions tibétaines à *Minzu wenxue* sont plutôt rares, les écrivains tibétains généralement évitent de proposer leurs textes à ce magazine, même quand ils sont expressément sollicités par les organes officiels ou les éditeurs de la revue¹⁷. Le boycottage, de la part des écrivains tibétains, du numéro spécial d'août 2005 pour la célébration des 40 ans de la fondation de la RAT est peut-être l'exemple le plus remarquable de la déconsidération que les Tibétains portent à *Minzu wenxue*.

En effet la publication de numéros spéciaux pour la célébration d'événements politiques marquants de l'histoire de la RPC est une des grandes traditions de *Minzu wenxue*. La célébration des anniversaires de la fondation de la RAT fait partie de ces événements. Selon l'usage éditorial de cette revue, la collecte des textes d'écrivains tibétains sur le terrain se fait normalement en sollicitant les diverses associations des écrivains tibétains en RPC et les organismes littéraires locaux. Ceux-ci sont chargés de recueillir le plus grand nombre de textes possible et de les envoyer à la rédaction de *Minzu wenxue* qui effectue la sélection finale. Ce procédé éditorial a été suivi aussi pour la publication d'août 2005 qui célébrait les 40 ans de la création de la RAT, mais aucun texte tibétain n'est arrivé à *Minzu wenxue* à cette occasion. Aucune explication officielle ne fut fournie pour justifier ce désistement général. Du coup, alors que tous les médias chinois célébraient à longueur des journées cette date historique, *Minzu wenxue* fut obligée d'abandonner le projet du numéro spécial tibétain d'août 2005 au point que toute évocation de cette célébration fut supprimée dans la revue¹⁸. La rédaction se rattrapa avec le numéro suivant de *Minzu wenxue* (septembre 2005) consacré à la célébration des 50 ans de la fondation de la région autonome ouïgoure du Xinjiang, auquel les écrivains ouïgours, hui, tadjiks, kirghiz et kazakhs du Xinjiang participèrent en grand nombre¹⁹.

II-2. Evolution de la critique littéraire : des « spécificités tibétaines » aux « spécificités chinoises »

La notion de *minzu xing* (spécificités nationales) que j'ai déjà évoquée, est restée au cœur de la théorie des littératures des nationalités chinoises et de la littérature tibétaine d'expression chinoise jusqu'à la fin des années 1980s, malgré les excès nationalistes qui se manifestèrent, à partir de 1986, en RPC, et plus particulièrement dans la RAT. Mais dès 1986, l'establishment considéra qu'une promotion trop appuyée des

¹⁷ Mon article sur la présence de la littérature tibétaine dans la revue *Minzu wenxue* est en cours de rédaction. La publication est prévue en 2009.

¹⁸ Voir *Minzu wenxue*, no. 8, 2005. Informations recueillies au cours d'un entretien avec les éditeurs de *Minzu wenxue*, Pékin, septembre 2005.

¹⁹ Voir *Minzu wenxue*, no. 9, 2005.

« spécificités nationales » dans les arts et les lettres avait contribué à fomenter les troubles sociaux de la fin des années 1980s au Tibet. Ainsi, si en 1986 on n'assiste pas à des changements radicaux des directives littéraires officielles pour les nationalités, on note néanmoins que, parallèlement aux premières manifestations politiques contre le pouvoir central, et en réaction à ces manifestations, le ton du discours littéraire officiel chinois à propos des nationalités commence à s'orienter différemment²⁰.

Le 4 avril 1986 se tint à Pékin la « Première conférence de création et théorie littéraires des nationalités » (*Shoujie shaoshu minzu wenxue chuanguo lilun taolunhui* 首届少数民族文学创作理论讨论会) organisée par la rédaction de *Minzu wenxue* sous l'égide de l'Association chinoise des écrivains²¹. A cette conférence, les intervenants conférèrent toujours une place de choix aux « spécificités nationales » dans la littérature des nationalités, mais ils atténuèrent la valeur exclusive de ce concept par la prise en considération d'autres facteurs littéraires d'autant plus déterminants qu'ils étaient considérés comme étant étroitement liés aux « spécificités nationales ». Ces autres facteurs étaient essentiellement les « spécificités de l'époque » (*shidai xing* 时代性) et le « nature artistique » (*yishu xing* 艺术性) d'un texte donné. Selon les participants à cette conférence, si les spécificités nationales devaient continuer à constituer le cœur des littératures des nationalités, elles ne devaient pas pour autant être conçues d'une façon statique et rester figées dans le passé. Elles devaient garder une nature évolutive et savoir s'adapter à l'époque contemporaine. Les « caractéristiques nationales » devaient être en mesure de « s'actualiser » continuellement. Sur cette base seulement, l'écrivain de talent pouvait exprimer au mieux les « spécificités artistiques » propres de son art. On note ainsi que, déjà dans cette « Première conférence » de 1986, une nouvelle orientation de la littérature chinoise pour les nationalités s'esquissait. Les écrivains étaient encouragés à abandonner la recherche d'un certain essentialisme culturel et identitaire. L'époque n'était plus à chercher à définir les caractères distinctifs d'une nationalité en l'encrant dans la tradition ; elle prônait désormais l'évolution, le changement, l'ouverture, les mélanges, l'assimilation²².

En 1987, une étape supplémentaire fut franchie sur la voie de l'affaiblissement du concept de « spécificités nationales » en tant que critère incontournable des littératures des nationalités chinoises. Le 2

²⁰ Pour un exemple d'article où l'emphase sur *minzu xing* est déjà plutôt mitigée, voir, *Minzu wenxue zazhishi*, no. 7, 1990, 4-6.

²¹ La « Première conférence de création et théorie littéraire des nationalités » fut présidée par le poète de nationalité *bai* Malaqinfu (l'éditeur en chef de l'époque de *Minzu wenxue*). Les participants incluaient 40 acteurs littéraires issus de 10 nationalités chinoises (11 avec les Han) et originaires de 10 provinces chinoises. Le thème de la conférence était « Notre époque et les littératures de nos nationalités » (*Women de shidai yu women de minzu wenxue*). Pour un compte-rendu de cette conférence voir, *Minzu wenxue zazhishi*, no. 5, 1986, 93.

²² Voir, *Minzu wenxue zazhishi*, no. 5, 1986, 93.

novembre 1987 se tint à Pékin un « Symposium des écrivains des nationalités » (*Shaoshu minzu zuojia zuotanhui* 少数民族作家座谈会)²³. Ici on présenta officiellement la nouvelle orientation littéraire chinoise pour les nationalités qui, poussant au dynamisme, au changement et à l'ouverture, visait, par conséquent, à l'abandon des attachements aux traditions, aux cultures nationales, et aux évocations nostalgiques du passé. Les spécificités nationales perdaient officiellement son statut de caractéristique de référence des littératures nationales en RPC. Ce « Symposium », organisé par la rédaction de *Minzu wenxue* le jour suivant la clôture du 13^{ème} Congrès national du PCC (1^{er} novembre 1987), se faisait le porte-parole des décisions prises pendant le 13^{ème} Congrès en matière de politique littéraire des nationalités²⁴. Le compte-rendu des interventions met en avant un changement radical du discours littéraire chinois pour les nationalités : la recherche des éléments communs aux diverses nationalités devait remplacer désormais la recherche des spécificités distinctives de chaque nationalité ; l'orientation homogénéisatrice (uniformisante) et assimilatrice devait remplacer la quête identitaire et essentialiste. Comme l'exprime clairement Bao Chang (secrétaire de l'Association chinoise des écrivains de l'époque) dans son intervention au cours de ce « Symposium »²⁵, la recherche des caractéristiques distinctives des nationalités en littérature s'était avérée stérile et n'avait point favorisé l'évolution des littératures des nationalités chinoises. La quête des spécificités nationales avait amené à une production littéraire « monotone » (*dandiao de* 单调的), « rétrograde » (*bu jiefang de* 不解放的), et « renfermée » (*bu kaifang de* 不开放的). Pour remédier à cela, dit Bao Chang, il fallait « se forger une conscience du dépassement [de la tradition, sans pour autant renier] la culture nationale et régionale » (*lizu minzu, lizu bentu, you neng shuli chaoyue yishi* 立足民族, 立足本土, 又能树立超越意识). Il fallait surtout renforcer l'« égalité entre les nationalités » (*minzu pingdeng* 民族平等), l'« unité entre les nationalités » (*minzu tuanjie* 民族团结), et le principe des « deux inséparables » (*liang ge libukai* 两个离不开), à savoir, « les Han sont inséparables des minorités nationales » (*hanzu libukai shaoshu minzu* 汉族离不开少数民族), et « les minorités nationales sont inséparables des Han » (*shaoshu minzu libukai hanzu* 少数民族离不开汉族). Sur ce nouvel esprit d'unité entre les nationalités, d'une part, et entre les Han et les nationalités, d'autre part, devait naître une nouvelle littérature

²³ Pour un compte-rendu de ce Symposium, voir *Minzu wenxue zazhishe*, no. 1, 1988, 4-7. Ce compte rendu fournit une liste (non exhaustive) des principaux intervenants au Symposium. On y trouve : 5 écrivains mongols, 4 manchous, 3 coréens, 2 hui, 1 zhuang, et 1 tibétain (il s'agit de l'écrivain, chercheur, traducteur et intellectuel bilingue Don grub dbang 'bum, ch. Danzhu Angben, né en 1955 dans l'A mdo. Ancien directeur du département de tibétain de l'Université des nationalités de Pékin, il travaille désormais au Centre de traduction des nationalités de Pékin).

²⁴ Voir *Minzu wenxue zazhishe*, no. 1, 1988, 4-7.

²⁵ Pour un résumé de l'intervention de Bao Chang, voir *Minzu wenxue zazhishe*, no. 1, 1988, 7.

des nationalités chinoises qui promouvait les mélanges, le métissage et une plus grande ouverture aux apports des littératures chinoise et étrangère.

Une étude des revues littéraires tibétaines d'expression chinoise permet de confirmer la mise en œuvre, dans le contexte littéraire tibétain de la fin des années 1980s, des tendances littéraires générales analysées ci-dessus pour la littérature des nationalités. Ainsi, dans *Xizang wenlian tongxun* 西藏文联通讯 (*Lettre d'Information de la Fédération des arts et des lettres de la RAT*, édition interne, Lhasa, lancé en 1980) et *Xizang wenxue* 西藏文学 (*Littérature de la RAT*, Lhasa, lancé en 1977), on note une évidente diminution des évocations du concept de *minzu xing* et ses variantes déjà à partir de 1987, tandis que les derniers articles soulignant l'importance des caractéristiques nationales en littérature dans ces deux revues tibétaines sinophones datent de 1989 et 1990. Après 1989, la référence à *minzu xing* devient extrêmement rare, voir inexistante, les « spécificités régionales » (*diyù xing*) des textes et d'autres catégories de définition littéraire devenant prioritaires²⁶.

Dans le numéro 5 de 1993 de *Xizang wenxue*, par exemple, Tang Jinzhong remet en question divers articles publiés dans *Xizang wenxue* tout au long des années 1980s²⁷. Conformément au climat culturel de l'époque, ces articles soulignaient la « nécessité » (*biyào* 必要) de mettre l'accent sur les spécificités nationales de la littérature tibétaine, notamment de la littérature tibétaine d'expression chinoise. Tang Jinzhong revendiquait, au contraire, la possibilité et la nécessité, pour toute littérature des nationalités et pour la littérature tibétaine en particulier, de se libérer du fardeau des liens nationaux, pour aspirer à une plus grande liberté de choix de contenus et de langue d'expression. Il questionnait ainsi un des non-dits fondamentaux de la littérature tibétaine contemporaine, à savoir, le fait qu'un écrivain tibétain a presque l'obligation morale de traiter du Tibet dans ses textes. Pourquoi, demandait Tang Jinzhong, les écrivains tibétains devraient-ils se borner à des contenus tibétains ? Ne pourraient-ils pas rêver d'autres mondes hormis le Tibet ? La description des « spécificités nationales » en littérature, ne serait-elle, pour l'écrivain tibétain, une obligation politico-culturelle plutôt qu'une aspiration artistique ? Les argumentations de Tang Jinzhong étaient très habiles dans la mesure où elles arrivaient à diminuer l'importance des spécificités nationales en littérature, et ainsi, l'importance d'affirmer l'identité littéraire tibétaine, en soulevant une question cruciale et pertinente de la littérature tibétaine contemporaine et de l'identité littéraire tibétaine : quels contenus définiraient une littérature tibétaine ? Si la question est légitime, la réponse suggérée par Tang est, en revanche, assez simpliste car elle élude les facteurs socio-politiques sous-jacents à toute expression artistique tibétaine en RPC. En affirmant que les écrivains tibétains devraient arrêter de se replier sur eux-mêmes à la recherche de soi-disant « caractéristiques nationa-

²⁶ Voir, en bibliographie, *Xizang wenlian tongxun* et *Xizang wenxue*.

²⁷ Voir Tang Jinzhong, 1993, 125-128/124.

les », qu'ils devraient regarder ailleurs et aller de l'avant, Tang Jinzhong considérait la recherche des racines chez l'intellectuel tibétain comme le résultat d'un simple repli communautaire plutôt que l'affirmation d'une quête identitaire profonde. Comme le disait un écrivain tibétain que j'ai eu l'occasion d'interviewer, écrire sans parler du Tibet signifiait pour lui trahir un peu.

Dans la deuxième moitié des années 1990s, les changements d'orientation politique des littératures des nationalités et de la littérature tibétaine d'expression chinoise vers une remise en question de l'importance des spécificités nationales en littérature (remise en question qui s'était amorcée dès la fin des années 1980s, je le rappelle), s'intensifièrent. Au fur et à mesure que le troisième millénaire approchait, alors que les arts et la littérature chinoise *han* s'affranchissaient des derniers tabous socio-culturels et osaient braver les anciens interdits (sexuels et politiques, par exemple), un ton étrangement rétrograde caractérisait les orientations politiques officielles pour la littérature tibétaine. Les vieux slogans politiques réapparurent pour exprimer des contenus à peine renouvelés. En fait, le monde littéraire tibétain d'expression chinoise n'arrivait pas à se remettre de la crise politique et culturelle déclenchée par les diverses tentatives de censure littéraire tout au long des années 1980s et par les émeutes autour de 1987.

L'article de Liu Zhiqun daté de 1999 et intitulé « Orientations pour la littérature de la RAT » (Xizang wenxue de zouxiang)²⁸ était particulièrement intéressant car il traitait des nouveaux critères littéraires qui étaient censés remplacer *minzu xing* et ses variantes dans les années 1990s et 2000s. Le but de cet article était de présenter ces nouveaux critères et de fournir des propositions pour construire au Tibet une « culture tibétaine, nationale et socialiste pourvue de spécificités chinoises » (*you Zhongguo tese Xizang shehuizhuyi minzu wenhua* 有中国特色西藏社会主义民族文化) et, plus précisément, dans le domaine littéraire, « une littérature et des arts tibétains, nationaux et socialistes pourvus de spécificités chinoises » (*you Zhongguo tese Xizang shehuizhuyi minzu wenxue yishu* 有中国特色西藏社会主义民族文学艺术). L'expression « pourvu de spécificités chinoises » (*you Zhongguo tese de* 有中国特色的) devint l'épithète cruciale des arts et littératures des nationalités chinoises des années 1990s, notamment de la littérature tibétaine. Cette notion était centrale aux argumentations de Liu Zhiqun et remplaçait définitivement l'expression désormais obsolète « pourvu de spécificités nationales » (*you minzu tese de* 有民族特色的) qui avait dominé les années 1980s. La quête identitaire en littérature cédait désormais sa place à l'exigence d'assimilation et fusion (*ronghe* 融合) dans le melting-pot culturel chinois.

²⁸ Voir Liu Zhiqun, 1999, 119-128. Toutes les citations entre guillemets dans les paragraphes ci-dessus où je traite de l'article de Liu Zhiqun sont tirées de ce même article.

Les références théoriques des argumentations de Liu Zhiqun étaient les directives culturelles détaillées par Jiang Zemin dans son « 15^{ème} Rapport » (Shiwu da baogao 十五大报告) tenu au 15^{ème} Congrès national du PCC en septembre 1997. Ce fut à cette occasion que, pour la première fois, Jiang Zemin, en soulignant l'importance de l'éthique dans la culture chinoise pour les années 1990s, associa la notion de « culture » à la notion de « socialisme à la chinoise » en proposant la formule « culture socialiste avec des spécificités chinoises » (*you Zhongguo tese de shehuizhuyi de wenhua* 有中国特色的社会主义的文化)²⁹. Précédemment, notamment au 14^{ème} Congrès national du PCC en 1992, Jiang Zemin avait déjà lancé le slogan qui devait devenir le slogan moteur des années 1990s en RPC, à savoir le « socialisme à la chinoise » (*you Zhongguo tese de shehuizhuyi*), mais il l'avait appliqué au commerce, à l'initiative privée et à l'économie de marché. A l'époque, il envisageait d'orienter ainsi le développement dans les domaines de l'économie, la politique, l'éducation mais il ne l'avait pas encore associé à la culture, l'art et le littérature. Il le fera donc au 15^{ème} Congrès du PCC en 1997³⁰. La « culture socialiste avec des spécificités chinoises » que Jiang Zemin présenta à ce Congrès s'exprimait à travers la théorie des « trois orientations » (*san ge mianxiang* 三个面向). Dorénavant la culture chinoise « s'orientait vers la modernisation » (*mianxiang xian-daihua* 面向现代化), « le monde » (*mianxiang shijie* 面向世界), et « le futur » (*mianxiang weilai* 面向未来). « S'orienter vers la modernisation » signifiait que la culture, avec la politique et l'économie, devenait le « moteur spirituel nécessaire » pour la modernisation chinoise ; « s'orienter vers le monde » signifiait le développement de la communication, des échanges, et de l'ouverture vers l'extérieur ; « s'orienter vers le futur » signifiait évoluer, aller de l'avant tout en relativisant l'importance des traditions et du passé.

Liu Zhiqun s'appropriera des nouvelles formules du « 15^{ème} Rapport » de Jiang Zemin pour élaborer des nouveaux critères littéraires spécialement conçus pour la littérature tibétaine des années 1990s et 2000s. Ainsi, la formule de Jiang Zemin « culture socialiste avec des spécificités chinoises » devint, dans l'article de Liu Zhiqun, « littérature tibétaine nationale et socialiste pourvue de spécificités chinoises » (*you Zhongguo tese Xizang shehuizhuyi minzu wenxue yishu*). Selon Liu Zhiqun, l'avantage de l'approche littéraire qu'il proposait reposait sur le fait de continuer à prendre en compte l'aspect « national et tibétain » de la littérature du Tibet même si elle privilégiait les caractéristiques « socialistes à la chinoise ». De cette manière, dit Liu Zhiqun, la littérature tibétaine pouvait continuer sa quête d'un style tibétain distinctif

²⁹ Pour une citation de divers extraits du « 15^{ème} Rapport » de Jiang Zemin au 15^{ème} Congrès national du PCC, voir Liu Zhiqun, 1999, 119-128.

³⁰ Pour une version intégrale du « 14^{ème} Rapport » de Jiang Zemin au 14^{ème} Congrès national du PCC, voir Jiang Zemin, 1992, 1-50. Pour des interprétations officielles de ce discours, voir, Renmin chubanshe éd., 1992 ; Shi Zhongquan, 1992 ; Teng Wensheng, 1992.

tout en privilégiant les caractéristiques culturelles communes à toute la RPC. Le Tibet pouvait ainsi montrer sa fidélité à l'autorité centrale de Pékin tout en contribuant à créer un « front uni » culturel pan-chinois capable de faire face aux intentions hégémoniques des cultures étrangères. Liu Zhiqun préconisait une période de transition pour promouvoir et divulguer d'une façon importante le « socialisme à la chinoise » dans les arts tibétains. Il remarquait qu'il y avait bien eu des évolutions des arts tibétains depuis la fin de la Révolution culturelle, mais que de nombreux problèmes demeuraient. Il s'agissait en fait de problèmes plus politiques que littéraires. En citant à plusieurs reprises les discours de Chen Kuiyuan³¹ sur la décadence culturelle tibétaine des années 1990s, Liu Zhiqun constatait une certaine dégradation culturelle au Tibet contemporain. Elle était essentiellement due aux influences néfastes de la « clique séparatiste du Dalai Lama » et à la pratique trop diffusée de la religion au Tibet, mais aussi à un manque de formation et d'éducation patriotique, marxiste et socialiste dans la région. La nouvelle orientation littéraire que Li Zhiqun proposait devait contribuer à résoudre cette dégradation ; elle devait préparer la littérature tibétaine à entrer dans le 21^{ème} siècle.

Dans cette perspective « trans-séculaire » (*kua shiji de* 跨世纪的), à savoir, de transition entre le 20^{ème} et le 21^{ème} siècle, la littérature tibétaine devait jouer un rôle politique et économique très important, son utilité politique n'étant pas en contradiction avec sa rentabilité économique. Au contraire, il s'agissait de « conjuguer deux rentabilités » (*liang ge xiaoyi de tongyi* 两个效益的统一). Dans la mesure où la littérature tibétaine avait la capacité de captiver les esprits par des belles images, elle devait utiliser son pouvoir persuasif pour « soutenir et diffuser le marxisme, la pensée de Mao et les théories de Deng Xiaoping »³². Selon Liu Zhiqun, les Tibétains qui croyaient pouvoir se passer de la politique dans l'art se trompaient car la politique représentait

³¹ Chen Kuiyuan, secrétaire du PCC de la RAT entre 1992 et 2000, est resté dans la mémoire de tous les Tibétains et observateurs du Tibet pour la dureté de sa politique tibétaine. Ses discours sur la menace séparatiste tibétaine et sa décadence culturelle dues aux influences de la culture traditionnelle, de la religion et, surtout, du Dalai Lama et sa clique, marquèrent l'histoire du Tibet des années 1990s. Parmi les discours les plus virulents de Chen Kuiyuan, on rappelle, par exemple, celui du 11 juillet 1997 où Chen critiqua l'excessif libéralisme culturel tibétain des années 1980s et un certain nombre de livres, films et chansons qui circulaient au Tibet dans les années 1990s. Il critiqua notamment la publication, en 1996, de la traduction chinoise d'une *Histoire générale du Tibet* (œuvre qu'il considérait réactionnaire) rédigée en tibétain en 1989 par le poète et historien tibétophone Chab spel tshe brten phun tshogs (né en 1922). Un autre discours mémorable de Chen Kuiyuan fut transmis à la Radio du Tibet le 9 novembre 1997. Chen dénonçait un certain nombre d'intellectuels et savants tibétains en les traitant de « réactionnaires occultes ». Pour une version intégrale du discours de Chen Kuiyuan du 11 juillet 1997, voir, *Xizang ribao* (Quotidien de la RAT), 16 juillet 1997, 1-4. Pour une version intégrale du discours de Chen Kuiyuan du 9 novembre 1997, voir, *Xizang ribao* (Quotidien de la RAT), 21 novembre 1997. Pour des sources occidentales sur les discours et la politique de Chen Kuiyuan, voir : Agence France Presse, 1997 ; Barnett, 2002, 302-308 ; Barnett, 2003 ; Chen Kuiyuan, 1997 ; Tin News Update, 1997.

³² Voir Liu Zhiqun, 1999, 119-128.

l'aspiration ultime de l'art. En même temps, l'importance accordée, dans les années 1990s, au développement économique n'était pas incompatible avec la fonction socio-politique de la littérature. Comme Jiang Zemin l'avait dit dans son « 15^{ème} Rapport », la littérature possédait un pouvoir marchand certain qu'il fallait exploiter dans la nouvelle économie de marché chinoise. Un texte ne devait pas seulement être « sain » (*jiankang* 健康) mais aussi émouvant, vivant, attractif, et compétitif pour être gagnant face à la concurrence culturelle internationale. Etant donné la commercialisation de la culture, continuait Liu Zhiquan, l'écrivain tibétain devait prendre en considération les goûts esthétiques du « lecteur-empereur ». Et afin de satisfaire la demande du marché littéraire il ne fallait pas hésiter à changer la vérité historique de certains contenus pour les moderniser selon le goût du lectorat.

En fait les directives en matière de politique culturelle chinoise annoncées dans le « 15^{ème} Rapport » de Jiang Zemin contribuèrent au déclin graduel que la littérature tibétaine d'expression chinoise avait commencé à connaître dès la fin des années 1980s. Menacée de perdre à jamais la possibilité d'exprimer ses spécificités nationales, confrontée à des impératifs d'assimilation toujours plus pressants, devenue de nouveau un instrument au service de la politique, et considérée, de plus, comme un produit marchand, la littérature tibétaine d'expression chinoise de la fin des années 1990s avait définitivement perdu l'enthousiasme et la vivacité de ses débuts glorieux dans les années 1980s.

II-3. Les spécificités nationales en littérature : quelles sont-elles ?

Après avoir analysé le discours critique chinois sur les « spécificités nationales » en littérature et leurs relations avec la littérature tibétaine d'expression chinoise à partir des années 1980s jusqu'aux années 1990s, il convient de répondre ici à la question suivante : au-delà de la langue, quelles sont ces spécificités nationales qui, selon la critique sino-tibétaine des années 1980s, faisaient d'une littérature une littérature nationale, et rendaient « tibétaine » la littérature *en* chinois écrite par des Tibétains ?

L'étude que j'ai menée à partir des sources disponibles³³ montre, comme on l'a vu, que, si les articles de critique littéraire évoquant l'importance des « spécificités nationales » étaient extrêmement nombreux dans les années 1980s, les articles qui donnaient une définition de ces « spécificités » étaient plutôt rares. Les critiques citaient volontiers *minzu xing*, *minzu tese*, etc., sans expliquer véritablement de quoi il

³³ Les informations que je fournis dans cette section se fondent sur un choix d'articles traitant de *minzu xing* dans la littérature tibétaine d'expression chinoise. Ces articles sont les suivants : Bai Chongren, 1988 ; Ding Shoupu, 1995 ; Jiang Yongchang, 1987 ; Li Jiajun, 1989 et 1996 ; Li Qiao, 1982 ; Yang Zhen, 1986 ; Zhang Chengzhi, 1983.

s'agissait³⁴. On a noté également un certain consensus de la critique autour du contenu du concept de *minzu xing* là où des explications de *minzu xing* étaient fournies. Mis à part quelques légères variations d'interprétation, les diverses définitions des caractéristiques distinctives des littératures nationales en RPC étaient plutôt convergentes. Ce consensus se fondait sur une théorie officielle des nationalités commune à tous les spécialistes en RPC, la définition de nation de Staline étant la référence incontournable à ce propos³⁵.

Hormis la langue nationale qui, étant donné l'épineuse situation de diglossie au Tibet, était souvent traité comme une problématique en soi, la liste des spécificités nationales et littéraires les plus fréquemment citées par la critique sino-tibétaine incluait : la nationalité de l'auteur, le sujet traité, l'environnement géographique du texte, les références à la culture traditionnelle et à l'histoire de la nationalité en question, la pertinence et la finesse des descriptions psychologiques des personnages, et la vraisemblance des situations décrites. Généralement, les critiques, après avoir cité les diverses spécificités nationales qui constituaient les littératures des nationalités, choisissaient de mettre en avant un critère national et littéraire dont la présence, à leur avis, était incontournable dans une littérature nationale pour qu'elle soit considérée comme telle. Il s'agissait normalement du critère qui, selon l'auteur du texte critique, serait le plus à même de façonner l'identité nationale d'une littérature. Ainsi Yang Enhong, par exemple, dans sa communication présentée au « 2^{ème} Symposium sur la création littéraire tibétaine dans les cinq régions tibétaines » de Lhasa en 1982, défendait l'importance de l'origine ethnique des écrivains qui seule, selon son analyse, caractérisait l'identité nationale d'une littérature³⁶. Li Jiajun, au contraire, dans son intervention au « 3^{ème} Symposium sur la création littéraire tibétaine dans les cinq régions tibétaines » de Lanzhou en août 1983, privilégiait le contenu des œuvres³⁷. Il soulignait, notamment, l'importance, pour l'écrivain tibétain, de traiter de sujets au « goût de beurre et *rtsam pa* » (*suyou zanba wei* 酥油糌粑味), « le beurre et la *rtsam pa* étant de vraies

³⁴ Cela arrive fréquemment en RPC, c'est une méthode facile et sûre utilisée par les intellectuels afin d'éviter le piège des changements brusques de définition des concepts liés aux changements imprévisibles du climat politique. L'intellectuel, en RPC, est constamment confronté à des impératifs officiels divulgués, pour la plupart, à travers des formules et expressions figées (*minzu xing*, *minzu tese*, par exemple). Apprendre à gérer et intégrer dans son activité spéculative ces formules est une des tâches les plus délicates de l'intellectuel chinois. Il possède plusieurs expédients à ce propos. Il sait, par exemple, que, spécialement dans les périodes de transition, les formules restent mais ses contenus changent vite. Il sera moins risqué pour lui d'éviter de détailler le contenu des formules en question en les laissant ouverte à toute interprétation.

³⁵ Staline définit une nation de la sorte : « Communauté humaine stable qui s'est constituée historiquement sur la base d'une langue commune, mais aussi d'un territoire, une vie économique, et une perception psychologique communs qui se sont exprimés dans une culture commune. » (Voir Joseph Staline, 1994, 20. La traduction de l'anglais au français est personnelle.)

³⁶ Voir Yang Enhong, 1982.

³⁷ Voir Li Jiajun, 1983.

spécificités culturelles exclusivement tibétaines »³⁸. Li Jiajun changera son propos plus tard, dans d'autres articles, étant donné les réactions extrêmement critiques et passionnées que sa formule avait suscitées dans les cercles littéraires tibétains³⁹. Enfin, Ding Shoupu soulignait l'importance de la psychologie des personnages dans la recherche d'une « tibétanité » littéraire qui allait au-delà des évocations superficielles du Tibet. Selon son propos, les aspects distinctifs d'une nationalité pouvaient s'exprimer en littérature à travers, d'une part, la langue nationale (qui, par définition, faisait défaut dans la littérature tibétaine d'expression chinoise), d'autre part, par une façon spécifique et distincte d'appréhender le monde⁴⁰.

Danzeng, en 1981, signait un des articles parmi les plus critiques mais aussi complets, sur la question des spécificités nationales dans la littérature tibétaine d'expression chinoise⁴¹. Il s'attaquait notamment à la question de la folklorisation du Tibet en littérature. Il constatait que la lecture d'une bonne partie des textes d'expression chinoise sur le Tibet procurait au lecteur averti le « sentiment que le récit n'était pas vraiment crédible » (*bu hen xiang de ganjue* 不很象的感觉). Le fait de chercher des expédients littéraires pour exprimer les « caractéristiques nationales » dans un texte, disait-il, ne justifiait pas pour autant l'abus de « détails étranges » (*lieqi henji* 猎奇痕迹) ou excessivement ordinaires, tels que « le beurre, la *rtsam pa*, les montagnes enneigées, les pâturages, le ciel bleu et les nuages blancs ». Selon Danzeng la clé du problème demeurait dans le fait que la plupart des écrivains qui traitaient du Tibet, des Chinois mais aussi des Tibétains, ne connaissaient pas suffisamment le Tibet, et cherchaient à maquiller leurs textes d'une couche tibétaine par la description de détails de la vie quotidienne tibétaine qu'on pouvait facilement observer partout au Tibet. Très peu d'écrivains, faisaient l'effort, selon Danzeng, d'approfondir leur connaissance du Tibet. Le résultat était une littérature « stéréotypée » (*gongshihua* 公式化) où « les Chinois portent des habits tibétains, et les Tibétains portent des habits chinois »⁴², où les « Chinois ne sont plus Chinois, et les Tibétains ne sont plus Tibétains »⁴³. Après avoir critiqué la production littéraire contemporaine tibétaine d'expression chinoise, Danzeng proposait quelques méthodes efficaces de « tibétanisation »

³⁸ Voir Huiyi mishuzu, 1983(b), 1.

³⁹ L'expression « littérature tibétaine au goût de beurre et *rtsam pa* » a été perçue d'une façon très négative par les Tibétains. Pour eux, elle signifiait une littérature où les spécificités nationales sont exprimées d'une façon excessivement ordinaire et superficielle. Elle était un synonyme de folklorisation littéraire. Pour un exemple d'article où Li Jiajun montrait avoir changé son point de vue sur la littérature tibétaine « au goût de beurre et *rtsam pa* » en prenant en compte les critiques tibétaines, voir Li Jiajun, 1996, 73.

⁴⁰ Voir Ding Shoupu, 1995, 335-339.

⁴¹ Voir Danzeng, Document interne inédit, Xining, 15 – 27 août, 1981.

⁴² Voir Danzeng, Document interne inédit, 1981, 2 : *Hanzu chuan shang zangzhuang, zangzu chuan shang hanzhuang*.

⁴³ Voir Danzeng, Document interne inédit, 1981, 2 : *Han bu han, zang bu zang*.

(*zangzuhua* 藏族化) littéraire. Tout d'abord, l'écrivain devait s'imprégner de culture tibétaine dans sa diversité et complexité. Puis, dans la phase de rédaction, il devait bien travailler les personnages, notamment leur cohérence et crédibilité culturelle, psychologique, et environnementale (liée à la géographie, l'histoire, l'époque et le cadre de vie locaux).

Jiang Yongchang, dans son article « National, Mondial »⁴⁴, abordait la question du statut et de la fonction des littératures des nationalités confrontées à la mondialisation de la culture. Afin d'établir quelle était la place laissée aux « spécificités nationales » des littératures face aux moyens de communication sophistiqués qui facilitent les échanges internationaux, Jiang proposait une définition plutôt originale des caractères nationaux. A la différence de ses collègues qui, dans leurs critiques, choisissaient de mettre en avant un des critères définissant une culture nationale, Jiang Yongchang considérait que les spécificités nationales d'un texte consistaient en la nature même du texte en question, à savoir ce qui rendait un texte unique, ce qui lui conférait une valeur esthétique et une longévité certaine. La « tibétanité » d'un texte n'était pas liée à sa langue, son contenu, la nationalité de son auteur ou la pertinence culturelle et psychologique des personnages. Un seul critère ne suffisait pas pour signer l'identité d'un texte. Selon Jiang, la « tibétanité » d'un texte était le résultat d'un ensemble harmonieux d'éléments divers qui le rendaient incomparable et unique. En raison de cette harmonie intrinsèque au texte, le critique ne pourrait pas saisir ses spécificités distinctes, séparément et analytiquement. Un texte riche en spécificités nationales était un texte qui rendait l'esprit d'une nationalité sans en laisser transparaître les différents critères. Par conséquent, un texte où les caractéristiques nationales s'exprimaient au mieux était un texte harmonieux d'une très bonne qualité littéraire où l'esprit de la nation rejoignait le Beau.

III. Autour de « *diyu xing* » 地域性 : littérature tibétaine et « littérature western »⁴⁵

Parmi les diverses expressions utilisées pour définir la littérature tibétaine d'expression chinoise autrement que par son écartèlement linguistique et ses spécificités nationales, la notion de « littérature western » (*Xibu wenxue* 西部文学) a été une des plus controversée. La tentative de contourner le débat linguistique et, par conséquent, la question nationale, intrinsèque à la littérature tibétaine contemporaine a ainsi laissé la place, dans la critique littéraire officielle en RPC, à d'autres

⁴⁴ Jiang Yongchang, 1987.

⁴⁵ J'utilise ici l'expression « littérature western » en raison des nombreuses références au genre western américain contenues dans les articles qui alimentent le débat sur la littérature tibétaine d'expression chinoise et/ou la littérature western (ou de l'Ouest chinois) dans les années 1980s. L'analyse des termes de ce débat fait l'objet de la section qui suit.

critères de définition littéraire, moins sensibles, mais autant controversés. L'introduction de la notion de « littérature western » (*xibu wenxue*) impliquait un changement d'orientation dans la réflexion littéraire tibétaine : l'accent n'était plus posé sur les « caractéristiques nationales » mais sur les « spécificités régionales » (*diyu xing* 地域性) de la littérature⁴⁶. Plus précisément, face à la radicalisation du sentiment national auprès de certains groupes tibétains, et à la politique d'occupation massive des territoires tibétains par des Chinois venus de l'intérieur, ce fut une acception bien précise de la notion des « spécificités régionales » en littérature qui fut retenue par la critique littéraire concernant les nationalités. Au début des années 1980s, *diyu xing* correspondait à une vision du territoire en tant qu'environnement géographique et culturel distinctif d'une nation et, dans ce sens, le territoire faisait partie des « caractéristiques nationales ». En revanche, vers la fin de la décennie 1980, le territoire était désormais conçu comme une frontière ouverte où les spécificités d'une nation se noyaient dans les coutumes et les rythmes des populations nouvellement implantées et devenues majoritaires. Ainsi, une littérature qui reflétait l'environnement géographique où elle se développait était une littérature plurielle qui exprimait la diversité des langues, des cultures, des nationalités et des sensibilités qui peuplaient ce territoire. La littérature écrite en chinois dans la RAT depuis les années 1950, par exemple, avec ses diverses influences, par des écrivains issus de diverses nationalités, pouvait bien correspondre à une telle définition. Mais pouvait-on considérer ce type de littérature comme de la littérature tibétaine ?

III.1 La politique de « grand développement de l'Ouest » et la littérature tibétaine

En 2000, le gouvernement de Pékin a officiellement lancé la stratégie du « grand développement de l'Ouest » (*Xibu da kaifa* 西部大开发)⁴⁷ qui est

⁴⁶ Pour une réflexion sur les « spécificités régionales » (*diyu xing*) dans la littérature des nationalités, voir, entre autres, Bai Chongren, 1992, 150-159.

⁴⁷ Dans cet article, selon l'usage consacré, je traduis l'expression chinoise *xibu da kaifa* par la tournure française « grand développement de l'Ouest », en rendant le mot *kaifa* par « développement » (ceci n'étant pas son sens littéral mais la traduction consacrée adoptée par la critique et la presse internationales) plutôt que par « exploitation » (ceci étant son sens littéral). En effet, on retrouve souvent les expressions « politique du développement de l'Ouest », en français, et « Great Western Development Strategy », en anglais. Mais le mot chinois pour dire « développement » est généralement « fazhan » 发展 (développer, évoluer, progresser) et non « kaifa » 开发 (exploiter, mettre en valeur, défricher), et les deux ne sont pas interchangeable. *Fazhan* est beaucoup plus général et neutre que *kaifa* ; *kaifa* est beaucoup plus connoté, y compris politiquement. Dans l'usage courant en RPC, on fait « évoluer » et « développer » (*fazhan*) n'importe quelle situation ou état de choses qui peuvent avoir déjà atteint un certain niveau de développement ; mais on « exploite » et « défriche » (*kaifa*) ce qui est primitif, inculte, sauvage, non civilisé. Pour cela, dans le discours de Pékin, on « développe » (*fazhan*), par exemple, l'Est chinois (qui est considéré comme déjà évolué), mais on « exploite » (*fazhan*) l'Ouest chinois (qui est

devenue l'un des axes politiques et économiques majeurs du développement et de la modernisation chinoise du troisième millénaire. La construction de la ligne de chemin de fer entre Golmud et Lhasa inaugurée le 1^{er} juillet 2006, n'est qu'un des projets pour le Tibet dans le cadre de cette politique. Depuis quelques années, un nombre très important de publications chinoises traitent des directives, des buts et des enjeux de cette nouvelle politique, notamment en termes économiques et des relations avec et entre les nationalités locales⁴⁸. Les magazines spécialisés en littérature des nationalités, tels que *Minzu wenxue*, ont aussi consacré des articles à la question des liens entre le « développement de l'Ouest » et les conséquences positives de cette politique sur les littératures des nationalités *in situ*. Le premier « Forum sur le développement de l'Ouest et la floraison de la littérature des nationalités » (*Xibu da kaifa yu fanrong shaoshu minzu wenxue luntan* 西部大开发与繁荣少数民族文学论坛) s'est tenu à Chongqing le 13 et 14 octobre 2001. Les contenus des interventions, tels qu'elles ont été publiées dans le numéro 12 de 2001 de *Minzu wenxue*, sont plutôt politiques et, mis à part les anciens slogans de promotion de l'unité nationale, les propositions pour développer les littératures des nationalités dans le contexte du développement de l'Ouest ne sont pas très novatrices : soutenir les bons écrivains, diffuser leurs ouvrages, s'occuper de leur formation (notamment à l'Institut littéraire Lu Xun de Pékin, Beijing Lu Xun wenxueyuan), améliorer la revue *Minzu wenxue* en tant que vitrine de ces publications, soutenir la création en langues nationales et les traductions en chinois de textes en langues nationales (ces dernières résolutions, dans le contexte tibétain, étant plus des vœux théoriques que des engagements concrets)⁴⁹.

Pour ce qui est du Tibet dans ce contexte politico-économique nouveau, un « Séminaire scientifique sur le grand développement de l'Ouest chinois et la modernisation de la RAT et des autres régions tibétaines » (*Zhongguo xibu da kaifa yu Xizang ji qita zangqu xiandaihua xueshu yantaohui* 中国西部大开发与西藏及其他藏区现代化学术研讨会) a eu lieu à Chengdu en novembre 2000⁵⁰. Les sujets traités en priorités furent la préservation de l'environnement tibétain, le développement

considéré comme particulièrement arriéré). Théoriquement, *kaifa* signifie « exploiter » avec le but d'apporter des bénéfices, de mettre en valeur, de faire progresser ce qui est complètement délaissé. Il s'agit pour l'Etat chinois d'apporter la civilisation là où elle n'y serait pas.

⁴⁸ Depuis 2000, en RPC, la quantité de publications au sujet de *Xibu da kaifa* est énorme. En guise d'exemple, voir la collection en 12 volumes éditée par Dai Xian : Dai Xian éd., 2000. Voir également Wu Shimin, 2001.

⁴⁹ Pour un choix de ces interventions dans *Minzu wenxue*, no. 12, 2001, 1-12, voir Anonyme, 2001(b) ; Tiemuer Dawamaiti, 2001 ; Jin Binghua, 2001 ; Jidimajia, 2001.

⁵⁰ Pour un compte-rendu de ce séminaire, voir Anonyme, 2001, 27-36. Une liste des 50 intervenants et les titres de leurs interventions sont donnés à la fin de cet article. La plupart des interventions traitent d'économie et tradition, 4 interventions abordent la question religieuse, 1 la question de la langue. A signaler également que le no.4 de 2000 de *Xizang yanjiu* est consacré à l'application économique au Tibet des directives de *xibu da kaifa*.

de l'industrie et du tourisme, la promotion de l'économie de marché et l'urbanisation. La question de la préservation de la culture traditionnelle tibétaine a été également abordée en proposant de trouver le juste milieu entre préservation et développement, et faire de la préservation culturelle un enjeu économique. Personne n'a parlé de culture et littérature contemporaines, et 'Jam dpal rgya mtsho (ch. Jiangbian Jiacao 降边嘉措, écrivain et chercheur, né en 1938), l'unique acteur littéraire tibétain présent, a parlé de tradition et écologie.

Quelques rares articles d'intérêt limité traitent, néanmoins, de l'évolution de la littérature tibétaine contemporaine dans le cadre de la politique chinoise de « grand développement de l'Ouest », dans des revues traditionnellement consacrées à la littérature tibétaine d'expression chinoise tels que *Xizang wenxue*⁵¹. Yang Xia, dans son compte-rendu de la « Conférence sur les études de littérature tibétaine : Approches présentes et futures » (*Zangzu wenxue yanjiu xianzhuang yu qianjing xueshu zuotanhui* 藏族文学研究现状与前景学术座谈会) qui s'est tenue en février 2001 à Pékin, relate très brièvement les positions officielles des intervenants à ce sujet⁵². Selon ce compte-rendu, la littérature tibétaine, qu'elle soit d'expression tibétaine ou chinoise, doit assurer l'« unité entre sa nature nationale et internationale » (*minzu xing he guoji xing de tongyi* 民族性和国际性的统一), « son esprit d'ouverture et de préservation » (*kaifang xing he fengbi xing de tongyi* 开放性和封闭性的统一), « sa composante traditionnelle et moderne » (*chuangtong xing he xiandai xing de tongyi* 传统性和现代性的统一). L'utilisation d'Internet en littérature avec la création de sites nouveaux, témoignerait, selon Yang Xia, d'une cohabitation possible entre moyens modernes et formes littéraires plus traditionnelles, entre modernisation (de l'Ouest) et littératures nationales. Selon les analyses officielles chinoises, la politique de développement de l'Ouest ne peut donc qu'être bénéfique pour la littérature tibétaine car richesse économique implique richesse culturelle et littéraire. Quant aux positions des intellectuels tibétains sinophones sur cette question, dans l'ensemble, les documents sinophones disponibles suggèrent que les nouvelles directives chinoises de développement de l'Ouest et les influences qu'elles pourraient avoir sur les diverses politiques et pratiques littéraires locales ne semblent pas susciter un enthousiasme démesuré. Les observateurs chinois du monde tibétain ne semblent pas non plus se passionner par ce sujet.

III.2 « Littérature western » et littérature tibétaine : le débat des années 1980s

Dans les années 1980s, en revanche, alors que les efforts économiques chinois étaient concentrés sur les régions côtières de l'est, que le *xibu*

⁵¹ Voir, en guise d'exemple, Yan Zhenzhong, 2001.

⁵² Voir, Yang Xia, 2001, 92.

chinois n'était pas encore devenu un centre d'investissement économique-culturel important sur le plan national de la RPC, et que l'environnement culturel tibétain était très actif et dynamique, au Tibet, d'une manière moins officielle, loin des directives de Pékin, se développait un débat très vivant sur les rapports entre littérature tibétaine et « littérature western » chinoise. La question de l'Ouest en des termes littéraires devint ainsi centrale au Tibet pendant quelques mois, parallèlement au débat linguistique sur la littérature tibétaine d'expression chinoise et la question des « spécificités nationales » en littérature. La vitrine de ce débat au Tibet fut la revue sinophone *Xizang wenxue* (*Littérature de la RAT*)⁵³. Entre le numéro 10 de 1985 (où une note de la rédaction annonçait la naissance d'une « fièvre western en littérature », *wenxue shang de xibu re* 文学上的西部热) et le numéro 4 de 1986 (où un échange entre sept acteurs littéraires de la RAT clôturait ce débat au Tibet), divers articles permettent de retracer la genèse et les enjeux du débat entre « littérature western » et littérature tibétaine dans les années 1980s⁵⁴.

Toutefois, ni en durée, ni en importance, ni en participation, le débat sur les liens entre la littérature tibétaine et la « littérature western » chinoise ne peut être comparé avec le débat sur les spécificités nationales en littérature. Le débat autour de *xibu wenxue* au Tibet n'a été très vif que pendant quelques mois, il a connu une participation plutôt marginale des acteurs littéraires tibétains, notamment des acteurs tibétophones, les intellectuels les plus impliqués étant des jeunes éduqués avant-gardistes de Chine intérieure qui, dans les années 1980s, rêvaient d'aventures, de modernité, d'authenticité et d'espaces vierges à explorer. Pour eux, le Tibet figurait parmi ces espaces « western ».

Après la Révolution culturelle, la fascination pour la culture « western » (dans laquelle, dans un premier temps, le Tibet n'était pas inclus) comme phénomène socio-culturel chinois d'une certaine envergure remonte à 1984 quand le célèbre critique de cinéma Zhong Dianfei 钟惦斐⁵⁵, à l'occasion de la sortie de *Rensheng* 人生 (La Vie)⁵⁶, incitait le

⁵³ Pour les numéros consultés de *Xizang wenxue*, voir, en bibliographie, *Xizang wenxue*.

⁵⁴ Parmi les articles que nous avons pu récolter qui témoignent du débat sur la littérature tibétaine et la littérature de l'Ouest, voir Shu Hua, 1985, 46-47 ; Li Yaping, 1985, 83-85 ; Tang Zhanmin, 1985, 56-57 ; Hai Cen, 1986, 57-62 ; Anonyme, 1986, 44-46.

⁵⁵ Zhong Dianfei (1919-1987), célèbre critique de cinéma connu pour ses propositions de réforme du cinéma chinois pendant les années 1980. Son nom est lié à la 5^{ème} génération de réalisateurs qui a fait connaître le cinéma chinois dans le monde entier. Zhong Dianfei est le père de Zhong Acheng (né en 1949), alias A Cheng, très célèbre écrivain du courant de la « recherche des racines » dont les œuvres ont été traduites en plusieurs langues étrangères dont le français (voir, A Cheng, *Les Trois rois*, Noël Dutrait trad., Alinéa, 1988).

⁵⁶ *Rensheng* (La vie) : film réalisé par Wu Tianming en 1984, produit par Xi'an Film Studio, 90 min., 16mm, en couleur, avec Zhou Lijing, Wu Yufang, Gao Baocheng, Qiao Jianhua. Wu Tianming, réalisateur et producteur de cinéma (il dirigea le Xi'an Film Studio entre 1985 et 1988), produisit certains des meilleurs films des réalisateurs chinois de la 5^{ème} génération : « Le voleur de chevaux » (Tian Zhuangzhuang, 1986), « Sorgo rouge » (Zhang Yimou, 1987), etc.

monde du cinéma chinois à produire des films « western » à la chinoise (*Zhongguo xibu pian* 中国西部片). Ce phénomène auquel, en 1984, la littérature ne participait pas encore, s'inspirait directement de la production western hollywoodienne. La « fièvre western » en littérature démarra en Chine au début de 1985 avec une réunion informelle des écrivains du « Nord-Ouest » (*xibei*)⁵⁷ chinois qui se tint en marge de la 4^{ème} Assemblée générale de l'Association chinoise des écrivains. Ils lancèrent le mouvement de la « littérature western chinoise » (*Zhongguo xibu wenxue*). L'engouement pour cette nouvelle mode fut très rapide : dès le début de 1985, la revue *Dangdai wenyi sichao* 当代文艺思潮 (*Courants littéraires et artistiques contemporains*) organisa trois forums sur la « littérature western » chinoise⁵⁸ ; en juillet 1985 à Yining (région autonome ouïgoure du Xinjiang), les écrivains et artistes du « Nord-Ouest » (*xibei*) organisèrent un grand colloque sur cette littérature, et divers magazines littéraires changèrent de nom afin de porter dans leur titre le mot *xibu*, « Ouest »⁵⁹. Dès le lancement de ce mouvement, les questions centrales se focalisèrent sur la nécessité, d'abord, de définir géographiquement le *xibu* chinois ; ensuite, d'analyser la notion de *xibu* littéraire, plutôt par rapport à sa portée culturelle qu'à sa portée géographique. L'inclusion ou l'exclusion de la RAT dans le *xibu* chinois devinrent centrales aussi bien dans les débats géographiques que culturels et littéraires de l'époque. Le débat sur le lien entre littérature tibétaine et « littérature western » chinoise fut très controversé, les diverses positions à ce sujet étant très divergentes.

Pour ce qui est de l'appartenance géographique de la RAT à l'Ouest chinois, la question était suffisamment sensible pour que des revues très impliquées dans le lancement de la « littérature western » chinoise telles que *Dangdai wenyi sichao* (*Courants littéraires et artistiques contemporains*) ne se prononcent pas sur la question⁶⁰. Le problème fut en revanche largement débattu dans des articles parus dans des revues

⁵⁷ Dans le vocabulaire géographique et culturel couramment utilisé en RPC, on parle de « cinq grandes provinces du nord-ouest » (*da xibei wu shengqu*) et « quatre grandes provinces du sud-ouest » (*da xinan si shengqu*), à savoir, respectivement : le Xinjiang, le Ningxia, le Qinghai, le Gansu, le Shanxi, d'une part ; le Sichuan, le Yunnan, le Guizhou, le Guangxi, d'autre part. Avant 1985, la notion plus large de *xibu*, « ouest », n'était guère utilisée, *xibei* et *xinan* étant privilégiées. Jusqu'au lancement de la politique de *xibu da kaifa* dans les années 1990, le Tibet central (à savoir la RAT depuis sa fondation en 1965) ne faisait officiellement partie ni du *xibei*, ni du *xinan*, ni du *xibu*, mais était considéré comme une entité à part. Le débat que j'analyse ici met en évidence la naissance de l'intégration de la RAT dans le contexte *xibu*, au niveau culturel et littéraire, sinon politique et officiel.

⁵⁸ Voir, entre autres, sept articles du forum sur la littérature western chinoise dans *Dangdai wenyi sichao*, no.3, 1985.

⁵⁹ Voici quelques exemples de ces magazines : *Dianying chuanguozuo* (*Créations cinématographiques*), de Xi'an, devint *Xibu dianying* (*Cinéma western*) ; *Xinjiang wenxue* (*Littérature du Xinjiang*) devint *Zhongguo xibu wenxue* (*Littérature western chinoise*), etc.

⁶⁰ Voir, par exemple, les sept articles sur *xibu wenxue* dans *Dangdai wenyi sichao*, no.3, 1985.

plus directement concernées par ce sujet telles que *Xizang wenxue*⁶¹. En général, tout en admettant les spécificités culturelles du Tibet central – qui possède une « force de cohésion propre » (*ningjuli* 凝聚力) distincte et spécifique basée sur le bouddhisme tibétain, la *tsampa*, le beurre de yak, et l'environnement himalayen – l'intégration géographique du Tibet dans l'Ouest chinois fut considérée pertinente sur la base de trois constats : tout d'abord, le Tibet se situait bel et bien à l'ouest de la RPC ; deuxièmement, il n'était pas possible d'exclure la RAT du contexte du *xibu* chinois alors que les autres régions tibétaines du Qinghai et du Gansu y étaient incluses ; ensuite, si, comme le modèle américain l'indiquait, la culture « western » se définissait par la présence d'un « territoire rude et inculte » (*manhuang diqu* 蛮荒地区), un « esprit pionnier » (*kaituo jingshen* 开拓精神), la volonté de « défricher » (*tuohuang* 拓荒), et l'« impulsion au développement » (*xinxing lilian* 新兴力量), alors la RAT était le symbole même du « western » chinois⁶². La question d'intégrer la littérature tibétaine de l'A mdo (Qinghai et Gansu) dans la « littérature western » chinoise ne se posait pas. L'A mdo étant une notion inexistante dans la configuration géo-politique et culturelle de la RPC, il allait de soi que les provinces du Qinghai et du Gansu – multiculturelles, avec des spécificités proches aux cultures d'Asie centrale, traversées par l'ancienne route de la soie – constituaient le cœur du « western » chinois.

Pour ce qui est de la pertinence d'intégrer la littérature de la RAT et, plus en général, la littérature tibétaine, dans la « littérature western » chinoise, les évaluations d'une partie de la critique se fondèrent sur une compréhension moins géographique et plus culturelle du concept de *xibu wenxue*, « littérature western ». Des catégories telles que *xibu jingshen* 西部精神 (esprit « western ») et *xibu qizhi* 西部气质 (tempérament « western ») furent considérées comme essentielles pour la création d'une « littérature d'esprit western » (*xibu jingshen de wenxue* 西部精神的文学) et non une « littérature des régions de l'Ouest » (*xibu diqu de wenxue* 西部地区的文学). Dans ce sens, expliquait le critique Shu Hua⁶³, la littérature tibétaine contemporaine, de par son histoire, en faisait partie intégrante. L'empire tibétain qui s'étendait dans cette région d'Asie centrale, et les relations suivies que les Tibétains ont entretenues avec les Mongols et d'autres populations locales, la diffusion du bouddhisme tibétain et du geste de Gesar partout en Asie centrale, la culture nomade et l'environnement rude et primitif du Tibet, le tempérament courageux et impétueux des Tibétains et une certaine pauvreté économique, les antagonismes récents entre une conscience religieuse certaine et la civilisation moderne, tout cela participait, selon Shu Hua, de « l'esprit western » du Tibet. Tang Zhanmin précisait ultérieurement

⁶¹ Voir Shu Hua, 1985, 46-47 ; Li Yaping, 1985, 83-85 ; Tang Zhanmin, 1985, 56-57 ; Hai Cen, 1986, 57-62 ; Anonyme, 1986, 44-46.

⁶² Voir, entre autres, Hai Cen, 1986, 57-62.

⁶³ Shu Hua, 1985, 46-47.

que l'annexion de la littérature contemporaine tibétaine à la famille de la « littérature western » chinoise ne signifiait pas pour autant nier la richesse littéraire tibétaine ancienne⁶⁴. Au contraire, l'existence de traditions littéraires riches dans les territoires de l'Ouest chinois nourrissait la « littérature western » actuelle : l'épopée de Gesar, la poésie des forteresses des frontières du Xinjiang (*Xinjiang xin biansai shi* 新疆新编赛诗), ainsi que la fiction bucolique/pastorale de Lanzhou (*Lanzhou tianyuan xiaoshuo* 兰州田园小说), selon Tang Zhanmin, pouvaient être considérées comme des « formes embryonnaires » de *xibu wenxue*, « littérature western ».

Hai Cen dans son article « Littérature de l'Ouest et littérature de la RAT » (*Xibu wenxue yu Xizang wenxue* 西部文学与西藏文学)⁶⁵ proposait une toute autre lecture de l'inclusion de la littérature tibétaine dans le vaste ensemble de *xibu wenxue*. En adoptant une approche économique, politique et sociale de l'analyse littéraire, il parvenait à la conclusion que ce n'était pas une conscience historique et culturelle commune, ou une identité et un esprit *xibu* nouveaux qui étaient à la base de la « littérature western » chinoise, mais des conditions sociopolitiques d'implantation de populations non-autochtones, leurs nécessités économiques, la politique chinoise de développement et exploitation, et l'esprit pionnier d'un certain nombre d'aventuriers venus d'ailleurs. Hai Cen en assumant totalement l'héritage des spécificités intrinsèques (*benzhi tezheng* 本质特征) de la culture western américaine, soulignait les ressemblances économiques et sociales à la base de la naissance du « western » aux Etats Unis et en RPC :

La littérature et le cinéma western américains sont des genres d'aventure qui naissent dans le contexte d'une classe capitaliste américaine qui veut exploiter les régions frontalières de l'Ouest. [...] Cette littérature naît d'une grande force sociale d'exploitation qui s'est répandue à large échelle, elle est animée par un esprit pionnier très fort, [qui pousse les gens] vers un Ouest inculte, arriéré, primitif. [...] De même,] la « littérature western » chinoise de nos jours montre la force de développement chinoise, c'est le produit de l'exploitation à large échelle des zones frontalières du grand Ouest entreprise par toute nationalité sous la direction du PCC. [...] Notre esprit pionnier] est guidé par le socialisme et son noyau et le patriotisme.⁶⁶

Hai Cen, conscient de l'amalgame dangereux qui pouvait être fait lors de la lecture de son essai, entre capitalisme et socialisme, invitait les pionniers de l'Ouest chinois à éviter les souffrances provoquées par la conquête de l'Ouest américain, notamment « l'héroïsme individualiste qui avait poussé à des tueries aveugles, le colonialisme exterminateur

⁶⁴ Tang Zhanmin, 1985, 56-57.

⁶⁵ Hai Cen, 1986, 57-62.

⁶⁶ Hai Cen, 1986, 58-59.

envers les indiens, l'idolâtrie absolue de l'argent.»⁶⁷ Selon l'analyse socio-économique de Hai Cen, les « spécificités western » du Tibet étaient plus fortes que celles des provinces du *xibei* traditionnel, le Tibet étant la plus arriérée des régions de l'Ouest chinois. En termes de « littérature western », le Tibet faisait figure de précurseur car, selon Hai Cen, les premiers textes « western » avaient été écrits ici dans les années 1950s, à la suite de la « libération chinoise » du Tibet. Il s'agissait de textes tels que *Nous semons l'amour* (*Women bozhong aiqing* 我们播种爱情)⁶⁸ et « La maisonnette en bois » (*Xiao mu wu* 小木屋)⁶⁹, qui exprimaient « le zèle bouillonnant et le tempérament héroïque d'une génération de jeunes valeureux qui ouvraient pour exploiter l'Ouest chinois. [...] Il s'agissait d']une littérature qui exprimait déjà l'esprit de conquête des pionniers constructeurs du Tibet.»⁷⁰ Hai Cen en évoquant la littérature écrite dans les années 1950s par les militaires en poste au Tibet et par les premiers spécialistes chinois envoyés au Tibet pour y « construire le socialisme », indiquait aussi une des caractéristiques majeures d'une certaine littérature rédigée dans la RAT par des Chinois à partir des années 1950s, à savoir le regard extérieur de l'écrivain qui fait du Tibet un « objet esthétique » (*shenmei duixiang* 审美对象), voir un exutoire émotionnel. Ce genre de littérature – rédigée par des écrivains qui ne connaissaient pas le Tibet et sa culture de l'intérieur, et qui portaient au Tibet portant un projet civilisateur – pouvait être considéré comme de la « littérature western tibétaine ». Mais la littérature écrite par des Tibétains (qu'ils soient d'expression chinoise ou tibétaine) qui étaient proches de leur culture, qui cherchaient à la valoriser et à l'exprimer dans toute sa profondeur, ne pouvait en aucun cas être considérée comme de la « littérature western ». Telles furent les conclusions auxquelles parvinrent sept jeunes intellectuels (tibétains et d'autres nationalités) très actifs sur la scène culturelle et littéraire à Lhasa dans les années 1980s (Zhaxi Dawa et Ma Yuan entre autres), qui participèrent à un débat sur les relations entre la « littérature western » chinoise et la littérature tibétaine⁷¹. Leurs avis

⁶⁷ Hai Cen, 1986, 58.

⁶⁸ *Women bozhong aiqing* (Nous semons l'amour) : roman, par Xu Huaizhong 徐怀中 (écrivain-soldat né en 1929 dans la province du Hebei, en 1958 devient l'éditeur de *Jiefangjun bao*). Traduit en anglais et en russe, ce roman est considéré comme un standard de la littérature de l'ALP en poste au Tibet ; voir Xu Huaizhong, 1960.

⁶⁹ *Xiao mu wu* (La maisonnette en bois) : essai de reportage, par Huang Zongying 黄宗英 (née en 1925). Huang Zongying fut une célèbre actrice à Shanghai dans les années 1940s. Dans les années 1960s, elle commença à se consacrer à la littérature de reportage. Dans les années 1980s, ses romans sentimentaux obtinrent un grand succès en RPC.

⁷⁰ Hai Cen, 1986, 61.

⁷¹ Les sept jeunes intellectuels qui participèrent au débat conclusif sur la littérature western et la littérature tibétaine étaient : Zhaxi Dawa (écrivain tibétain sinophone), Liu Wei 刘伟 (journaliste et connaisseur du Tibet), Zhang Zhong 张中 (à l'époque éditeur auprès de *Xizang qunzhong wenyi*), Sebo (écrivain et éditeur tibétain sinophone), Liu Zhihua (à l'époque éditeur auprès du *Lasa wanbao*), Yu Xueguang 余学光 (à l'époque professeur au Lycée No. 1 de Lhasa et membre de l'Association

sur cette question, rapportés dans le numéro 4 de 1986 de *Xizang wenxue*, marquèrent la clôture du débat sur la « littérature western » au Tibet. On notera que, dans leurs propos rapportés, il n’y avait aucune référence aux nombreuses critiques visant ces mêmes jeunes intellectuels, accusés, par une certaine partie de l’intelligentsia tibétaine (surtout dans les cercles tibétophones), de produire, aux aussi, une littérature qui recherchait le « beau » mais qui restait étrangère au « vrai », à savoir, à l’« authentique » réalité spirituelle et factuelle du Tibet⁷². Du point de vue des détracteurs de la littérature tibétaine d’expression chinoise, celle-ci pouvait être considérée comme de la « littérature western » car il s’agissait d’une littérature de l’occupation politique, géographique, culturelle, linguistique.

Conclusion

Les débats sur les « spécificités nationales » et les « spécificités régionales » analysés dans cet article concernent les littératures des nationalités chinoises mais, surtout, la littérature tibétaine d’expression chinoise. Généralement, ce genre de débats touchant à la politique culturelle de l’ensemble de la RPC est lancé par Pékin, au sein des institutions politico-culturelles concernées par la littérature des nationalités. Seulement dans un deuxième temps, les directives arrivent sur le terrain à travers un système très ramifié et efficace de diffusion et propagande des informations, officieuses et officielles, à partir de Pékin jusqu’aux diverses régions de la RPC, au Tibet entre autres. L’efficacité de ce système – qui inclut plusieurs institutions telles que, pour la littérature, les Associations des écrivains de Chine et de nombreux bureaux de la propagande – se base sur la capacité de recréer *in situ* un climat politico-culturel général qui correspond au climat politico-culturel souhaité par Pékin, et qui arrive à imprégner tous les aspects de la vie culturelle et littéraire sur le terrain. Cela ne signifie pas pour autant que tout débat littéraire ayant lieu au Tibet est téléguidé par Pékin ou que l’environnement culturel tibétain est dépourvu de toute spontanéité, passion, implication et vivacité intellectuelles. Au contraire, pour les acteurs culturels qui y participent sur place, l’intérêt de ces échanges intellectuels est certain, les solutions envisagées sont fécondes. Cela signifie plutôt qu’au-delà de la vivacité qu’un débat peut avoir au sein des cercles intellectuels et culturels tibétains, les conditions politiques et socio-culturelles pour que ce débat puisse avoir lieu d’une manière relativement ouverte et vivante sont dictées par Pékin. Les Tibétains ont un « droit de réponse », ils peuvent développer le débat sur la base d’un canevas imposé et ils peuvent orienter le débat vers des questions et des solutions non envisagées ou non souhaitées par Pékin, mais ils

des écrivains de la RAT), Ma Yuan (écrivain, à l’époque éditeur auprès de *Xizang qunzhong wenyi*).

⁷² Les mots entre guillemets reproduisent des commentaires oraux d’acteurs littéraires tibétophones divers que j’ai souvent pu recueillir et enregistrer au cours des nombreuses interviews effectuées depuis 1996 pour mes recherches personnelles.

ne sont généralement pas les meneurs du jeu et ils n'ont pas le dernier mot. Par ailleurs, ils n'ont parfois même pas le premier mot car – le lecteur avisé l'aura sans doute noté pour ce qui est des débats analysés ici – la plupart des acteurs culturels impliqués dans le vif des sujets débattus ne sont pas Tibétains et ne sont pas forcément issus d'autres nationalités chinoises.

Autrement dit, étant donné l'architecture culturelle et littéraire rigide imposée par l'Etat chinois, les possibilités, pour les Tibétains, de développer un discours intellectuel libre de toute contrainte en RPC sont d'emblée limitées. Dans ce sens, au-delà des contenus des débats analysés et des détails fournis ici, cet article pose la question fondamentale de savoir comment les structures socialistes chinoises, qui ont été conçues pour diriger, encadrer, formater, *construire* les individus et leurs activités, peuvent laisser une marge significative d'initiative, d'action, d'expression, de débat, de *construction* littéraire aux acteurs littéraires et aux intellectuels tibétains. Est-ce que les individus construisent un système en apportant ce qu'il y a en eux de tibétain, ou est-ce que le système les construit en imposant sa vision sino-socialiste des choses et en annihilant ce qu'il reste en eux de tibétain ?

La question est ouverte mais la plupart des intellectuels tibétains y apporte une réponse au jour le jour, dans la réalité du quotidien, en choisissant la *négociation* comme la solution la plus à même de faire face à la cohabitation sino-tibétaine actuelle. Finalement, l'histoire de la littérature tibétaine d'expression chinoise, vue du côté tibétain, consiste en un perpétuel jeu de stratégie entre les intellectuels et le système en place. Pour les acteurs littéraires tibétains, il s'agit de conquérir de soupçons de liberté en se spécialisant dans l'ingéniosité de la débrouille, la créativité des métaphores, la constitution d'un réseau d'amis influents, la capacité à saisir le bon moment pour dire ou écrire certaines choses, l'intelligence d'imaginer toujours un plan B pour pouvoir se justifier autrement, l'audace de toujours surfer à la frontière de ce qui est autorisé et ce qui ne l'est pas, la capacité et la nécessité de s'autocensurer pour préserver le peu de liberté dont ils disposent. La plupart des Tibétains ont choisi l'art de la négociation comme unique réponse efficace au contrôle, à la censure, et aux structures qui formatent.

Bibliographie

Agence France Press, « Chinese Officials to Spread Anti-Dalai Campaign to Tibetan Society » (Résumé du discours de Chen Kuyuan du 9 novembre 1997), Pékin, 1 décembre 1997.

Anonyme, « Xibu wenxue he Xizang wenxue qi ren tan » 西部文学和西藏文学七人谈 (Discussion à sept sur la littérature de l'Ouest et la littérature de la RAT), *Xizang wenxue*, no. 4, 1986, 44-46.

Anonyme, « Zhongguo xibu da kaifa yu Xizang ji qita zangqu xiandaihua xueshu yantaohui zongshu » 中国西部大开发与西藏及其他藏区现代化学术研讨会综述 (Compte rendu du Séminaire scientifique sur le grand développement de l'Ouest chinois et la modernisation de la RAT et des autres régions tibétaines), *Zhongguo zangxue*, no. 1, 2001, 27-36.

Anonyme, « Xibu kaifa yu fanrong shaoshu minzu wenxue luntan zai Yu juxing » 西部开发与繁荣少数民族文学论坛在渝举行 (Le Forum sur le développement de l'Ouest et la floraison des littératures des nationalités qui s'est tenu à Chongqing), *Minzu wenxue*, no. 12, 2001(b), 11-12.

Bai Chongren 白崇人, « Lizudian yu chaoyue yishi: shaoshu minzu wenxue chuanguo sikao zhi si » 立足点与超越意识: 少数民族文学创作的思考之四 | (Points d'appui et conscience de dépassement : La création littéraire des nationalités, réflexion numéro quatre), *Minzu wenxue*, no. 1, 1988, 87-92 ; in Bai Chongren, 1992, 94-105.

—, *Minzu wenxue chuanguo lun* (Critiques sur la création littéraire des nationalités), Nanning, Guanxi minzu chubanshe, 1992.

—, « Shaoshu minzu wenxue chuanguo de diyu xing » 少数民族文学创作的地域性 (Les spécificités régionales des littératures des nationalités), in Bai Chongren, 1992, 150-159.

Baima 白玛, « Zai 'wu shengqu di'er jie diyi ci zangzu wenxue chuanguo huiyi' shang de jianghua » 在“五省区第二届第一次藏族文学创作会议 (Communication présentée à la « 1^{ère} Session du 2^{ème} Cycle de Symposiums sur la création littéraire tibétaine des cinq régions tibétaines »), in Huiyi mishuzu 会议秘书组 (Equipe des secrétaires du Symposium, rédigé par), Document interne inédit, Xining, 1994, 1-6.

Ban de mkhar, « Bod kyi mi rigs rang mtshan pa'i khyad chos dang deng rabs rtsom rig gnyis kyi rten 'brel gyi dgos pa spyi bshad » (Sur la nécessité d'un lien entre les caractéristiques propres de la nationalité tibétaine et sa littérature moderne), *Nub byang mi rigs slob grwa chen mo'i rig gzhung dus deb bod yig ma*, no. 2, 1994, 58-69.

Barnett Robert, « The Secret Secret : Cinema, Ethnicity, and Seventeenth Century Tibetan-Mongolian Relations », *Inner Asia*, vol. 4, no. 2, 2002, 277-346.

—, « Chen Kuiyuan and the Marketisation of Policy », in Alex McKay éd., *Tibet and Her Neighbours : A History*, London, Edition Hansjörg Mayer, 2003, 229-239.

Bsod nams, « Rtsom rig gi mi rigs khyad chos dang bod rigs rtsom rig skor gleng ba » (Sur les caractéristiques nationales de la littérature en général et de la littérature tibétaine en particulier), in Ngag dbang éd., *Bod rigs pa'i ched rtsom gces bsams*, Xizang renmin chubanshe, 1987, 192-238.

Chas pa rTa mgrin tshe ring, « rTsom rig gi mi rigs rang bzhin dang mi rigs rtsom rig gi gtogs yul 'byed pa'i kungs lung skor gleng ba » (Sur les caractéristiques nationales en littérature et l'origine et le but de la littérature nationale), *Zla zer*, no.1-2, 1998, 2-15.

Chen Kuiyuan, « Tibet Party Secretary Chen Kuiyuan Speaks on Literature, Art » (traduction du discours dans *Xizang ribao*, 16 juillet 1997), BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, BBC SWB FE/D2989/CNS 050897, 5 août 1997.

Dai Xian 戴贤 éd., *Zhongguo xibu gailan : Guizhou, Shanxi, Yunnan, Gansu, Guangxi, Sichuan, Chongqing, Qinghai, Xizang, Xinjiang, Ningxia, Neimenggu* 中国西部概览：贵州，山西，云南，甘肃，广西，四川，重庆，青海，西藏，新疆，宁夏，内蒙古 (Un aperçu de l'Ouest chinois: Guizhou, Shanxi, Yunnan, Gansu, Guangxi, Sichuan, Chongqing, Qinghai, Tibet, Xinjiang, Mongolie Intérieure), 12 vols., Beijing Minzu chubanshe, 2000.

Danzeng 丹增, « Guanyu zangzu wenxue zuopin de minzu tese wenti » 关于藏族文学作品的民族特色问题 (Sur la question des caractéristiques nationales dans la littérature tibétaine), in Huiyi mishuzu 会议秘书组 (Equipe des secrétaires du Symposium, rédigé par), fascicule no. 6, Document interne inédit, Xining, 15 – 27 août, 1981.

Ding Shoupu 丁守璞, *Lishi de zuji. Lun minzu wenxue yu wenhua* 历史的足迹：论民族雪域文化 (*Les empreintes de l'histoire. Essais sur la littérature et la culture des nationalités*), Chengdu, Sichuan minzu chubanshe, 1995.

—, « Minzuhua : wenxue fanrong zhi lu » 民族化：文学繁荣之路 (Nationalisation : la voie vers la floraison littéraire), in Ding Shoupu, 1995, 330-342.

Diqing zhou wenlian 迪庆州文联 (Fédération des arts et des lettres de la préfecture de Diqing, rédigé par), « Peiyang rencai, fanrong chuanguo » 培养人才，繁荣创作 (Former les talents, faire fleurir la créativité), *Yunnan chuanguo tongxun*, édition interne confidentielle de l'Association des écrivains du Yunnan, no. 3, 1988, 8-10.

Doležalová A., « Nationalism and Literature of National Minorities of the People's Republic of China », in Marian Gálik éd., *Proceedings of the 4th International Conference on the Theoretical Problems of Asian and African Literatures*, Bratislava, Literary Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, 1983, 83-90.

E Ji'en 鄂积恩, « Guanyu wenyi zou 'minzuhua daolu' de jidian xiangfa » 关于文艺走“民族化道路”的几点想法 (Quelques réflexions sur la 'voie de la nationalisation' entreprise dans les arts et la littérature), *Xizang wenlian tongxun*, édition interne confidentielle, no. 5, 1986, 36-43.

Feidelin 费德林 H. T. (?, critique soviétique), « Minzu xing yu quanrenlei xing » 民族性于全人类性 (Spécificités nationales et nature humaine universelle), Zhang Yuzhi tr., *Minzu wenxue*, no. 11, 1987, 94-100.

Gesang hua 格桑花 (Fleurs skal bzang), Fédération des arts et des lettres de la PAT de Gannan, CAT de Hezuo, Gansu ; lancé en 1981. Numéros dépouillés : no. 1, 1983 ; 2, 4, 1987 ; 1, 3, 1988 ; 2, 3-4, 1989 ; 1, 1991 ; 1-2, 1992 ; 1-2, 1993 ; 1, 1996 ; 1-2, 1999 ; 1-2, 2000 ; 1-2, 3-4, 2001 ; 1, 2002.

Gongga shan 贡嘎山 (Mont Gangs dkar), Fédération des arts et des lettres de la PAT de Dkar mdzes, CAT de Dar rtse mdo (Kangding), Sichuan ; lancé en 1981. Numéros dépouillés : nos. 2-3, 1981 ; 1-4, 1982 ; 1, 3-4, 1983 ; 1-4, 1984 ; 1-4, 1985 ; 1-4, 1986 ; 1-4, 1987 ; 1, 3, 4, 6, 1988 ; 1-3, 6, 1989 ; 1, 3-4, 6, 1990 ; 1, 3-4, 6, 1991 ; 1-4, 1992 ; 1-4, 1993 ; 1-6, 1994 ; 1-6, 1995 ; 1, 1997.

Hai Cen 海岑, « Xibu wenxue yu Xizang wenxue » 西部文学与西藏文学 (Littérature de l'Ouest et littérature de la RAT), *Xizang wenxue*, no. 2, 1986, 57-62.

Hartley Lauran R., *Contextually Speaking: Tibetan Literary Discourse and Social Change in the People's Republic of China (1980-2000)*, PhD dissertation, Department of Central Eurasian Studies, Bloomington, Indiana University, June 2003, non publié.

——, « Ascendancy of the Term *Rtsom rig* in Tibetan Literary Discourse », in Steven J. Venturino éd., *Contemporary Tibetan Literary Studies*, Proceedings of the 10th Seminar of the IATS, 2003, Leiden, Brill, 2007, 7-22.

——, « Ventures in Polishing the Mirror of Tibetan Literary Theory (1980-2000) », in Lauran R. Hartley, Patrizia Schiaffini-Védani éd., *Tibetan Literature and Social Change*, Durham & London, Duke University Press, 2008, 3-31.

Hoston Germaine A., *The State, Identity, and the National Question in China and Japan*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1994.

- Huiyi mishuzu 会议秘书组 (Equipe des secrétaires du Symposium, rédigé par), « 'Liu sheng qu zangzu wenxue chuanguo zuotanhui' jiyao » 六省藏族文学创作座谈会纪要 (Résumés du « Symposium sur la création littéraire tibétaine des six régions tibétaines »), 6 fascicules, Document interne inédit, Xining, 15 – 27 août, 1981.
- , « Zai Xizang zhaokai de 'Wu shengqu zangzu wenxue chuanguo zuotanhui' jianbao » 在西藏召开的五省区藏族文学创作座谈会简报 (Compte-rendu du « Symposium sur la création littéraire tibétaine des cinq régions tibétaines » qui s'est tenu dans la RAT), 3 fascicules, Document interne inédit, Lhasa, 16 septembre – 2 octobre, 1982.
- , « 'Wu shengqu zangzu wenxue qikan huiyi' chuxi zheng » 五省区藏族文学刊物会议出席证 (Justificatifs de participation à la « Réunion des magazines littéraires tibétains des cinq régions tibétaines »), 10 comptes-rendus, Document interne inédit, Lanzhou et Hezuo, 26 juillet – 10 août, 1983.
- , « Zangzu wenxue kanwu yao banchu suyong zanba wei » 藏族文学刊物要办出酥油糌粑味 (Les magazines littéraires tibétains doivent publier du goût de beurre et de *rtsam pa*), Réunion des magazines littéraires tibétains des cinq régions tibétaines : 4^{ème} compte-rendu, Document interne inédit, in Huiyi mishuzu (rédigé par), Lanzhou et Hezuo, 2 août, 1983(b), 3 pp.
- , « Jianchi minzuhua, fanying difang tese » 坚持民族化, 反映地方特色 (Persévérer dans la nationalisation, exprimer les caractéristiques locales), Réunion des magazines littéraires tibétains des cinq régions tibétaines : 5^{ème} compte-rendu, Document interne inédit, in Huiyi mishuzu (rédigé par), Lanzhou et Hezuo, 2 août, 1983(c), 3 pp.
- , « 'Wu shengqu zangzu wenxue chuanguo disan ci huiyi' jianbao » 翁区藏族文学创作第三次会议简报 (Comptes-rendus du « 3^{ème} Symposium sur la création littéraire tibétaine des cinq régions tibétaines »), 1 fascicule, Document interne inédit, Chengdu, octobre, 1985.
- , « 'Wu shengqu zangzu wenxue chuanguo yantaohui' huiyi daibiaomingdan dengji biao » 五省区藏族文学创作研讨会会议代表名单登记表 (Liste des participants au « Symposium sur la création littéraire tibétaine des cinq régions tibétaines »), Document interne inédit, Kunming et Zhongdian, 2 – 8 août, 1988.
- , « Zai 'wu shengqu di'er jie diyi ci zangzu wenxue chuanguo huiyi' shang de jianghua » 在五省区第二家第一次藏族文学创作会议上的讲话 (Communications présentées à la « 1^{ère} Session du 2^{ème} Cycle de Symposiums sur la création littéraire tibétaine des cinq

régions tibétaines »), 2 fascicules, Document interne inédit, Xining, 29 juillet – ? août, 1994.

Hutchinson John & Smith Anthony D. éds., *Oxford Readers: Nationalism*, Oxford & New York, Oxford University Press, 1994.

Jiang Yongzhang 江永长, « Minzude, shijiede » 民族的, 世界的 (National, mondial), *Xizang wenxue*, no. 12, 1987, 62.

Jiang Zemin 江泽民, « Jiakuai gaige kaifang he xiandaihua jianshe bufa ; duoqu you Zhongguo tese shehuizhuyi shiye de gengda shengli. Zai Zhongguo gongchandang dishisi ci quanguo daibiao dahui shang de baogao, 1992 nian 10 yue 12 ri » 加快改革开放和现代化建设步伐 ; 夺取有中国特色社会主义事业的更大胜利。在中国共产党第十四次全国代表大会上的报告, 1992年10月12日 (Accélérer l'édification des réformes, de l'ouverture et de la modernisation ; s'efforcer de remporter des victoires importantes dans la cause du socialisme pourvu de caractéristiques chinoises. Discours tenu au 14^{ème} Congrès du PCC, 12 octobre 1992), in Renmin chubanshe éd., 1992, 1-50.

Jidimajia 吉狄马加, « Zai Xibu da kaifa zhong jinyibu fanrong shaoshu minzu wenxue chuanguo » 在西部大开发中进一步繁荣少数民族文学创作 (Promouvoir d'avantage la création littéraire des nationalités dans le cadre du grand développement de l'Ouest), *Minzu wenxue*, no. 12, 2001, 8-11.

Jin Binghua 金炳华, « Fanrong shaoshu minzu wenxue wei cujin Xibu kaifa fuwu » 繁荣少数民族文学为促进西部开发服务 (Une littérature des nationalités florissante au service du développement de l'Ouest), *Minzu wenxue*, no. 12, 2001, 5-8.

Li Jiajun 李佳俊, *Wenxue, minzu de xingxiang* 文学, 民族的形象 (*Littérature : image d'une nation*), Lhasa, Xizang renmin chubanshe, 1989.

—, « Lun wenyi zuopin de minzu tese » 论文艺作品的民族特色 (Sur les spécificités nationales des œuvres littéraires et artistiques), in Li Jiajun, 1989, 70-97.

—, « Qianlun dangdai zangzu wenxue » 前轮当代藏族文学 (Sur la littérature tibétaine contemporaine), in Li Jiajun, 1996, 65-112.

Li Qiao 李乔, « Zenyang biao xian minzu tese ? » 怎样表现民族特色? (Comment exprimer les spécificités nationales ?), *Minzu wenxue*, no. 3, 1982, 90-91.

- Li Yaping 李雅平, « Xizang: Xibu wenxue de shengdi » 西藏：西部文学的圣地 (Tibet : Terre Sainte de la littérature de l'Ouest), *Xizang wenxue*, no. 11, 1985, 53-55.
- Liu Zhiqun 六志群, « Xizang wenxue de zouxiang » 西藏文学的走向 (Orientations pour la littérature de la RAT), *Xizang wenxue*, no. 3, 1999, 119-128.
- Maconi Lara trad., « Richiami magici », de Se Bo, *Il Diario della Settimana*, n. 37, september 1997.
- , *Lhasa-Pékin. L'exemple de Yang Zhen, jeune femme écrivain Tibétaine*, mémoire de DEA, Paris, Langues'O INALCO, 1998, unpublished.
- trad. et intr., « Poètes tibétains », *Neige d'août. Lyrisme et Extrême-Orient*, No. 4, 2001(a), 69-81.
- trad. et intr., « La divinité asexuée », *Neige d'août. Lyrisme et Extrême-Orient*, Cahier no. 5, 2001(b), 112-125.
- trad., « Le roman et moi », *Neige d'août. Lyrisme et Extrême-Orient*, Cahier no. 5, 2001(c), 52.
- (propos recueillis et traduits du chinois), « Entretien avec dByangs-can », *Neige d'août. Lyrisme et Extrême-Orient*, Cahier no. 5, 2001(d), 38-51.
- , « Une longue marche translinguistique : Présence française dans la Nouvelle littérature tibétaine. Modes de médiation et d'intégration, pratiques intertextuelles, réception », in Muriel Détrie éd., 2001(e), 205-236.
- trad., « Flots de couleur et sons de l'illusion », *Neige d'août. Lyrisme et Extrême-Orient*, no. 6, 2002(a), 95-103.
- , « 'Lion of the Snow Mountains', the Tibetan Poet Yi dam tshe ring and his Chinese Poetry : Re-constructing Tibetan Cultural Identity in Chinese », in P. Christiaan Klieger éd., 2002(b) 165-194.
- , « Tibet », in *Dictionnaire mondial des littératures*, Editions Larousse, nouvelle édition, 2002(c), 880-883.
- , « Le Sort du roi Gesar de Gling, héros épique tibétain, en Chine (post-)maoïste », in Judith Labarthe éd., *Formes modernes de la poésie épique, Nouvelles approches*, Bruxelles, P.I.E. Peter-Lang, 2004, 371-420.
- , « Roars Echoing through the Snowy Mountains : In Memory of Yidam Tsering, Lion of the Snowy Mountains (1933-2004) », *Latse Library Newsletter*, Fall 2005, 38-41.
- trad., « Crystalline Seeds : Thonmi Sambhota », de Yidan Cairang, *Latse Library Newsletter*, Fall 2005, 42.
- , « Tibetan Contemporary Literature from Shangri-La : Literary Life and Activities in the Yunnan Tibetan Region (1950-2002) », in Steven J. Venturino éd., 2007.
- , « Je est un autre » : La littérature tibétaine d'expression chinoise entre questions identitaires, débats linguistiques et négociations culturelles, Thèse de doctorat, 2 vols., Paris, Langues'O INALCO, 2008, inédit.

——, « One Nation, Two discourses: Tibetan New-Era Literature in the Diglossic Context of 'China's Tibet'. The Language Debate », in Laurant R. Hartley, Patricia Schiaffini-Vedani éd.s., *Modern Tibetan Literature and Social Change*, Durham & London, Duke University Press, 2008(b), 173-201.

Minzu wenxue 民族文学 (Littératures des nationalités), Association chinoise des écrivains, Pékin ; lancé en 1981. Numéros dépouillés : nos. 4-5, 1981 ; 1-12, 1982 ; 2-6, 8-12, 1983 ; 1-12, 1984 ; 1-10, 12, 1985 ; 1-12, 1986-1988 ; 1-3, 5-10, 12, 1989 ; 1-12, 1990-1999 ; 1-3, 5-12, 2000 ; 1-12, 2001-2004 ; 1-10, 2005.

Minzu wenxue zazhishe 民族文学杂志社 (Rédaction de *Littératures des nationalités*), « Shoujie shaoshu minzu wenxue chuanguo lilun taolunhui zai Jing juxing » 首届少数民族文学创作理论 讨论会在京举行 (La Première conférence sur la création et la théorie littéraires des nationalités qui s'est tenue à Pékin), *Minzu wenxue*, no. 5, 1986, 93.

——, « Shidai, minzu, yishu: shoujie shaoshu minzu wenxue chuanguo lilun taolunhui fayan zhaiyao » 时代, 民族, 艺术: 首届少数民族文学创作理论讨论会发言摘要 (Epoque, nationalité, art : résumé des communications présentées à la Première conférence sur la création et la théorie littéraires des minorités nationales), *Minzu wenxue*, no. 7, 1986, 4.

——, « Xuexi guanhe dang de shisan da jingshen, bawo shidai da qushi, fanying shidai xin fengzi. Benkan 1987 nian 11 yue 2 ri zhaokai zai Jing shaoshu minzu zuojia zuotanhui jishi » 学习贯彻党的十三大精神, 把握时代大趋势, 反映时代新风姿。本刊1987年11月2日召开在京少数民族作家座谈会纪实 (Etudier l'esprit des 'treize grands' mis en œuvre par le Parti, maîtriser la grande tendance de l'époque, refléter la nouvelle élégance de l'époque. Compte rendu du symposium des écrivains des nationalités organisé à Pékin le 2 novembre 1987 par initiative de *Littératures des nationalités*), *Minzu wenxue*, no. 1, 1988, 4-7.

——, « Nuli shi minzu wenxue chuanguo geng shang yiceng lou » 努力使民族文学创作更上一层楼 (S'appliquer à faire gravir un autre échelon à la création littéraire des nationalités), *Minzu wenxue*, no. 7, 1990, 4-6.

Renmin chubanshe 人民出版社 (Editions du peuple) éd., *Shisi da baogao fudao duben* 十四大报告辅导读本 (*Manuel d'instruction sur le 14^{ème} Rapport*), Pékin, Renmin chubanshe, 1992.

Sangs rgyas, « Zangzu wenxue chuanguo bixu yong zangyuwen » 藏族文学创作必须用藏语文 (La littérature tibétaine doit être écrite en

tibétain), traduction abrégée chinoise, *Xizang yanjiu*, no. 1, 1987 ; originale en tibétain, Sangs rgyas, « Bod rigs kyi rtsom rig gsar rtsom byed na nges par du bod kyi skad dang yi ger brten dgos » (La littérature tibétaine de la nouvelle époque doit être écrite en tibétain), *Mi rigs skad yig gi bya ba*, no.1, 1983, 23-29 ; *Bod ljongs zhib 'jug*, no.1, 1987, 119-126, 144.

Shi Zhongquan 石仲泉, « Jianshe you Zhongguo tese shehuizhuyi lilun de xingcheng he fazhan » 建设有中国特色社会主义理论的形成和发展 (La formation et l'évolution des théories pour édifier un socialisme avec des caractéristiques chinoises), in Renmin chubanshe éd., 1992, 84-112.

Shu Hua 抒华, « Guanyu xibu wenxue de yidian chengjian » 关于西部文学的一点成见 (Au sujet de quelques préjugés sur la littérature de l'Ouest), *Xizang wenxue*, no. 10, 1985, 46-47.

Stalin Joseph, « The Nation », in John Hutchinson & Anthony D. Smith éd., 1994, 18-21.

Tang Jinzhong 唐晋中, « Guanyu Xizang xin xiaoshuo de bufen sikao » 关于西藏新小说的部分思考 (Réflexion préliminaire sur la nouvelle fiction de la RAT), *Xizang wenxue*, no. 5, 1993, 125-128/124.

Tang Zhanmin 唐展民, « Xibu – Xibu jingshen – Xibu wenxue – Xizang wenxue » 西部 - 西部精神 - 西部文学 - 西藏文学 (Ouest – Esprit de l'Ouest – Littérature de l'Ouest – Littérature de la RAT), *Xizang wenxue*, no. 11, 1985, 56-57.

Teng Wensheng 滕文生, « Yong jianshe you Zhongguo tese shehuizhuyi de lilun wuzhuang quandang » 用建设有中国特色社会主义的理论武装全党 (Se servir des théories d'édification du socialisme avec caractéristiques chinoises pour armer le PCC), in Renmin chubanshe éd., 1992, 303-312.

Tiemuer Dawamaiti 铁木尔·达瓦买提, « Wenxue de retu: Xibu kaifa yu fanrong shaoshu minzu wenxue luntan kaimushi de heci » 文学的热土: 西部开发与繁荣少数民族文学论坛开幕式的贺辞 (Le Forum sur le développement de l'Ouest et la floraison des littératures des nationalités qui s'est tenu à Chongqing), *Minzu wenxue*, no. 12, 2001, 4.

Tshe dbang stobs 'byor, « Bod kyi deng rabs rtsom rig gi mi rigs khyad chos skor rags tsam gleng ba » (Discussion sur les caractéristiques

nationales dans la littérature tibétaine contemporaine), *Bod kyi rtsom rig sgyu rtsal*, no. 5, 1988, 61-71.

Tshe lo thar, « Bod kyi rtsom rig ces pa'i mtshan gzhi gang yin pa la bskyar du dpyad pa » (Une analyse de ce qu'est la 'littérature tibétaine'), *Ri bo nyi zla*, no. 1, 1994, 46-55.

TIN News Update, « Cultural Policy: History Book Banned, Tibetan Culture Declared 'Non-Buddhist' », London, Tibetan Information Network, 15 août 1997.

Wu Shimin 吴仕民, *Xibu da kaifa yu minzu wenti* 西部大开发与民族问题 (*Le Grand développement de l'Ouest et la question des nationalités*), Beijing Minzu chubanshe, 2001.

Xizang wenlian tongxun 西藏文联通讯 (*Lettre d'Information de la Fédération des arts et des lettres de la RAT*), édition interne, Lhasa ; lancé en 1980. Numéros dépouillés : nos. 3, 5, 1985 ; 1, 3, 5, 1986 ; 1, 1987 ; 3, 1988 ; 1-2, 1989 ; 1-5, 1990 ; 1-4, 1991 ; 2-4, 1992 ; 1, 3, 4, 1993 ; 1-3, 1994 ; 1-3, 1995 ; 1-3, 7, 1996 ; 1-4, 1997 ; 3-4, 1998 ; 1-2, 1999 ; 1-3, 2000 ; 1-2, 2001 ; 1, 2002 ; 1-2, 2003.

Xizang wenxue 西藏文学 (*Littérature de la RAT*), Association des écrivains de la RAT, Lhasa ; lancé en 1977. Numéros dépouillés : nos. 1-6, 1981 ; 2-5, 1982 ; 1-12, 1983 ; 1-5, 7-8, 12, 1984 ; 3, 5-7, 9-11, 1985 ; 2-5, 8-11, 1986 ; 1-12, 1987 ; 1-2, 6-9, 12, 1988 ; 1, 3-6, 1989 ; 1-3, 5-6, 1990 ; 2, 4-6, 1991 ; 1-6, 1992 ; 1-6, 1993 ; 2-6, 1994 ; 1, 2, 4, 6, 1995 ; 1-6, 1996 ; 2-6, 1997 ; 1-6, 1998 ; 1-6, 1999 ; 4-6, 2000 ; 1-6, 2001 ; 1-6, 2002 ; 1-3, 2003 ; 4-6, 2004 ; 1-4, 2005.

Xu Huaizhong 徐怀忠, *Women bozhong aiqing* 我们播种爱情 (*Nous semons l'amour*), Beijing, Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1960.

Yan Zhenzhong 闫振中, « Xibu da kaifa yu Xibu wenhua » 西部大开发与西部文化 (*Le développement de l'Ouest et la culture de l'Ouest*), *Xizang wenxue*, no. 6, 2001, 117-125.

Yang Enhong 杨恩洪, 一九八一年民族文学作品集研究概况 « Yijiubayinian minzu wenxue zuopin ji yanjiu gaikuang » (Panorama des textes de littérature et de critique des nationalités de l'année 1981), Communication tenue au « 2^{ème} Symposium sur la création littéraire tibétaine dans les cinq provinces et régions tibétaines, Lhasa, 17 septembre – 2 octobre 1982 », Document interne inédit, Lhasa, 30 septembre 1982, 1-25.

- Yang Jiguo 杨继国, « Minzu xing yu lishi xing de tongyi » 民族性与历史性的统一 (L'unité entre les spécificités nationales et les spécificités historiques), *Minzu wenxue*, no. 5, 1989, 84-90.
- Yang Xia 杨霞, « Zangzu wenxue yanjiu xianzhuang yu qianjing xueshu zuotanhui zhaokai » 藏族文学研究现状与前景学术座谈会召开 (Conférence sur les études de littérature tibétaine : Approches présentes et futures), *Minzu wenxue yanjiu*, no. 3, 2001, 92.
- Yang Zhen 央珍, « Minzuhua, xiandaihua, duoyanghua » 民族化, 现代化, 多样化 (Nationalisation, modernisation, diversification), *Xizang wenlian tongxun*, édition interne confidentielle, no. 5, 1986, 44-46.
- Yi Mu 易木, « Wu shengqu zangzu wenxue yantaohui zongshu » 五省区藏族文学研讨会综述 (Résumé du Symposium de littérature tibétaine des cinq régions tibétaines), *Yunnan chuanguozuo tongxun*, édition interne confidentielle de l'Association des écrivains du Yunnan, no. 3, 1988, 1-2.
- Zhang Chengzhi 张承志, « Suowei minzu wenxue diyi texing » 所谓民族文学第一特性 (La première spécificité de la littérature des nationalités), *Minzu wenxue*, no. 9, 1983, 93-95.
- Zhang Zhiwei 张治维, « Tuanjie qilai, zhenfen jingshen : wei fanrong Xizang shehuizhuyi wenyi er fendou. Zai quanqu di'er jie wenxue yishu gongzuozhe daibiao dahui shang de baogao (yijiubajiu nian shiyue shiliu ri) » 团结起来, 振奋精神: 为繁荣西藏社会主义文艺而奋斗。在全区 第二届文学艺术工作者代表大会上的报告(一九八九年十月十六日) [S'unir, se galvaniser : Lutter pour une littérature socialiste tibétaine florissante. Rapport prononcé au 2^{ème} Congrès des travailleurs littéraires et artistiques de la RAT (16 octobre 1989)], *Xizang wenlian tongxun*, édition interne confidentielle, no. 2, 1989, 12-32.



སྐར་ཁམས་འབོམ་རྣམ་སྐར་ངམ། ལྷ་འདུས་རྣམ་སྐར་གི་སྐོར་ལ་ཅུང་ཟད་སྐྱེང་བ།

རྩོམ་སྐྱེས་པ་གཤམ་ཚེ་རིང་།

འཛམ་གླིང་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིའི་བོད་རིག་པའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཚོགས་ཚེན་ཐངས་བདུན་པ་ ༡༩༩༧ ལྷི་
ཆེ་ ༩ པའི་ནང་ཚོགས་སྐབས་བོད་རིག་པའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་སློབ་དཔོན་ཚེན་མོ་ཨ་མའོ་གར་
ཁོག་གི་མཁས་དབང་མཁར་མེའུ་བསམ་གཏན་རྒྱལ་མཚན་མཚོག་ནས་ “བཅན་པོ་བྲི་ལྷེ་
སྐོར་བཅན་སྐབས་ཀྱི་བཞོན་པའི་དོ་བཞོན་ཡི་གེ།” ཞེས་པའི་དབུད་ཚོམ་ཚོགས་མང་
མཐུན་སར་སྐོག་སྐྱེངས་གནང་རྗེས་རིམ་བཤམ་སྐར་སྐྱེན་ཡང་ཐངས་གཉིས་ཙམ་མཚན་ཡོད།

གོང་གསལ་དབུད་ཚོམ་ལས། “བཅན་པོའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཀྱི་སྐབས་སུ་སངས་རྒྱལ་རྣམ་
པར་སྐར་མཚན་ལ་དད་པ་བྱེད་པའི་སྐོར། དེ་ཡང་སྤྱི་རྒྱལ་གྱི་བོད་རིག་པ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་པ་རི་
ཙམ་སོན་ (Hugh E. Richardson) གྱིས་བོད་ཀྱི་བཅན་པོ་བྲི་སྐོར་ལྷེ་བཅན་ (742-797)
གྱི་སྐབས་སུ་སངས་རྒྱལ་རྣམ་པར་སྐར་མཚན་ལ་བརྩི་མཐོང་བྱ་ཡི་ཡོད་ཚུལ་གསུངས་
ཡོད། འབིས་ཁོག་གི་ཡུལ་དུ་རྣམ་པར་སྐར་མཚན་གྱི་སྐུ་བརྙན་བཞེངས་ཡོད་པ་དེ་ནི་ལྷ་བ་
དེའི་རྒྱབ་རྟེན་དཔེ་མཚན་ལེགས་པོ་ཞིག་རེད། དེ་བཞིན་བོད་ཀྱི་ས་ཆ་ཁག་ཏུ་རྣམ་པར་སྐར་
མཚན་ལ་འབོད་སྐོལ་མི་འདུ་བ་འགའ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་དཔེར་ན་ལྷོ་བྲག་རྣམ་སྐར་¹ དང་།
མཁོ་མཐིང་རྣམ་སྐར་² འབོ་ཡུལ་རྣམ་སྐར་³ བཅས་ལྷ་བུའོ།”⁴ ཞེས་དང་། ཡང་། “བོན་

1 ཀུན་གྲོལ་གྲགས་པའི་ (1700-1766) སངས་རྒྱལ་བརྙན་པ་སྤྱི་ཡི་འབྲུང་ཁྲུངས་ཡིད་བཞིན་ལོར་བུ་
འདོད་པ་འཛོམ་པའི་གཏེར་མཚན། རྒྱ་གར། ༡༩༧༩ ཐོག་གྲངས་ ༣༧
2 གཏེར་སྟོན་བརྒྱ་རྩེ་རྣམ་ཐར། ཐོག་གྲངས་ ༡༡༥
3 མཚན་འགྲེལ་ ༥ པར་གཟིགས།
4 ‘Inscriptions Dating from the Reign of *bsan po* Khri lde srong btsan’, Edited by Helmut

གྲི་གཏེར་སྟོན་སངས་རྒྱལ་གླིང་པའི་ (1705-1734) རང་རྣམ་ཉ་ རང་དུ། སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༧༢༧ ལོར་
 ཁོང་གིས་ཁམས་ཁུལ་བརྒྱུད་ནས་རྒྱལ་ལོང་གི་ཡུལ་དུ་བྱོན་སྐབས་རྣམ་པར་སྤང་མཛད་
 དང་དེའི་འཁོར་བརྒྱུད་བཞེངས་པའི་ལྷ་ཁང་ཞིག་དུ་སྐབས་གིང་ལྷ་ཁང་དེ་འུན་གིང་གོང་
 རོས་བཞེངས་པ་ཡིན་ཚུལ་གསུངས་པ་ལས། རྣམ་པར་སྤང་མཛད་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་བརྟན་དེ་
 དག་བྲག་བཞོས་ཡིན་མིན་གསལ་པོ་གསུངས་མེད། ཁོང་མོད་དབྱུས་གཙང་དུ་སྐབས་
 སྐབས་ཀྱི་ལམ་བར་གྱི་བཟའ་གོང་རོས་བཞོས་པའི་སྐུ་བརྟན་མཛལ་གཟིགས་གནང་བའི་
 སྐོར་གསུངས་འདུག །དེ་ཡང་ཁོང་གིས་མཛལ་བའི་ལྷ་ཁང་དེའི་མཚན་ལ་འབོ་ཡུལ་རྣམ་
 སྤང་ཟེར་བ་ཡིན། ཁོང་གིས་འབོ་ཡུལ་ཞེས་པའི་ས་ཆ་དེ་ནི་སྤྲུལ་ཁམས་ཟེ་ (ཟལ་) མོ་སྤྲང་
 གི་ལྷེ་གནས་ཡིན་ལ། དེ་ནི་ད་ཚུ་ (ཟེ་ཚུ) དང་འབྲི་ཚུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བར་ན་ཆགས་ཡོད་ཚུལ་
 གསུངས། ཁོང་སངས་རྒྱལ་ཚོས་ཡུགས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་བརྟན་བཞུགས་སའི་ལྷ་ཁང་དེར་གདན་
 དྲངས་ནས་ལྷ་ཁང་དེ་སྐོར་གྱི་དཀར་ཆག་ཅིག་འབྲི་གྱུར་ཡང་ཡང་སྐུལ་ཚུལ་ཡང་གསུངས་
 འདུག །དེ་རྗེས་ཁོང་གིས་ཐོག་མར་འདི་ལྷའི་དཀར་ཆག་གམ་གནས་ཡིག་ཅིག་འབྲི་བར་མ་
 ཉུས་དགོངས་ཀྱང་། མཚན་མོའི་མི་ལམ་དུ་སྐུ་བརྟན་དེ་དག་ནི་རྣམ་པར་སྤང་མཛད་དང་
 དེའི་སྐུ་འཁོར། དེ་རྣམས་བཞེངས་མཁན་ནི་བཙན་པོ་སྲོང་བཙན་སྐལ་པོའི་བཙུན་མོ་འུན་

Krasser, Michael Torsten Much, Ernst Steinkellner, Helmut Tauscher, *Tibetan Studies*,
 Volume 1, Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Wien, 1997, pp.
 477-486; 'Inscriptions Dating from the Reign of *btsan po* Khri lde srong btsan' in *The
 Arrow and the Spindle; Studies in History, Myths, Rituals and Beliefs in Tibet* by Samten
 G. Karmay, Mandala Book Point, Kathmandu, 1998, pp. 64-65

མཁར་མེད་བསམ་གཏན་གྱི་གསུང་ཚོམ་སྟོགས་བསྐྱོགས། བདེ་ཁང་བསོད་ནམས་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་གྲིས་དབྱིན་
 ཡིག་ནས་བོད་ཡིག་དུ་བསྐྱུར། མདའ་དང་འཕང་། སྟོད་ཆ། ཀྱང་གོའི་བོད་རིག་པ་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང་། ༢༠༠༧
 སོག་གྲངས་ ༡༢༧

5 དོ་རྗེ་མིན་ཚེན་སྤེང་བའི་རྒྱན། མདུན་ཤོག་གི་ཁ་བུང་ལ། སྐུལ་སྐུ་སངས་རྒྱལ་གླིང་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར། ཞེས་
 འཁོད། ལྷེ་བ་ ༢ སོག་གྲངས་ ༡༣༤-༡༣༥ དཔེ་སྐྱུན་གྱི་ཡུལ་དང་དུས་འཁོད་མེད།

ཤིང་ཀོང་ཇོ་ཡིན་ཚུལ་མིས་པས་དེ་བཞིན་དཀར་ཆག་བཙམས་པར་སྐྱེས། རྩུ་མཚན་དེ་དག་
 ལས་བོད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་གྱུ་ཁག་དང་དུས་མཚམས་མི་འདྲ་བའི་ནང་དུ་རྩུ་བཟའ་ཀོང་ཇོའི་ཤུགས་
 རྩེན་དེ་ཇི་ལྟ་འི་རྩུ་ཆེ་གཏིང་བཟ་ཡོད་མེད་རྟོགས་ཐུབ་ནའང་། ཡུལ་འབོ་ཞེས་པའི་ཁྲུལ་དུ་
 རྣམ་པར་སྐྱང་མཛད་ཀྱི་སྐྱུ་བརྟན་བཞེངས་ཡོད་པའི་ལྷ་ཁང་ཞིག་ད་བར་མ་མཐོང་། རེ་བར་
 མ་འོངས་པའི་དུས་སུ་ལྷ་ཁང་དེ་འཚོལ་རྙེད་ཐུབ་ནས་གསང་བའི་གནད་དོན་དེའི་མཐིལ་
 བཏོལ་ཐུབ་པར་སྐྱོན་ནོ།⁶ །ཞེས་བཀོད་གནང་ཡོད།

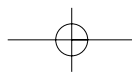
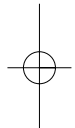
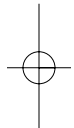
གོང་གསལ་དབྱེད་ཚོམ་དེ་དག་གིས་ནས་ད་བར་མི་ལོ་ ༡༢ ལ་ཉེ་བར། མི་ཡི་མི་ཚོ་ཞི་
 མིའི་ཨ་རྟོང་། ཞེས་ལྟར་འགྲོ་འདུག །དེའི་རིང་བོད་མི་དང་སྤྱི་མི་དོ་སྣང་ཅན་མང་པོས་བྲག་
 གཤམ་ར་ལའམ་རི་མདའ་རྣམ་སྐྱང་དང་། འབིས་ཁོག་རྣམ་སྐྱང་། ལྷན་སྐྱོལ་མ་བྲག་སོགས་
 ཀྱི་སྐོར་ལ་དབྱེད་ཚོམ་དང་པར་རིས་མང་དག་ཚོམ་སྤེལ་བྱེད་མི་བྱུང་སོང་། ཡང་དུས་ཚོད་
 དེའི་རིང་སྤྱི་མི་མཁས་དབང་ཉམས་ཞིབ་པ་དང་། སྐོབ་སྤྱུག་མང་པོ་ཁམས་དང་ཨ་མདོའི་
 རང་ཞིབ་འདུག་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་དང་། ཡུལ་བསྐོར་སྐོར་འཆམ་བྱེད་མི་མང་དག་ཡོད་སྟབས་
 མཁས་དབང་མཁར་མེའུ་མཚོག་གིས་ “ཡུལ་འབོ་ཞེས་པའི་ཁྲུལ་དུ་རྣམ་པར་སྐྱང་མཛད་
 ཀྱི་སྐྱུ་བརྟན་བཞེངས་ཡོད་པའི་ལྷ་ཁང་ཞིག་ད་བར་མ་མཐོང་། རེ་བར་མ་འོངས་པའི་དུས་
 སུ་ལྷ་ཁང་དེ་འཚོལ་རྙེད་ཐུབ་ནས་གསང་བའི་གནད་དོན་དེའི་མཐིལ་བཏོལ་ཐུབ་པར་སྐྱོན་
 ནོ།” ཞེས་རེ་འདུན་བཏོན་གནང་བཞིན་ “འབོ་ཡུལ་རྣམ་སྐྱང་” འདིའི་སྐོར་ལའང་དབྱེད་
 ཚོམ་ཞིག་དེས་པར་འདོན་མཁན་ཡོང་རྒྱུ་རེད་བསམ་ངང་སྐྱུག་ཞུས་ཀྱང་ད་བར་ཁོ་བོའི་
 མིག་ལམ་དུ་འགྱུར་བའི་སྐལ་བ་དབེན།

དེ་ལྟར་ན་མཁས་དབང་ཆེན་མོའི་ཤུགས་རེ་བསྐོང་ཆེད་སྐན་ཚུང་ནས་ཉམས་ཞིབ་
 འབད་ཚོལ་སྐན་ཅམ་བགྲིས་ཁྲུལ་བྲས། དེ་ཡང་མཁས་དབང་མཁར་མེའུ་མཚོག་ནས་
 དང་ཐོག་དབྱེད་ཚོམ་དབྱིན་ཡིག་ནང་གིས་སྟབས་སངས་རྒྱས་སྤྱིང་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་ནང་གི་

6 མཁར་མེའུ་བསམ་གཏན་གྱི་གསུང་ཚོམ་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་ཀྱིས་མདའ་དང་འཕང་། ལྟོ་ཆ། ཐོག་བྲངས་
 ༡༣༩-༡༤༠

ཡུང་འདྲེན་ཚང་མ་བོད་ཡིག་ནས་དབྱིན་བསྐྱུར་མཛད། སྤྱི་སྐྱུར་ཡང་དབྱིན་ཡིག་ནས་
 བོད་བསྐྱུར་བྱས་སྐབས་མ་སྤྱི་ངོ་མའི་ནང་ཇི་སྐྱུར་བཞུགས་སམ་སྐམ་ནས་ལྷ་ཞིབ་བྱས་
 སྐབས། ཡང་མྱེས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་དུས་གཙང་གི་སྐྱེ་ལོ་སྐྱུང་ར་བྱ་བ་ནས་ཡིན་པ། རུས་བཞོད།
 གཏུང་མཁས་པ་མེའུ་ལ་གཏོགས་པའི་མཚན་ལ་འཕགས་བྱ་བུ་མ་ཟེར་བའི་སྐུ་བཞུད་
 དུ་མདོ་ཁམས་ཚོ་བོད་དུ་སྐུ་འབྱུངས་བའི། བོ་མོའི་ཡང་སྐུ་ལ་ཨོ་བྱེན་བསྐྱེད་གཉིས་
 སྒྲིང་པའམ། སྐུ་ལ་སྐུ་སངས་བྱུས་སྒྲིང་པའམ། གར་གྱི་དབང་སྐུ་བྱང་ཆུབ་དོ་རྗེ་ཅུལ་
 ཞེས་བུའི་རྣམ་ཐར་དངོས་ནང་། “དེ་ནས་སྐྱུར་ཁམས་ཟལ་མོའི་སྐྱུང་གི་དབྱས་མ་ལས།
 ཁའོ་ཡུལ་རྣམ་པར་སྐྱུང་མཛད་རྟེན་ མཚོག་གི ཁའུ་ན་དུ་ཚོས་པ་ཉེར་དགའི་ཉིན་པར་
 འགྲོད། ཁའའ་འགོ་མེང་གཏོང་ཁྲོས་མའི་མཚོད་པ་འབྱུལ། རྟེན་གྱི་དཀོར་གཉེར་དགོ་
 སྒྲོང་དགུ་ལྷ་མིང་ཅན་གྱིས། ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཡོ་བྱད་ སུལ་ནས་ལེགས་པར་བྱེད། ཁའོ་ཡུལ་
 རྟེན་མཚོག་རྣམ་པར་སྐྱུང་མཛད་འདི། ཁོད་ཡུལ་ས་གནོན་གཙུག་ལག་གས་ཡིན་འདུག་
 གྲང་། འདམ་ཆག་ཞིབ་མོ་རང་ཞིག་མི་འདུག་པའི། རིག་འཛིན་ཆེན་པོ་བྱེད་གྱིས་མཁྱེན་
 ལགས་སམ། ཁའུ་ན་ན་མ་འོངས་དོན་དུ་མཛོད་དོ་ཟེར། དེ་ནས་བདག་གིས་ཁོ་ལ་ལན་
 བཏབ་པར། བདག་ཉིད་སྐུ་བས་ཡུལ་དཀོན་མཚོག་རྣམ་གསུམ་ལ། གསོལ་འདེབས་
 ཐུགས་རྗེ་སྐྱེན་གྱིས་མ་བོར་ཅམ། རྟེན་དུ་དཀོན་མཚོག་སྐྱེན་སྐྱུར་མཚིས་པ་ཡིན། འདི་
 འདྲ་རྟེན་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་མི་ཤེས་གྲང་། དགོ་སྒྲོང་ཆེན་པོས་ཞུ་བ་ཤིན་དུ་ལེགས། རྟེན་འབྲེལ་
 གནད་བཟང་ནང་པར་ལྟོ་བྱས། ཁོ་ཡང་སྐུགས་རྗེ་མ་ཆུང་ཟེར་ནས་ཁྱིམ་དུ་ཤོང་། དེ་
 རུབ་བདག་ཅག་ཐར་ཀ་དེ་ཏུ་བསྐྱུང། དེ་ཡི་རུབ་མོ་ནམ་གྱི་མིས་སྐྱུང་ལ། བཞུས་དེར་
 སྐྱུང་སྒྲོངས་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཤིང་གི་གསེབ། བྱང་ཆུབ་ཆུ་མིག་རི་དུགས་དོ་མཚར་བ། དེ་འདྲ་
 ཡོད་པའི་གནས་གཅིག་གནས་ཁང་སྐྱུང་། གཤུ་ཡི་བྱ་འདབ་གཙུག་ལག་ཆེན་པོ་སྐྱུང་།
 དེ་ནང་སྤྱིན་ཚོ་སྐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞེ། སྐྱེན་རས་གཟིགས་ནི་སྐུག་བཞི་མདོན་སྐུམ་མཇལ།
 རྗེ་བཙུན་སྒྲོལ་མ་ཉེ་སྐུམ་མཇལ་སྐྱུང་བྱུང་། བདག་གི་ཡིད་ལ་འབོ་ཡུལ་ལྷ་ཁང་ནང་།

རྟེན་མཚོག་མདུན་དུ་སྲིན་པ་ཡིན་འདུག་པས། འད་པ་གཅིག་ནི་བསྐྱེད་ན་ཨི་དགོས་
 བསམ། འོན་ཀྱང་འཇིག་པའི་སྐྱེ་གཟུགས་འདི་འདྲ་བ་རྣམས་ལ། ཁོ་ལོ་བདག་གིས་སྐྱབ་
 ནི་ག་ལ་འཚེ། འད་རིག་དྲི་མེད་སྐྱབས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡིན། སྐྱེ་པའི་དང་ལས་ཉེ་བ་
 མདུན་སྲིན་ཚོ། སྐྱེན་རས་གཟིགས་དབང་སྐྱོལ་མའི་ལྷ་ཚོགས་རྣམས། འདམ་སྐྱེ་མ་ཡིན་
 འོད་ཀྱི་རང་བཞིན་ལ། གཙོ་ལོའི་ཞལ་ནས་འདི་སྐྱད་གསུངས་བ་ཚོས། ཨྱོ་མ་ཆི་བད་མེ་
 ཉི་ལྷོ། འོད་ལུལ་མཐའ་འཁོབ་ཞིང་ཁམས་ལ། རྒྱགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོའི་རྒྱགས་རྗེ་ཤར། རྒྱགས་
 རྗེ་ཆེན་པོས་འགྲོ་བ་འདུལ། རྒྱགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོས་བདེ་བ་སྐྱོངས། རེས་པར་སྐྱང་བ་རབ་
 བདེ་བ། མི་བསྐྱེ་ཡི་གེ་དུག་མའི་སྐྱེ། སྐྱང་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་སྐྱོང་བ་བྱ། སྐྱོང་ཉིད་ཡི་གེའི་
 འགྲོ་དོན་ནས། རྣམ་ཡང་མི་ཟད་ཚོས་འཁོར་ལོ། ཞེས་འདྲ་བའི་གསུངས་ཚོས་བདག་
 ཡིད་རབ་དུ་དད། རེ་མ་ཐག་དུ་ཉེ་སྐྱེ་སྐྱོལ་མ་རྣམས། འོད་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པ་སྐྱེན་རས་
 གཟིགས་ལ་ཐེམ། སྐྱེན་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱང་སྲིད་མི་སྐྱང་དོ། རེ་ནས་བདག་ཀྱང་སྲིད་པོ་
 ཡོང་སྐྱང་དོ། ལམ་དུ་དམ་ཅན་དོ་རྗེ་ལེགས་པ་དང་། འགྲོ་ཚོ་ཁོ་ཡང་གུས་ཤིང་གུས་
 པར་ཞ། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་བདག་པོ་ཡིན་པར་འདུག། རེ་ནས་ནང་བར་ནམ་ལ་འཁོ་
 ལུལ་རྣམ་སྐྱང་ལ། གཙུག་ལག་ཁྱད་པར་བྱིན་བཞུགས་ཅན་ཡིན་འདུག། ཁྱད་པར་བྱ་མའི་
 བཞེངས་པའི་གསེར་ཁང་མཚོང་། རེས་པའི་དད་པ་རབ་བསྐྱེད་ཉི་ཤར་ཅེ། རྟེན་གྱི་
 མདུན་སོང་ཚོགས་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་བསྐྱོར། རྒྱས་གསོལ་མར་མེ་ཞལ་ཟས་སྐྱེ་སྐྱེ་དང་།
 མཚོང་པའི་བྱེ་བྲག་སུལ་ཞིང་མེ་དོག་འཚོང་། འདག་པའི་སྐྱོན་ལམ་བོད་འབངས་བདེ་བ་
 དང་། འམངས་བྱས་བསྐྱེན་པ་བྱས་པའི་སྐྱོན་ལམ་གཟུགས། རེ་ཚོ་ལྷ་ཁང་སྲིད་པོ་ལྟོང་བྱེར་
 གྱི། སྐྱེ་བོ་བྱད་མེད་མང་དུ་འདུས་བྱུང་བའི། རེ་དག་རྣམས་ལ་ཡི་གེ་སྐྱེ་བྱེ་བཅུག། འཇོ་
 གུ་བྱེ་གདུང་དབྱངས་རབ་དུ་བྱེར། གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་ནས་ཚོགས་འཁོར་ཚར་བའི་རྗེས།
 འདུས་པའི་སྐྱེ་འགྲོ་རྣམས་ལ་ཚོགས་སྐལ་བྱིན། ཐམས་ཅད་དགའ་ཞིང་མགུ་བ་ཆེན་
 པོར་གྱུར། རེ་ཚོ་རྟེན་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་འདི་དུན་ནས། ཁོ་ལོ་བདག་གི་དག་ནས་བཤད་པར་



བྱས། །ན་མོ་སོ་སྤྱོད་ལོ་གི་སྤྱོད་པ་ལ། །འོག་མིན་ཚོས་དབྱིངས་བཅོམ་ལྷན་སྐྱོད་མཐའ་ཡས།
 །རི་པོ་ཉ་ལར་མགོན་པོ་སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས། །བྱང་ཆུབ་མཚོ་སྤིང་གུ་ཏུ་པད་མ་འབྱུང་། །སྐྱུ་
 །གསུམ་དབྱེད་མེད་སྐྱུ་ལྷ་རྩོ་རྩེ་འཆང་། །རབ་འབྱུམས་ཞིང་གི་མགོན་པོ་སྤྱན་མེད།
 །སྤྱོགས་བཅུ་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱལ་བ་སྤྱུ་དང་བཅས། །སྐྱུ་བས་ཡུལ་སྤྱོད་དཔོན་མཚོག་
 །ཚོགས་རྣམས་ལ། །གཉིད་ནས་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་སོ་ཤིན་གྱིས་སྤོབས། །དབང་བཞི་
 །མཚོག་གི་སྤྱི་པ་ལ་ཉ། །ཨ་ཉོ་ཚོས་གྱི་དབྱིངས་གྱི་སོ་བྱང་ནས། །ཐོག་མའི་མགོན་པོ་
 །ཀུན་ཏུ་རྩོ་རྩེ་འཆང་། །ཚོས་གྱི་དབྱིངས་ནས་སྤྱོད་ཚོགས་སྐྱུ་བསྐྱུ་ཚོ། །ཁམས་གསུམ་
 །རིས་དྲུག་ཡུལ་ཅན་འཁོར་བའི་གནས། །རང་རིག་མ་རྟོགས་རིས་དྲུག་གཡང་སར་སྐྱུང་།
 །སྤྱུག་བསྐྱུ་མཚོ་ལས་སྐྱུངས་ཤིང་འབྱུམས་པ་ལས། །ཚད་མེད་ཐུགས་རྩེ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཆེན་
 །པོའི་སྤྱན། །བསྐྱེདས་མེད་ས་ཡེ་འགོ་ལ་གཟིགས་བྱུང་ཚོ། །སྤྱུགས་རྩེ་ཆེན་པོ་འཕགས་
 །པའི་དབང་སྤྱུག་རྩེ། །ཡེ་ཤེས་ལྷ་ལྷན་མགོན་པོ་སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས། །སྤྱོད་ཚོགས་སྐྱུ་བསྐྱུ་
 །འགོ་ལ་གཟིགས་ཚད་བཀུམས། །འགོ་ཀུན་ཏུ་ལྷ་སྐྱོབ་མཛད་བྱེད་པའི་ལ། །རྩེ་བཅུན་
 །སྤོལ་མ་དཀར་མོ་སྤོན་མོ་དང་། །སྤྱང་སྤོང་བདེ་བའི་སྐྱུ་མཚོག་ས་ཡེར་གསལ། །བྱང་ཆུབ་
 །སེམས་དཔའ་རི་སྤྱོད་སྤྱིན་བཞིན་གཉིབས། །འོག་མིན་དབྱིངས་ནས་རི་པོ་ཉ་ལའི་ཞིང་།
 །འཛིག་རྟེན་འགོ་བའི་མགོན་ཏུ་བྱོན་པའི་ཚོ། །སྤྱིར་ནི་ཁམས་གསུམ་འཁོར་བའི་སེམས་
 །ཅན་ལ། །སྤྱུགས་རྩེ་ཆེན་པོ་འགོ་བའི་དཔལ་ཆེ་ཡང་། །བྱང་བར་བྱང་སྤྱོགས་ཁ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་
 །ཞིང་། །མཐའ་འཁོར་པོད་ལ་སྤྱུགས་རྩེ་མཚོག་ཏུ་གཟིགས། །འགོ་ཀུན་ཐར་པའི་ལམ་ལ་
 །བཀོད་སྤྱིར་ཏུ། །བྱང་སྤྱོགས་དབང་བསྐྱུར་འཁོར་ལོ་འཛིན་པའི་མཚོག་ །ཚོས་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་
 །སྤོང་བཅུན་སྤྱོད་པོའི་སྤྱུལ། །རྩེ་བཅུན་སྤོལ་མ་བལ་པོ་རྒྱ་ནག་ཡུལ། །དབང་བསྐྱུར་མའི་
 །དབང་མོ་གཉིས་སུ་འབྱུངས། །བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཉེ་བའི་སྤྱུ་ཆེན་རྣམས། །སྤྱི་ནང་
 །རིག་པ་ཅན་གྱི་སྤོན་པོར་སྤྱུལ། །སྤོན་ལམ་དབང་གིས་འགོ་དོན་མཛད་པའི་ཚོ། །གངས་
 །ཅན་ཞིང་སྤོ་ཚོས་གྱི་ཉིན་མོ་བཞིན། །རབ་བཀོད་ཐར་པའི་ལམ་མཚོག་བསྐྱུན་པའི་སྤྱིར།

།མོག་མའི་བཙམ་ལྷན་ཐུབ་པའི་དབང་པོ་ཡི། །སྐྱུ་ཚབ་འགྲོ་བའི་དཔལ་མགོན་ཆེ་བའི་
 །མཚོག་ །བོད་ལས་སྐྱུན་དང་མཚོད་གནས་བསྟེན་བ་དགོངས། །བལ་པོའི་ཡུལ་ནས་བལ་
 །བཟའ་བྱི་ལྷམ་དང། །ཀྱུ་ནག་ཡུལ་ནས་རྒྱ་བཟའ་ཨོན་ཚུང་གཉིས། །སྟོན་ལམ་དབང་
 །གིས་བོད་དུ་སྐྱུན་དངས་ཚོ། །དུས་གསུམ་སངས་རྒྱས་སྐྱུ་ཚབ་རྫོ་བོ་དང། །ཡིད་བཞིན་
 །ནོར་བུ་ལ་སོགས་རྟེན་མཚོག་རྣམས། །མི་ཐམ་འཛད་མེད་བོད་དུ་སྐྱུན་དངས་ཤིང།
 །མཐའ་འཁོབ་བོད་ཡུལ་ཚོས་ལ་བསྐྱུར་བའི་རྒྱིར། །སྟོན་མོ་གན་རྒྱལ་འདྲ་བའི་གནས་
 །རྣམས་ལ། །ས་གཞོན་མེ་བཙམ་བཏབ་པའི་སྐྱུལ་པ་འབྱེད། །ལྷ་སར་འཕུལ་སྐྱང་གཙུག་
 །ལག་ཁང་ལ་སོགས། །མཐའ་འདུལ་ཡང་འདུལ་གསས་ཁང་བརྒྱ་ཅ་བརྒྱད། །ས་ཡི་
 །གནད་བཙམ་བོད་ཡུལ་ཚོས་ཀྱིས་བཀའ། །ཡི་གེ་སོལ་གཏོད་ །ལུན་གླིང་དཀར་པོར་
 །བསྐྱུར། །དེ་ཚེ་སྟོལ་མ་སྟོན་མོ་མངོན་གྲུར་པའི། །རྒྱའི་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཨོན་ཚུང་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི།
 །སྟོན་ལམ་སྟོབས་ཀྱིས་བོད་དུ་བྱོན་པའི་ཚོ། །འཛམ་གླིང་བོད་ལ་བཀའ་དྲིན་ཆེ་བ་ཡིན།
 །རྟེན་མཚོག་ས་གཞོན་ལྷ་བཅུ་བཞེངས་པར་མཛད། །ཀྱུ་ནག་ཡུལ་ནས་བོད་དུ་གཤེགས་
 །ལམ་ལ། །དོ་ལ་སྐྱུ་གཟུགས་ཤིང་ལ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང། །ཅུ་ལ་ཟམ་བ་ཡུལ་རེ་མིང་རེ་
 །བཏགས། །སྐད་རེ་འཕྱུར་ཞིང་གང་འདུལ་ཚོས་ཀྱང་བསྟན། །དེ་ཚེ་ཤར་སྟོགས་མདོ་གམ་
 །སྐད་ཀྱི་ཆ། །ཁྱེ་འབྲི་ཚུ་ཆེན་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བར་མ་ནས། །སྐད་ཁམས་ཟལ་མོའི་སྐད་དུ་བྱིན་
 །པའི་ཚོ། །འཕོ་ཡུལ་ལྷང་དུ་མདོ་གམ་སྐས་གནས་འབྱེད། །བྱང་ཚུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་བརྒྱད་
 །ཀྱི་ཞལ་མདོན་གཟིགས། །གནས་འདི་མདོ་གམ་སྐད་ཀྱི་རྟེན་སྐལ་ཅིག །བཞེངས་པར་
 །དགོངས་ནས་རྒྱ་མོ་ལོ་གཅིག་བཞུགས། །གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས་དོ་ལ་སྐྱུ་གཟུགས་
 །བཞེངས། །དེ་དུས་མདོ་སྐད་གཞི་གནས་རི་དབང་དང། །ལྷ་འདྲེ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མཐུན་ཕྱེན་
 །ལེགས་པར་བསྐྱུབ། །སྟོགས་བཅུའི་སངས་རྒྱས་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་སྐབས་རྗེས་གཟིགས། །རྟེན་
 །མཚོག་བཞེངས་གྲུབ་མེ་ཏོག་འཛོར་བའི་ཚོ། །ནམ་མཁའི་དབྱིངས་ལས་མེ་ཏོག་ཆར་བ་
 །བབ། །དྲི་བཟང་སྟོས་ཀྱིས་མདོ་སྐད་ཞིང་ཁམས་བྱབ། །བཀྲ་ཤིས་བྱིན་ཆགས་སྐྱུའི་ནོར་བུ་

ཅུ་ཞག་གཅིག་བསྐྱེད་པའི། ལྷ་འདྲེའི་ཚོ་འཕུལ་ཆེན་པོ་བྱུང་ངོ། །དེ་ནས་ཤར་སྤོགས་གཡུ་
རི་སྟོན་པོའི་གནས་བདག་ཡིན་ཟེར་བའི། སྐྱེས་སུན་ཏྲ་དཀར་ལ་ཆེབས་པ་གདན་དྲངས་
ཀྱི་ཚུལ་དུ་བྱུང་།”⁷ ཞེས་གསལ།

དེས་ན་ “འབོ་ཡུལ་རྣམ་སྐྱེད་” བཞུགས་སུ་གསོལ་བའི་ས་གནས་ནི། བོན་གཏེར་
སངས་རྒྱས་སྤྱིང་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་ནང་ “ཟླ་འཛི་ཚུ་ཆེན་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བར་མ་ནས། །སྐར་ཁམས་
ཟམ་མོའི་སྐྱེད་དུ་སྤྱིན་པའི་ཚོ། །འབོ་ཡུལ་ཡུང་དུ་མདོ་གམ་སྐས་གནས་འབྱེད། །ཅེས་
གསུངས་འདུག །དེ་ནི། སྐར་ཁམས་ཁྲུལ་གྱི་གཉེན་སྟོན་གཏམ་གྱི་ཚུ་རྒྱན་ལས། “འཛི་ཚུ་
གཡས་ནས་གཡུ་འབྲུག་འབྲིལ་བ་འདྲ། ཟླ་ཚུ་གཡོན་ནས་སྐུལ་ནག་བསྐྱོར་འདྲ་རྒྱུག །སྐར་
ཁམས་སོག་སྟེ་སྟེ་ཁག་དག”⁸ ཞེས་པ་ལྟར་འབོ་ཡུལ་རྣམ་སྐྱེད་འདི་ནི་ཁམས་སྐར་ཁམས་
སུ་བཞུགས་སུ་གསོལ་བ་དང་། དེ་ཡང་དུས་རབས་དགུ་པའི་འགོ་སྟོན་ནས་བཟུང་སྐར་
ཁམས་པའི་བྱེ་བྲག་ས་གནས་འབོམ་ཞེས་པར་བཞུགས་སུ་གསོལ་བས་ན་འབོམ་རྣམ་
སྐྱེད་ཞེས་འབོད།

ད་ལྟ་མཛོན་སུམ་མིག་གི་ལོངས་སྟོན་དུ་བཞུགས་པ་བྲག་གཡམ་ར་ལ་རྣམ་སྐྱེད་ངམ་དེང་
སང་རི་མདའ་རྣམ་སྐྱེད་དུ་འབོད་པའི་བྲག་བཞོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱབ་བྱང་ཡིག་སྟེང་ ༥ པར། “ཡེ་ཤེས་

7 རྟོགས་ཤིང་ཁ་བྱང་དུ། སྐུལ་སྐྱེས་སངས་རྒྱས་སྤྱིང་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་གསུང་པོད་གསུམ་པ་བཞུགས། ཞེས་པ་
དང་། རྣམ་ཐར་མཚན་བྱང་དོན། སྟོ་རོ་ཡང་སྤྱིད་བརྟུ་གཡུང་དུང་གི། མཛོད་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་གཏེར་འབྲུང་ལོ་
རྒྱས་བཅས། །དོ་རྩེ་རིན་ཆེན་སྟེང་པའི་རྒྱན་ཞེས་རྟོགས་བམ་གསུམ་པའོ། །དབུ་མེད་བྱིས་མ། སྐར་ལོ་དང་
སྐར་ས་མ་གསལ། དེའི་ཚིག་པོ་གྲངས་ ༡༢༠-༡༢༡ ཞུ་དཀར་གཡུང་དུང་པོན་གྱི་སྤྱི་འབྲུག་དགེ་བཤེས་
སྟོན་ལམ་མཐར་སྤྱིན་མཚོག་ནས་བོན་གཏེར་སངས་རྒྱས་སྤྱིང་པའི་མཛོད་རྣམ་གཡམ་སྟོལ་བྱུང་བ་རྒྱགས་
རྩེ་ཆེ་ཞུ་ལོ།

8 བསྟན་འཛིན་གྱིས་བསྐྱེད་བྱས། ལྟོ་ཁ་ཨོ་རྒྱན་བསྟན་དར་དང་། ལྷང་འདུལ་བསོད་ནམས་དོན་གྲུབ་
གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བཤད། སྐར་ཁམས་ཁྲུལ་གྱི་གཉེན་སྟོན་གཏམ་གྱི་ཚུ་རྒྱན་བཞུགས་སོ། །སྐར་རྒྱན་མེ་ཏོག་
ལྟོ་ས། ༢༠༠༩ (༢) ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༧༠

དབྱངས་ཀྱིས་ཡོལ་དང་སྐོང་དང་འབོམ་དང་ལེང་དཔའ་བཱི་དུ་ཡང་གྱུ་ཆེ་^{xx} གྲིས་སོ།⁹
 |ཞེས་གསལ། ར་ལ་རྣམ་སྤང་ནི་ “སྤྲེལ་གི་ལོའི་དབྱར། བཙན་པོ་ཁྲི་ལྷོ་སྤོང་བཙན་གྱི་རིང་
 ལ་” ཞེས་སྤྲི་ལོ་ ༤༠༧ ལོར་བཞོས་པར་གསལ་བ་དང་། འབིས་ཁོག་རྣམ་སྤང་ནི་ “ཁྲིའི་ལོ་
 ལ་སྤྱི་གཟུགས་འབྱར་དུ་བཞོས་པ་དང་། དར་མ་ཀུན་གྱིས་པའི་སྤོན་ལམ་ལ་སོགས་པ་
 བཙན་པོ་ཁྲི་ལྷོ་སྤོང་བཙན་གྱིས། སྤྱི་རིང་ལ་རྗེ་སྤོན་ཡོན་བདག་དང་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་
 གྱི་དོན་གྱི་སྤྲིར་དགོ” ཞེས་སྤྲི་ལོ་ ༤༠༩ ལོར་བཞོས་འདུག །དེ་བཞིན་འབོམ་རྣམ་སྤང་ཡང་
 སྤྲི་ལོ་ ༤༠༧ ལོའི་ཡས་མས་སུ་བཞོས་སོ་སྤྲུམ།

གོང་སོ་མན་བདེ་ཚོས་རྗེ་སྤྲུལ་ལྷ་དབང་གིས་མཛད་པའི་ཞལ་སྤྱི་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ཚོས་འབྲུང་
 བར་དོམ་གྱི་དཔལ་ལྷན་ཆབ་མདོའི་ཉ་རྒྱལ་བ་འཕགས་པ་སྤྲི་སྤྱི་འབྲེང་གཉིས་པ་
 འཕགས་པ་སངས་རྒྱས་ (1507-1566) གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་སྐབས།

“འབོམ་ལ་སེབས་པས་ (༡༧༣༧ ལོར་ལ་ཡིན་དགོས་) རོའི་སྤྱི་རྣམ་པར་སྤང་མཛད་ལ་བདུད་རྩི་
 བབས། སྤྱོགས་མཐའ་དག་ནས་སྤྱི་སེར་འདུ་ཚོགས་ཆེ་ཞིང་འབྲུལ་ཞབས་མཐའ་ཡས་པ་
 བྱུང་། སུམ་པ་བྱ་ཁའི་ཟམ་པ་ཡང་ཞེག་གསོས་མཛད།”¹⁰ ཅེས་གསལ།

དུའི་སི་ཏུར་འབོད་པ་ཀམ་བསྟན་པའི་ཉིན་བྱེད་ (1700-1774) གྱི་རང་ཚུལ་དྲང་སོར་བཞེད་

9 ཁམས་སྤྱུལ་བསོད་ནམས་དོན་གྲུབ་ཀྱིས་མཛད། བཀའ་ཡབ་རི་མདའི་དོ་བཞོས་རྣམ་པར་སྤང་མཛད་གྱི་
 རྒྱལ་བྱང་དུ་འཁོད་པའི་ཡི་གེ་དོ་བཞོས་དང་དེ་ལས་འབྲོས་པའི་གཏམ་རྟུང་དུ་བཞུགས། ལེགས་པར་
 བཤད་པ་གཏམ་གྱི་ཚོགས་ལྷན་ལ་སྤོན་པའི་དོ་གཤམ་ཤེས་ལྷན་དབྱེས་པའི་མགུལ་རྒྱན་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་
 བཞུགས་སོ། རྒྱུར་སྤྲུལ། ༢༠༠༩ རོག་གྲངས་ ༢༣༢

10 ཞལ་སྤྱི་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་གྱི་སྤྲུལ་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པའི་ཚོས་འབྲུང་། ཀའས་ཅན་རིག་མཛོད། ༣༧ བོད་ལྗོངས་བོད་
 ཡིག་དཔེ་རྒྱུ་དཔེ་སྤྲུལ་ཁང་། ༢༠༠༡ རོག་གྲངས་ ༡༠༢ ཨ་ལྷོས་མ་ཆེན་བོད་གྱི་རིག་གཞུང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་
 ཁང་གི་ལས་བྱེད་ཆབ་དོམས་སྤྱི་ཞབས་བསྟན་པ་ཉི་མ་ལགས་ནས་ལུང་འདྲེན་འདིའི་རྒྱལ་སྤོན་གནང་
 བྱུང་བ་སྤྱོད་ཆེ་ཆེ་ཞུ།

པ་དྲི་བུལ་ཤེལ་གྱི་མེ་ལོང་ལས། “འབོམ་ལྷ་མདུན་གྱི་རྒྱ་བཟའི་སྤྲུལ་བཟོ་རྣམས་སྤང་སྲུ་
མཇལ་སྟན་ཤལ་དང་མཚོད་ཐེབས་འབུལ།”¹¹ ཞེས་དང་། “འབོམ་ལྷ་མདུན་དུ་རྣམས་སྤང་སྲུ་
ཁང་མཇལ། མཚོད་འབུལ་སྟོན་ལམ་བགྱིས།”¹² ཞེས་གསལ།

ཀུན་གཟིགས་པའ་ཚེན་བསྟན་པའི་ཉི་མས་ (1782-1854) བཙུན་པའི། བྱམས་པ་མགོན་
པོའི་ (བྲག་གཡལ་ལོང་རྩ་བུམས་པ་) སྤང་བརྟན་གྱི་དཀར་ཆག་སྐལ་ལྷན་དང་པའི་ཤིང་རྟ་ལས་
ཀྱང་། “ཀོང་ཚོ་ཉིད་བོད་དུ་བྱོན་པའི་ལམ་ཞོར་གྱུལ་བ་སྤྲུལ་བཅས་གྱི་རྟེན་མང་སྤྲུལ་གྱི་འདུ་
བྱེད་བཟང་པོ་གནང་བར་མཚོད་པར་རྟེན་འབྱུང་མ་འགྲིགས་པར་ལུས་པ་འགའ་རེ་དང་།
ལེགས་འགྲིགས་བྱུང་བ་འགའ་ཞིག་ཟི། འབོམ། རི་བར་མ། འོར་རྩ། ར་ལ། གནས་སྤོ་ཀོང་
བྲ། འདན་མ་བྲག་ལ་སོགས་པ་བོད་ཚེན་སྤྱོད་པའི་རྣམས་པ་མང་པོ།”¹³ ཞེས་གསལ།

11 རྒྱུ་མི་དུ་བ་ཀུན་མཁྱེན་ཚོས་གྱི་འབྱུང་གནས་བསྟན་པའི་ཉི་མེད་གྱི་བཀའ་འབུམ། བོད་ཨ་པའམ་བོད་
སྤེང་ ༡༘ Published by Palpung Sungrab Nyamso Khang, Sherab-Ling Institute of
Buddhist Studies, Sansal, 1990 དབྱིན་ཇིའི་ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༡༤༧ རྒྱུ་མི་དུ་བ་ཀུན་མཁྱེན་ཚོས་གྱི་
འབྱུང་གནས་བསྟན་པའི་ཉི་མེད་གྱི་བཀའ་འབུམ། བོད་ཨ་པའམ་བོད་སྤེང་ ༡༢ སྤྲུལ་བརྟན་གཟུང་གི་ཚང་
བརྟན་དཔ་རིན་པོ་ཆའི་རྣམས་པར་ཐར་པ་རབ་འབྱམས་ནོར་བུ་རྒྱ་བཟའི་ཤེལ་གྱི་སྤེང་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་བསྟོན་གྱི་
སྤྱི་མཐོ། །མི་དུ་བ་ཚེན་ཞབས་གྱི་རྣམས་ཐར་སྐབས་དབྱིན་ཇིའི་ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༧༢༡ ནང་། “རྒྱ་བཟའི་སྤྲུལ་
བཟོ་འབམ་རྣམས་སྤང་གི་སྤྲུ་མཇལ། སྟན་ཤལ་དང་མཚོད་པ་བུལ།” ཞེས་དང་། དབྱིན་ཇིའི་ཤོག་གྲངས་
༧༢༢ ནང་། “སྤང་ཁམས་སྤེ་བ་ལུམ་བཅས་གྱིས་མཇལ། ཚེ་དབང་མཚོད། ལྷ་མདུན་དུ་འཕགས་པ་ལྷར་ཇ་
འདྲན་ལ་ཇེ་དབོན་ཀམ་བྱོན། རྩར་ལའང་མགོན་རྒྱལ་མ་སྤྱོད་པ་ལྷན་ལྷེ་ཇེ་འདྲན་མཚོད། ལྷ་མདུན་
རྣམས་སྤང་ལ་མཚོད་འབུལ་སོགས་མཚོད།” ཅེས་གསལ་ལོ།།

12 རྒྱུ་མི་དུ་བ་ཀུན་མཁྱེན་ཚོས་གྱི་འབྱུང་གནས་བསྟན་པའི་ཉི་མེད་གྱི་བཀའ་འབུམ། བོད་ཨ་པའམ་བོད་
སྤེང་ ༡༘ དབྱིན་ཇིའི་ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༢༡༢

13 མདོ་ཁམས་བྲག་གཡལ་བ་རྒྱ་དབོན་སོགས་གྱི་གནའ་དེང་བྱུང་བ་བོད་པ་ཐོག་མའི་སྤོགས་བསྟོན་གས་
སོས་ཀའི་ཉི་རིང་འབུལ་པའི་གཏམ། བྲག་གཡལ་བོད་རྩེ་དབང་འབུལ་དང་། མོ་སྟོམ་ (སྤོང་ལུལ་མོ་

གོ་འཇོ་རག་མགོ་མཚོག་སྐལ་ཕྱུབ་བསྐྱེད་བཤད་སྐྱུབ་བྱ་མཚོས་ (1879-C.1961) མཛད་
 པའི། རག་མགོ་དགོན་ཕྱུབ་བསྐྱེད་ཀུན་བཟང་གླིང་གླེ་མ་རི་མ་བྱོན་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་མེ་ཉོག་ཕྱེད་
 བ་ལས། རག་མགོ་དགོན་ཕྱུག་འདེབས་པ་པོ་ཉོག་ས་ལྷན་གྲུབ་བརྟེན་ལྷན་གྲུབ་རིག་འཛིན་
 གྱི་དགོན་རིགས་གླེ་མ་ཨེ་དོན་ནམ། ཀམ་ཉོར་བུ་བཟང་པོའི་རྣམ་ཐར་སྐབས་མེ་ལྷག་ལོའི་
 (1746/1806) རྗེས་ “དེ་ཁོང་གི་པ་གན་ཚེ་སྐྱུབ་ཟེར་བ། འབམ་ལྷ་མདུན་དུ་ཆད་དེས། ཚོང་
 དོན་མནའ་ཟོས་ཤིག་གི་སྐྱིབ་པས། འདིར་པན་ཚུན་གཉིས་ཀ་སྐྱེ་འདུག་གསུང་ནས་པ་མི་དེ་
 བཤིག་པས་སྐལ་པ་གཉིས་འདུག་པ་ལ། སྐྱིབ་སྐྱོང་དང་ཁྲུས་ཚོག་ནན་ཏན་མཛད་ནས་དེ་
 གཉིས་སོ་སོར་རྩེ་ལ་བསྐྱལ་བར་མཛད།”¹⁶ ཅས་གསལ།

དུས་རབས་བཅུ་གཉིས་པའི་སྔོན་ཆ་ཅམ་ནས་འབོམ་རྣམ་སྐྱང་ལ་སྐྱ་འདུས་རྣམ་སྐྱང་
 དང་སྐྱ་མདུན་རྣམ་སྐྱང་ཞེས་མིང་བསྐྱར་ནས་འབོད་པ་བྱུང་འདུག། །ད་དུང་སྐྱར་ཁམས་
 འབོམ་པའི་ཡུལ་མིའི་ངག་སྐྱོས་སྟུ། ལྷ་སའི་ཇོ་བོ་སྐྱུ་ཕུ་ནེ་བཞེངས་སྐྱ་རེད། ལྷ་མདུན་ཇོ་
 བོ་རྣམ་པར་སྐྱང་མཛད་འཁྲུངས་སྐྱ་ཡིན་ཞེས་བསྟོད་པར་བྱེད་སྐྱད།

དེ་ཡང་། སྐྱར་ཁམས་ནང་གནས་ཅ་ཚེན་ཇི་བཞུགས་གྱི་སྐྱོར་ལ། བ་དགོན་གྲགས་པ་
 ཅན་ནམ་སྐྱ་ར་དགོན་གྱི་ཚོས་འབྱུང་དང་། དགོན་བདག་གྱལ་བསྐྱེད་གྲགས་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་
 འཁྲུངས་རབས་སྟོང་བསྐྱུས་ཞེས་པ་ལས། “གཙང་ཤོད་ས་ཁུལ་དུ་ཁམས་གྱི་སྐྱག་ཚང་མེང་
 གོ་བསམ་འགྲུབ་ཅེས་པའི་གནས་ཁྱད་འཕགས་ཅན་”¹⁷ ནམ། སྐྱར་ཁམས་ཡུལ་གྱི་གནས་

དབུས་ལམ་ཟེར་བ་སོགས་ཡུལ་གྲོང་ཁག་ལ་ཐ་སྙད་ཀྱང་ཁྱད་མཚར་ཅན་དུ་མ་སྐྱང་།” ཞེས་གསལ་བ་
 ལྷ་ར་སྐྱ་མགོ་འམ། དགའ་མགུ་རྣམ་སྐྱང་ནི་ཁམས་ཚེ་ཁ་སྟེའི་ཆ་བཞི་ཇོང་རྩའི་ནང་ཡོད་འདུག། །དེ་བཞིན་
 ཚོ་རོང་ཚོ་དཔག་མེད་ཀྱང་ཁམས་ཚེ་ཁ་སྟེའི་ཆ་བཞི་དབང་ལུང་ངམ། དབུས་ལམ། དབུ་ལུང་གི་རྩེ་མར་
 ཀའི་གྲག་ལྗེབས་སུ་ཤིན་ཏུ་སྟོོས་གཙང་ཆེ་ལོགས་ངོ་མཚར་ཅན་ཞིག་མཛལ་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་འདུག།

16 རག་མགོ་མཚོག་སྐལ་ཕྱུབ་བཤད་འདུས་པོད་མེ། ཕྱུབ་བསྐྱེད་ཀུན་བཟང་གླིང་གླེ་རབས་རི་མ་བྱོན་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་
 མེ་ཉོག་ཕྱེད་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།། Published by Ven. Pema Norbu Rinpoche, Nyingmapa
 Monastery, Bylakuppe, 1985 དབྱིན་ཇིའི་ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༡༧༡

17 སུ་པ་ཚེ་རིང་སྟོོབས་རྒྱས་གྱིས་བཙམས། བ་དགོན་གྲགས་པ་ཅན་ནམ་སྐྱ་ར་དགོན་གྱི་ཚོས་འབྱུང་དང་།

གཙོ་བོ་དེ་ནི་བོད་གངས་ཅན་སྐོང་ས་ཀྱི་གནས་ཆེན་ཁྱད་དུ་འཕགས་པའི་གནས་ནམས་ཀྱི་
 མགོ་བོ་ལྷ་བུ་མ་རྩུ་གུ་རུ་རི་སྐྱུ་བ་གནས་གནས་མགོ་འཕ་ཁམས་ཀྱི་སྐྱབ་ཚང་མེང་གི་
 བསམ་འགྲུབ།¹⁸ སྐབས་ས་མོག་དོ་ལྷ་རི་ཁྲོད་¹⁹ དམ། ཁམས་ཀྱི་གནས་མཚོག་དོ་ལྷ་མེ་
 ཏོག་རྩུ་བ།²⁰ སྐར་ཁམས་ཚོང་གི་ཤར་དོས་སྐྱ་ཡོད་པའི་ལྷ་འདུས་ཞེས་པའི་ཡུལ་དེར་
 གནས་ཀྱི་གཙོ་བོ་ཚོ་བོ་ནམ་པར་སྐར་མཛད་དོ་སྐྱ་རང་བྱོན།²¹ ཤུར་ལ་ཞེས་པའི་ས་དེར་
 བདེ་མཚོག་གི་གནས་ཁྱད་པར་ཅན་ཞིག་ཁ་བ་དཀར་པོའི་གནས་ལག་ཏུ་བརྩི།²² བོད་ཀྱི་
 མཚོ་ཆེན་བཞིའི་ཁོངས་སྐྱ་བྲགས་པའི་སྐར་ཁམས་འབྲུམ་མཚོ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞེས་པར་སྐྱ་བུ་
 འབྲུམ་གཅིག་ཡོད་སྐབས་འབྲུམ་མཚོ་ཞེས་བྲགས་སྐད།²³ ཅེས་གསལ།

དཔལ་ལྷན་སྐར་ཚང་དམ། སྐར་པ་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་གདན་ས་བོད་འོག་གཉིས་ལས་གདན་
 ས་འོག་མ་ཚོམ་མདོ་གནས་གསར་གྱི་གདན་ས་བ་འགྲོ་མགོན་རིན་ཆེན་ (1170-1248) ཀྱི་
 རྣམ་ཐར་ནང་། “རྣམ་སྐར་རང་བྱོན་ཆེན་མོ་ལ། ཀོང་ཚོས་བཞེངས་པའི་གཙུག་ལག་ལྷ་
 འདུས་མེ་ཡིས་འཛིགས། འགྲོ་མགོན་རིན་ཆེན་ལྷ་འདུས་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཉམས་གསོ་ལ་
 བྱོན། འོ་ཚོ་རྣམ་པ་སྐར་འཛིན་ལ་བཞིན་གསེར་དང་སྐྱུན་འབྲེད་སྤྲུལ། སྐབས་གསལ་གྱུན་དུ་ག་
 གི་གོས་ཆེན་ན་བཟའ་ཡང་སྐྱོན། ཉེ་སྐབས་བརྒྱུད་པོ་ལ་གོས་ཆེན་ན་བཟའ་སྐྱོན་འབྲུལ། མར་

དགོན་བདག་རྒྱལ་བསྐྱུན་བྲགས་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་འཁྲུངས་རབས་སྤིང་བསྐྱུས། ༢༠༠༠ བོད་གཞུང་གྲི་རྒྱུ་
 སྐར་ཐང་པར་ཁང་དུ་པར་སྐྱུན་ཞུས། ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༢༧ འདི་རྗེས་བསྐྱུས་མིང་། མ་དགོན་བྲགས་པ་ཅན་
 རྣམ་སྐྱུ་ར་དགོན་གྱི་ཚོས་འབྲུང་། ཞེས་འགོད་རྒྱ།

18 མ་དགོན་བྲགས་པ་ཅན་རྣམ་སྐྱུ་ར་དགོན་གྱི་ཚོས་འབྲུང་། ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༢༩
 19 མ་དགོན་བྲགས་པ་ཅན་རྣམ་སྐྱུ་ར་དགོན་གྱི་ཚོས་འབྲུང་། ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༣༡
 20 མ་དགོན་བྲགས་པ་ཅན་རྣམ་སྐྱུ་ར་དགོན་གྱི་ཚོས་འབྲུང་། ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༣༡
 21 མ་དགོན་བྲགས་པ་ཅན་རྣམ་སྐྱུ་ར་དགོན་གྱི་ཚོས་འབྲུང་། ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༣༡
 22 མ་དགོན་བྲགས་པ་ཅན་རྣམ་སྐྱུ་ར་དགོན་གྱི་ཚོས་འབྲུང་། ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༣༡
 23 མ་དགོན་བྲགས་པ་ཅན་རྣམ་སྐྱུ་ར་དགོན་གྱི་ཚོས་འབྲུང་། ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༣༤

མེ་བྲི་མཚོད། འབྲུམ་ཚོགས་དངོས་བཤམ་དང་། ཡིད་སྦྱུལ་གྱི་མཚོད་པ། གསང་བ་སྤྲོ་མེད་
 གྱི་མཚོད་པ་རྒྱ་ཆེར་བཤམ། ནམ་སྤང་ཡིད་བཞིན་མོར་བྱ་འདི་བོད་རྒྱལ་ཐོག་མ་གཉའ་བྲི་
 བཅོན་པོ་འདི་བོད་དུ་ཡོད་པ་བོན་པོ་འུ་རྒྱུས་ནང་དུ་འང་གསལ། བོན་པོ་དག་གི་བོན་ལྷ་
 ཞིག་ཏུ་རྩིས་ནས་གསོལ་མཚོད་ཀྱང་བགྱིས་པ་བཤད། སྤྱིས་སུ་འཛིག་རྟེན་དབང་ཕྱུག་
 སྲོང་བཅོན་སྐྱམ་པོས། སློལ་མ་སློན་མོ་ཀོང་ཇོ་འཛིག་རྟེན་མི་ཚོས་ལ་བག་བསུས་གྱི་ལམ་
 བར། རུམ་ཟས་བོད་པ་དག་གིས་རིང་མོ་ནས་བསོགས་པའི་བསོད་ནམས་གྱི་བགོ་སྐྱལ།
 རྒྱ་ཡུལ་ནས་ཇོ་བོ་ཡིད་བཞིན་མོར་བྱ་ཡུལ་དབྱུང་སུ་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ཞོར། མི་ཉག་ཤི་ཐང་།
 འཇང་ས། ཁ་བ་དཀར། སྤར་ཁམས། བྲག་ཡབ། གོ་ཇོ་སྤེ་དགོ། སྤར་པ་སོགས་ཁམས་ཡུལ་
 གྱི་འགོ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ། ཇོ་བོ་རིན་པོ་ཆེར་མཇལ་ཕྱག་མ་ཐོབ་པ་མེད་པར་ལྷ་བྱ་མཛད།
 ཀོང་ཇོ་སློལ་མས་ཁམས་གྱི་འགོ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་སྐལ་བཟང་གི་གོ་སྐྱབས་བྱིན། ལྷ་ཁང་
 ཡང་ཆེ་བྱ་དུ་མ་བཞེངས་པ་སོགས་ཀོང་ཇོ་སློལ་མས། བོད་ཁམས་ནང་ཚོས་འགྱུར་བས་
 གཞི་རྟེན་གསར་བཞེངས་གྱིས་དཀའ་བ་བརྒྱ་ཕྱག་ལ་ཆེད་དུ་བཅོད་བཞིན་དབྱུང་སུ་བྱོན།
 ནམ་སྤང་ཆེན་པོ་འདིར་ཀོང་ཇོས། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཆེན་མོ་ཡངས་ཤིང་རྒྱ་ཆེ་བ་ཞིག་
 བཞེངས། འཁོར་གཡོག་བཞོས་པ་ནམས་ལ་ཉེ་སྤྱོད་བརྒྱད་བཞོས་སུ་བཅུག་ཤིང་བརྒྱད་
 བོ་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་ལུགས་སུ་བཞོས། ནམ་སྤང་རང་བྱོན་ལ་འབར་འབྱར་ཡོད་པ་དག་བཅོ་
 བཞོས་ཅུང་བགྱིས་པའང་ཡོད། སློ་ཆེན་གྱི་བྱང་ལོས་ལ་ཀོང་ཇོ་དང་། མགར་སྟོང་བཅོན་
 བཅས་གྱི་ཇོ་བོ་གདན་དྲངས་པའི་ནམ་པ་ལྗིང་བྱིས་ཡང་མཇལ་རྒྱ་སྤང་། ངན་སོང་སྟོང་
 བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཀུན་རིག་ནམ་པར་སྤང་མཛད་འདི་ལྷ་བྱ་རང་བྱོན་ཡུལ་གཞན་ན་ཆེས་སྤིང་
 བ་དཀའོ།²⁴ ཞེས་གསལ། འོན་ཀྱང་བོད་གསལ་ཡི་གེ་གྲོག་གྲོག་བསྐྱལ་བའི་བཛྲ་དོན་
 ཚང་མ་ “སྤར་པ་བཀའ་བརྒྱད་གྱི་ནམ་ཐར་ཕྱོགས་སྤྱིག” ཅེས་པའི་ཕྱག་དེབ་སྤྱིག་མཁན་
 གན་བུ་ཀམ་ཇོ་རྗེས་ལག་རིང་བརྒྱངས་ནས་བྱིས་མེད་དམ་སྐྱམ་ན་མ་བྱི་ངོ་མའི་ནང་རི་

24 སྤར་པ་བཀའ་བརྒྱད་གྱི་ནམ་ཐར་ཕྱོགས་སྤྱིག ཤི་ཁྲོན་དཔེ་སྤྲུལ་ཚོགས་པ། ཤི་ཁྲོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྤྲུལ་
 ཁང་། ༢༠༠༩ ལོ་གྲངས་ ༡༧-༡༨ བར་གསལ།

ཡོད་མ་འོངས་པར་རྩ་དར་ཞིབ་བསྟར་དགོས་ལེས་ཅན་རེད། ད་དུང་ཞིབ་ཅམ་སློབ་ན་སྤྱི་ལོ་
༤༠༧ ཡས་མས་ལྷ་ཞོག་དུས་རབས་ ༡༩ པའི་སྐད་ཆའི་ནང་ལའང་ཡུལ་སྤེའི་མིང་བྲག་
གཡལ་དང་སྤེའི་ཞེས་པའི་ཐ་སྐད་མེད་པས་སོ།།

སྐར་ཚང་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་གདན་ས་འོག་མ་ཙམ་མདོ་གནས་གསར་གྱི་གདན་ས་པ་
ཚོས་རྗེ་སྟོན་པ་རྩལ་ཁྲིམས་གཞིན་ནའི་ (1197-1276) རྣམ་ཐར་སྐབས། “རབ་བྱུང་ལྔ་པ་
ཤིང་མོ་པག་ (1275) གི་ལོ་སྟོན་རྗེ་འབྲིང་པོར་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་འབགས་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཡི་ཐང་
བརྒྱུད་སྐར་ཁམས་སུ་བཞུད། ལྷ་འདུས་ལ་རྣམ་སྐར་མངལ་དུ་བྱོན། ཉེ་འདབས་སུ་ཀུན་
དགའ་སྤྱིང་ཞེས་དགོན་རྒྱང་ཞིག་བཏབ།”²⁵ ཅེས་གསལ།

སྐར་ཁམས་ལྷ་མདུན་རྣམ་སྐར་རྗེ་ཁང་དུ་སྟོན་མདའ་ཉི་རྒྱལ་ཚང་གི་མིང་སྟོ་བཟང་ཚོས་
སྤྱིད་ཅན་ནས་གསེར་ཀོང་ཕུལ་བའི་སྟོན་ཚོག་དགེ་²⁶ ཞེས་པའང་ཕྱུལ་དབང་ཐམས་ཅད་
མཁྱེན་པ་སྐུ་སྤེང་བཅུ་གསུམ་པའི་གསུང་འབུམ་ནང་བཞུགས།

ཀའོ་མོག་མཁན་པོ་དག་དགའི་ (1879-1941) རང་རྣམ་ལས། “དེ་ནས་ལྷ་མདུན་རྣམ་སྐར་
མངལ་དུ་སོང་། རྟོང་མཚོད་རྒྱས་པ་ཞིག་ཕུལ། མཐུལ་བཞི་པའི་ཚོ་ག་སྐུ་དབང་དགོངས་
རྒྱན་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་གཟུངས་སྤྲུགས་བསགས་པ་སོགས་གཙོ་བོར་མ་བུས་པར་སྟོལ་མ་ཉེར་
གཅིག་གི་བསྟོད་པ་བཙམ་ལྷན་འདས་རྣམ་སྐར་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་གསུང་བའི་རྒྱ་མཚན་ཡིད་ལ་
བཅགས། བསྟན་འགྲོའི་པན་བདེ་ལ་དམིགས་ཏེ་སྟོལ་མ་སྟོང་ཅ་བསགས། དེ་དུས་ཞལ་
འདེབས་མང་བས་མར་མེ་དང་ཞལ་ཟས་རྣམས་སྟོད་དང་ལག་ཚགས་ཀྱིས་སྟོལ་དཀའ་བ་

25 སྐར་པ་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་སྐབས་སྤྱིག་ཤོག་གངས་ ༡༩༠-༡༩༡
26 པར་བྱུང་དང་། ཐང་སྐུའི་རྒྱབ་ཡིག་ མཚོད་རྣམ་ཕུལ་བྱང་སོགས་འདོད་གསོལ་སྟོན་ལམ་གྱི་རིམ་པ་
སྤྱིགས་གཅིག་དུ་བསྐྱིགས་པ་བཞུགས་སོ། ཕྱུལ་དབང་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པ་སྐུ་སྤེང་བཅུ་གསུམ་པའི་
གསུང་འབུམ་ སོད་ཉི་ལ། འབུམ་སྐར་དགའ་ལྷན་པོ་བྲང་གི་སྐར་མ། ཤོག་ལྡེབ་ ༢༠བ་-༢༡ན་

ཅམ་བྱུང་། མར་བྱ་ལྷག་པོས་དོ་དང་ཁོ་ཟངས་ཀྱི་ཀོང་བྱ་མང་པོ་བཀའ་སྟེ་སྤུལ། རྣམ་སྤྲང་གཙོ་འཁོར་འདི་རྣམས་ཀོང་ཚོས་གཏེར་ནས་དྲངས་པ་དང་རྩུ་འཕྲུལ་གྱིས་བཞེངས་པའི་གཏམ་སྒྲོས་གཉིས་སྤྲང་ཡང་རང་བྱུང་གི་དོ་ལས་བྱུབ་པའི་རྣམ་སྤྲང་ཐོག་ཚད། ཉེ་སྤྱི་མི་ཚད་ལྷག་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་སྤོ་སྤྲང་ཁོ་བོ་དང་བཅས་པ་འདུག །གསང་བའི་བདག་པོ་ཞི་བའི་ཞལ་རས་ལ་དབྱ་སྤྲ་དང་སྤྲིན་མ་སོགས་ཁོ་བོའི་རྣམ་པར་བཅོས་པའི་ཞལ་རས་ཞི་བོ་སྤྲ་ཚོགས་སྤྲ་འགྲུར་བ་དང་དབྱ་སྤྲ་སྤྲིན་མ་འབར་བའི་མེ་རི་འབྲིལ་བ་ལས་མེ་སྤྱག་གི་ཟེར་ཁོལ་བ། སྤྲིན་འགྲུར་བ་ཞལ་འཇུག་པ་སོགས་ཉིན་དེའི་རིང་ལ་མཇལ་བས་སྤྱག་པའི་སྤྲ་དེའི་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརྒྱབས་པའི་མཚན་མར་དེས་བ་རྟེད། དེ་ནས་འབམ་མཚོ་ཁར་བྱིན། མཚོ་དེ་ནི་དོ་རྩེ་པག་མོའི་སྤྲ་དབྱིབས་མཚོ་དེའི་དབྲུས་སྤྲ་པག་མོའི་ལྷ་འགྲུར་མཚོན་བྱེད་རི་དེའི་གཉིས་ཀྱང་སྤྲང་བའི་སྤྱག་པ་གཡོན་དོས་སྤོགས་ཞལ་དང་ཉེ་བར་མཚོ་དར་དང་དམ་ཇུས་སྤྲར་མ་རིན་ཆེན་རིལ་བྱ་དོག་གསུམ་གསེར་དབྲུས་དང་རིན་ཆེན་རིགས་གྲངས་མང་བཅས་སྤུལ། སྤྲིན་སྤྲ་ལྷ་ལྷུང་གཡོན་སྤོགས་སྤྲ་སྤྲར་བབས། ཚོགས་ཀྱི་མཚོད་པ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་སྤུལ་བའི་བྱིན་གྱིས་ཆར་དྲག་ཅིག་གྱང་བབས་བྱུང་། དེ་དྲུངས་འཕྲུལ་དེའི་ཆེ་ཆུང་གཉིས་ཁ་དོག་སྤྲ་ཚོགས་པའི་འཇལ་ཡིས་བྱུབ་པར་སྤྲེལ། དེར་ཞག་གསུམ་ཚོགས་མཚོད་སྤུལ།”²⁷ ཞེས་དང་།

27 འོད་གསལ་རིན་ཆེན་སྤྲང་པོ་སྤྲ་ལས་འབྲེལ་ཙམ་ (ཀུ་ཐོག་མཁན་པོ་དག་དགའ་) ཀྱི་དོགས་བརྗོད་དོ་མཚར་སྤྲ་མའི་ལོ་གར་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།། *The Autobiographical Reminiscences of Ngag-Dbang-Dpal-Bzang, Late Abbot of Kah-Thog Monastery*, Published by Sonam T. Kazi, Gangtok, 1969 དབྱིན་ཇིའི་ཤོག་གྲངས་ 207-202 འོད་ཀྱི་སྤྲིད་དོན་རྒྱལ་རབས། ཞུ་སྤྲུབ་པ་དབང་སྤུག་བདེ་ལྷན་གྱིས་སྤྲར་བའོ། ཞེས་པས་བཤད་སོ། ཀུ་ཐོན་སྤྲུག་ཞུ་སྤྲུབ་པ་གཤམ་ 1986 ཤོག་གྲངས་ 100 ནང་། “ཀུ་ཐོག་མཁན་པོ་དག་དགའ་བཟང་གི་རྣམ་ཐར་དོ་མཚར་སྤྲ་མའི་ལོ་གར་ 1263 བར་འདི་ལྷན་ལུ་འབྲིས་རྣམ་སྤྲང་ བྲག་གཡམ་བྱུམས་མདུན་ལ་ཡོད་ཚུལ་གསལ་འདུག་གོ” །ཅེས་བཀོད་པ་གཤམ་ཡང་དོན་དངོས་ཐོག་ཀུ་ཐོག་མཁན་པོ་དག་དགའི་ (1879-1941) རང་རྣམ་བོད་གསལ་ཤོག་གྲངས་ 35 སྤྲར་ཁམས་སྤྲ་མདུན་རྣམ་སྤྲང་མཇལ་སྤོར་ལས་བྲག་གཡམ་བྱུམས་མདུན་དུ་ཐེབས་མི་འདུག་ན་བརྗོད་ཏེ་མཉམ་པར་མ་བཞག་པའི་སྤོན་དུ་ཟད།

“དེ་ནས་བཞེག་སྟེ་དམར་ཡོན་དཔོན་ཚང་ནས་གདན་ཞུས་ཀྱི་བསུ་མ་དང་དགོན་པའི་སྟེལ་
 མ་མང་པོ་བཅས་འགྲོགས་ཏེ་འོང་བའི་ལམ་ཁར་སྐྱེན་ཅུ་ཁ་ཟེར་བ་སྟོན་གྱི་བཟའ་ཤོང་རྗེས་
 དབུ་སྐྱ་བུས་པའི་ཚུ་འཁོར་ཤུལ་ཤིང་ཤུག་པའི་སྟོང་པོ་དབང་ཤུག་ཉེར་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་རྟེན་ཡིན་
 པར་བྲགས་པ་དེ་དང་ཉེ་བར་སྟེ་བས་པ་ན་སྐྱེན་སྟོན་ཀྱི་དྲི་བཟའ་པོ་ཞིག་འབྱུང་བའི་རྟེན་
 གྱིས་ལུས་སེམས་བདེ་བའི་ཉིང་འཛིན་གྱིས་ཁྲུབ་པས་རིག་པ་ཚོས་ཉིད་རྣམ་པར་མི་རྟོག་
 པའི་དང་དུ་འབྲམས་སྐྱུ་ནས་རེ་ཞིག་གི་དུས་སྲིར་གསལ་གྱི་སྒྲུང་ཆར། མདུན་གྱི་ནམ་
 མཁར་ལྟ་གཅིག་ཤོང་རྗེས་ཡི་བྱ་མོའི་ཆ་བྱུང་ཅན་དཀར་ལ་དམར་བའི་མདངས་ཆགས་པ་
 སྐྱུ་དུས་ལ་ལ་རིང་བ། སྐབས་སུ་ཅིར་ཡང་འབྱུང་བ་སྤྱུག་གཉིས་པ་ལྟའི་འདབ་མ་ལྟར་
 དམར་བ་བྱུང་གིས་དཔེ་ཆ་བམ་པོ་གཅིག་བསྐྱེད་ནས་སྟོལ་མ་ལས་སྐྱ་ཚོགས་པའི་རྒྱུད་
 ཀྱི་དབུ་ནས་སྟེང་གཞི་དང་མཐུན་པའི་བཤོད་པ་རྣམ་པར་འབྱུང་ནས་དབང་དང་། རྒྱུད་
 བཤད་བཅས་གཞན་བའི་སྒྲུང་ཆ་དེ་རི་བཏུ་ཅན་གྱི་གནས་འདབས་བར་ཤར་ཞིང་ལྟ་གཅིག་
 གིས་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརྒྱབས་པའང་ཐོབ།”²⁸ ཅེས་གསལ།

མདོ་སྟོང་སྐྱེར་ཁམས་ཁྲུལ་གྱི་དགོན་ཐོ་མདོར་བསྐྱུས་སུ་ཞུ་བ་ཞེས་པའི་ནང་། “སྐྱེར་ཁམས་
 ཡུལ་གྱི་རྟེན་གཙོ་པོ་ལྟ་འདུས་ཞེས་པའི་ས་གནས་སུ་རྗོ་པོ་རྣམ་པར་སྐྱུང་མཛད། དོ་སྐྱེར་རང་
 རྟོན་ཐོག་ཚང་ལྟག་ཅེས་ལ། ཉེ་བའི་སྐུས་བརྒྱད། སྐྱེན་རས་གཟིགས་སྤྱུག་སྟོང་སྐྱེན་སྟོང་
 བཅས་ཐོག་ཚང་རེ། མ་ཞི་དུང་འཁོར་ཆེན་པོ་གཅིག་བཅས་གཞན་ཡང་རྟེན་གསུམ་སྐྱ་
 ཚོགས་བཞུགས་པའི་སྐྱ་ཁང་གཅིག”²⁹ ཅེས་གསལ།

པ་དགོན་བྲགས་པ་ཅན་ནམ་གྱུ་ར་དགོན་གྱི་ཚོས་འབྱུང་ལས། “སྐྱེར་ཁམས་རྫོང་གི་ཤར་

28 འོད་གསལ་རིན་ཆེན་སྟོང་པོ་སྐྱེད་ལས་འབྲེལ་རྩལ་གྱི་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་འོ་མཚར་སྐྱུ་མའི་རོལ་གར་ཞེས་བུ་བ་
 བཞུགས་སོ། །དབྱིན་རྗེས་ཤོག་གུངས་ 2002-202

29 འདི་ནི་ 1987 ལས་མས་ནང་བཅོན་སྟོལ་ཁོངས་སྐྱེར་ཁམས་ས་གནས་རབས་ཁག་གཅིག་མཉམ་རུབ་
 གྱིས་བྲིས་པ་ཞིག་རེད། དབུ་མེད་འབྲུག་བྲིས་ཤོག་གུངས་ 4

ངོས་སུ་ཡོད་པའི་ལྷ་འདུས་ཞེས་པའི་ཡུལ་དེར་གནས་ཀྱི་གཙོ་བོ་ཇོ་བོ་རྣམ་པར་སྐྱང་
མཛད་དོ་སྐྱེ་རང་སྲོན་ཐོག་ཚད་གཅིག་ཙམ་ལ་ཉེ་བའི་སྐས་བརྒྱད་ནས་བསྐྱོར་བ་དང་།
འཕགས་མཚོག་སྐྱེན་རས་གཟིགས་སྤྲུལ་སྲོད་སྐྱེན་སྲོད་ཐོག་བཙུགས་ཏེ་བཙས་སྐྱེ་གསུང་
ཐུགས་ཉེན་བྱུང་བར་ཅན་བཞུགས་ཤིང་། དེ་དག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱང་ཉ་ཅང་བྱ་ཆེར་ཡོད་ཀྱང་
ཞིབ་པར་བཀོད་ཤེས་པ་དགལ།”³⁰ ཞེས་དང་།

སེར་སྐྱེད་ཐོས་བསམ་ནོར་བུའི་གླིང་གི་མཁན་རབས། མདོ་ཁམས་སྐྱུར་ཁམས་སྐྱུང་འབྲུམ་³¹

30 ས་དགོན་གྲགས་པ་ཅན་རྣམ་སྐྱེ་ར་དགོན་གྱི་ཚོས་འབྲུང་། ཐོག་གྲངས་ 38
31 བྱང་རི་ཀམ་བསྐྱེན་འཛིན་ཀུན་དགའ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་བརྟམས་པའི། རབ་སྐྱུལ་ཡིད་ལྷན་སེལ་
བའི་ལྷ་མེར་སྐྱེར་སྐྱེར་༢༠༠༡ ཐོག་གྲངས་ 68-69 ལས། “ཀུན་མཁུན་བསོད་ནམས་སེང་གའི་འབྲུངས་
ཡུལ་ནི། སྐྱུར་ཁམས་ཀྱི་ཤར་སྲོགས་སུ། ལྷ་འདུས་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དཔལ་ཡོན་དོ་རྗེའི་གདན་དང་ཆེས་
མི་རིང་བར། རི་བོ་འབྲུམ་བོད་བཅུ་གཉིས་བཤམ་པ་ལྷ་བྱ་ཡོད་པས་འབྲུམ་ཞེས་པ་དང་། ཁམས་སྐྱེད་དུ་
རིའི་མིང་ལ། ལ་ཟེར་བ་དང་། མཚོ་ལ་སྤེང་ཟེར་བས། འབྲུལ་ལ་སྤེང་ཞེས་བཏགས་ཀྱི་ཡོད་ལ། བྱང་ནས་
ཁ་ཤར་སྲོགས་སུ་གདན་པའི་འབྲུམ་ལ་སྤེང་གི་ཐད་དུ། ཨ་མཚན་བཅུ་གསུམ་གྱིས་འབྲུམ་སྲོག་པའི་
དབྱིབས་ཅན་གྱི། རི་བཅུ་གསུམ་ལ་ཨ་མཚན་བཅུ་གསུམ་ཞེས་བཛྲོད་ཀྱི་རེད། དེས་ན་ཚོས་ཀྱི་ཆེ་བ་དུ་
མ་མངའ་བའི་འབྲུམ་ལ་སྤེང་། འབྲུམ་ལུང་མདའ་བོ་བོ་རོང་ཞེས་པའི་གྲོང་གསེབ་དེའི་ནང་དུ། རུ་ཚོ་
ཚང་། ཡབ་ཞང་སྐྱབས་དང་། ཡུམ་རྒྱལ་བ་སྐྱེན་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྐས་སུ་སྐྱེ་བཞུགས་ཤིང་། ཡང་འབྲུམ་ཞེས་
པའི་ཚོག་འདི་འདོད་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སྐྱེ་ཙམ་ལ་དགོངས་ནས། འབོམ་ཞེས་ན་རོ་བཏགས་པ་དེ་རྒྱ་མཚན་མ་
མཚོང་། དཔར་ཤིང་བཀོ་མཁན་གྱིས་ནོར་ཏེས་པ་དབྱུང་ན་མཁུན།” ཞེས་གསལ།
བསོད་ནམས་དབང་ཕུག་གིས་ 1344 ལོར་མཛད་པའི། འབྲུན་པའི་ལྷ་ཐམས་ཅད་དང་བུལ་བ་ཁམས་
གསུམ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་བོ་སྐྱུང་མཁན་ཚེན་འོད་ཟེར་སྐྱེ་མའི་ (1295-1376) རྣམ་ཐར་འགོ་སློབ་ལྷན་སེལ་
བཞུགས། དབྱེ་ཅན་གྱིས་མའི་སྐྱུར་སྲོག་ཐོག་ལྷེབ་ 1113 ནང་། “འབོམ་པ་མང་བོ་མཇལ་བྱིན་པས། དེ་
ཉིན་ནས་མདུན་དུ་མཇལ་བྱེད་མོ་ནམ་སྤེད་ཅུང་མ་རེད་པ་ནས་སུ་ཡང་གྲག་འབྱུལ་ནི་མེད་པ་ལ་ཐར་
ཞོག་ན་འབོམ་པའི་ས་ན་རྒྱན་མ་བྱུང་རྒྱུག་རྒྱུག་གསུངས་པས།” ཞེས་དང་། ཐོག་ལྷེབ་ 1123 ནང་།
“འབོམ་དངོས་སུ་བྱོན་ཏེ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་ཆར་ཆེན་པོ་པབ་སྤེ། གདུལ་བྱར་རྣམས་འོ་མཚར་བ་མཛད་དེ། འབོམ་

ཚོས་ཀྱིས་ཚེས་པར་མཛད་ནས་སྐར་ཡང་གདན་ས་ཚེན་པོ་ཀམ་ར་མེབས།” ཞེས་ལྟོ་རོང་ཚོས་འབྲུང་།
 གངས་ཅན་རིག་མཛོད། ༢༩ བོད་ལྗོངས་བོད་ཡིག་དཔེ་རྒྱུན་ཁང་ནས་བསྐྱུད། ༡༩༩༧ ཐོག་
 བྲངས་ ༢༡༢ ནང་གསལ། ཕྱུལ་དབང་ཀམ་པ་སྐུ་ཕྱིང་ལྷ་པ་དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པའི་ (I384-1415) རྣམ་
 ཐར་ནང་། “དེ་ནས་པ་ར་དགོན་པས་གདན་དྲངས་བའི་ལམ་དུ། སིལ་ནེ་ལྷ་ཁང་ལ་རབ་གནས་ཞུས་པའི་
 ཚོ། ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་མཐུན་སྦྲང་དུ་མེ་ཉོག་གི་ཆར་དུ་མ་ལང་ལོང་དུ་བབ་ཅིང་། འཇའ་ལོད་རབ་ཏུ་བཀྲ་བ་
 དག་གིས་ལྷང་བ་གང་བ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ངོ་མཚར་བའི་ལྷས་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་བྱུང་བས་བསྐྱུང་བས་ཐམས་ཅད་
 མི་ཕྱིད་པའི་དད་པ་རབ་ཏུ་ཐོབ་པོ། དེ་ནས་འབོམ་དུ་བྱོན་པའི་ཚོ། ལམ་དུ་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དྲུང་པའི་རྣམ་
 ཐར་ཞིག་ཞུ་ཞུས་པའི་ལན་དུ། སྐྱེ་འཆི་མེད་པའི་སེམས་ལ་དབང་ཐོབ་ཀྱང་། དབང་མེད་འཁོར་བའི་འགོ་
 བ་བསྐྱུལ་སྐྱང་དུ། ལྷིང་མེད་དབང་གིས་སྲིད་པར་ཉིང་མཚམས་སྐྱར། སྲིད་པ་ཅི་སྲིད་མཛད་པ་རྒྱུན་མི་
 འཆད། ཁ་ཡི་རྣམ་ཐར་དེ་ལ་གྱིས་གསུངས། ཡང་འབོམ་མཚོ་སྐྱག་མོའི་འགྲམ་དུ་བཞུགས་པའི་ཚོ། ཆར་
 འབོད་པར་ཞུ་བ་ལ་དྲུང་ནས། ལོ་སྟེ་སྟེ། བཙམ་ལྷན་འདས་འཇིག་རྟེན་དབང་སྐྱབས་སྐྱུན་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་
 ལྷང་། རྣམ་སྤྱི་བྱ་དུའི་གདམས། འབོམ་ཆེ་ཆུང་ཆུན་ཆད་ལ་ཡོད་པའི་ལྷ་འདྲེ་རྣམས་ལ་རྒྱོད་བ། སང་དགོང་
 བཙམ་ཆད་ནས་ཆར་གྱི་ཆེ་ལ་གྱིས་ཐོབ་ཅིག གཤམ་ཉེ་མ་པལ་ན་རྩ་ར་བྱེད་བ་ཡིན། ཡི་གའི་རྟེན་རི་འབྲུའི་
 རུ་མ་གཟུངས་འདམ་དང་བཅས་པ་ཡོད་པས་བཀྲ་གིས་པར་གྱུར་ཅིག ཅེས་བཀའ་བསྐོ་མཛད་པ་ཅི་མ་
 གྱིས་ཆར་ཆེན་པོ་བབས་སོ། ལྷ་བ་དེའི་སྤྱི་མ་ལ་འགམ་ཉག་དུ་བཞུགས་པའི་ཚོ། ཡང་ཆར་མ་བབ་སྟེ་
 འབོམ་ཆེ་ཆུང་གི་དགོ་བའི་བཤེས་གཉེན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཆར་འབོད་པའི་ཞུ་བ་སྟོན་དྲུང་བ་ལ། ཆར་འབབ་
 པར་ཡོད་གསུངས་གིང་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་མཛད་པས། དགོངས་མོ་ནས་ཆར་ཆེན་པོ་བབས་སོ།” ཞེས། བསྐྱུལ་
 རྒྱུད་ཀམ་ཀའ་ཚང་བརྒྱུད་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་རབ་འབྲམས་ནོར་བུ་རྒྱ་བ་རྩེལ་གྱི་ཕྱིང་བ། དམིན་ཇིའི་ཐོག་
 བྲངས་ ༡༧༡-༡༧༩ ནང་གསལ། ར་འབོམ་ཞེས་པ་འདོད་རྒྱལ་གྱི་མིང་སྟེ་མོ་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༤༠༩ ནང་དང་། བོད་
 དུ་གསལ་བ་བཞིན་གྱིས་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་བཞི་པ་དང་བཙོ་ལྷ་སོ་སོར་འབྲི་སོལ་འདུག་ལ། ལུལ་དེ་དག་
 ཏུ་གནས་བཅའ་བ་རྣམས་ནས་ཀྱང་ད་ལྟོ་འབོམ་པ་དང་འབོམ་སྟོན་པ་དང་འབོམ་སྟོན་པ་ཞེས་འབོད་
 པར་སྐྱང་། དེས་ན་འདོད་རྒྱལ་གྱི་མིང་ཐ་དག་ལྷ་ཆུགས་ཀྱིས་ཇེས་གྲུབ་དུ་བསྐྱར་གྲུབ་མིན་གྱི་དལ་བ་མ་
 བསྟེན་པར་རང་སོར་བཏང་སྟོམས་སུ་འཛོག་པ་ལེགས་སྟུམ།

ནམ་སྐྱེད་བཀྲ་མཁེན་གྱི་བྱང་ཆུབ་འབྲུམ་པ།³² ཞེས་པ་དང་།

སེར་སྐྱེད་ཐོས་བསམ་ནོར་གླིང་གྲུ་ཚང་གི་ཚོས་འབྲུང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ནོར་བུའི་སྲིང་བ་ལས།
“འཇམ་མགོན་རྒྱལ་བ་གཉིས་པའི་སློབ་མ་སྲོགས་མཐར་སྐྱོད་པའི་དར་ཆེན་བདུན་གྱི་ནང་
ཚན་མདོ་ཁམས་པ་ཀུན་མཁེན་བྱང་ཆུབ་འབྲུམ་པ་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་སྲུག་བཏབ་པ་ཡིན།” ཞེས་
དང་། “དམ་པ་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་འབྲུངས་ཡུལ་ནི། བོད་ཚོལ་ཁ་གསུམ་གྱི་ནང་ཚན་སྐྱེད་མདོ་
ཁམས་སྐྱེད་དུག་གི་ནང་ནས་སྐྱེད་ཁམས་སྐྱེད་དུ་སྐྱེ་འབྲུངས། མཚན་ལ་བྱང་ཆུབ་འོད་ཟེར་
ཞེས་གསོལ། འབྲུམ་པ་ཞེས་པ་དེ་ཡུལ་གྱི་མིང་ཡིན་ལ། དེ་ཡང་བོད་དུ་གྲུ་བཟའ་སྲ་སྲི་
གཉིས་ཤོན་པའི་ནང་ནས་གྲུ་བཟའ་སྲི་མ་ཀེན་ཤིན་ཀོང་ཚོས་ས་དེར་སངས་རྒྱས་རྣམ་སྐྱེད་
གི་དོ་སྐྱེ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞིག་བཞེངས་པས་དེ་ནས་ཡུལ་དེར་འབྲུམ་པ་ཞེས་བཏགས་པ་དང་། དམ་
པ་དེ་ཉིད་ཡུལ་དེར་འབྲུངས་པས་ན་བྱང་ཆུབ་འབྲུམ་པ་ཞེས་བཞེད་པ་ཡིན།”³³ ཞེས་དང་།
“གྲུ་ཚང་འདི་ཉིད་སྲུག་འདེབས་པ་སོ་ཀུན་མཁེན་བྱང་ཆུབ་འབྲུམ་པ་ཞེས་མཚན་ཉི་ཟླ་ལྟར་
བྲགས་པ་འདི་ཉིད་ནི། བོ་སེར་ནང་། མདོ་རོང་གི་མཁམ་པ་བཞིའི་ནང་ནས་མདོ་སྐྱེད་པ་
འོད་ཟེར་ཞེས་གསལ། ཚོས་བྱུང་དབག་བསམ་སློན་བཟང་ནང་། བསྐྱེད་པ་སྲོགས་མཐར་
སྐྱེལ་པའི་དར་ཆེན་བདུན་གྱི་ནང་གསལ་བྱང་ཆུབ་འོད་ཟེར་ཞེས་གསལ། གང་ལྟར་ཡང་
འཇམ་མགོན་རྒྱལ་བ་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་དངོས་སློབ་ཡིན་པ་དེས། དེ་ཡང་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་བཞི་པའི་
མཇུག་ཚམས་སྐྱེད་ཁམས་སྐྱེད་དུ་སྐྱེ་འབྲུངས། ཐོག་མར་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་མཚན་བྱང་ཆུབ་འོད་ཟེར་
ཞེས་འབོད་ཀྱང་། སྲིས་སུ་ཡུལ་གྱི་མིང་གི་ཚ་ནས་བྱང་ཆུབ་འབྲུམ་པ་ཞེས་བཞེད། དེ་ཡང་

32 ལྷ་བོད་དུ་ཤོན་པའི་བསྐྱེད་འཛིན་གྱི་སྲིས་སུ་དམ་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཐོ་བཞུགས་སོ། ལྷོང་དོལ་དག་
དབང་སློབ་བཟང་གི་གསུང་འབྲུམ། ཞེགས་བམ་གཉིས་པ། གངས་ཅན་རིག་མཛོད། 29 བོད་སློངས་བོད་
ཡིག་དཔེ་རྒྱུན་ཁང་། 1997 ཐོག་གཟེངས་ 326
33 སེར་སྐྱེད་ཐོས་བསམ་ནོར་གླིང་གྲུ་ཚང་གི་ཚོས་འབྲུང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ནོར་བུའི་སྲིང་བ་ཞེས་སུ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།
མཛོད་པ་ལོ། སེར་སྐྱེད་སློབ་ར་དགེ་བཤེས་ལེ་ཤེས་དབང་སྲུག། སེར་སྐྱེད་ཐོས་བསམ་ནོར་གླིང་གསུང་
རབ་འབྲུལ་སྐྱེད་ཁང་དུ་སྐྱེད་བསྐྱེད་ཞུས་པ་ལོ། 1997 ཐོག་གཟེངས་ 24-26

སྲ་དུས་བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་མེས་ཨག་ཚོམ་མམ། ཁྱི་སྡེ་གཙུག་བཏན་གྱི་བཙུན་མོ་རྒྱ་བཟའ་
ཀེམ་ཤིང་ཀོང་ཚོ་བོད་དུ་ཕེབས་པའི་ལམ་ཞོར་དུ་སངས་རྒྱས་རྣམ་སྐད་གི་དོ་སྤྱོད་ཆེན་པོ་
ཞིག་གསལ་དུ་བཞེངས་པས་འབྲུམ་རྣམ་སྐད་ཞེས་མིང་ཆགས། བྱང་རྒྱལ་འོད་ཟེར་ཡུལ་
དེར་འཁྲུངས་པས་ན་བྱང་རྒྱལ་འབྲུམ་པ་ཞེས་ཡུལ་གྱི་མིང་ཐོགས་པ་རེད།³⁴ ཅེས་གསལ།

གོང་དུ་ལུང་འདྲན་རྣམས་ཞིབ་ཅིང་ཕྱ་བ་བགྲང་བྱུབ་པའི་རྗེས་སྤོགས་བསྐྱེམས་བསྐྱུས་ཅམ་
ཞིག་ཞུ་དབང་དུ་བཏང་ན། དུས་རབས་བཅུ་གཉིས་པའི་སྐད་ཆའི་སྐར་ཆང་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་
འགོ་མགོན་རིན་ཆེན་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་ནང་དང། སི་དུ་བཙུག་ཅེན། བོན་གཏེར་སངས་རྒྱས་སྤྱིང་ལ།
པཎ་ཆེན་བསྐྱན་པའི་ཉི་མ། བྲག་དགོན་ཞབས་དུང་དཀོན་མཆོག་བསྐྱན་པ་རབ་རྒྱས།
ཀེ་ཐོག་མཁན་པོ་དག་དགའ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་འདོད་ཚུལ་ནི་རྒྱ་བཟའ་སྲ་མ་ལྷན་ཁྲིན་ཀོང་ཚོ་
(?-680) བོད་དུ་བཙུན་པོ་སྲོང་བཙན་སྐྱམ་པའི་བཙུན་མོར་ 687 ལོར་ཕེབས་ལམ་དུ་
བཞེངས་པར་འདོད། འདི་ནི་བོད་མིའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་མི་རབས་ནས་བརྒྱུད་པའི་གནའ་མིའི་
དག་རྒྱུན་ལ་གཞི་བཞག་པ་ཞིག་རེད། དག་རྒྱུན་དང་འདྲུ་ཤེས་འཛིན་སྐད་སྐད་འདིའི་སྐོར་
གསལ་དུ་བསྐོས་ཤིང་ཞུ་ཆོག །སེར་སྐད་ཐར་ལམ་དག་བཤེས་ལེ་ཤེས་དབང་སྤུག་ནི་རྒྱ་
བཟའ་སྲ་མ་ཅིན་ཁྲིན་ཀོང་ཚོས་ (?-739) 770 ལོར་བོད་དུ་ཕེབས་ལམ་དུ་བཞེངས་པར་
འདོད།

དགེ་བཤེས་ལེ་ཤེས་དབང་སྤུག་གི་འདོད་ཚུལ་དེའི་རྒྱབ་རྟེན་ཁྲུངས་ལུང་ཇི་ཡིན་
གསལ་ཁ་མ་གཏོད་ཀྱང་གཅིག་བྱས་ན་བྲུམ་མགོན་སི་དུ་བཙུག་ཅེན་ (1700-1774) ཀྱི་
རང་རྣམ་དྱི་བུལ་ཤེས་གྱི་མེ་ལོང་ནང་ 1720 ལོའི་ཡས་མས་སུ་ “ཡང་རེས་འགྲི་ཁྲུང་སྐྱོབ་
པ་འཛིག་རྟེན་མགོན་པོ་གང་དུ་སྐྱུ་འཁྲུངས་པའི་གནས་ཅུ་དུར་གྱི་གྲོང་ཤུལ་དང་བྲག་ཅེའི་
གོང་གི་ཨ་སྤྱི་སྐྱ་ནམ་བཟའ་མཁའ་སྐྱོད་དུ་གསེགས་པའི་བྲག་ཤུག་དང། འབྲིས་ཟེར་བའི་

34 སེར་སྐད་ཐོས་བསམ་ནོར་སྤྱིང་གྲུ་ཚང་གི་ཚོས་འབྲུང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ནོར་བུའི་ཟེང་བ་ཞེས་བྲ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།
ཤོག་གངས་ 12-10

ལྷུང་ནང་དུ་རྒྱ་བཟའ་ཀོང་ཚོས་བཞེངས་པའི་རྣམ་སྐྱེད་གཙོ་འཁོར་གྱི་སྐུ་དང་ལེགས་སྐྱེད་
གྱི་ཤེས་རྒྱུང་དང་བོད་ཡིག་གི་བཟང་པོ་སྦྱོང་བའི་སྦྱོན་ལམ་སོགས་བྲག་ལ་བཞོས་པ་རྣམས་
མངལ། མཚོན་འབྲུལ་གསོལ་འདེབས་སྦྱོན་ལམ་བགྱིས། འབྲིས་རྣམ་སྐྱེད་འདིའི་ཞལ་བྱང་
བཟུག་ཐུབ་པར་འདུག་པས་ཞིབ་མོར་དབྱུང་ཚེ་མེས་ཨལ་ཚོམ་གྱི་སྐུ་རིམ་དུ་བཞེངས་པར་
འདུག་ཅིང་དེ་ལྟར་ཀོང་ཅུ་སྤྱི་མའི་དུས་སུ་མངོན་ནོ།³⁵ །ཞེས་བཀོད་པ་འདི་གཟིགས་རྗེས་
བཞེད་ཚུལ་འདིར་སྤོགས་པ་མིན་ནམ་སྟེ།

དངོས་ཡོད་གནས་ཚུལ་ནི་གོང་གསལ་བྲག་གཡམ་ར་ལ་རྣམ་སྐྱེད་བྲག་བཞོས་གྱི་རྒྱུ་
བྱང་ཡིག་གྲང་ ༤ པར། “ཡེ་ཤེས་དབྱུངས་གྱིས་ཡོལ་དང་གྲོང་དང་འབོམ་དང་ལེང་དཔའ་
བཱི་དུ་ཡང་རྒྱ་ཆེ་ xx སྤྱིས་སོ།” །ཞེས་ར་ལ་རྣམ་སྐྱེད་ནི་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༤༠༠ ལོར་བཞོས་པར་
གསལ་བ་དང་། འབྲིས་ཁོག་རྣམ་སྐྱེད་ནི་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༤༠༦ ལོར་བཞོས་འདུག་ །དེ་བཞིན་འབོམ་
རྣམ་སྐྱེད་ཡང་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༤༠༠ ལོའི་ཡས་མས་སུ་བཞོས་པའམ་བཞེངས་སམ་སྟེ།

ད་དུང་དངོས་ཡོད་གནས་ཚུལ་གཞན་ཞིག་ནི་རྒྱ་ནག་ཐང་རྒྱལ་རབས་གྱི་རྒྱ་ཡིག་གི་
ཐང་རྒྱུ་དེའི་གསར་རྒྱུང་གཉིས་དང་། དུན་ཉིང་བྲག་ཐུག་གི་ཡིག་རྒྱུང་རིགས། བོད་ནང་
བཅན་པོའི་སྐབས་གྱི་དོ་རིང་ཁག་གི་ཡི་གེ་བཅས་ནང་རྒྱ་བཟའ་ཀོང་ཚོས་ར་ལ་དང་།
འབྲིས་ཁོག་ །འབོམ་བཅས་པར་བྲག་བཞོས་དོ་སྐུ་བཞེངས་རྒྱུ་པར་བཞག་ར་ས་འཕྲུལ་སྐྱེད་
གི་རྟེན་གཙོ་ཚོ་བོ་བྲུ་ལུ་མེ་ཡང་རྟེན་གྱི་སྐུལ་རྗེས་དུ་གདན་དུངས་ཚུལ་སྦྱོར་གང་ཡང་མི་
གསལ་བས་ན་གནད་དོན་འདི་དག་ཚང་མས་མཁྱེན་དགོས་གལ་ཆེ་ཞིག་གོ།

༡༩༧༩ ལོར་འབོམ་རྣམ་སྐྱེད་གི་གཡམ་གཡོན་དང་དོ་སྐུ་རྣམས་ལ་རྒྱ་བོད་གྱི་ཡིག་
རིས་ཡོད་མིན་གྱི་གསལ་ཆ་གང་ཡང་མ་མཆིས།

35 དུའི་སི་དུ་འབོད་པ་ཀམ་བསྟན་པའི་ཉིན་བྱེད་གྱི་རང་ཚུལ་དྲང་པོར་བཟོད་པ་དྲི་བུལ་ཤེལ་གྱི་མེ་ལོང་
ཞེས་བྲ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །དུའི་སི་དུ་པ་ཀུན་མཁྱེན་ཚོས་གྱི་འབྲུང་གནས་བསྟན་པའི་ཉིན་བྱེད་གྱི་བཀའ་
འབྲུམ། བོད་ཨ་འམ་བོད་སྡེང་ ༡༩ Published by Palpung Sungrab Nyamso Khang, Sherab-
Ling Institute of Buddhist Studies, Sansal, 1990 དབྱིན་རིའི་ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༩༧

རིག་གནས་གསར་བརྗེ་ (1966-1976) སྐབས་འབོམ་ནམ་སྐྱེ་གི་དོ་སྐྱོ་ནམས་གཏོར་
བཞིག་བྱེད་སྐབས་དང་། དེར་གསར་བཞེངས་གནང་སྐབས་སྐོར་གནས་ཚུལ་ཁྲུངས་ཕུབ་
གང་ཡང་སྐབས་འདིར་མ་ཐོབ།

ཇུ་གན་མཐོ་དང་ཇུ་འདྲེ་འགོང་པོས་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱུས་ནས་ “སྡིང་བཞི” ཅུ་གཏོར་
བཏང་། ཡ་རབས་དང་མ་རབས་ལོར། བདེན་པ་དང་རྩལ་མ་ལོར། དབའ་མ་དང་སྐར་མ་ལོར།
གསེར་དང་རྒྱ་གན་ལོར། གཡུ་དང་དོ་ལོ་ལོར། ཇུལ་ཁྲིམས་བྱིས་བའི་ལག་ཅིང་ཆགས།
རན་བའི་གཉའ་གོད་རེངས། བཟང་པོ་མི་གུལ་ནས་སྡོན་བའི་དུས་ཚོད་བྱུང་ནས་མ་ཐོག་
དྲིག་པ་ཅབ་ཅབ་ཇུ་མདོར་སྐྱུར། མ་ཐོག་གཡུ་ཁྲ་སྡོན་མོ་དོ་བདུངས་བཏང་། ཆེ་དགའི་ཡིག་
ཚང་འབར་བ་མེད་ཞལ་དུ་བཏང་། ཇུལ་སྡིད་སྡིད་ལོར་འབོམ་ནམ་སྐྱེ་གི་དབྱེད་སྐྱེ་ག་
སོགས་གཏོར་སྡོན་བཏང་། འོན་ཀྱང་སེམས་གཙོ་སྐྱོ་བའམ་དག་སྐྱེད་མོས་གུས་ཅན་ནམས་
ཀྱིས་སྐྱེད་འོར་འབོམ་ནམ་སྐྱེད་སྐྱོ་མོ་འཁྲུངས་སའི་ཞིང་ཁ་ནས་སྐར་ཡང་འཕྲིན་ལས་འགོ་
དོན་དུས་ལས་མ་ཡོལ་བར་བརྟེན་འཁྲུངས་འགོ་བཙུགས་ཟེར་མཁན་ཡོང་འདུག། དེ་ལྟར་
ན་གསུ་ཚུང་ནས་ཇུ་ནག་མི་དམངས་སྡི་མཐུན་ཇུལ་ཁབ་ཆེན་པོར་རེ་བཅོལ་ཞུ་ཇུར། ད་ལྟ་
འབོམ་ནམ་སྐྱེད་བཞུགས་ཡུལ་གྱི་གཡས་གཡོན་ཚང་མ་ཇུལ་ཁབ་གྱི་མེས་པོའི་ཤུལ་
བཞག་དུ་བཅིས་ནས་གནའ་རྗེས་རྗེས་ཤུལ་བསྡོགས་འདོན་བཀྱིས་ན་བཟོ་བ་མིག་གི་
ཡོངས་སྡོད་དང་། བསམ་པ་བརྗོད་གྱིས་མི་ལང་བའི་དོ་མཚར་དབལ་དང་གཟི་བརྗིད་སྐྱོ་
ཅུལ་བཟོ་བཏོད་ལྟར་མོ་ཅི་ཡང་མཐོང་མི་སྲིད་པ་ཞིག་ཅི་ལ་ཡིན།

གོང་གསལ་པམ་ཆེན་བསྟན་པའི་ཉི་མའི་གསུང་ནང་རི་འབར་མ་དང་། ཀའོ་གའི་གན་
དང་ཀའོ་གའི་མཁན་གན་དག་དགའ་ནམ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་གསུང་ནང་རི་བརྒྱ་ཞེས་པ་གཉིས་དོན་
གཉིག་མིང་གི་ནམ་གྲངས་དང་། དེ་ཡང་དེང་སང་སྐར་ཁམས་དང་བྲག་གཡལ་བའི་ས་
སྡུལ་དོ་སྐྱོར་འོད་དམ། གནས་མགོ་ཞེས་པ་དེའི་མིང་སྡིད་པ་ཡིན་ནམ་སྐྱེ་ན་དུ་དུང་དབྱེད་
པར་འཚོལ།

ད་ལྟ་སྐྱེས་ཁམས་འབོམ་ནམ་སྐྱེས་དམལ། ལྟ་འདུས་ནམ་སྐྱེས་ས་གནས་གང་ཏུ་བཞུགས་
ཤོད། ལྟ་དམར་མང་འབོམ་ “ཆབ་མདོ་གོན་ཚུ། སྐྱེས་ཁམས་རྫོང་། སྐྱོམ་མདའ་གང་། ལྟ་
འདུས་གྲོང་ཚོར་” ཡོད།

༡༩༧༩ ལོར་སྐྱེས་ཁམས་འབོམ་ནམ་སྐྱེས་དམལ། ལྟ་འདུས་ནམ་སྐྱེས་གི་བཞུགས་ཚུལ་ནི།
ཀུ་མོག་མཁན་པོ་དག་དགའི་གསུང་ལྟར་ “རང་བྱུང་གི་དོ་ལས་གྲུབ་པའི་ནམ་སྐྱེས་མོག་
ཚད། ཉེ་སྐྱེས་མི་ཚད་ལྷག་ཚོས་ཀྱིས། སྐྱོ་སྐྱེས་ཚོ་བོ་དང་བཅས་པ་འདུག” །ཅེས་གསུང་པ་
ལྟར་ཉེ་བའི་སྐྱེས་ཚེན་བཞུད་ནི། རྗེ་བཙུན་འཇམ་པའི་དབྱེད་སྤྱོད་ལ། འཕགས་པ་སྐྱེས་རས་
གཟིགས། གསང་བདག་སྐྱེས་ན་དོ་རྗེ། རྗེ་བཙུན་བུམས་པ་མགོན་པོ། འཕགས་པ་སྐྱེས་རྗེས་
པོ། སྐྱེས་པ་ནམ་མེད། ལམ་མཁའི་སྐྱེས་པོ། འཕགས་པ་ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་པོ་བཅས་པོ། ཚོ་བོ་
གཉིས་ཡོད་པ་ནི་བདུན་ཅི་འབྲིལ་དང་ཏུ་མགྲིན་སོགས་གང་ཡིན་ཆ་མ་འཚལ།

“སྐྱེས་ཁམས་ལྟ་འདུས་ཀྱི་རི་གཉིས་འདུས་པའི་ལྗེ་བས་སྐྱེས་སྐྱེས་ལྟ་ཁང་ཆགས་
ཡོད་པ་དང་། ལྟ་ཁང་ནང་གི་བཟོ་བཤོད་ནི་བསྟན་པ་སྐྱེས་ཏུ་ལྟ་ལྟ་ཁང་རྗེས་པ་ར་མོ་ཆེ་
ལྟར་སྐྱེས་ཉེན་བཞུགས་ཡུལ་གྱི་སྐྱེས་ཀྱིས་ནས་ལྟ་ཁང་ནང་ལོགས་རང་ནས་ནང་བསྐྱོར་སྐྱེས་
ཚོགས་པ་ཞིག་ཡོད། ལྟ་ཁང་ནང་ཏུ་ནམ་སྐྱེས་གི་སྐྱེས་ཚེན་པོ་ཞིག་དང་། ཉེ་བའི་སྐྱེས་ཚེན་
བཞུད་ཀྱི་སྐྱེས་བཞུན། སྐྱོ་གཡས་གཡོན་གཉིས་སྐྱེས་སྐྱེས་ཚོ་བོ་དེ་བཅས་བཞུགས་ཡོད།
ལྟ་འདུས་ནམ་སྐྱེས་སྐྱེས་བཞུན་བྱུང་ཚུལ་ལ་བཤད་སྐོལ་གཉིས་ཡོད་དེ། གཅིག་གིས་སྐྱེས་
བཞུན་དེ་བཞིན་འབྱུངས་སྐྱེས་ཡིན་ཡུགས་བཞེད་ཅིང་། དག་གྲུབ་དུ། ལམ་པར་སྐྱེས་མཛོད་
འབྱུངས་སྐྱེས་དང་། ལྟ་སའི་རོ་བོ་བཞེདས་སྐྱེས་ཡིན། ཅེས་བཤད་སྐོལ་ཡོད། བོད་རྒྱ་དང་པོའི་
ཚེས་བཅུ་བཞི་དང་། བཅོ་ལྷ། བཅུ་དུག་བཅས་ལ་ཁྲི་འབྱུར་དུས་ཚེན་ཞེས་ཡུལ་མི་མང་
པོས་སྐྱེས་བཞུན་དེར་བསྐྱོར་བ་བྱེད་ཏུ་འདུ་འཛོམས་བྱེད་ཅིང་། དེར་འབྱེས་སྐྱོད་ཡུལ་མི་
ནམས་ཀྱང་བསྐྱོར་བ་དང་མཚོད་འབྱེད་ལ་འགྲོ་སྐོལ་ཡོད། བཤད་སྐོལ་གཞན་ཞིག་ཡོད་
པ་དེ་ལྟར་ན་ལྟ་འདུས་ནམ་སྐྱེས་གི་སྐྱེས་བཞུན་དེ་གྱུ་བཟང་གོང་རོས་བཞེདས་ཞེས་གྲགས།”

ཞེས་དང་། “ཡང་དགའ་མགུ་སྟེང་ལ་རྣམ་སྐྱེད་གི་སྐྱེ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་དེ་ནི། དག་གྱུན་དུ་གྱུ་
 བཟའ་ཀོང་ཇོ་བོད་དུ་སེབས་པའི་ལམ་དུ་སྐྱས་མོ་ཞིག་བྱུང་སྟེ། དེ་འདས་གྲོངས་སུ་སོང་
 བས་འདས་མཚོད་དུ་མཚོད་རྟེན་ཞིག་བཞེངས་པར་གྱིས་གྲོངས་མཚོད་རྟེན་ཞེས་འབོད་
 ཅིང་། མཚོད་རྟེན་དེར་སྐྱབ་དང་བསྐྱོར་བ་བསགས་ན་བྱུང་མེད་མངལ་གྱིད་མི་ཆགས་པའི་
 རིགས་དང་། བྱ་སྐྱབ་ཡུན་དུ་ཆེ་བསྐྱིད་མི་སྐྱབ་མཁན་ཚོར་མན་ཐོགས་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་པར་
 བཅི། སྐྱེད་གྱིས་གདུངས་ཏེ་སེབས་པ་ལས་ཇོང་ཙ་ཙ་གྲོང་བཀལ་ནས་དབྱུ་ལྷུང་གྲོང་ལ་
 མ་སེབས་སྟོན་དུ་ལ་ཚུང་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་དེར་གད་མོ་ཞིག་བགད་པས་ས་དེ་ལ་དགའ་མགུ་
 སྟེང་ཞེས་མིང་སྟགས་གིང་། དེར་གྱུ་བཟས་རྣམ་སྐྱེད་གི་སྐྱེ་བརྟན་ཞིག་བཞེངས་ཡོད་པ་དེ་
 ལ་དགའ་མགུ་རྣམ་སྐྱེད་ཞེས་སུ་གྲགས། ཇོང་ཙ་བ་དང་དབྱུ་ལྷུང་ལུ་མི་རྣམས་གྱིས་ས་
 རྒྱལ་མཚོད་འབྲུལ་དང་། སྐྱེད་གནས་བསྐྱེད་པ་སོགས་བྱེད་སྟོལ་ཡོད། འབྲུམ་སྐྱེད་གྱི་
 ཡུལ་མི་རྣམས་ནས་འབྲུམ་སྐྱེད་དུ་ཡོད་པའི་གནས་ཙ་ཞེས་སུ་བ་ཐོབ་ནག་པོ་རབ་
 གསལ་གྱི་གདུང་འབྲུམ་མཚོད་རྟེན་ཡོད་སར་བོད་རྒྱ་དང་བོད་མི་ཚོས་བཅུ་བཞི་དང་། བཙོ་
 ལྷ། བཅུ་དུག་བཅས་ལ་ཁྲི་འབྲུར་དུས་ཆེན་སྐྱེད་བཅིའི་ཆེད་བསྐྱོར་བ་བྱེད་བ་དང་། ས་ག་
 རྒྱལ་བར་སྐྱེད་གནས་བསྐྱེད་སྟོལ་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཟད། ལྷག་པར་དུ་བད་ཀན་མིད་འཆུས་སངས་
 དྲག་འགྲོ་བར་མན་རྒྱབས་ཆེན་པོར་བཅིས་ཏེ། འབྲུམ་བ་ཡུལ་མི་རྣམས་དང་། ཡུལ་ལྷུང་
 གཞན་ནས་སྐྱབ་དང་བསྐྱོར་བ་བྱེད་མཁན་མང་དག་ཅིག་ཡོད།” ཞེས་བཙན་བྱོལ་བོད་
 མིའི་མདོ་སྟོན་སྐྱེ་འབྲས་བུར་པ་འབའ་བ་སྐྱེ་འབྲས་ཁ་བ་དག་དབང་བཟུ་གིས་ལགས་གྱི་
 སར་ནས་ཐོས་སོ།།

གོང་དུ་གསལ་བ་བཞིན་གྱུ་བཟའ་ཀོང་ཇོས་འབོམ་རྣམ་སྐྱེད་བཞེངས་ཞེས་མོས་གསུངས་དག་
 སྐྱེད་འབའ་ཞིག་གི་འདོད་ཚུལ་དང་། བོད་མིའི་འདུ་གེས་འཛིན་སྐྱེད་སྟེ། གཏམ་གྱུན་དུ་
 གྲགས་སྐྱེད་སྐྱོར་བསམ་ཞིབ་བྱེད་སྐྱབས། འདི་དག་ནི་སྐྱེས་དུས་རབས་ ༡༢ ཇེས་སུ་

ནས་ཤུས་མོ་གཡས་པའི་ལྷ་ང་ས་ལ་བཅུགས་ནས་འདི་སྐད་ཅེས་གསོལ་དོ། །ཡང་དག་
 པར་རྫོགས་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་ལྷན་སྐྱེས་ལ། སྐྱེས་བུ་འདུལ་བ། ཁ་ལོ་སྐྱུར་བ། ལྷ་ན་མེད་པ།
 ལྷ་དང་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྣོན་པ། སྐྱུ་ཡོངས་སུ་སྐྱུ་ངན་ལས་མི་འདའ་བར་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་
 སོ། །བྱང་སྐྱོགས་ཁ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཞབས་ཀྱིས་མ་བཅགས། གསུང་གིས་མ་
 བསྐྱུངས་ན། འདི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དོན་དུ་བཞུགས་པར་ཞུའོ་ཞེས་གསོལ་བས། བཙམ་ལྷན་འདས་
 ཀྱིས་བཀའ་སྐྱུལ་བ། ངའི་གདུལ་བྱ་ནི་ཐམས་ཅད་རྫོགས་པ་ཡིན། ད་གདུལ་བྱར་གྱུར་བ་
 མེད་པས། ལེ་ལོ་ཅན་ཚོས་ལ་བསྐྱུལ་བ་དང་། འདུས་བྱས་མི་ཉག་པར་བསྐྱུན་པའི་སྤྱིར་སྐྱུ་
 ངན་ལས་འདའ་བའི་རྩལ་བསྐྱུན་ལོ། །བྱང་སྐྱོགས་ཁ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ནི། ད་ལྟ་དུང་
 འགྲོའི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་སུ་སོང་བས། སེམས་ཅན་མིའི་མིང་ཡང་མེད་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་ནག་དུ་
 གྱུར་བ། ཤི་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱང་ཡར་ལ་མི་ལྷོག་པར། མཚོ་ལ་ཁ་བ་བབས་པ་བཞིན་ངན་
 འགྲོའི་འཇིག་རྟེན་དུ་འགྲོ་བ་ཡིན་པས། མ་འོངས་པའི་དུས་སྤི་མ་ལ་ངའི་བསྐྱུན་པ་མར་
 འགྲིབ་པའི་དུས་སྤི་བྱང་རྒྱལ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་འདུལ་བར་འགྱུར་གྱིས། སྣོན་ལ་བྱང་
 རྒྱལ་སེམས་དཔའི་སྐྱུལ་བས་གདུལ་བྱ་མིའི་འགྲོ་བ་བསྐྱེད། དེ་ནས་ཟང་ཟིང་གིས་བསྐྱུས།
 དེ་ནས་ཚོས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱུས་ཤིག །འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་དུ་འགྱུར་རོ་ཞེས་བཀའ་སྐྱུལ་དོ།³⁷ ཞེས་
 དང་། “ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཚེན་པོའི་བསྐྱུན་པ་འཆར་རྩལ་བསྐྱུན་པ་ནི། སྣོན་ཡང་དག་པར་རྫོགས་པའི་
 སངས་རྒྱས་སྐྱུ་ངན་ལས་འདའ་ཁར། བྱང་རྒྱལ་སེམས་དཔའ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མཚོག་འཕགས་པ་
 སྐྱུན་རས་གཟིགས་དབང་ལྷུག་ལ་བཀའ་སྐྱུལ་བ། ངའི་བསྐྱུན་པའི་གཞུག་མ་ལ་བྱང་སྐྱོགས་

37 ཚོས་རྒྱལ་སྤོང་བཙན་སྐྱུ་པོའི་མ་ཁི་བཀའ་འབུམ་བཞུགས་སོ། །མཚོ་སྣོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང་།
 ༡༩༩༡ ཤོག་ལྷེ་ཨོ་ ༣༣༥-༣༣༥༩ བྱང་རྒྱལ་སེམས་དཔའ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མཚོག་འཕགས་པ་སྐྱུན་རས་
 གཟིགས་དབང་ལྷུག་དེ། བོད་ཁ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཀྱི་མི་རྣམས་ལ་བཀའ་དྲིན་ཆེ་བར་བསྐྱུན་པའི་
 ལེའུ་སྤྱི་སོ་བཞི་པའི་ཤོག་ལྷེ་ཨོ་ ༡༩༩༩-༩༡བ༡ བར་དང་། ཚོས་སྤོང་བའི་རྒྱལ་སྤོང་བཙན་སྐྱུ་
 པོའི་མཚོག་པ་རྣམས་ཐར་གྱི་སྐོར་བཞུགས། ཚོས་རྒྱལ་སྤོང་བཙན་སྐྱུ་པོའི་མ་ཁི་བཀའ་འབུམ་བཞུགས་
 སོ། །ཤོག་ལྷེ་ཨོ་ ༡༩༩༡-༡༩༩༣ བར་ལའང་གཟིགས་འཚལ།

ཁ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་བྱ་བ། བྱང་རྒྱལ་མེམས་དཔལ་ལྷོད་གྱི་གདུལ་བྱར་འགྲུར་བས་
 དུལ་སྤོགས་དེར་ལྷོད་གྱིས་འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་གྱིས་ཤིག། །དེར་སྐྱེས་པའི་མེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་
 ཅད་ཤིན་ཏུ་དུག་ལྡ་རག་པས་གདུལ་དཀའ་བར་གྱུར་པས་ཐབས་སྣ་ཚོགས་གྱིས་བྱུང་ཅིག
 །དེ་སྐད་ལྟར་བསྟན་ནས། འཕགས་པ་སྐུན་རས་གཟིགས་གྱི་སོད་ལུལ་དུ་གདུལ་བྱ་མི་མེད་
 པ་བྱང་རྒྱལ་མེམས་དཔལ་སྐྱེའུ་ཉ་ལུ་མཆུར་སྐྱེལ། རོ་མོ་སྐྱོལ་མས་བྲག་སྲིན་མོ་ཞིག་དུ་
 སྐྱེལ། དེ་གཉིས་ལས་བསྐྱེད་ནས་རིགས་སྐྱེད་མིར་གྱུར་ནས་དེ་མེམས་གདུལ་བྱ་དུས་ལ་
 བལ་བར་གཟིགས། སོད་པ་སྐྱེའུ་དང་མ་བྲག་སྲིན་མོར་སོང་བས་ཤིན་ཏུ་གདུལ་དཀའ་བར་
 གྱུར་བས། དབང་ཆེ་བ་གཅིག་གིས་འདུལ་དགོས་པར་དགོངས་ནས། རྒྱལ་སོ་སྐྱོང་བཅན་
 སྐལ་ཤོར་སྐྱེལ། རོ་མོ་ལྷོ་གཉེར་ཅན་གྱི་སྐྱེལ་པ་བལ་མོ་བཟང་ཁྱི་བཅུན་དང་། རོ་མོ་སྐྱོལ་
 མའི་སྐྱེལ་པ་རྒྱ་མོ་བཟང་ཀོང་རོ་ཁབ་དུ་བཞེས། འཕགས་པ་འཇམ་དཔལ་གྱི་སྐྱེལ་པ་ཐོན་
 མི་མོ་སྐྱོངས། རྒྱ་གར་ནས་ཡི་གེ་བསྐྱབས་ནས་སོད་ཡིག་དུ་བསྐྱར། ལྷ་ས་འཕུལ་སྐྱང་དང་།
 ར་མོ་ཆེ་ལ་སོགས་པ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བརྒྱ་ཅ་བརྒྱད་བཞེངས། རྒྱ་གར་དང་རྒྱ་ནག་དང་།
 བལ་ཤོའི་ལུལ་གྱི་མཁས་པ་བརྗི་ཉ་མེམས་སྐུན་དྲངས། ཡང་དག་པར་རྫོགས་པའི་སངས་
 རྒྱལ་གྱི་སྐྱེའུ་ཚབ། ལྷ་སྐྱུ་ལྷ་ཉེ་གཉིས་རྒྱ་ནག་དང་བལ་ཤོ་ནས་སྐུན་དྲངས།³⁸ ཞེས་དང་།
 ཚོས་སྐྱོང་བའི་རྒྱལ་སོ་སྐྱོང་བཅན་སྐལ་ཤོའི་མཛད་པ་ནམ་ཐར་གྱི་སྐྱོར་བཞུགས་ཞེས་པ་
 ལས། “དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་སོས་འཇིག་རྟེན་པ་དང་སྐོ་བསྐུན་ཉེ་ཁབ་བཞེས་པར་དགོངས་ནས།
 བྱགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་སོའི་སྐུ་རང་བྱུང་ལ་མཚོད་ཅིང་བསྐྱོད་དེ། གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་པས་བྱགས་ཀ་
 ཉས་ཤོད་ཟེར་གཉིས་སྐོས་ཉེ། གཅིག་བལ་ལུལ་དང་། གཅིག་རྒྱ་ནག་དུ་སོང་དོ། །བལ་
 ལུལ་དུ་སོང་བ་དེ་ལ་གཟིགས་པས། བལ་ཤོའི་རྒྱལ་སོ་སྐྱོང་ཟེར་གོ་ཆ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ལ། རྒྱ་མོ་
 ལྷ་གཅིག་ཁྱི་བཅུན་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ལོ་བཅུ་དུག་ལོན་པའི་ན་ཚོད་ཅན་མཚན་དང་དཔེ་བྱད་དུ་
 སྐྱན་པ། དཀའ་ལ་དམར་བའི་མདངས་ཆགས་པ་སྐྱ་མོ་ལྷོ་གཉེར་ཅན་གྱི་སྐྱེལ་པ། རིགས་
 པའི་གནས་མཐའ་དག་དང་རིན་སོ་ཆེའི་བང་མཛོད་ལ་མངའ་བརྟེན་པ་ཞིག་འདུག་པར་

38 ཚོས་རྒྱལ་སྐྱོང་བཅན་སྐལ་ཤོའི་མ་ཉི་བཀའ་འཕུལ་བཞུགས་སོ། །ཤོག་ལྷེ་བཞེ ༧༢བཟ-༤༠ནམ

གཟིགས་སོ། རྒྱ་ནག་དུ་སོང་བ་དེ་ལ་གཟིགས་པས། ལྷ་འི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཐང་ཐའི་བྱང་ཞེས་བྲ་བ་
 ལ། བྲ་མོ་ལྷ་གཅིག་ཀོང་ཚོ་ཞེས་བྲ་བ་ལོ་བཅུ་དྲུག་ལོན་པའི་ན་ཚོད་ཅན། མཚན་དང་དཔེ་
 བྱང་དུ་ལྷན་པ་སྐྱེ་མདོག་སྡོ་སངས། ལྷ་མོ་སྡོལ་མའི་སྐྱེལ་པ། ལྷང་དང་རིགས་པའི་བསྟན་
 བཅོས་མཐའ་དག་ལ་མངའ་བརྟེན་གྱིང་། རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྐྱ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་བང་མཚོད་དང་ལྷན་པ་
 ཞིག་འདུག་པར་གཟིགས་སོ།³⁹ ཞེས་དང་། ཡང་། “ལྷ་གཅིག་ཀོང་ཚོས་ཁམས་སུ་ཐེབས་
 ནས་སྡོར་ཐང་བདེ་མོར་བཞུགས་ཏེ། རྫོན་པོ་མགར་འཕུལ་ཆེ་བས་སྟེན་དུ་རེ་སྐྱེག་པས་མ་
 བྱུང་། དེ་ནས་ཁམས་ཀྱི་ཞབས་ཞིང་དུ་བྱོན་ཏེ་ཤ་བ་བཟུང་ནས་ཞིང་ཚོས་འབྲུ་བཏབ་དེར་
 ཡང་རྫོན་པོ་མ་བྱུང་ནས། ལྷན་མ་བྲག་ཅར་བྲག་ལ་རྒྱས་པའི་དབྱེ་དུམ་བཞོས་མར་
 བཞེངས། ལུས་པ་ནགས་སུ་བྱོན་ནས་རྒྱ་མོ་འཕྲེད་ལམ་བཏོན། བོད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་བཟང་པོ་ཡང་
 གཟིགས་སོ། །འཁོར་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཀོང་ཚོ་ལ་རྫོན་པོ་མགར་གྱི་བྲ་ཆགས་ནས། ས་ལམ་
 འཚོས་པ་ལ་བསྟན་བཏགས་ནས་ཡུན་རིང་དུ་འཁོར་ཟེར་རོ།”⁴⁰ ཞེས་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོའི་
 མཚན་པ་ཉི་ཤུ་ཙུ་གཅིག་པ་བཞུགས་ཞེས་པའི་སྐྱེལ་ལུ་ཚུལ་བསྟན་པའི་ལེན་ལྷེ་ཉི་ཤུ་ཙུ་
 གཅིག་པ་ལས། “དགུང་ལོ་བཅུད་ཅུ་ཙུ་བཞི་བཞེས་ནས། བོད་ཁ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་
 བདེ་བ་ལ་བཀོད་དེ། ལྷོགས་སུག་ལན་གསུམ་བསྟམས་ནས་ཚོས་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པར་མཚན་
 དེ། དུས་ལན་ཅིག་ན་དབྱིད་ལྗང་ར་བའི་ཚོས་གངས་བཅུ་གཉིས་ལ་སྐར་མ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ཉིན་པར་
 དེ་རིང་ནི་ཚོ་མོ་ལྷ་གཅིག་གཉིས་པོ་དང་མཇུག་དགོས། རྗེད་རྫོན་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་འདུས་ཤིག་
 གསུང་ནས།”⁴¹ ཞེས་དང་། “རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ཞལ་མཇུག་ཟེར་ནས། ང་ལ་དད་གུས་དང་མོས་པ་

39 ཚོས་རྒྱལ་པོ་སོང་བཅུན་སྐྱེལ་པོའི་མ་ཆེ་བཀའ་འབུམ་བཞུགས་སོ། །ཤོག་ལྷེ་བ་ཨེ་ ༡༩༧༧-༡༩༩༩
 ཚོས་རྒྱལ་པོ་སོང་བཅུན་སྐྱེལ་པོའི་མ་ཆེ་བཀའ་འབུམ་བཞུགས་སོ། །རྒྱལ་པོའི་མཚན་པ་ཉི་ཤུ་ཙུ་གཅིག་པ་
 བཞུགས། ཤོག་ལྷེ་བ་ཨེ་ ༢༠༠༣-༢༠༠༥ བར་ལའང་གཟིགས་འཚལ།
 40 ཚོས་རྒྱལ་པོ་སོང་བཅུན་སྐྱེལ་པོའི་མ་ཆེ་བཀའ་འབུམ་བཞུགས་སོ། །ཤོག་ལྷེ་བ་ཨེ་ ༢༠༠༣
 41 ཚོས་རྒྱལ་པོ་སོང་བཅུན་སྐྱེལ་པོའི་མ་ཆེ་བཀའ་འབུམ་བཞུགས་སོ། །རྒྱལ་པོའི་མཚན་པ་ཉི་ཤུ་ཙུ་གཅིག་པ་
 བཞུགས། ཤོག་ལྷེ་བ་ཨེ་ ༢༠༠༣-༢༠༠༥

བྱེད་ན། ངའི་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་མཚོན་པ་གྱིས་ཤིག །ལྷ་གཅིག་ཁྲི་བཅུན་དང་མཇལ་ཟེར་
 བ། །ལྷ་མོ་ཁྲི་གཉེར་ཅན་ལ་མཚོན་པ་གྱིས་ཤིག །ལྷ་གཅིག་ཀོང་ཚོ་དང་མཇལ་ཟེར་བ། །ལྷ་མོ་
 ལྷོལ་མ་ལ་མཚོན་པ་གྱིས་ཤིག །འདོད་པའི་དོན་ཐམས་ཅད་འགྲུབ་པར་འགྲུབ་པོ་གསུངས་
 བས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཉིད་སྐྱེན་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་ཀར་ཅེ་རེར་གཟིགས་ནས། སྐུ་ལས་འོད་དྲུ་
 ལྷེམས་གྱིས་ཞུ་ནས་ལྷ་འི་ཐུགས་ཀར་ཐིམ་མོ། །དེ་ནས་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོའི་སྐྱེན་གཡས་པ་
 བས་འོད་བྱུང་ནས། །ལྷ་གཅིག་ཁྲི་བཅུན་ལ་སོག་པས་འོད་དྲུ་ཞུ་ནས། །ལྷ་མོ་ཁྲི་གཉེར་ཅན་
 མའི་ཐུགས་ཀར་ཐིམ་མོ། །སྐྱེན་གཡོན་པ་ནས་འོད་ཟེར་བྱུང་ནས་ལྷ་གཅིག་ཀོང་ཚོ་ལ་སོག་
 པས། འོད་དྲུ་ཞུ་ནས་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷོལ་མ་ལ་ཐིམ་མོ། །དེ་ནས་འབངས་ནང་སློན་པོ་རྣམས་ཤིང་
 བསྐྱུངས་ནས། བརྒྱལ་བ་ལ་ལྷ་འི་ཞལ་ནས་འོད་ཟེར་བྱུང་ནས། ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་སོག་པས།
 ལུས་ངག་ཡིད་གསུམ་བདེ་བ་དང་ལྷན་ཏེ། ཞག་བདུན་གྱི་བར་དུ། །ཁ་ཟས་དང་སློམ་ཡང་མ་
 དགོས་པར་བསམ་གཏན་དང་པོའི་ཉིང་རེ་འཛིན་ཐོབ་པོ། །དེ་ནས་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་སྐྱེན་
 རས་གཟིགས་གྱི་ཞལ་དང། སྐྱེན་དང། སྐུ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་དཔག་དུ་མེད་པ་བྱུང་སྟེ། དབྱ་ཅེ་
 འོག་གི་ལྷ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་འོད་གྱིས་ཁྲུབ་པར་བྱས་མོ། །དེ་ལྷར་མཚོན་ནས། དེ་ཐམས་ཅད་
 ལས་ཀྱང་འོད་ཟེར་བྱུང་སྟེ། །ལྷ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱང་གཟི་མདངས་དང་ལྷན་པར་བྱུང་ཏེ། །དེའི་
 དུས་སུ་སྐྱུང་བ་རྣམ་པ་གསུམ་བྱུང་སྟེ། ལྷོགས་བཅུའི་བྱུང་དང། པོ་རྟོ་ས་དུ་རྣམས་གྱིས་
 གཟིགས་པས། སྐྱེན་རས་གཟིགས། ཁྲི་གཉེར་ཅན་ལ། ལྷོལ་མ་སྟེ། སྐུལ་པ་གསུམ་གྱིས་ཁ་
 བ་ཅན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཚོས་གྱིས་བདུལ། བདེ་བ་ལ་བཀོད་ནས། སྐུལ་པ་རང་རང་ལ་
 བསྐྱུས་པར་གཟིགས་མོ། །འོད་ནང་སློན་པོ་རྣམས་གྱིས་ནི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང། རོ་མོ་གཉིས་དང་དེ་
 གསུམ་ཀ་འོད་དྲུ་ཞུ་ནས། །ལྷ་གསུམ་ལ་ཐིམ་པར་མཐོང་དོ། །སྤྱི་སློན་ལ་སོགས་པ་དང།
 པོད་སྤྱི་མཐུན་པ་རྣམས་གྱིས་ནི་རྒྱལ་པོ་གསུང་ཆ་མ་བྱུང་བ་དང། བང་སོ་སྐྱུག་པོ་རི་ན། །ལྷ་
 ཁང་ལྷ་ཡོད་པ་བཅིགས་ཏེ། དར་ཟབ་གྱིས་བརྒྱན་ནས། བང་སོ་ལ་མངའ་གསོལ་ཆེན་པོ་
 བྱས་པར་མཐོང་དོ། །སྐུལ་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོས་བསྐྱེན་པ་རྒྱས་པར་མཚོན་ནས། སྐུ་ལལ་ཚུལ་

བསྐྱེད་པའི་ལེན་སྒྲིལ་གྱི་ཕྱི་ཙམ་གཅིག་པའོ།⁴² །ཞེས་གསལ་ལ། འདི་དག་ནམས་ནི་རྒྱུར་མཛོང་
སྐྱེ་བོའི་སྐོ་ཡུལ་ལས་འགོངས་པའམ། སེམས་གཙོ་སྐྱེ་བའི་བསམ་བཤོལ་ལས་འདས་པའི་
རོ་མཚར་། མཉམ་བུང་། རྒྱ་འཕུལ། མོས་གུས་དག་སྦྱང་། གསང་བ་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་བྱེད་པའི་
ནམ་ཐར་འབའ་ཞིག་གི་རྗེས་སུ་འབྲངས་པ་ཞིག་རེད།

རྗེས་འབྲངས་འདིའི་བཞེད་པ་དང་ལུགས་འདིར་འདོད་མཁན་སྣེར་ན་རྒྱ་བཟའ་ཀོང་རྫོང་
སྐྱ་མ་ནི་འཇིག་རྟེན་ཡོངས་བྲགས་སམ་སྐྱི་མཐུན་སྦྱང་རོར་གྱི་ཁྲག་རྩས་གསུམ་ལས་སྐྱབ་
པའི་འཇིག་རྟེན་མིའི་བྱ་མོ་ཞིག་མིན་པར་སྐོལ་མ་སྐོན་མོའི་སྐྱུལ་པར་སོང་ཁམས་དང་ཨ་
མདོའི་ས་ཆ་མང་པོར་ཞབས་གྱིས་བཅགས་པ་དང་། སྐྱ་རྟེན་གཟུངས་སྐྱགས་མང་པོ་བྲག་
ལ་བཞོས་པར་ཡིད་ཆེས་དང་། འཕགས་མ་སྐོལ་མར་དང་མོས་རྗེ་ཡོད་སྣེར་ཀོང་རྫོང་སྐྱ་མར་
བྱེད་པའི་གོམས་གསུང་བྱང་ནས་དམངས་ཁྲོད་གཏམ་བརྒྱུད་རོ་མཚར་ཅན་མང་དག་ཞུ་
དཔེ་ལྷན་འགྲེས་བྱས་སོ་སྐྱམ་མོ།།

ལྟོ་བྲག་མཁོ་མཐིང་ནམ་སྦྱང་སྣེར་བོད་ཡུལ་འདིར་བེ་རྣམ་སྦྱང་⁴³ དང་། བྱ་རུམ་ (སྐྱ་བདུན་)
ནམ་སྦྱང་། མངའ་རིས་མར་ཡུལ་ནང་ཨལ་ལྷི་རྣམ་སྦྱང་། མང་ཀུ་རྣམ་སྦྱང་། སུམ་ཕྱ་རྣམ་
སྦྱང་གསུམ་ནི་ཕ་གཅིག་ལ་མཇལ་བྱུང་ན་མི་ལུས་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཐེངས་གཅིག་ཐོབ་རྒྱུར་ཐེ་

42 ཚོས་རྒྱལ་སྐོང་བཅོན་སྐྱམ་བོའི་མ་ཞི་བཀའ་འབུམ་བཞུགས་སོ། །རྒྱལ་བོའི་མཛོང་པ་ནི་ཕྱི་ཙམ་གཅིག་པ་
བཞུགས། ཤོག་ལྷེ་ལེ་ ༢༠༠བ༢-༢༠༡ན།

43 མདོ་ཁམས་ཏེ་ཉོར་བྲག་མགོའི་མདོ་མང་གཏེར་སྐོན་དོ་རྗེ་བདེ་ཆེན་གྲིང་པའི་ (c.1876-1928) བྱང་བ་
བཤོལ་བ་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པའི་འདྲ་བཤད་ལས། “ཁྱོ་ཐེལ་ཁྱོ་རྗེ་དབྱེ་འདུལ་གྱིས། །གནས་ཁྱོ་ཁྱོ་རྒྱ་
བོད་བྲག་ཏུ་རྟེད། །དེའི་རྒྱལ་གྱི་རྒྱ་བའི་ཚོས་བཅུ་ལ། །བེ་རྣམ་སྦྱང་རོ་མཚར་བྲག་རི་ནས། །རྗེ་བེ་རོའི་
བྲགས་ཐིག་ཟབ་གཏེར་མཇལ།” ཞེས་བེ་རྣམ་སྦྱང་ཞེས་པ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་ཡོད་པར་སྦྱང། དོ་རྗེ་བདེ་ཆེན་གྲིང་
པའི་ཟབ་ཚོས་ཡིད་བཞིན་གཏེར་མཛོང་བཞུགས། བོད་ ༡༡ Printed and donated for free distribu-
tion by The Corporate Body of the Buddha Educational Foundation, Taipei, Taiwan,
Nov 2005 དབྱིན་རིའི་ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༡༥༤

ཚོམ་མེད་པའི་ཡིད་ཆེས་ཀྱིས་སྤྲོ་མོ་མོ་འདི་གྲུ་ལམ་མེད་དུས་ཀྱང་ཁག་ཅིག་གིས་ཉིན་གཅིག་ལ་བསྐྱོར་བྱུང་བ་བྱེད་སྲོལ་ཡོད་འདུག། རེ་བཞིན་སྲི་ཉིའི་ཉ་པོ་ནམ་སྤང་སོགས་ཡོད།

གོང་དུ་གསལ་བ་བཞིན་ཁམས་ཚོ་ཁ་ལྟོའི་རྣ་རྣོའམ་སྤྲོ་མགོ་ནམ་པར་སྤང་མཛད་སོགས་ནམ་སྤང་བྲགས་ཆེན་ད་དུང་ཁ་གསལ་བཞུགས་སུ་གསོལ་བ་ནམས་ལའང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་འཚལ། བོང་འཁོད་ར་ལ་ནམ་སྤང་དང་། འཕྲིས་ཁོག་ནམ་སྤང་གཉིས་ནི་སྤྱོད་ལྷུང་གི་ནམ་སྤང་མངོན་བྱང་དམ། ཡོངས་སྤྲོ་ནམ་སྤང་གངས་ཅན་མཚོ་ཞེས་བ་དེ་ཡིན། ཡང་གོང་གསལ་འབོམ་མམ་ལྟ་འདུས་ནམ་སྤང་། ལྷ་རྣོ་ནམ་སྤང་། ལྷོ་བྲག་མཁོ་མཐིང་ནམ་སྤང་གིས་གཙོས་ནམ་སྤང་བཞུགས་སོ་ཙོག་སྤྱོད་ལྷུང་གི་ནམ་སྤང་མངོན་བྱང་དམ། ལྷལ་འབྲོར་ལྷུང་དན་སོང་སྤྱོད་བ་ཀུན་རིག་ནམ་པར་སྤང་མཛད་དམ། ལྷལ་བ་རིགས་ལྷའི་ནམ་པར་སྤང་མཛད་ཅི་ཡིན་སྤྲོ་ཞིབ་ཚེ་མ་འཚལ་ན་ཞིབ་འཇུག་མཛོད་ལགས།

བོད་ནང་འབྲུལ་གྱི་ལྷ་བཅན་སོ་ཡབ་སྲས་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་ལྷུང་གི་གཙོ་བོ་ནམ་སྤང་མངོན་བྱང་གི་ཚོས་སྐྱོར་ཚོ་ག་དང་བཅས་པའི་བོད་འབྲུལ་སྤྱིའི་སྐྱོར་ལམ་ཅམ་སྤྱིང་བར་འདོད།

དེ་ཡང་ཡགལ་བའི་བཀའ་བསྟན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་མཇལ་བའི་ཚོལ་བ་ཆེར་མི་དགོས་ཏེ། གཞུང་ལུགས་རབ་འབྲམས་སྤྲོ་བར་བྱུགས་སྤོབས་རབ་ཏུ་དགེ་བ། བོད་རིག་པ་མཁས་ཅན་སྤོབ་དཔོན་ཆེན་སོ་སྤྲོ་ཞབས་ཁང་དཀར་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་སྤོབ་བཟང་མཚོག་གིས་མཛད་པའི་དེབ་ཐེར་སྤྱང་གྲུ་ལས། “གསང་སྤྱགས་སྤོ་སྤྱོད་དེ་ནམས་བཙམས་པའི་དུས་རབས་ནི་གྲུ་ནག་གི་འབྲུར་གྱི་དུས་རབས་སོགས་དང་བསྐྱར་ན་བྱ་ལྷུང་མང་ཆེ་བ་དུས་རབས་བདུན་པའི་བོང་འོལ་དུ་བཙམས། སྤྱོད་ལྷུང་ནམ་སྤང་མངོན་བྱང་དུས་རབས་བདུན་པའི་བར་དཀྱིལ་དང་། ལྷལ་འབྲོར་ལྷུང་དེ་ཉིད་བསྐྱས་བ་དུས་རབས་བཅུད་པའི་བར་དཀྱིལ་ལ་བཙམས། ལྷལ་འབྲོར་སྤྲོ་མེད་གྱི་ལྷུང་དུས་རབས་བཅུད་པའི་སྤྱད་ཆ་ནས་ཚོམ་འགོ་ཚུགས་པ་གཏན་འབེབས་བྱས་ན་ལུང་རིགས་གྱི་གནོད་པ་མེད། གང་ལྟར་ཡང་གྲུ་གར་གྱི་གསང་

པ་ཞིག་བདག་པར་བརྟེན། སྤྱི་དར་གྱི་གསང་སྤྲུལ་དར་ཡུལ་གྱི་བོད་ཀྱི་བཀའ་འགྲུང་དུ་
 གསང་སྤྲུལ་གྱི་བཀའ་ཐམས་ཅད་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་སྡེ་ཚན་དུ་བཞུགས་སུ་གསོལ་བར་བརྟེན་རྒྱུད་
 དང་གསང་སྤྲུལ་གྱི་བཀའ་གཉིས་དོན་གཅིག་མིང་གི་རྣམ་གྲངས་སུ་གྱུར་འདུག །སྤྱི་
 མཚན་དེ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་རྒྱབ་སྐྱིད་མཁས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ནང་ནས་ནང་བའི་གསང་སྤྲུལ་
 ཚོས་ལ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ནང་ཚོས་རིང་ལུགས་ (Tantric Buddhism) སམ། རང་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་
 རིང་ལུགས་ (Buddhist Tantrism) ཞེས་གསུང་མཁན་མང་ཡང་འཚམ་པོ་ཡིན་མིན་དབྱེད་
 དགོས།⁴⁴ ཞེས་སོགས་ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༡༧༩-༡༨༢ བར་དང་། ཡང་ཨོ་ཐ་ནི་གཙུག་ལག་སློབ་
 བུ་ཚེན་མོའི་ནང་རིག་སྡེ་ཚན་གཙུག་ལག་སློབ་དཔོན་ཚེན་མོ་ཁང་དཀར་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་སྐལ་
 བཟང་གིས་བཅམས་པའི། ཚུར་མཐོང་སྤྱེ་བོར་སྤང་ཚུལ་མ་བཅོས་ལྷུག་པར་བཤོད་པའི་རྒྱ་
 གར་གྱི་ནང་བའི་ལྷ་གྲུབ་ཚོས་འབྲུང་ལེགས་བཤད་དཀའ་གནད་མདུད་འགྲོལ་ལམ། དེ་བ་
 སྟོན་གསར་མའི་⁴⁵ ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༧༡༡-༧༣༠ བར་ལའང་གཟིགས་འཚུལ།

ཞོར་འཕྲོས་སུ་ཐུགས་སྤྲུང་དགོས་རྒྱ་ཞིག་ལ། སྐབས་འདིར་སྤྲུང་ཁམས་འབོམ་རྣམ་

44 ཁང་དཀར་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་སྐལ་བཟང་གིས་བཅམས། རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ནང་བའི་གསང་སྤྲུལ་གྱི་ལྷ་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་
 ཚོས་འབྲུང་ངམ། དེ་བ་ཐེར་ལྗང་གྱ། ཉིན་བོད་ནང་རིག་དེ་བ་གྲངས་ ༧ གངས་སྡོང་ས་ནང་རིག་མཐུན་
 ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་པར་སྐྱུན་བྲས། ༡༩༩༧ ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༡༤༩-༡༥༧ འདིའི་རྒྱས་རྟོན་དུན་དབང་སྤྱི་ཞབས་སྡོ་
 བཟང་ཤེས་ལགས་ནས་གནང་བྱུང་། ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་ཞུའོ།

45 ཉིན་བོད་ནང་རིག་དེ་བ་གྲངས་ ༡༠ གངས་སྡོང་ས་ནང་རིག་མཐུན་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་པར་སྐྱུན་བྲས། Published
 by The Western Tibetan Cultural Association, Kathmandu, 2007 འདིའི་རྒྱས་རྟོན་དུན་
 དབང་སྤྱི་ཞབས་སྡོ་བཟང་ཤེས་ལགས་ནས་གནང་བྱུང་། ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་ཞུའོ།
 རྩ་རམ་ས་ལའི་བོད་ཀྱི་དཔེ་མཛོད་ཁང་གི་རིག་གཞུང་ཉམས་ཞིབ་པ་དང་བོད་ཡིག་སྤྲུང་སྤྱོད་སྡེ་ཚན་གྱི་
 འགན་འཛིན་གཅིག་ལྟོགས་སྤྱི་ཞབས་དུན་དབང་ན་ག་སངས་རྒྱས་བསྟན་དར་ལགས་ནས་ངའི་དབྱེད་
 ཚོམ་འདིར་ཐེངས་གཅིག་ཞུ་དག་གཏོང་གནད་མཛད་པ་དང་། ཨ་ལྷོས་མ་ཚེན་བོད་ཀྱི་རིག་གཞུང་ཞིབ་
 འཇུག་ཁང་གི་ལས་བྱ་སྤྱི་ཞབས་ཆབ་ལོམས་བསྟན་པ་ཉི་མ་ལགས་ནས་ལུང་འདྲན་གཉིས་འཚུལ་
 ལྟོགས་གནད་བ་བཅས་ལ་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་ཞུའོ།

སྐྱེད་པ་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟ་བུ་སྐྱེད་པའི་གནས་ཡིག་དཀར་ཆག་གི་རྒྱ་ཆ་ཤིན་ཏུ་དཀོན་པའི་བྱིན་
 རྒྱུ་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟ་བུ་བྱ་དགོས་སྐབས་འདིར་སྐྱེད་ཁམས་འབོམ་རྣམས་སྐྱེད་དང་ཐག་
 ཉེར་དཔལ་ལྷན་ས་སྐྱེ་བའི་རིང་ལུགས་འཛིན་པ་ལྟར་མགོ་དགོན་པ་དང་། རྒྱ་བཀག་དགོན།
 (རྒྱ་སྐྱེག་ རྒྱ་སྐྱེག་ རྒྱ་སྐྱེག་ རྒྱ་གཤམ་ རྒྱ་དཀར་ཞེས་དག་ཆ་ཅི་རིགས་ཤིས་འདུག) འབོམ་བར་ཚོའི་བྲག་
 ལྟོང་དགོན་པ་བཅས་བཞུགས་པར་བརྟེན་སྤྱི་ས་སྐྱེ་བ་ལྟ་བུ་དེ་དགོན་བསྐྱེན་བརྩི་ཏེ་ཐེག་པ་
 མཚོག་གི་རྣམས་འབྱོར་པ་སྐྱེགས་འཆང་དག་དབང་ཀུན་དགའ་བསོད་ནམས་གྲགས་པ་རྒྱལ་
 མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོ་ལམ། འཇམ་མགོན་མཉམ་ཞབས་ཀྱིས་ ༡༩༣༧ ལོར་མཛད་པའི།
 འཇམ་གླིང་བྱང་སྐྱོགས་ཀྱི་ཐུབ་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་ཆེན་པོ་དཔལ་ལྷན་ས་སྐྱེ་བའི་གདུང་རབས་
 རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཇི་སྟེ་སྤོན་པའི་རྒྱལ་གྱི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་ངོ་མཚར་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་བང་མཛོད་
 དགོས་འདོད་ཀུན་འབྱུང་⁴⁶ ཞེས་པ་དང་། ས་ཆེན་ཀུན་དགའ་སྐོ་གྲོས་སངས་རྒྱལ་བསྐྱེན་
 པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་ ༡༩༤༡ ལོར་བཙམས་པའི། དཔལ་ལྷན་ས་སྐྱེ་བའི་གདུང་རབས་རིན་
 པོ་ཆེ་སྤོན་རྒྱལ་ཞལ་སྐོང་བཅས་བསྐོས་ཤིང་ལྷག་པར་དུས་མཚོད་སྐྱེ་བྱང་པའི་གདུང་
 རབས་ཁ་ཡོད་ལག་ཡོད་དུ་བགྲངས་པ་གདན་རབས་བཅས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ངོ་མཚར་སྤྲིད་ན་
 འགྲན་བྲལ་⁴⁷ ཞེས་པ་དང་། སྤྱི་ས་སྐྱེ་བའི་བདག་ཁྱི་སྐོལ་མ་པོ་བྱང་བ་དུག་ལུལ་འཕྲིན་
 ལས་རིན་ཆེན་གྱིས་ ༡༩༣༣ ལོར་མཛད་པའི། དཔལ་ལྷན་ས་སྐྱེ་བའི་གདུང་རབས་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྤོན་
 རྒྱལ་འཇམ་མགོན་མཉམ་ཞབས་ཀྱིས་མཛད་པ་དང་། ས་ཆེན་སྐྱེ་མ་ངོ་ཇི་འཆང་ཀུན་
 དགའ་སྐོ་གྲོས་ཀྱིས་མཛད་པ་བཅས་ཀྱི་ཞལ་སྐོང་སྤྱི་ས་སྤོན་གདུང་རབས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་
 ཐར་མཛད་རྒྱལ་ངོ་མཚར་རིན་ཆེན་ཀུན་འཕེལ་སྤྲིད་ཞིའི་དཔལ་ལྟོས་སྐྱེན་གྲུབ་ཅེས་⁴⁸

46 ས་སྐྱེའི་གདུང་རབས་ངོ་མཚར་བང་མཛོད། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱེན་ཁང་། ༡༩༤༩ ཐོག་གྲངས་ ༡༡༣ བཞུགས།
 47 ས་སྐྱེའི་གདུང་རབས་ངོ་མཚར་བང་མཛོད་ཀྱི་ཁ་སྐོང་། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱེན་ཁང་། ༡༩༩༡ ཐོག་གྲངས་
 ༢༩༩ བཞུགས།
 48 ས་སྐྱེའི་གདུང་རབས་ངོ་མཚར་རིན་ཆེན་ཀུན་འཕེལ། མི་སྤོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱེན་ཁང་། ༡༩༩༢ ཐོག་
 གྲངས་ ༤༩༩ བཞུགས།

དེ་བཞུགས་པ་ལྟར་པོ་ཞིབ་མཛེས་ཞུས་ཀྱང་སྐྱེས་པ་ལས་འབོམ་ནས་སྐྱེས་སྐྱོར་གང་ཡང་རྟེན་
སོན་མ་བུ་དོ་ཞུ་བ་ལགས་སོ། །དགེ་ལེགས་འཕེལ།

དེས་ན་ད་ལན་བོད་རིག་པའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་མཁན་སློབ་དཔོན་ཆེན་མོ་མཁའ་དབང་སྐུ་
ཞབས་མཁར་མེའུ་བསམ་གཏན་རྒྱལ་མཚན་མཚོག་གི་བོད་རིག་པའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་
མཛད་པ་ལྷན་དུ་ཡིད་སློན་དང་གུས་བཀུར་ཆེད་གོང་གསལ་དབྱེད་ཚོམ་ཐན་ཐུན་འདི་
ཆེད་གཉེར་སྤེལ་བྱས་ཡིན།

གུས་པ་ནི་མཁའ་དབང་སྐུ་ཞབས་མཁར་མེའུ་མཚོག་དང་ཐོག་ ༡༩༩༢ ལྷོ་ཟླ་ ༧ པར་
དངོས་སུ་གསེར་ཞལ་མཛེས་འབྲུད་བྱུང་ནས་བཟུང་ད་བར་ཐུགས་བརྩེ་གཟིགས་པ་དང་
བཀའ་སློབ་འཚོ་སྐྱོད་གི་ལོག་ནས་འཚར་ལོངས་བྱས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན། རྗེས་པ་བོད་མིའི་ཁྲོད་
བོད་རིག་པའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་སྣང་ས་ཐད་གྲུབ་མཐའ་དང་ལུང་ཚན་གྱི་འཐེན་འཁྲུང་
སྣང་ས་ནས། ཆགས་སྣང་གཡམ་རྒྱགས་དང་ལོལ་ཚོད་སྐྱེ་ཙམ་མི་འདོན་ཞིང་། མཐའ་གཉིས་
སུ་ལྷུང་པའི་དགའ་སྐྱོད་དང་སྤོགས་འཛིན་དགའ་སྐྱུག་གི་སྐྱ་སྣང་ས་འདུ་གེས་དང་བཞེད་
ལུགས་མིན་པའི་ (unemotional treatment of the subject) ལུང་རིགས། དངོས་པོའི་
གནས་ཚུལ་དང་མཐུན་པ། དངོས་གཙོ་སྐྱེ་བ། ཚན་རིག་དང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་རིག་པ་དང་མཐུན་
པ་གཙོ་བོར་མཛད་མཁན། རྒྱ་མཚན་གེས་ནས་ངེས་པ་རྟེན་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་རིགས་གཞིན་ལ་
རྒྱ་ཅན་གྱི་མདོ་ཁམས་པའི་བོད་གན་ཞིག་ཡིན་སྐབས་ཉམ་ཏུ་གུས་བཀུར་དང་། ཡིད་སློན་
ཞུ་ཡུལ། མིག་དཔེ་ཡར་འདྲེན་གྱི་ཡུལ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་ཡིན།

དེར་བརྟེན་མཁའ་དབང་མཚོག་ ༡༩༩༧ ལོར་འཛམ་གླིང་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིའི་བོད་རིག་པའི་
ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཚོགས་པའི་ (International Association of Tibetan Studies) ཚོགས་
གཙོར་འདེམས་ཐོན་བྱུང་སྐབས་གུས་ཚུང་ནས་བོད་ཡིག་ནང་གཏམ་སྟན་གྱི་གསར་
འགྱུར་སྤེལ་⁴⁹ ཟུང་བ་དང་། སྤོགས་མཚུངས་སློབ་དཔོན་ཆེན་མོ་མཁའ་དབང་མཁར་

49 བཀའ་གྲིས་ཚེ་རིང་། རྒྱལ་སྤྱིའི་བོད་རིག་པའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཚོགས་པའི་ཚོགས་གཙོ་བོད་མི་ཞིག་འདེམས་
ཐོན་བྱུང་བ། རྩ་མཁས་ལ། དམངས་གཙོ་རྒྱ་སྤྱོད་གསར་བོག་ ༡༩༩༧ ཟླ་ ༦ ཚེས་ ༢༠ ལོ་ ༦ ཡང་ ༡༢ པར་

