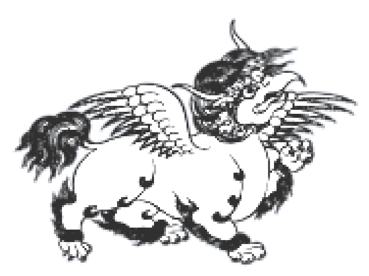
Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines

Ancient Currents, New Traditions: Papers Presented at the Fourth International Seminar of Young Tibetologists

Edited by

Franz Xaver Erhard, Jeannine Bischoff,
Lewis Doney, Jörg Heimbel, & Emilia Sulek



numéro trente-sept — Décembre 2016

Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines

numéro trente-sept — Décembre 2016

ISSN 1768-2959

Directeur : Jean-Luc Achard.

Comité de rédaction : Alice Travers, Jean-Luc Achard.

Comité de lecture : Ester Bianchi (Università degli Studi di Perugia), Fabienne Jagou (EFEO), Rob Mayer (Oriental Institute, University of Oxford), Fernand Meyer (CNRS-EPHE), Françoise Pommaret (CNRS), Ramon Prats (Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona), Charles Ramble (EPHE, CNRS), Françoise Robin (INALCO), Brigitte Steinman (Université de Lille), Alice Travers (CNRS), 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 six (6) mois à l'avance. Les dates de proposition d'articles au comité de lecture sont Novembre pour une parution en Avril, et Mai 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 (jeanluc.achard@sfr.fr).

Comptes-rendus
Contacter le directeur de publication, à l'adresse électronique suivante : jeanluc.achard@sfr.fr

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

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

Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines

numéro trente-sept — Décembre 2016

Ancient Currents, New Traditions:
Papers Presented at the Fourth International Seminar of Young Tibetologists held at the University of Leipzig
from September 7-12, 2015.

Edited by
Franz Xaver Erhard, Jeannine Bischoff,
Lewis Doney, Jörg Heimbel, & Emilia Sulek

Franz Xaver Erhard, Jeannine Bischoff, Lewis Doney, Jörg Heimbel, Emilia Sulek
Preface: Ancient Currents, New Traditions, pp. v-vii.

Per K. Sørensen
Keynote: A Story of Academic and Cultural Curiosity. Leipzig and the Rise of Tibetology in Germany, pp. 1-12.

Cameron Bailey
A Tibetan Protector Deity Theogony: An Eighteenth Century “Explicit” Buddhist Pantheon and Some of its Political Aspects, pp. 13-28.

Byams pa chos ’phel བྱམས་པ་ཆོས་འཕེལ།
བོད་ལུགས་ཟླ་བ་ངོས་འཛིན།, pp. 29-47.

Gloria I-Ling Chien
Examining the Blo sbyong Component in Thogs med bzang po’s Collected Works, pp. 48-68.

Lewis Doney
A Richness of Detail: Sangs rgyas gling pa and the *Padma bka’ thang*, pp. 69-97.

Cécile Ducher
bKa' brgyud Treasure and rNying ma Revealer: The *Sras mkhar ma* of Mar pa Lo tsā ba, pp. 98-126.

ErdeneBaatar Erdene-Ochir
On the Historical Background of a Buddhist Polemical Exchange between Tibetan and Mongolian Scholars in the 19th Century, pp. 127-144.

Berthe Jansen
The Disciplinarian (*dge skos/ dge bskos/ chos khrims pa/ zhal ngo*) in Tibetan Monasteries: his Role and his Rules, pp. 145-161.

Hanung Kim
A mdo, Collected Works (*gSung 'bum*), and Prosopography, pp. 162-177.

Anne Kukuczka
Smartphones, Weixin and Beautiful Bodies: The Role of Mobile Technologies for Crafting Desired Selves in Lhasa, pp. 178-206.

Channa Li
Translationship Lost in Transmission: Elusive Attributions of Two Tibetan Sūtra Translations, pp. 207-230.

Natasha L. Mikles
Buddhicizing the Warrior-King Gesar in the *dMyal gling rDzogs pa Chen po*, pp. 231-246.

Natalia Moskaleva
Sketches of Contemporary Tibetan History in *The Tibet Mirror* (1949–1963) , pp. 247-261.

Ai Nishida
Old Tibetan Scapulimancy, pp. 262-277.

Kensaku Okawa
A Study on *nang zan*: On the Reality of the "Servant Worker" in Traditional Tibetan Society, pp. 278-292.

Jonathan Samuels
Are We Legend? Reconsidering Clan in Tibet, pp. 293-314.

Anna Sawerthal
Foreign News in Early Tibetan-Language Newspapers: Covering Adolf Hitler in the Melong, pp. 315-334.

Rolf Scheuermann
sGam po pa's Doctrinal System: A Programmatic Way to Buddhahood for Beings of Varying Capacity, Both Gradual and Sudden? , pp. 335-351.

Dagmar Schwerk
The Pointed Spear of a Siddha and its Commentaries: The 'Brug pa bka' brgyud School in Defence of the Mahāmudrā Doctrine, pp. 352-373.

Eva Maria Seidel
Searching for Tibetanness: Tenzing Rigdol's Attempt to Visualize Tibetan Identity, pp. 374-390.

Carmen Simioli
The "Brilliant Moon Theriac" (*Zla zil dar ya kan*): A Preliminary Study of Mercury Processing According to the *Vase of Amṛta of Immortality* (*'Chi med bdud rtsi bum pa*) and its Influence on Tibetan Pharmacological literature, pp. 391-419.

bsTan 'dzin chos 'phel བསྟན་འཛིན་ཆོས་འཕེལ།
གནའ་བོའི་སྨོན་དང་སྨོན་པའི་རྣམས་ལ་དཔྱད་པ།, pp. 420-450.

Rahel Tsering
Labtse Construction and Differentiation in Rural Amdo, pp. 451-468.

Markus Viehbeck
Coming to Terms with Tibet: Scholarly Networks and the Production of the First "Modern" Tibetan Dictionaries, pp. 469-489.

Riika J. Virtanen
Characters in Modern Tibetan Fiction Set in Pre-1950s Central Tibet: Aristocrats, Common Folk and Others, pp. 490-513.

Marco Walther
Between Family and Transmission Lineage: Two Historical Works of the rNgog bKa' brgyud pa, pp. 514-532.

Daniel Wojahn
Preservation and Continuity: The *Ache Lhamo* Tradition Inside and Outside the Tibet Autonomous Region, pp. 533-549.

Eveline Yang
Tracing the *Chol kha gsum*: Reexamining a Sa skya-Yuan Period Administrative Geography, pp. 550-567.

Fan Zhang
Reorienting the Sacred and Accommodating the Secular: The *History of Buddhism in China* (*rGya nag chos 'byung*) , pp. 568-590.

Linghui Zhang
The *Wholesome Streams* (*dGe ba'i chu rgyun*): Tshe dbang nor bu's Treatment of the Chinese Monk's Simultaneist Approach to Awakening, pp. 591-609.

Preface: Ancient Currents, New Traditions

Franz Xaver Erhard (Oxford), Jeannine Bischoff (Bonn),
Lewis Doney (London), Jörg Heimbel (Hamburg),
Emilia Sulek (Leiden)

Little more than one year has passed since the Fourth International Seminar of Young Tibetologists (ISYT) was convened at the University of Leipzig, Germany (7–12 September 2015). It is now our pleasure to present *Ancient Currents, New Traditions: Papers Presented at the Fourth International Seminar of Young Tibetologists* to our colleagues in Tibetan Studies, comprising thirty articles selected from that seminar. These proceedings give a representative overview of the exciting current research trends among a younger generation of Tibetologists. Besides strong contributions from Cultural and Social Anthropology, from Art History and Social Sciences, new approaches to ancient texts promise to rejuvenate the more traditional discipline of Tibetan Philology. Moreover, some contributors have set foot in uncharted terrain by exploring new literary sources or ventured into hitherto unstudied domains of Tibetan culture.

The ISYT has clearly matured and established its place in the field of Tibetan Studies. Last year's seminar saw more than one hundred participants and some eighty presentations by young scholars from over fifteen countries in Europe, Asia and the Americas. The seminar focused on Tibet and the Himalayas and brought several disciplines to bear on the area, from Ethnography to Architecture and from Philosophy to Development Studies. Topics included Tibetan religious and political history, issues surrounding modern pastoralism, domestic practices and rituals, contemporary society, modern literature and Tibetan identity politics.

The ISYT, which held its first seminar in London in 2007 with some forty young scholars of Tibetan Studies, has expanded significantly in the past ten years. Two further conferences were held in Paris (2009) and Kobe (2012), attracting growing numbers of doctoral students and early career academics. Last year the Institute of Indology and Central Asian Studies at the University of Leipzig, which can boast more than one hundred years of history in Tibetan Studies or *Tibetologie* (see Per Sørensen's contribution in this volume),

Franz Xaver Erhard, Jeannine Bischoff, Lewis Doney, Jörg Heimbel , Emilia Sulek, "Preface: Ancient Currents, New Traditions", *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 37, December 2016, pp. v-vii.

was proud to host the fourth and so far largest seminar.

Even though the seminars have grown in size over the years, they remain small and informal enough to create a welcoming atmosphere for scholarly and personal debate, exchange and discovery. They thus continue to aid the development of a still small community of young scholars with a strong shared interest in Tibet and her culture.

It is thus with deep sadness that we heard in January of the untimely death of Viacheslav Toloknov, who presented at last year's seminar on different generations of Tibetan immigrants in northern India. As an upcoming young Russian anthropologist at the Russian Academy of Sciences, he was one of the next generation of Tibetologists from whom we will no longer have the benefit of learning in person. He was also a kind and decent man with whom it was a pleasure to spend time at the seminar. He will be missed.

At its business meeting during the Leipzig Seminar, the ISYT board of advisors accepted the application of St. Petersburg State University to host the upcoming seminar in 2018. We are very much looking forward to this seminar, and fully trust that it will carry on the fine legacy of the ISYT into the future.

As another and equally important result of the seminar at Leipzig, we are now able to present this volume jointly edited by the organisers of the Fourth ISYT. In assessing the many fine contributions submitted by those who took part in the seminar, we sent out all articles for double-blind peer review. We would like to thank all the reviewers for taking time out of their busy schedules to read these pieces thoroughly and give insightful and helpful feedback on a whole range of issues. We would also like to thank all those colleagues without whose help and support neither the Leipzig seminar nor the proceedings could have been realised. Their willingness to help shows the selflessness and vigour that typifies the field of Tibetan Studies in general. We would like to acknowledge their invaluable support here:

Jean-Luc Achard, Orna Almogi, Amelie Bader, Piotr Balcerowicz, Agata Bareja-Starzynska, Robbie Barnett, Jenny Bentley, Daniel Berounsky, Henk Blezer, John Bray, Adelheid Buschner, Cathy Cantwell, Volker Caumanns, Olaf Czaja, Yangdon Dhondup, Brandon Dotson, Isrun Engelhardt, George FitzHerbert, Eli Franco, Barbara Gerke, Margaret Gouin, Kalsang Norbu Gurung, Lauren Hartley, Edward Henning, Isabelle Henrion-Dourcy, Nathan Hill, David Holler, Theresia Hofer, Astrid Hovden, Lilian Iselin, Kazushi Iwao, Lama Jabb, Berthe Jansen, Matthew Kapstein, Rudolf Kaschewsky, Gerald Kozicz, Seiji Kumagai, Nancy Levine, Manuel Lopez-Zafra, Petra Maurer, Rob Mayer, Martin Mills, Anna Morcom, Saul Mullard, Heinz Mürmel, Tim Myatt, Ai Nishida, Jim Rheingans, Françoise

Robin, Jann Ronis, Sam van Schaik, Stefan Schley, Hanna Schneider, Nicola Schneider, Mona Schrempf, Marta Sernesi, Michael Sheehy, Per K. Sørensen, Eva Sterzer, Gillian Tan, Lobsang Tenpa, Alice Travers, Sonam Tsering, Tashi Tsering, Maria Turek, Gray Tuttle, Oxana Ukonew, Markus Viehbeck, Riika Virtanen, Dorji Wangchuk, Daniel Wojahn, Antje Ziemer.

The Fourth International Seminar of Young Tibetologists would also like to thank the following international sponsors for their generous financial support for the conference and its proceedings volume:

- Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (Germany)
- Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation (Taiwan)
- Network for Co-operation Tibet Norway (Norway)
- Foundation of the Saxon Academy of Sciences in Leipzig (Germany)
- University of Leipzig (Germany)
- Trace Foundation (USA)

We hope that you enjoy reading these contributions and are inspired by them as much as we were when hearing them last year and have been while preparing this volume of the *Revue d'Etudes tibétaines.* Jean-Luc Achard has ably seen these proceedings to publication, and for that we would like to thank him once again. This volume will also be published in hard copy with Edition Tethys Berlin, and will be available in 2017.

Keynote: A Story of Academic and Cultural Curiosity. Leipzig and the Rise of Tibetology in Germany

Per K. Sørensen

(Leipzig University)

Ladies and gentlemen, dear colleagues and friends of Tibet. Welcome to Leipzig! It is a basic truism that when major civilizations and cultural traditions meet or reach out to one another, the encounters—be they violent or peaceful, be they unilateral or bilateral like in the case of the Occident and the Orient—are inevitably fraught with cultural repercussions of sorts and with upheavals stemming from the collisions of distinctly different cultural sensibilities and historical make-up of the parties involved.

If we take a look at the enduring influence and inspiration, and not least biased presumptions generated by the myriad encounters of the West with Asia (and we must restrict ourselves in this case to Tibet), post-colonial studies have shown—and that not only since Edward Said's ground-breaking book *Orientalism* and the heated and prolonged discourse that emerged in its trail—that the narrow perspective or dichotomy West versus East is too simple, further perspectives should be paid heed to. Donald S. Lopez and later Tsering Shakya—the current president of IATS—once suggested that when we talk about Tibet (commonly and euphemistically labelled "the Roof of the World," the Tibetans not much differently, prefer "the Snow-capped" Land, alluding here to Himalayas, "the Abode of the Snow"), we should take a step further and indeed here see an unique case of apparent exceptionalism: "Tibet has remained outside the scrutiny of postcolonialist discourse," while in Tibetan studies, "questions drawn from critical studies on the postcolonial discourse have never been properly raised."[1] By now, things have changed considerably. Still, when we take a look at this purported "exceptionalism" and look further back in search for what initially prompted or generated this unique depiction and perception, one of its more curious and obvious outgrowths points to what later could be labelled as the "esoteric and romantic Shangri-La-mode," a

[1] Shakya 2001: 183.

Sørensen, Per K. "A Story of Academic and Cultural Curiosity. Leipzig and the Rise of Tibetology in Germany", *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 37, December 2016, pp. 1–12.

Western fabulation and imagination of Tibet, indeed a legacy that has haunted Western authors, artists, travellers and general readers, especially during the last century. It obviously was a sort of fascination, occasionally an idealization that at times also left its imprint among scholars with their academic preoccupation with Tibet. But this burgeoning "exceptionalism" has older roots and goes further back in time. When did the West, in this case the Europeans initially receive more concrete information about this part of Central Asia? In order to understand how Tibetan studies or the systematic scientific study of Tibet, now known as Tibetology, took shape in Germany, we naturally must look longer back in history.

The following small essay in no way attempts to retell the exciting history of how and who were to put Tibet on the map in the Western fantasies and world. But a few well-known points are worth reiterating. The first Western missionaries to arrive in Tibet were from the Society of Jesus. In other words, men of the Christian religion. Between 1624 and 1640, Portuguese Jesuits set up a mission at Tsaparang in Western Tibet, and in 1661 Albert d'Orville and Johann Grueber travelled through Lhasa on a journey from North-West China to India. What a feat! Hardly imaginable to envision a few high lamas from Tibet suddenly turning up in Rome at the same time in their quest for propagating Buddhism in this part of the world? However, the most prominent of all the Jesuits in Tibet was the Italian Ippolito Desideri (1684–1733) who set out from Rome in 1712 and, having travelled via Goa, Delhi, Kashmir and Ladakh, reached Lhasa in early 1716. By the time he left Tibet in 1721, Desideri had acquired sufficient linguistic competence to write five books, and his *Historical Notes on Tibet* is, all considered, a major source for early 18th century Tibetan history. Like his Jesuit predecessors in Japan and China, Desideri well understood the importance of establishing a favourable relationship with local rulers. He offers a positive account of a meeting with the king of the Tibetan Buddhist kingdom of Ladakh. From the very outset, Desideri and his successors faced considerable problems when comparing Buddhist and Christian phrases and concepts, almost insurmountable one would think, so for instance he noted that the Ladakhis used the word *dkon mchog* ('the Precious One') for 'God', and *dkon mchog gsum* for the Holy Trinity. As he afterwards recognized, knowing Buddhism better, he understood *dkon mchog gsum* indeed refers to *triratna* or Buddhism's 'three precious gems': the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha. He blamed the mistake in part on his interpreter, a Muslim from Kashmir who knew both Persian and Tibetan.

However, another impetus for the interest in Tibet was the publication of the *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, by Agostino Antonio Giorgi (1711–1797), a massive, 820-page work written in 1762 in late scholarly Latin. It constitutes the first comprehensive publication of its kind in the Western world: the first large-scale, encyclopaedic attempt to understand Tibetan culture, language and religion from a Western perspective. Although a major section of the work is based on religious polemics, it does retain much historical value as a major link in the earliest chain of Tibetan studies in the West. The current edition, published in Italy, is a facsimile of the original book. The entire work was a result of the Catholic Capuchin missionary work in Lhasa during the early to mid-eighteenth century. The *Alphabetum Tibetanum* obviously was intended to assist missionaries who would be going to Tibet.

ALPHABETUM
TIBETANUM
MISSIONUM APOSTOLICARUM
COMMODO EDITUM.
PRÆMISSA EST DISQUISITIO
QUA DE VARIO LITTERARUM AC REGIONIS NOMINE, GENTIS ORIGINE
MORIBUS, SUPERSTITIONE, AC MANICHÆISMO FUSE DISSERITUR.
BEAUSOBRII CALUMNIÆ IN SANCTUM AUGUSTINUM,
ALIOSQUE ECCLESIÆ PATRES REFUTANTUR.
STUDIO ET LABORE
FR. AUGUSTINI ANTONII GEORGII
EREMITÆ AUGUSTINIANI.

ROMÆ MDCCLXII.
TYPIS SACRÆ CONGREGATIONIS DE PROPAGANDA FIDE.
SUPERIORUM FACULTATE.

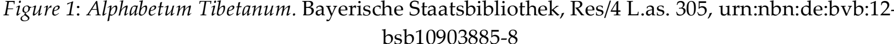


Figure 1: *Alphabetum Tibetanum.* Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/4 L.as. 305, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10903885-8

During this period, when the military and cultural presence of the Qing court was increasingly felt in Tibet, the Capuchins had established a mission in Lhasa in 1707 and were studying with Tibetan lamas. When the Catholic missionaries left Tibet in 1745 (following a period during which missionary work was forbidden and no new missionaries were allowed into Tibet), the brief window of Western access to Tibet, and indeed to Lhasa itself, closed, never to be reopened to the present day on a similar scale that they once enjoyed.

The continuous fascination with Tibet remaining unabated, surely also because of its geographical remoteness and inaccessibility, the slow emergence of Tibetology as a scientific discipline was to evolve in the trail of and indeed on a par with Indology but first and foremost with the increasingly appealing interest in Buddhist lore and in Buddhist studies. Its beginning in Europe is well documented and shall not be reiterated here. Naturally, this preoccupation with the land and its unique religious universe now was to sweep throughout Europe, involving a number of French, British even Russian, but predominantly German philologists, philosophers and intellectuals, an added impetus and reason for the later text-based or

Figure 2: Immanuel Kant 1791, portrait by Gottlieb Doebler ©

philological orientation of Tibetan studies, not least in Germany. We are allowed, therefore, to briefly highlight a number of German literati, philosophers, explorers, and scholars who decisively contributed to the scientific interest in Tibet and in Buddhism, some with relation to Leipzig.

As Urs App in an enlightening paper has already highlighted, the gradual emergence of reports on Tibet in the sparse, mainly exploratory literature and in the initial translation of Buddhist texts prompted a row of the most noted thinkers in Europe to consider the place and role of secluded Tibet in their thinking.[2] From the 1750s onwards, Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) among others, already reflected upon the rapidly changing breakdown of the biblical view of history and the philosopher's interest in the history of the earth and of humanity. It was the Age of Enlightenment. He too increasingly questioned the Bible in viewing the cradle of humanity and the seat of mankind's most ancient culture and religion and rejected the view commonly held that Buddhism or the Tibetan religion was a kind of degenerated form of Christianity that was communicated by Andrade, Desideri and other missionaries. Naturally with great interest he had studied the *Alphabetum*

Figure 2: Arthur Schopenhauer, daguerreotype by Jacob Seib c.1852 ©

[2] See App 2008.

Tibetanum by his contemporary Antonio Giorgio. G.W.F. Hegel (1770–1831) too, another prominent philosopher, altogether on a more sound footing, also speculated about the origin of Buddhism, still adopted an Asian origin of history and a gradual evolution from a primitive state to perfection.

Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1860), still another influential philosopher, showed a pronounced philosophical interest in Asia too like an increasing number of contemporaries. His fascination with Buddhism reached another level. He is the first European philosopher to be influenced by Asian philosophy and religion at an early stage in his career. He became convinced that the Kanjur was the oldest and most complete repository of Buddhist texts and admired early translations of some of its texts. In 1850, Schopenhauer became the first Westerner to refer to himself as a Buddhist. Already in around 1830, he was of the opinion that Tibet was the land where original Buddhism had survived and was thriving. Schopenhauer, more than anyone else, was to rely on one person in this connection namely on a Moravian missionary called Isaak Jacob Schmidt.

What had happened? At the turn of the 19th century knowledge of Buddhism and of Tibet slowly matured and a more serious interest can be observed. Much of this foray into foreign territory were made by the Germans who were employed by the Russian Czar but who mainly wrote and communicated in German. Well-known too is the vital interest entertained by the British in Tibet, with their long-term rule in India (we only need to refer to diplomats like George Bogle, Warren Hastings and Samuel Turner and the latter's visit to Tibet in 1784). Of particular interest for the topic Tibetology in Germany addressed here is the circumstance often ignored by the historians who have studied the Western discovery of Buddhism. We refer here to the interest in Tibet that came via Mongolia or the contact with the people of Mongolia not seldom entertained by Germans in the service of the Russian Czar and the Russian Academy. The reports on the Kalmyks and the Mongols left behind by the natural scientist Peter S. Pallas (1741–1811) in around 1769 among others and later Isaak Jacob Schmidt were conducive to furthering this development. Turning to Tibetology proper, it is worth remembering that when we look for the father or pioneer of Western Tibetology as we know it today, we might come up with two candidates:

The most obvious and generally acclaimed pioneer candidate was Csoma de Kőrös (Sándor Kőrösi Csoma 1784–1842), originally known as the „foreign monk" (later also called the Hungarian Bodhisattva), as a philologist and Orientalist he was the author of the first attempt to write a Tibetan English dictionary and grammar book, both works

appropriately considered early milestones of Tibetan Studies. Eager to seek the homeland of the Hungarians believed to be in Tibet and Central Asia, he in fact never should set foot on the plateau itself or reach inner Asia; when meeting Tibetans in India, circumstances forced him to remain there, following lengthy stays in different places in India, not least in Ladakh and Zanskar. He was one of the first Europeans to master the Tibetan language and to read parts of the two canonical collections of Indo-Tibetan Buddhist literature, the Kanjur and the Tenjur. He is universally acclaimed as the pioneer of Tibetology and a national hero in Hungary.

Figure 3: Csoma de Kőrös lithography by Ágost Schöfft, 1846 ©

The other candidate, far less known to win the prize of being the pioneer in advancing Tibetan studies in Europe, and in particular in Germany is Isaac Jacob Schmidt (1779–1847).

Figure 4: Isaac Jacob Schmidt ©

Schmidt was an Orientalist who ultimately specialized himself in Mongolian and Tibetan. Schmidt was a Moravian missionary to the Kalmyks and devoted much of his labours to Biblical translations. He published the first grammar and dictionary of Mongolian, as well as a grammar and dictionary of Tibetan. His works are regarded as ground-breaking for the establishment of Mongolian and Tibetan studies. He was born into a protestant family (i.e. the Moravian Church or Unitas Fratrum) and he was to live most of his life in St. Petersburg as member of the Russian Academy of Sciences; he even adopted the Russian citizenship. A major work of his was his Tibetan grammar published in 1839 barely following in the trail of Csoma de Kőrös's grammar. It was followed closely by Schmidt's Tibetan-German Dictionary in 1841, printed in Leipzig. It had about 5000 more entries than Csoma's dictionary. When we consider his subsequent publications, such as a German translation of *mDzangs blun*, the "*Wise and the Fool*," his role as a pioneer becomes evident. Schmidt had lived among the Kalmyks between 1802–06 and his *History of the East Mongols* (*Geschichte der Ost Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses*, St. Petersburg/Leipzig 1829) was a translation of an original 17th century Mongolian source, namely Sagang Sechen's celebrated *Erdeni-yin tobči* (of 1662), a source now commonly called the *History of the Eastern Mongols*, yet essentially was drawing much of its historical information from a row of Tibetan medieval sources,

not least the Tibetan master narrative *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* among others. Once Mongolia had been converted to Buddhism, in fact Tibetan Buddhism, and not least the Tibetan language became the lingua franca of large segments of the religious establishment.

Schmidt was to be followed in St. Petersburg by Anton Schiefner (1817–1879). He is in particular known for a number of translations from the Kanjur and not least *Taranatha's History of Buddhism in India* (1868, still a readable translation). During the same period French scholars - like Phillipe-Edouard Foucaux (1811–1894) as mentioned above—indeed proved to be prolific translators of Tibetan canonical sources too. Foucaux, who was inspired by Csoma de Kőrös's pioneering works written in the 1830's, already in 1842 was to champion the first proper chair of Tibetan studies in Europe.

In Germany, Buddhist studies, which here in the first place meant the philological foray into the niceties of the key Buddhist languages, followed by the translation of a steadily growing amount of important texts, now gained momentum. The mastery of the classical Tibetan medium and its well-established and reliable Buddhist vocabulary saw the language as a totally indispensable tool for Sanskritists enabling them to restore often lost or fragmented Sanskrit original retained in the Tibetan canon. Scholars often were equally well versed in both Sanskrit and Tibetan. At this point those involved in Buddhist studies by now are already too numerous to be listed here. Relevant to Leipzig, one of the pioneer institutions for the promotion of Oriental languages, we should mention Heinrich Wenzel (1855–93), who like most of his contemporary scholars studied a number of Oriental Languages, and as *Privatdozent* (Private Lecturer), taught Tibetan in Leipzig from 1886 on a regular basis.

In our deliberately incomplete prosopography of German scholars who conducted research on Tibet, we must also mention the brothers Schlaginweit (Hermann, Adolph and Robert and not least Emil), mostly known as eminent travellers in Central Asia. Based upon the findings of his brothers, it should be the youngest of the Schlaginweits, Emil (1835–1904) who should concentrate on Tibetan, and as the first German write works on Tibetan history, foremost his *Die Könige von Tibet* (i.e. *The Kings of Tibet*), actually the work was based upon the *La dvags rgyal rabs*, but he also conducted studies of Tibetan chronology and the life of Guru Rinpoche, a German translation of *Padma bka' thang*, albeit in was only a section of this large work.

Among a group of missionaries who provided a major impetus to Tibetan Studies, not least in Germany, one figure in particular holds a prominent position. As indicated above, Tibetan Studies were

actively promoted by a number of missionaries from the Moravian Church (in German commonly known as Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine, the main seat is situated in East Saxony, and the archive there is a real treasure for the study of Tibetan translations of biblical texts and Tibetan philology). The missionaries were particularly active in Ladakh and Lahoul (Kyelang) of present-day India. Among the prominent missionaries who worked there, we find August William Heyde (1825–1907), August Hermann Francke (1870–1930), the latter should later make himself a name with his numerous publications and contributions to Ladakh Studies, in particular to the study of the Bon religion, folk literature and of West-Tibetan versions of the Gesar epic. In fact, unbeknownst to most people, he must indeed be regarded as the first Professor in Tibetan in Germany, since he was appointed in 1925 extraordinary Professor in Berlin.

We now come to the most important missionary whose contribution to the classical Tibetan language and dialectal studies cannot be overrated. Heinrich August Jäschke (1817–1983).

Figure 5: Heinrich August Jäschke, portrait by Hildegard Diel, © Moravian Archives Herrnhut GS.397

He was born in Herrnhut in the Free State of Saxony. He was a linguistic genius who mastered a number of languages with typical ease, and who spent 12 years in Kyelang, during the time of which he made a number of pioneering works within Tibetology, such as his celebrated Tibetan English Dictionary. As we all know, its wide use of original Tibetan sources has made it one of the best, standard dictionaries available, and this up to this very day. For me at least in has been an indispensable travel companion throughout my entire life.

In this regard Leipzig, the host university of the Fourth International Seminar of Young Tibetologists (2015) located in the Free State of Saxony (Freistaat Sachsen) was to play no small role: It was in Leipzig that the first Buddhist Mission Society or Association was established, in 1903. Furthermore, a number of excellent scholars started their career here, prominently Berthold Laufer (1874–1934).

Figure 6: Berthold Laufer (right) in native dress.
© The Field Museum Image No A98299.

Laufer possibly was one of the most eminent polyglot Orientalists (fluent in a dozen languages like Jäschke, but with relentless curiosity and superb linguistic skills in many more fields) and a pioneer of Asian cultures, a Iranist, aside from a specialist of Mongolian and Tibetan, but also a Sinologist. He was the author of a large number of

ground-breaking articles. His career started in Berlin and continued in Leipzig where he defended his dissertation in 1897. Here he studied under Wilhelm Grube (1855–1908), the first scholar to offer courses in Tibetan, in fact as early as 1882. In Leipzig active was also a number of Sinologists, among others Georg von der Gabelenz (1840–1893), and later the Erich Haenisch, who played a decisive role in translating the „Secret History of the Mongols" (*Mongγol-un niγuca tobčiyan*, Ch. 元朝秘史 *Yuanchao mishi*).

Today, Germany can indeed pride itself of a relative affluence and density of chairs dedicated to Tibetology and Buddhist studies: Among the five universities in Germany that offer permanent chairs in Tibetology one counts, aside from Leipzig, Hamburg, Bonn, Berlin, now also Munich. In Tübingen, Marburg and in Göttingen, Tibetan is also regularly taught. Still, Leipzig is the university in Germany with the longest continuous involvement in Tibetan studies. Saxony and in particular Leipzig, as the second oldest university in Germany, can pride itself of a most durable and affluent tradition. The University of Leipzig has offered teaching in Asian Studies and languages for close to 170 years and Tibetology alone from the nineteenth century onwards, simultaneously with courses in Mongolian studies. Today, the Institute for Central Asian Studies (Tibetan and Mongolian Studies) in association with Indology since the 1990 can look back on many years of research excellence. Tibetology at Leipzig is highly interdisciplinary. Its cooperation with numerous different disciplines and partner institutions, national as well as international, has resulted in numerous research projects, some of which have been presented at this conference. Indeed, Leipzig can rightly claim to hold a prominent position in the formation and development of Tibetology.

Bibliography

App, Urs. 2008. "The Tibet of the Philosophers: Kant, Hegel and Schopenhauer." In *Images of Tibet in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, edited by M. Esposito, 5–60. Paris: École française d'Extrème-Orient.

Shakya, Tsering. 2001. "Who are the Prisoners." *Journal of American Academy of Religion*. 69: 183–89.

A Tibetan Protector Deity Theogony: An Eighteenth Century "Explicit" Buddhist Pantheon and Some of its Political Aspects

Cameron Bailey

(University of Oxford)

This article will examine two closely related "theogonic" texts which focus on Tibetan Buddhist protector deities (Skt. *dharmapāla*, Tib. *chos skyong*). The first is the massive *Dam can bstan srung rgya mtsho'i rnam thar* (*The Biographies of the Ocean of Oath-Bound Protectors*) by Sle lung bZhad pa'i rdo rje (1697–1740), which is a vast survey of the mythology and iconography of dozens if not hundreds of different protectors. The second is the much smaller and more focused *A bse'i lo rgyus* (*The (Hi)story of A bse*) by Kun dga' mi 'gyur rdo rje (1721–1769). These mid-eighteenth century works are comparatively unique attempts to systematise the exceedingly diffuse Tibetan pantheon of worldly deities. First I will discuss their basic content, structure, and literary significance, arguing that they both appear to be inspired by the structure of generally more systematised Bon po theogonic works, with particular attention paid to the deity A bse/ A gse/ Jag pa me len. Then I will attempt to historically contextualise both texts, arguing that they are direct products of the specific political conditions in which their authors lived and worked.

A "theogony," named after the famous work by the Greek poet Hesiod, is a composition that gives a systematic account of the origin and genealogical descent of a particular pantheon of deities. Various collections of Tibetan scriptures, in particular the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* and the Bon po canon, abound in various theogonic origin myths. However, Bon po scriptures, such as the first chapter of the *mDzod phug*, the Bon po version of the *abhidharma*, give narratives of the origin of the world and the concomitant birth of the Bon pantheon in detail unlike anything found in Buddhist scriptures.[1] The closest Buddhist parallels are found in the Mahāyoga tantras of the rNying ma canon. These Buddhist narratives, however, rather than being comprehensive, multi-generational theogonies of an entire

[1] Karmay 1998: 127–132.

Cameron Bailey, "A Tibetan Protector Deity Theogony: An Eighteenth Century 'Explicit' Buddhist Pantheon and Some of its Political Aspects", *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 37, December 2016, pp. 13–28.

pantheon, are instead disconnected origin myths of individual deities, usually deities classified as dharma protectors.[2] These myths are also technically theogonies, but very abbreviated compared to their Bon po counterparts, and the rNying ma texts usually only describe one generation of descent—the protector in question and his demonic parents. [3]

While Bon po theogonies are many and often contradictory, there appears to be more of an effort in Bon po scriptures to produce what Bruce Lincoln has termed an "explicit pantheon." Lincoln defines an "explicit" pantheon as one in which an author imposes a systematic order on "a previously loose, even amorphous collection of gods." An "implicit" pantheon, by contrast, is "less a fixed system [...] than a repertoire or anthology that remains always-evolving."[4] Usually, a certain culture's pantheon shifts from being implicit to explicit when a particular author, either indigenous or exogenous to the tradition, writes a treatise in which he purposely organises and sets out (at least what he personally views as) a canonical or at least semi-canonical vision of how the pantheon exists, including precise theogonic details. A perfect example of such a shift is Snorri Sturluson's (1179–1241) thirteenth century *Prose Edda,* which was the first comprehensive attempt to organise, or make explicit, the Norse pantheon.[5]

I would argue that the disconnected, or at best loosely connected, deity origin myths found in the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* as well as countless rNying ma *gter ma* cycles constitute an implicit pantheon. What is probably the earliest extant Tibetan Buddhist work that at least begins to attempt to bring systematic order to the rNying ma pantheon of protectors is Sle lung bZhad pa'i rdo rje's *Dam can bstan srung rgya mtsho'i rnam thar* (henceforth DCTS), written in 1734. This text is essentially a massive compilation of protector deity origin myths and iconographical descriptions patched together from mostly rNying ma sources, interspersed here and there with Sle lung's own commentary. It is difficult to say exactly how many deities Sle lung discusses in the text, since it is written as a single continuous narrative, and the descriptions of the different deities (and their many sub-forms and emanations) are deeply nested within each other, creating a recursive labyrinthine effect that is often difficult to

---

2 For a modern collection of these kinds of stories from the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*, see bsTan 'dzin rgya mtsho 2005.

3 A possible explanation for this is that Bon po theogonies are structurally based on ancient pre-Buddhist Tibetan clan lineages, while Buddhist deity origin stories are based on *jātaka* tales. My thanks to Ulrike Roesler for this suggestion.

4 Lincoln 2012: 18.

5 For a recent comprehensive study of this figure and his work, see Wanner 2008.

follow. However, Sle lung discusses at least forty major deities,[6] and they range in rough order from cosmologically superior trans-local Indic deities, such as Śiva and Mahākāla, to more localised Tibetan deities, although they are presented in kathenotheistic succession, with each deity in turn praised as, in some sense, supreme.

Sle lung, in his running commentary, does make the occasional attempt to clarify theogonical descent among the various protectors he discusses. The clearest of these comes in the opening section of the text where he unequivocally declares that the deity Śiva Mahādeva, whom he identifies as the progenitor or literal "god"-father of all other protector deities, is an emanation of Avalokiteśvara.[7] This clear-cut identification of Avalokiteśvara-Śiva as essentially the universal creator god is taken directly from gTer bdag gling pa's (1646–1714) *Thugs rje chen po bde gshegs kun 'dus* (TCKD) *gter ma* cycle, which had a massive influence on Sle lung's teachings in general. Beyond that, however, for every deity after Śiva, Sle lung does not systematically synthesise a cohesive theogony, but rather presents a host of varying accounts from numerous textual sources, most of which appear to have been originally composed in relative isolation from each other, and thus contradict each other. For instance, in a section on the deity rDo rje legs pa, Sle lung gives at least three completely different origin stories, in which three different, unrelated pairs of demonic parents are identified.[8] Throughout, Sle lung consistently explains away these contradictory accounts by simply rhetorically falling back on the Buddhist doctrine of skilful means which, in part, holds that enlightened deities can appear in a variety of forms based on what is most helpful for their intended audience. Thus, from Sle lung's perspective, the variant origin myths are all equally true, and part of the Buddhas' pedagogical display.

While it may be hard to argue that Sle lung's bricolage text constitutes an "explicit" pantheon as such, there is at least an attempt to impose some structure on an otherwise completely nebulous

[6] The number forty is largely arbitrary, however, and is based on the chapter division imposed by the editors of the 1979 Leh edition of the text. This edition's table of contents is problematic for a number of reasons, in part because it occasionally gives minor deities, like Sa yi lha mo, their own chapter, while leaving major deities like rDo rje legs pa to be lost in large sections of text (mis)attributed to some other deity. The eighteen-deity schema imposed in the 2003 Beijing edition, while solving some of the problems of the 1979 edition, introduces similar problems of its own. Both editions underscore the difficulty of attempting to organise Sle lung's text.

[7] DCTS: vol. 1, 4. While the DCTS is mainly structured kathenotheistically, there is an argument to be made that Sle lung's pantheon is actually henotheistic in that it posits Śiva (as a form of Avalokiteśvara) as temporally prior and cosmologically superior to the later deities.

[8] DCTS: vol. 2, 180.25–205.17.

collection of mythological accounts. While there is no real comprehensive theogony in the DCTS, Sle lung makes numerous textual references to support the view that different deities are in some way genealogically related to each other. Many such references are contradictory but some, such as the idea that Mahākāla is the son of Śiva, appear to be fairly definitive.

The DCTS is not Sle lung's only theogonic text. In 1729, five years before the production of his masterwork on protector deity mythology, Sle lung also produced a *dag snang* ("pure vision") text that describes a definitive (without competing accounts), one-generation theogony of King Gesar.[9] This text provides a very clear, fully "explicit" pantheon. The story in this text was said to have been told to Sle lung by a deity in a vision during a festival celebrating Gesar's marriage to the goddess rDo rje g.yu sgron ma. In it, Gesar is said to be the youngest of fifteen children, all local worldly deities, produced through the copulation of the god gNyan chen ger mtsho and the goddess 'Bum 'od kyi me tse.[10] Incidentally, it is said in the text that this was a union that was prophesised and encouraged by a Bon po sage, thus perhaps revealing Sle lung's syncretic inclinations.[11] This text may also reveal the early stages of Sle lung's desire to formulate and make "explicit" the Buddhist protector pantheon along the lines of a Bon po theogonic template. The DCTS, with its chain of often disconnected and contradictory variant myths ultimately did not fully accomplish such a project, but it appears to have at least begun it.

The extent of the later influence of the DCTS is hard to gauge,[12] but it does seem to have been quite influential at least within Sle lung's immediate circle of disciples. Kun dga' mi 'gyur rdo rje (1721–1769) who was one of Sle lung's students, and is sometimes identified as Sle lung's biological son,[13] wrote a text a decade after the DCTS entitled *A bse'i byung khungs lo rgyus mdo tsam brjod pa*, or simply *A bse'i lo rgyus* (*The (Hi)story of A bse*, henceforth ABLG). This text is a tiny fraction of the length of Sle lung's and primarily discusses only one protector, A bse, who according to some sources is one of the

---

[9] *Dag snang ge sar gyi gtam rgyud le'u* (BRGB: vol. 12, 1–9). My thanks to George FitzHerbert for assistance in translating this text and bringing it to my attention.

[10] At least a few members of this pantheon of fifteen deities are mentioned in the later DCTS, but not in any detail, and Sle lung seems to have been loath to cite his own visionary experiences in the more scholastically rigorous compilation text.

[11] It should be noted that Sle lung's main consort, rDo rje skyabs rje, was from a Bon po family (BRGB: vol. 9, 474–475).

[12] It does seem to have had some lasting influence on Tibetan understandings of the Buddhist protector deity pantheon since most of the narratives in Ladrang Kalsang's *The Guardian Deities of Tibet* (1996) are culled directly from the DCTS.

[13] For instance, in Heller 1992.

three main protector deities of Bon, and the primordial lord of the *btsan* spirits.[14] Interestingly enough, A bse is also named as one of the older brothers of Gesar in Sle lung's pure vision text.

One of the most noteworthy aspects of the ABLG is the identification of A bse, a Bon po deity, as the latest product of a distinctly Buddhist theogony which, unlike in Sle lung's DCTS, is laid out in precise, definitive detail in the first few pages of the text.[15] Kun dga' mi 'gyur rdo rje, also known as g.Yung mgon rdo rje, a possibly Bon-influenced name,[16] appears to have been consciously syncretising the Buddhist and Bon po pantheons along the same lines that Sle lung did in his Gesar pure vision account. And while his theogony appears to rely on Sle lung's DCTS as its main or perhaps only source (though it is not cited directly),[17] Kun dga' mi 'gyur rdo rje produces a single, self-contained, internally consistent account of the genealogical descent of five generations of protector deities, producing a fully "explicit" pantheon.[18] Thus, while most of the deities in question are Buddhist, the literary structure of the account itself appears to have been more influenced by the better developed, more extensive multi-generational Bon po theogonies, like those found in the *mDzod phug*.[19]

---

14 Karmay 1972: 48, n. 3. See also chapter nine of Heller 1992 for her analysis of both the DCTS and ABLG, in particular relation to the deity Beg tse. The *btsan* are a particular Tibetan class of middle world (as opposed to underworld and heavenly) war deities who are usually depicted as hostile armoured cavalrymen.

15 ABLG: 1–7.

16 The term *g.yung drung*, meaning "*swastika*," generally refers to the holy symbol of Bon, and has the same symbolic power that the term *rdo rje* ("*vajra*") does in a Buddhist context. In fact, since it contains both terms, the name g.Yung mgon rdo rje may have been constructed to be intentionally syncretic.

17 The main way in which we can tell this is that both men identify Śiva and his consort Umā as the emanations of Avalokiteśvara and his consort *Guhyajñānaḍākinī (gSang ba ye shes mkha' 'gro), which is taken directly from gTer bdag gling pa's *Thugs rje chen po bde gshegs kun 'dus* cycle. It should also be noted that, while A bse is mentioned briefly in the DCTS, he is not discussed in any significant way, and Sle lung does not refer to Bon po sources (Heller 1992: 330).

18 Heller (1992: 288) argues (correctly) that the pantheon of the ABLG is particularly ('Brug pa) bKa' brgyud pa and Bhutanese in orientation. We will see below how and why this is the case.

19 However, while these authors are noteworthy for their ecumenical or *ris med* attitudes, it is important to note that neither Sle lung or Kun dga' mi 'gyur rdo rje actually cite Bon sources, and only refer to the Bon po deity superficially by using the name "A bse." Furthermore, as far as I am aware, neither man studied Bon doctrine and teachings in any significant way. Their ecumenicist ethics appear to have been mainly Buddhist in orientation. Sle lung was primarily known for his dGe lugs/rNying ma syncretism. g.Yung mgon rdo rje was technically a 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud *sprul sku*, but was also heavily influenced by rNying ma and dGe lugs pa teachings, being the student of Sle lung (among others), and having

The explicit theogony given in the ABLG runs basically as such: Avalokiteśvara and his consort gSang ba ye shes exist as the primordial couple, who emanate as Śiva and his consort Umā Devī respectively to create the universe. Born to them are the siblings Mahākāla and Śrī Devī. Mahākāla takes the form of *Nāgarākṣa and copulates with a *nāga* woman named sBal mgo khrag mig ma ("Frog-head Blood-eye"). This coupling produces Rāhula, who in the form of Yakṣa 'bar byed ("Blazing Yakṣa") mates with gNod sbyin zangs kyi ral pa can ("The Yakṣī with Copper Dreadlocks"). These two produce the brother and sister pair of Beg tse and gDong dmar ma ("Red-faced Woman"), whose incestuous coupling at last produces A bse.[20] Beg tse, gDong dmar ma, and A bse are all born from eggs, a motif commonly and particularly found in Bon po creation and theogonic myths.[21] Once he is hatched from his red copper egg, the text launches into an extended description of A bse himself and his massive retinue of different sub-classes of *btsan* and hybrid *btsan* spirits.

> [...] from inside [the egg] came a mind emanation of Glorious Hayagrīva, the terrifying red rock *btsan*, his hair blazing orange and ruffled, his moustache and eyebrows curled like iron hooks. [...] His blood-shot eyes blaze like fire. From his nose issues a cyclonic dust storm, his tongue flashes like red lightning, his thorn-like body hairs spewing shooting stars and apocalyptic fire. He wears a cloak of red silk and leather equipment, three rings on his neck and a leather shield on his back. Having mounted on a courageous, very fast blood-red horse, a wild *btsan* horse [...] he moves like lightning. Merely seeing him robs one's life-force. Endowed with courage and the radiance of 100,000 suns he overwhelms the triple world. In his hands he holds a red spear and a *btsan* noose and a human heart. In certain cases he flings around the intestines of a *btsan* with his right hand, and with his left he holds an owl of evil omens. He is bedecked with a bundle of 1,000 black snakes and wears iron boots. Thus it is explained. He does not manifest only in a single aspect, but his mode of appearance differs depending on those to be trained. Thus,

studied at 'Bras spungs monastery (Ardussi 1977: 468, 496 n. 211). Nevertheless, the literary structure of the ABLG appears to have been influenced by Bon theogonical literature, making it likely that g.Yung mgon rdo rje did at least have some working knowledge or exposure to Bon po deity texts.

[20] The account in the original text is not quite so simple as related here, since the author gives multiple names for each deity and makes several asides to mention his scriptural sources (all of which are used in the DCTS as well), and beginning with *Nāgarākṣa/Klu mo sbal mgo khrag mig, there are detailed descriptions of the pure lands within which the deities reside, as well as their physical appearance. However, compared to Sle lung's text, the ABLG account is extremely simple, well organised, and streamlined.

[21] Karmay 1998: 248–249.

> regarding that wild, savage *btsan*, blazing like fire, he is called Red A bse Who Removes the Hearts of Evil Ones or the Red Life Eater. He himself is the king of the enemy gods (*dgra lha*). At the very moment of his birth, from his body there emanated magnetising *bstan* emissaries, with red *btsan* equipment, holding razors and red nooses, mounted on red horses. From his speech emanated murderous dark-red death god emissaries, holding copper blades and hearts and lungs, mounted on maroon horses. From his mind emanated killer black demonic emissaries holding black swords and demon nooses, riding on black horses. [These are] the three [types of] butchers he emanated. From those, in the eastern direction were *gandharva btsan*, 100 white men on 100 white horses. In the southern direction were *yama btsan*, 100 blue men on 100 blue horses. In the western direction were the *nāga* king *btsan*, 100 red men on 100 red horses. To the north were the *yakṣa btsan*, 60 yellow men on 60 yellow horses [making a] *btsan* entourage of 360 [in total].[22]

The description of the retinue continues with different groupings of *btsan* who dwell in different environmental regions, such as mountains or bodies of water, and have correspondingly different appearances, horse mounts, etc.

> These [directional *btsan* mentioned above] are also known as the four classes of retinue *btsan.* From these, eight classes of emanated retinue

---

22 The full passage reads: *de gnyis brdol zhing bcag pa'i nang nas dpal rta mgrin gyi thugs las sprul pa'i brag btsan dmar po 'jigs su rung ba/ dbu skra dmar ser 'bar zhing 'khrug pa/ sma ra smin ma lcags kyu 'khyil ba lta bu 'od kyi pa tra tshom bu 'khyil ba/ spyan rtsa dmar po me ltar 'bar ba/ shangs nas rlung nag 'tshub ma g.yo ba/ ljags glog dmar ltar 'khyug cing/ ba spu tsher ma lta bu las bskal pa'i me dpung 'khrug cing skar mda' 'phro ba/ dar dmar gyi 'jol ber dang bse chas gyon pa/ 'khor gsum ske la btags shing bse phub khur ba/ btsan gyi rta rgod mi zan cang shes mdog dmar rdzu phrul myur mgyogs kyi rtsal dang ldan pa la zhon nas glog ltar rgyug pa'i tshul can/ mthong ba tsam gyis srog 'phrog pa/ dpa' rtsal dang ldan zhing nyi ma 'bum gyi gzi brjid dang ldan pa srid gsum gyis bzod par dka' ba/ lag na mdung dmar dang btsan zhags mi snying thogs pa zhig btsas/ 'ga ' zhig tu g.yas btsan gyi rgyu zhags 'phen pa/ g.yon ltas ngan 'ug bya 'dzin pa/ sbrul nag stong gi chun pos/ brgyan cing lcags lham yu thung* [8] *gyon pa zhes bshad/ gdul bya'i snang tshul tha dad pa'i mthong lugs gcig ste mtha' gcig tu zhen par mi bya'o/ de ltar btsan rgod gtum po me ltar 'bar ba de ni gdug pa snying 'byin ma a bse dmar po 'am/ srog zan dmar po zhes kyang bya ste dgra lha'i rgyal po 'di nyid yin no/ sku bltams pa'i skad cig de nyid la sku las sprul pa'i btsan ging 'gugs byed dmar po btsan chas can spu gri dang zhags dmar thogs nas rta dmar la zhon pa/ gsung las sprul pa'i srog gcod gshin rje'i ging dmar nag zangs gri dang glo snying thogs pa rta smug la zhon pa/ thugs sprul sgrol byed bdud ging nag po ral gri dang bdud zhags thogs pa rta nag la zhon pa ste gshan pa gsum sprul/ de las shar phyogs dri za'i btsan mi dkar rta dkar brgya/ lho phyogs gshin rje'i btsan mi sngon rta sngon brgya/ nub phyogs klu dbang gi btsan mi dmar rta dmar brgya/ byang phyogs gnod sbyin gyi btsan mi ser rta ser drug cu ste btsan 'khor sum brgya drug cu'am/* (ABLG: 7.3–8.15).

btsan arose:[23] god *btsan,* white lords of murder; *nāga btsan,* who produce twisted, multi-coloured lightning; planetary *btsan,* a deep black multitude; *rākṣasa btsan,* nine with blue mouths; *dmu btsan Ya ba skya bdun;*[24] many hundreds of sky *btsan;* masters of obstacles who carry knives as a method to inflict pain, with horses and equipment and reins their own colour. From those radiate emanated sky *btsan,* masters of obstacles, grey, with the eyes of mountain pigs, mounted on white-red horses, making the sound of thunder from their mouths and brandishing ritual daggers of meteorite iron, bringing down frost and hail from the mountain tops. The multi-coloured earth *btsan* are of a shiny maroon colour mounted on dark yellow [horses] with white feet, wielding staffs made from *nāga* trees, causing painful illnesses. Water *btsan* are blue with the bodies of calves and the heads of otters, holding black snakes, wearing clothing made from mother-of-pearl and are mounted on blue water horses. They cause leprosy. Red fire *btsan,* the masters of burns, have the heads of goats, and are mounted on fire horses, wielding copper blades. They cause drought, blight and putrefaction. Flying golden-hued wind *btsan* are mounted on red-yellow horses, hold sacks of wind and cause blizzards and storms. These are the *btsan* of the five elements. Furthermore, there are white cliff *btsan,* weak crag *btsan,* grey clay *btsan,* thieving conch *btsan,* trembling stone *btsan,* dust *btsan* with blue clothes, varieties of forest *btsan, btsan* of the meadows, constellations and so forth, and despair *btsan, btsan* of many thousands of clefts, etc. They came forth like the stars in the sky and the dirt of the earth, and thus they pervade the entire world.[25]

---

23 While the standard Tibetan Buddhist grouping of "eight classes" (*sde brgyad*) of gods and demons is mentioned here, only five, possibly six, classes are listed: *lha, klu, gza', srin, dmu,* and possibly *gnam,* which is not a species that appears in the standard typologies.

24 One name variant for the Bon po *bdud* spirit that is credited with stealing sTon pa gShen rab's horses (Martin 2001: 188, n. 11).

25 *btsan 'khor sde bzhir yang grags/ de dag las sprul pa'i btsan 'khor sde brgyad du byung ste/ lha btsan bsad rje dkar po/ klu btsan rol po glog 'khyu khra bo/ gza' btsan* [9] *khrom po smug nag/ srin btsan dgu po kha sngon/ dmu btsan ya ba skya bdun/ gnam btsan thogs rje nam skyol gri bo gzer thabs rnams rang mdog gi rta dang chas gos srab can brgya phrag re/ de dag las 'phros pa'i sprul pa'i gnam btsan thogs rje skya ri phag pa'i mig can rta dkar phrum dmar zhon nas zhal nas 'brug sgra sgrog cing gnam lcags kyi phur pa thogs te ri rtse 'grims nas sad ser 'bebs pa/ sa btsan khra bo legs ldan nag po bra nag rting dkar la zhon pa klu shing gi ber ka thogs te gzer nad gtong ba/ chu btsan sngon po be'u'i lus la sram gyi mgo can sbrul nag bzung ste nya lcibs kyi gos gyon pa chu rta sngon po la zhon nas mdze nad gtong ba/ me btsan dmar po tshig rje'i ra'i mgo can chibs su mi rta zhon pa zangs kyi spu gri thogs nas than pa dang btsa' ser 'dren pa/ rlung btsan 'phyo ba gser mdog rta ngang pa chibs pa rlung gi rkyal pa bzung zhing bu yug dang 'tshub ma gtong ba ste 'byung ba lnga'i btsan rnams dang/ gzhan yang g.yang btsan dkar po/ brag btsan sma bo/ se btsan skya rol/ dung btsan rkun bu/ rdo btsan yor po/ g.ya' btsan gos sngon/ nags btsan rmun bu/ spang btsan snar ma sogs mung btsan sul mang stong gi btsan sogs gnam gyi skar ma dang sa'i dreg pa bzhin du byung* [10] *bas 'jig rten gyi khams thams cad khyab bo/* (ABLG: 8.15–10.1).

While it might seem that this pantheistic effusion deviates from being precisely "theogonical," it should be remembered that Hesiod's *Theogony* contains similarly long lists of comparatively minor deities that are said to pervade the natural world; for instance, the list of nymph daughters of Nereus and Doris that govern various aspects and qualities of the sea.[26] The Tibetan vision in the ABLG is quite a bit darker, however, as the teeming hordes of *btsan* in A bse's retinue, once produced, go on to slaughter beings in the world in every imaginable way until they are subjugated by Hayagrīva, Avalokiteśvara's wrathful form, of whom A bse is a mind emanation.

It should be noted that this final section of the theogony proper which extensively details the likeness and retinue of A bse, also appears in a much abbreviated form in the DCTS, although the deity is identified by the name "A gse," which Heller notes is the Buddhist spelling of the normally Bon po "A bse."[27] Sle lung (correctly) attributes the description of A gse and his retinue to the canonical *bTsan gyi rgyal po srog zan dmar po ri dmar 'joms pa'i rgyud* (*Tantra of Subduing the Red Mountain, the Red Life-Eating Lord of the bTsan*).[28] Interestingly, this description is given by Sle lung during a discussion of the deity Jag pa me len (also named rDo rje dgra 'dul).[29] Indeed, later in the ABLG, Kun dga' mi 'gyur rdo rje states that in Tibet, the protector under discussion is known as "Jag pa me len," and then implies he is the patron protector of Bhutan.[30]

The theogonic account, the description of A bse and his legions, and finally the account of his subjugation and empowerment by Hayagrīva, only makes up approximately the first half of the ABLG. The rest of the text can be described as a theological treatise arguing for A bse's cosmological supremacy. Kun dga' mi 'gyur rdo rje marshals a number of arguments for the deity's apotheosis, in particular a number of logical jumps related to A bse's ontological status vis-à-vis soteriologically "higher" deities. For instance, he quotes a scriptural passage that indicates A bse is a form of Hayagrīva. Thus, since Hayagrīva is in turn a form of Avalokiteśvara,

---

26 *Hesiod's Theogony* 1953: 60.

27 Heller 1992: 309.

28 Found in the mTshams brag edition of the *Rnying ma rgyud 'bum*: vol. 44, 1016.1–1061.6. The description in question appears on pages 1016–1017. The ABLG appears to highly elaborate this rather simple canonical passage, though whether it is based on another source(s) or Kun dga' mi 'gyur rdo rje's own epiphany, I do not know.

29 DCTS: vol. 2, 127.

30 ABLG: 17. Why Kun dga' mi 'gyur rdo rje chose to use the name "A bse," a particularly Bon po name, instead of "A gse" or "Jag pa me len," when he is entirely relying on Buddhist scriptural sources, hints at (though does not satisfactorily explain) a syncretic intent on the author's part.

and according to other scriptures, Avalokiteśvara is the ultimate source of all the thousand Buddhas of this fortunate eon, A bse can and should be regarded as the essence of all these Buddhas.[31] Thus, on one level, the ABLG operates as a theological argument and declaration meant to solidify beyond question an apparently dangerous worldly deity's status within the Buddhist fold. This was likely one of the main goals of the DCTS as well, although on a much larger scale, dealing with a much greater number of deities.

As already noted, the ABLG is, in comparison to the DCTS, laser-focused, restricting its discussion to just A bse, his retinue, and direct godly ancestors. While the DCTS seems to have been Kun dga' mi 'gyur rdo rje's main source, he editorially whittles down the vague and often widely scattered theogonic information alluded to over the course of hundreds of pages in the DCTS, to just a few, very concise pages. This is accomplished through a series of apparently (though not necessarily) arbitrary decisions to cut out certain versions of myths in favour of others. In this way, he follows Sle lung's own editorial work, but goes even further, stripping away variant accounts until only one version is left.

To see how this was done, without belabouring the point, let us examine one particular deity in the theogony: Rāhula. In the DCTS, Sle lung mentions a number of sources that give many different names for Rāhula's parents, but the primary name that is usually given to his father is "*Rakṣa glog gi phreng ba." Incidentally, this deity is also mentioned as the brother of A bse in Sle lung's Gesar pure vision text. However, Kun dga' mi 'gyur rdo rje does not use the name "Rakṣa glog gi phreng ba" for Rāhula's father, but a secondary name mentioned by Sle lung, 'Jam dpal *Nāgarākṣa, and identifies this deity as A bse's great-grandfather.

The question is, why did Kun dga' mi 'gyur rdo rje choose to use this particular name instead of *Rakṣa glog gi phreng ba? My contention is that this editorial choice was deliberate in order to emphasise the connection between Rāhula's father and Mañjuśrī, indicated by the "'Jam dpal" part of 'Jam dpal *Nāgarākṣa. Recall that Kun dga' mi 'gyur rdo rje also identifies 'Jam dpal *Nāgarākṣa as a form of Mahākāla, effectively making Mahākāla the father of Rāhula. This paternal relation is not directly supported by any scriptural source mentioned in either ABLG or the DCTS, as far as I have been able to determine. Nonetheless, this is how Kun dga' mi 'gyur rdo rje constructs his theogony.

Thus, in order to construct his clean and well-ordered pantheon, Kun dga' mi 'gyur rdo rje is forced to make several logical jumps

---

31 ABLG: 18.8ff.

between deities by relying on a handful of scattered, seemingly contradictory canonical passages. First, he asserts that Yama equals Mahākāla.[32] Second, Yama equals Yamāntaka, who is the wrathful form of Mañjuśrī. Therefore, Mahākāla is ultimately a form of Mañjuśrī. All of this is vaguely alluded to in the DCTS, but then explicitly explained in the ABLG. Separately, Rāhula's father ('Jam dpal *Nāgarākṣa) is *also* identified as a different wrathful form of Mañjuśrī. Thus, Kun dga' mi 'gyur rdo rje's logic goes, Mahākāla (who is the same as Mañjuśrī) must therefore be Rāhula's father. This effectively creates a familial connection between two important protector deities (Mahākāla and Rāhula) that was not previously attested, or at least made explicit, in any scriptural source cited by either Sle lung or Kun dga' mi 'gyur rdo rje, as far as I am aware.

This is one example of how Kun dga' mi 'gyur rdo rje, rather than being satisfied by the conflicting accounts in the DCTS, weaves together disparate textual strands in order to construct a well-ordered theogony and an explicit pantheon. As far as I know, the theogony in ABLG has had little to no lasting impact on Tibetan understandings of the protector deity pantheon generally, either Buddhist or Bon po. Nevertheless, Kun dga' mi 'gyur rdo rje and Sle lung before him appear to be the closest Tibetan Buddhist parallels to Snorri Sturluson, the creator of the systematised theogony of the Norse *Edda*.

Now, to turn to the question of *why* these explicit pantheons (either Norse or Tibetan) were produced; we have already touched on certain literary and cultic explanations for Sle lung and Kun dga' mi 'gyur rdo rje's works. But Kevin Wanner, in his recent study of Snorri Sturluson, has argued that the Icelandic author's work was in large part politically motivated, and was meant as a tribute to the Norwegian court which at that time politically and economically dominated Iceland.[33] I believe that, on one level at least, the authors of the DCTS and the ABLG had similar motivations, and further, that the construction of the pantheons in both works was influenced by political factors.

In the case of the DCTS, Sle lung was well connected to the government of Pho lha nas bSod nams stobs rgyas (1689–1747) who ruled central Tibet from 1729–1747. He met repeatedly with Pho lha nas, and even acted as his spiritual preceptor, in one meeting transmitting protector deity practices and empowerments to the

[32] There is a longstanding (logical) connection between Yama (Death) and Kāla (Time) in Indian mythology, see Bhattacharji 1970: 52.

[33] See Wanner 2008, in particular chapter four "Snorri Abroad: Icelandic Exploitation of Cultural Capital."

king.[34] Sle lung wrote the DCTS in 1734 during a streak of political and military successes by Pho lha nas, including two invasions of Bhutan during the 1729–1735 civil war in that country resulting in arguably the only successful Tibetan military intervention in Bhutan since the days of the Yar lung Empire.[35] There is evidence that Pho lha nas himself may have even personally travelled to Bhutan to help negotiate what was in effect, at least theoretically, a Bhutanese capitulation to the authority of the Qing Empire, via Tibet, in 1733–1734,[36] leading to amiable diplomatic relations between Tibet and Bhutan for the first time in over a century. This military and diplomatic success was completed within just a few years of Pho lha nas's rise to power with his victory in the 1727–1728 civil war in central Tibet in which he defeated a coalition of ministers of the dGa' ldan pho brang.

Given Pho lha nas's martial prowess, it is no surprise that Sle lung came to formally recognise the ruler as an incarnation of Yam shud dmar po, an alternate name for Beg tse. Sle lung makes this clear in an account written in 1730 about his meeting with Pho lha nas that year.[37] This would have been about a year after Pho lha nas came to power, but Sle lung claims he received a *ḍākinī* prophecy identifying Pho lha nas with Beg tse around the time of an earlier meeting between the two men in 1726, before the civil war. This claim to godhood is repeated in Pho lha nas's own biography written in 1733.[38] Beg tse, as the lord of the *btsan,* is the war god *par-excellence* in the Tibetan pantheon, and strongly associated with the Dalai Lamas.[39] Thus, in effectively replacing the institution of the Dalai Lama as the de-facto ruler of central Tibet, it is not surprising that Pho lha nas would embrace Sle lung's recognition of him as Beg tse's emanation. It is also interesting to note that at the beginning of his discussion of Beg tse in the DCTS Sle lung declares that Beg tse is the inner (or esoteric) form of Śiva. This suggests that there may have been an implicit connection between Śiva and Pho lha nas in the

---

34 See Mi dbang Pho las nas's biography for an account of some of the protector teachings and "life-force entrustments" bestowed upon him by Sle lung, including of a special form of rDo rje legs pa called Thig le rtsal, the twelve bsTan ma goddesses, and Pe har (Tshe ring dbang rgyal 1981: 496). Sle lung is also credited with successfully negotiating the surrender of Pho lha nas's enemies in the 1727–1728 civil war in central Tibet (Shakabpa 2010: vol 1, 447).

35 Ardussi 1997: 69. Ardussi notes that this success earned Pho lha nas special promotion and recognition from the Manchu emperor.

36 Ardussi 1977: 455.

37 BRGB: vol. 9, 283.3.

38 MBTJ: 79. See also Lin 2011: 88–90 for more discussion of Sle lung's identification of Pho lha nas with Yam shud dmar po/Beg tse.

39 Heller 2002: 90.

literary culture of the time as well. Nancy Lin has found further evidence for this in the *dkar chag* of the Snar thang bsTan 'gyur, the production of which Pho lha nas sponsored. Here, Pho lha nas and his rule are described in mytho-poetic terms utilising *purāṇic* Śaivite imagery.[40] If Sle lung was indeed part of the effort to portray Pho lha nas as the earthly representative of Śiva within the Tibetan religious *imaginaire*, then for that reason the DCTS and its constructed theogony (of which Śiva is posited as effectively the foundational deity) could perhaps, on one level, be interpreted as mythic and literary tribute to the court of Pho lha nas.

Additionally, Sle lung, in the account of his 1730 meeting with Pho lha nas, goes on to make the further claim that since Beg tse has the same essence as all other dharma protectors, Pho lha nas is ultimately an emanation of them all:

> Furthermore, it is established in many learned sources that this Yam shud dmar po himself has the same life-force (*srog*) as many haughty spirits such as rDo rje legs pa, Vaiśravaṇa, Tshangs pa dung thod can, Pe har, sKrag med nyi shar, sNyon kha, Thang lha, gZi can, Yama Dharmarāja and because of that this Lord of Men himself is the embodiment of the assembly of the ocean of oath-bound protectors [...][41]

All the named deities mentioned here by Sle lung are discussed, many at great length, in the DCTS.[42] Given Sle lung's apparent perspective on Pho lha nas, it is hard *not* to interpret the DCTS as, at least in part, a mythic tribute to the Tibetan ruler.

Though Sle lung ultimately identifies him with all protector deities (or at least the male ones), Pho lha nas appears to have had a consistent connection with Yam shud dmar po/Beg tse in particular. This is important to keep in mind as we analyse the possible political dimensions of the ABLG. As we have seen, Beg tse is identified as the father of A bse in the ABLG, a familial connection that is also made in the DCTS. And we have also seen that the ABLG identifies A bse with Jag pa me len, whom Kun dga' mi 'gyur rdo rje identifies as a special patron protector of Bhutan. Indeed, Jag pa me len has historically had a significant popular cult in Bhutan. In the fourteenth

---

40 Lin 2011: 82.

41 *De yang yam shud dmar po 'di nyid/ rdo rje legs pa/ rnam thos sras/ tshangs pa dung thod can/ pe har/ skrag med nyi shar/ snyon kha/ thang lha/ gzi can/ gshin rje chos kyi rgyal* [287] *po sogs dregs pa du ma dang srog gcig pa'i nges khungs mang zhing rig pas kyang 'grub pas de'i phyir na mi dbang 'di nyid dam can rgya mtsho 'dus pa'i spyi gzugs zhig go* (BRGB: vol. 9, 286.6–287.1).

42 With the possible exception of sKrag med nyi shar, whose name I have seen in passing in the DCTS, but of whom I am not aware of any significant discussion.

century the seventh abbot of Rwa lung monastery, the primary seat of the 'Brug pa bKa' rgyud (which became the state religion of Bhutan), is said to have subdued the deity in Thimphu. From that point on bDe chen phu monastery has been considered the main base of 'Brug pa protector deities in Bhutan, one of the foremost among whom is Jag pa me len (A bse).[43] Thus both the DCTS and ABLG genealogically subordinate the premier state protector of Bhutan as the son of the premier state protector of Tibet, thus mythically communicating the political reality of Bhutan's subordination to Tibet after the negotiated settlement of 1735.[44]

Nevertheless, Beg tse's status as Jag pa me len's father also, and perhaps more importantly, communicates a friendly (indeed familial) relationship between the two states. The warming of relations between Tibet and Bhutan after 1735 was in large part thanks to the efforts of none other than Kun dga' mi 'gyur rdo rje himself, who was the Tibetan government's and the Tibetan 'Brug pa bKa' rgyud establishment's main religious diplomat to Bhutan.[45] 1744, the year the ABLG was written, was also the year that the Tibetan-allied Shes rab dbang phyug (1695–1765) was enthroned as the *sde srid* in Bhutan. This year also saw two Bhutanese 'Brug pa lamas enrolled in the Blo gsal gling College at 'Bras spung.[46] This was a highly unusual demonstration of religious exchange between the dGe lugs pa and 'Brug pa whose past (often violent) competition often went hand-in-hand with the geopolitical struggles between Tibet and Bhutan. Thus, the ABLG may have been more than a theological treatise bringing a popular worldly deity fully within the Buddhist fold. It may have been written to simultaneously act as a mythic metaphorical political declaration of Bhutan's admission into (and submission to) the sphere of Tibetan power.

Both the DCTS and ABLG raise a host of other literary, cosmological, demonological, psychological, Buddhological, and political questions. Here I have restricted my discussion to a preliminary examination of the general literary structure of both texts and some of their possible political implications. Both texts, particularly the DCTS due to its extensive length and complexity, deserve and require further study.

---

43 Aris 1979: 176. See also Pommaret 1996: 44.

44 Indeed, Tibetan chroniclers employed paternalistic metaphorical language when discussing their dealings with Bhutan. For instance, during a border skirmish in 1669, Tibetan forces burnt down a Bhutanese outpost, and the Tibetan record of this describes the incident in terms of a father punishing his misbehaving son (Ardussi 1977: 322).

45 Ardussi 1997: 71–73.

46 Ardussi 1977: 471.

Bibliography

Tibetan-Language Sources

ABLG: ʼGro ʼdul rdo rje alias Dreʼu lhas pa grub dbang Kun dgaʼ mi ʼgyur rdo rje. 1999. *A bseʼi byung khungs lo rgyus mdo tsam brjod pa.* Kathmandu, Nepal: Ven. Khenpo Shedup Tenzin.

BRGB: Sle lung rJe drung bZhad paʼi rdo rje. 1983-1985. *Sle lung rje drung bzhad paʼi rdo rjeʼi gsung ʼbum.* 13 vols. Leh: T. Sonam & D.L. Tashigang.

DCTS: Sle lung rJe drung bZhad paʼi rdo rje. 1979. *Dam can bstan srung rgya mtshoʼi rnam par thar pa cha shas tsam brjod pa sngon med legs bshad.* 2 vols. Leh: T.S. Tashigang.

rNying ma rgyud ʼbum (mTshams brag). 1982. Thimphu. 46. vols. Bhutan: National Library, Royal Government of Bhutan.

TCKD: gTer bdag gling pa ʼGyur med rdo rje. 1975. *Thugs rje chen po bde gshegs kun ʼdus kyi chos skor.* 4 vols. Dehra Dun, U.P.: Ven. D.G. Khochen Trulku.

bsTan ʼdzin rgya mtsho. 2005. *sNga ʼgyur rgyud ʼbum las btus paʼi gtam rgyud phyogs bsgrigs.* gSer rta dgon pa.

Other-Language Sources

Ardussi, John. 1977. *Bhutan Before the British: A Historical Survey.* Ph.D. Dissertation. Australian National University.

———. 1997. "The Rapprochement between Bhutan and Tibet under the Enlightened Rule of sDe-srid XIII Shes-rab-dbang-phyug (r.1744–1763)." In *PIATS Graz 1995*, edited by Helmut Krasser *et al.* vol. 2, 17–27. Vienna: VÖAW.

Aris, Michael. 1979. *Bhutan: The Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom*. Warminster, England: Aris and Phillips, Ltd.

Bhattacharji, Sukumari. 1970. *Indian Theogony: A Comparative Study of Indian Mythology from the Vedas to the Purānas.* London: Cambridge University Press.

Heller, Amy. 1992. "Etude sur le développment de l'iconographie et du culte de Beg-tse, divinité protectrice tibétaine." Ph.D. Dissertation. Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, IVe Section, Paris.

———. 2003. "The Great Protector deities of the Dalai Lamas." In *Lhasa in the Seventeenth Century,* edited by Françoise Pommaret, 81—98. Leiden: Brill.

Hesiod's Theogony. 1953. Trans. Norman O. Brown. New York: The Liberal Arts Press.

Kalsang, Ladrang. 1996. The Guardian Deities of Tibet. Dharamsala: Little Lhasa Publications.

Karmay, Samten G. 1972. *The Treasury of Good Sayings: A Tibetan History of Bon.* London: Oxford University Press.

———. 1998. *The Arrow and the Spindle: Studies in History, Myths, Rituals and Beliefs in Tibet*. Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point.

Lin, Nancy. 2011. *Adapting the Buddha's Biographies: A Cultural History of the "Wish-Fulfilling Vine" in Tibet, Seventeenth to Eighteenth Centuries.* PhD Dissertation. University of California, Berkeley.

Lincoln, Bruce. 2012. *Gods and Demons, Priests and Scholars: Critical Explorations in the History of Religions.* Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Martin, Dan. 2001. *Unearthing Bon Treasures: Life and Contested Legacy of a Tibetan Scripture Revealer, with a General Bibliography of Bon.* Leiden: Brill.

Pommaret, Françoise. 1996. "On Local and Mountain Deities in Bhutan." In *Reflections of the Mountain: Essays on the History and Social Meaning of the Mountain Cult in Tibet and the Himalaya,* edited by A.M. Blondeau & E. Steinkellner, 39–56. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Shakabpa, Tsepon W.D. 2010. *One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet Volume 1.* Translated and annotated by Derek F. Maher. Brill's Tibetan Studies Library 23. Leiden: Brill.

Wanner, Kevin J. 2008. *Snorri Sturluson and the Edda: The Conversion of Cultural Capital in Medieval Scandinavia.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

❖

བོད་ལུགས་ཟླ་བ་ངོས་འཛིན།

Byams pa chos 'phel བྱམས་པ་ཆོས་འཕེལ།

(ལྷ་དྷ་རམ་སཱ་གཙུག་ལག་སློབ་གཉེར་ཁང་།)

༄༅། ཨོཾ་སྭསྟི། སྔིགས་དུས་འགྲོ་རྣམས་གནས་སྐབས་བདེ་ཕྱིར་འཛིག་རྟེན་ཕྱི་མ་རིང་དུ་དོར།།

ཐུགས་བསྐྱེད་དམ་བཅའ་རྣམ་གསུམ་གཙོ་བྱས་མཛད་འཕྲིན་མཐའ་གླུས་ངལ་སུན་དབེན།།

ཆོས་རྒྱལ་རིགས་ལྡན་རྣམ་པར་སྤྲུལ་ནས་འགྲོ་རྣམས་གཏན་གྱི་ལམ་བཟང་དགྲི།།

དུས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོའི་ཆོས་སྐོར་མ་ལུས་སྐལ་ལྡན་གདུལ་བྱར་སྩོལ་དེར་འདུར།།

བརྗོད་གཞི་འདི་ནི་བོད་ཀྱི་རིག་གནས་བཅུའི་ཡ་གྲལ་རྩིས་ཀྱི་རིག་པའི་ཁོངས་སུ་གཏོགས་ཤིང་། ཆོས་སྲིད་གཉིས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུན་ལྡན་འཚོ་བའི་ཁྲོད་དུ་མེད་ཐབས་མེད་པ་ཟླ་བ་ངོས་འཛིན་སྐོར་ཡིན། བོད་ལུགས་ཟླ་བ་ངོས་འཛིན་སྐོར་བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ནང་སྐར་རྩིས་པའི་ལོ་ཐོ་བཞིན་རྩིས་བཞིན་ཡོད་ནའང་། ཁ་ཆེའི་རྩིས་རིགས་ཕུད་དེ་མིན་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་གཞན་གྱི་སྲོལ་རྒྱུན་རྩིས་རིག་དང་། དེང་རབས་གནམ་རིག་སྐར་རྩིས་དང་བསྡུར་ན་ཟླ་བ་གཅིག་གི་རྗེས་ལུས་ཐེབས་བཞིན་ཡོད་པ་ཀུན་གྱིས་མཁྱེན་གསལ་ཡིན།

དེར་བརྟེན་རང་ཉིད་སྐར་རྩིས་སློབ་གཉེར་བ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པའི་ཆ་ནས་རྒྱུན་དུ་ཡིད་ལ་མི་བདེ་བ་ཞིག་སུ་མཐུད་བྱུང་བའི་ཁར། ཕྱི་ལོ་༢༠༡༡_༡༢ སྤྱི་ལོར་༡བགོང་ས་༡སྐྱབས་མགོན་ཆེན་པོ་མཆོག་གིས་གནས་མཆོག་རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན་དུ་དཔལ་དུས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོའི་དབང་ཆེན་ཐེངས་སོ་གཉིས་པ་སྩོལ་སྐབས་ཚོགས་ཡོངས་སུ་འདི་སྐོར་ཉམས་ཞིབ་བྱ་དགོས་བཀའ་སྩལ་གནང་དོན་ལྟར། བརྗོད་གཞི་འདི་ཉིད་རང་དང་དམིགས་བསལ་འབྲེལ་བ་ཡོད་པ་བརྟེན་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་ཐད་ཀར་ལས་འགན་དུ་མཐོང་བ་དང་། རྒྱལ་བའི་བཀའ་དགོངས་ཆ་ཤས་ཤིག་སྒྲུབ་པར་མཆོན་བྱེད་ཉམས་ཞིབ་ཙུང་ཟད་ཞུས་པའི་འབྲུལ་ཡིན། བོད་ཀྱི་གནའ་བོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ནང་བོད་དུ་གདོད་མའི་དུས་ནས་རྩིས་རིག་ཡོད་པ་གསལ་བཤད་དུ་མ་ཡོད་པ་དཔེར་ན། ནམ་མཁའི་གཟའ་སྐར་ལ་བརྟག་པ་དང་། བར་སྣང་དུ་སྤྲིན་དང་འབྲུག་རྣ་ལ་

Byams pa chos 'phel བྱམས་པ་ཆོས་འཕེལ། "བོད་ལུགས་ཟླ་བ་ངོས་འཛིན།", *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 37, December 2016, pp. 29–47.

བརྟག་པ། བྱ་བྱིའུ་འབུ་སྲིན་གྱི་བྱ་སྤྱོད་ལ་བརྟག་པ། ས་གཞིར་རྒྱུ་དང་ཆབ་རོམ། ལྗོན་ཤིང་ལ་བརྟག་པ་སོགས་བརྟག་པ་དུ་མ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་དེ་དག་ཐམས་ཅད་མི་རབས་དུ་མས་དངོས་མྱོང་ཉམས་གསོག་བསྟུད་མར་བྱུང་བ་ཤ་སྟག་ཡིན། འདི་དག་ཐམས་ཅད་གཙོ་བོ་འབྲས་རྩིས་ཀྱི་ཁོངས་སུ་གཏོགས་ཤིང་། འོན་ཏང་སྐབས་དེར་རྩིས་ཀྱི་རིག་པའི་མཚན་ཉིད་བསྟན་པའི་གཞུང་ལུགས་སྤུས་ལེགས་ཞིག་ཨེ་ཡོད་སྙམ་པ་དང་། འདི་དག་ཐམས་ཅད་ད་ལྟའི་ཡར་ཐོན་ཅན་གྱི་སྐར་རྩིས་ཀྱི་དམངས་གཞི་ལྟ་བུ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་ཡིན།

ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལ་ཕྱིར་མིག་བལྟས་ན། སྤྱི་ལོའི་སྔོན་གྱི་ལོ་ངོ་ ༨༧༩ ཙམ་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉའ་ཁྲི་བཙན་པོའི་དུས་སུ་བོད་ཀྱི་མཁས་པ་མི་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ནང་ཚན་སྐོར་ཤེས་རྩིས་མཁན་ཞེས་པ་དེ་རྩིས་རིག་མཁས་པ་ཡིན་པར་བཤད། དེའི་རྗེས་སྤྱི་ལོའི་སྔོན་གྱི་ལོ་ངོ་བརྒྱ་ཕྲག་དང་པོ་ཙམ་ལ་བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་བྱ་ཁྲི་བཙན་པོའམ་སྤུ་དེ་གུང་རྒྱལ་ཞེས་པའི་དུས་སྐབས་སུ་བོད་ནང་འཚོ་བའི་འགྱུར་ལྡོག་ཤུགས་ཆེ་བྱུང་བ་དང་། སྐབས་དེ་ཙམ་ལ་བོད་ལྷོ་ཁ་ཡར་ཀླུང་ཁུལ་དུ་ཐན་མོ་བལ་མའི་ཟླ་རྩིས་ཞེས་པ་གྲགས་པ་ཅན་ཞིག་བྱུང་།[1] ཁོ་མོས་ཟླ་བ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་ཟླ་བ་ངོས་འཛིན་བྱ་ཚུལ་གྱི་རིག་པ་ཞིག་བརྩིས་པ་དང་དེ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་སྐར་རྩིས་ཀྱི་དམངས་གཞིའང་ཚུགས། ཁོ་མོ་ནི་བོད་ཀྱི་བུད་མེད་རྩིས་པ་སྔ་ཤོས་དེ་ཡིན་པ་ངོས་འཛིན་མཛད་ཆོག་པར་སེམས།

རྗེས་སུ་དུས་རབས་བདུན་པར་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་སྲོང་བཙན་སྒམ་པོའི་དུས་ནས་རྒྱ་བཟའ་ཀོང་ཇོ་བསུས་པ་དང་ལྷན་དུ་རྒྱ་ནག་ནས་སྨན་རྩིས་ཀྱི་རིག་པའང་གང་ཙམ་ཐེབས་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཟད་རྒྱ་ནག་རྩིས་རིག་ལྟར་ནག་རྩིས་རྒྱུད་པའི་རྩིས་སྲོལ་བྱུང་། དེ་ནས་ཁྲི་སྲོང་ལྡེའུ་བཙན་གྱི་དུས་སུ་རྒྱ་ནག་ཏང་ལེའི་རྩིས་སྲོལ་དར། ཏང་ལེ་ནི་ནག་རྩིས་ཙམ་མིན་པར་སྐར་རྩིས་རིག་པའི་གཟའ་སྐར་རྣམ་གཞག་རྒྱས་པ་ཡོད་རུང་བོད་ལ་དར་རྒྱས་ཆེ་བ་བྱུང་ཐུབ་མེད། གང་ལགས་ཞེ་ན། སྐབས་དེ་དུས་རྒྱ་ནག་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་རང་གི་རྒྱལ་བརྒྱུད་དང་རྩིས་པའི་བུ་བརྒྱུད་ཕུད། དེ་མིན་སུ་ལའང་སློབ་ཁྲིད་བྱ་མི་ཆོག་པའི་བཙན་བཀའ་བཏང་སྟེ་ཕོ་བྲང་གི་ལྕགས་རིའི་ཕྱི་རོལ་དུ་དར་རྒྱས་བྱུང་ཐུབ་ཀྱི་མེད། ཅི་སྟེ་དེ་རིགས་བྱུང་ན་སྲོག་ཐོག་གཏོང་སྟེ་བཀའ་རྒྱ་བཙན་པོར་དྭང་ལེན་བྱ་དགོས་པའི་དུས་ཞིག་ཡིན། ཕྱིས་སུ་ཕྱི་ལོ ༡༠༢༥ ལོར་དུས་འཁོར་བོད་ལ་གདན་འདྲེན་ཞུ་སྐབས་འབྱུང་རྩིས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ལོ་འགོ་འཛིན་སྲོལ་གྱི་དམངས་གཞི་གཏན་འབེབས་བྱུང་ཟིན་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན། དུས་འཁོར་དར་བ་དང་ལྷག་པར་སྐར་རྩིས་དར་ནས་དེ་མ་ཐག་ཏུ་སྐར་རྩིས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་བསྟན་པའི་གཞུང་ལུགས་སྤུས་དག་ཅིག་ཕལ་ཆེར་དར་ཐུབ་མེད། དེ་ནས་རབ་བྱུང་གཅིག་ཙམ་གྱི་རྗེས་སུ་སློབ་དཔོན་འཇིགས་མེད་འབྱུང་གནས་སྦས་པ་དང་། པཎ་ཆེན་ཤཱཀྱ་ཤྲཱི་རྣམ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་དཔལ་དུས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོའི་རྩིས་ལ་འཇུག་པ་དང་། དཔལ་དུས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོའི་རྩིས་ཀྱི་མན་ངག་གཉིས་ཀྱང་མཛད་དེ་ཕབ་སྒྱུར་བྱུང་ཡོད། འགའ་ཞིག་གིས་ཁོང་རྣམ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དུས་འཁོར་གཞུང་ལ་དུས་འཁོར་དར་བ་བཞེད་མཁན་ཡང་ཡོད།

1 ཡུམ་པ། 1998: 538.8

དུས་རབས་བཅུ་གཉིས་ནང་བྱོན་པའི་མཁས་གྲུབ་རྗེ་བཙུན་གྲགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ (ཕྱི་ལོ་༡༡༤༧_༡༢༡༦) གྱིས་དུས་ཚོད་བཟུང་བའི་རྩིས་དང་། དུས་རབས་བཅུ་གསུམ་དུ་བྱོན་པའི་མཁས་གྲུབ་ཤོང་སྟོན་རྡོ་རྗེ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ (ཕྱི་ལོ་༡༢༦༥) གྱིས་ཟླ་མའི་བཀའ་བཞིན་སྐར་རྩིས་རིག་པ་དཔྱིས་ཕྱིན་གསན་བཞེས་མཛད་དེ་དུས་འཁོར་ལ་ཞུ་དག་མཛད། ཀརྨ་པ་རང་བྱུང་རྡོ་རྗེས་ (ཕྱི་ལོ་༡༢༨༤_༡༣༣༩) རྩིས་ཀུན་འདུས་པ་སོགས། བུ་སྟོན་རིན་ཆེན་གྲུབ་ (ཕྱི་ལོ་༡༢༩༠_༡༣༦༤) ཀྱིས་སྐར་རྩིས་མཁས་པ་དགའ་བྱེད་དང་། སྐར་རྩིས་ཕྱོགས་སྒྲིག དུས་འཁོར་འགྲེལ་པ་སོགས། དུས་རབས་བཅུ་བཞིའི་མཁས་གྲུབ་དགེ་ལེགས་དཔལ་བཟང་ (ཕྱི་ལོ་༡༣༨༥_༡༤༣༨) གིས་དུས་འཁོར་འགྲེལ་པ་དྲི་མེད་འོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱན། འགོས་ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་གཞོན་ནུ་དཔལ་ ཕྱི་ལོ་ (༡༣༩༢_༡༤༨༡) གྱིས་དུས་འཁོར་འགྲེལ་པ་དང་། རྩིས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་བཅོས་འཁྲུལ་སེལ་མཛད། བྱང་པ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྲགས་བཟང་(ཕྱི་ལོ་༡༣༩༥_༡༤༧༥) གིས་དུས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོའི་མཛེས་རྒྱན། དུས་རབས་བཅོ་ལྔའི་མཚུར་ཕུ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་དོན་གྲུབ་འོད་ཟེར་གྱིས་རྩིས་ཀུན་འདུས་པ་གཞི་བཟུང་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་སྟེ་མཚུར་ལུགས་ཀྱི་སྲོལ་བཏོད། སྟག་ཚང་ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་ཤེས་རབ་རིན་ཆེན་ (ཕྱི་ལོ་༡༤༠༤_༡༤༧༧) གྱིས་དུས་འཁོར་གྱི་འགྲེལ་པ་བསྟན་པའི་སྒྲོན་མེ་སོགས། ཕུག་པ་ལྷུན་གྲུབ་རྒྱ་མཚོས་པད་དཀར་ཞལ་ལུང་མཛད་དེ་ཕུག་ལུགས་ཀྱི་སྲོལ་གཏོད་གནང་། མཁས་གྲུབ་ནོར་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོས་ (ཕྱི་ལོ་༡༤༢༣_༡༥༡༣) པད་དཀར་ཞལ་ལུང་གི་རྩིས་འཕྲོ་གསལ་སྒྲོན་སོགས། རྗེས་ཀྱི་མཁས་གྲུབ་དཔའ་བོ་གཙུག་ལག་ཕྲེང་བས་ (ཕྱི་ལོ་༡༥༠༣_༡༥༦༥) འགྲེལ་པ་རིན་ཆེན་གཏེར་མཛོད། སྡེ་སྲིད་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོས་ (ཕྱི་ལོ་༡༥༢༧_༡༥༩༢) བཻ་དཀར་མ་བུ། ལོ་ཆེན་དྷརྨ་ཤྲཱིས་ (ཕྱི་ལོ་༡༦༥༤_༡༧༡༨) ཉིན་བྱེད་སྣང་བ་དང་རྣམ་འགྲེལ་གསེར་གྱི་ཤིང་རྟ་སོགས་སྐར་རྩིས་ཀྱི་སྒྲོན་པ་དུ་མ་བྱུང་ཡོད། དུས་རབས་བཅུ་དགུའི་ནང་གི་མཁས་གྲུབ་འཇུ་མི་ཕམ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་རྒྱ་མཚོས་ (༡༨༤༦_༡༩༡༢) དཔལ་དུས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོའི་འགྲེལ་པ་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཉི་མའི་སྣང་བ་བཅས་མཛད་པ་སོགས་མདོར་ན་དུས་འཁོར་གྱི་གཞུང་ལ་འགྲེལ་པ་མང་ཤོས་ཡོད་མཁན་ཞིག་ཀྱང་ཡིན།

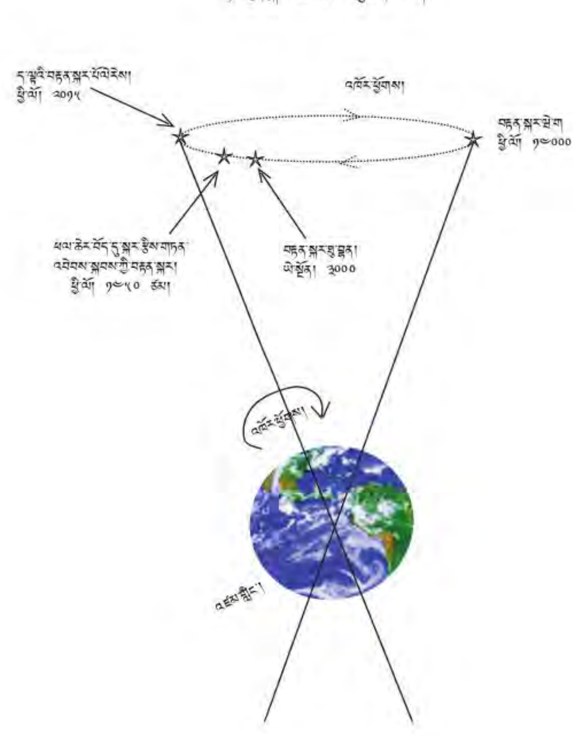
དུས་རབས་བཅུ་གསུམ་ནང་འགྲོ་མགོན་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་འཕགས་པས་སྐུ་དབང་ཟིན་པའི་དུས་སུ་གཡུང་སྟོན་རྡོ་རྗེ་དཔལ་དང་། མཁས་པ་ཀུན་དགའ་དཔལ་བ་སོགས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱ་ནག་ཧང་ལི་དང་འབྱུང་རྩིས་སོགས་ལ་གཞི་བཞག་སྟེ་དཔལ་ས་སྐྱའི་ལོ་ཐོ་ཞེས་བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་ཐོ་ཐོག་མར་འདོན་སྤེལ་མཛད།

འཛམ་གླིང་ནང་རྩིས་རིག་ཇི་ཙམ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་རྩིས་སྲོལ་ཆེན་པོ་གཉིས་ཡོད། ཚང་མས་རྩིས་གཞི་ནི་ཉི་མ་ཡིན་པ་བརྗོད་ཀྱིས་མི་ལང་། ཉི་མ་དེ་ཡང་ཉི་འཁྱིད་སྐར་འཕོ་ལ་ཚད་བཟུང་ནས་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ་དགུན་ཉི་ལྡོག་ལ་བསྟུན་པ་དང་། དཔྱིད་ཉིན་མཚན་མཉམ་ཚད་ལ་བསྟུན་པ་བཅས་གཉིས་ཡིན། གནའ་བོ་རྒྱ་ནག་ནང་དགུན་ཉི་ལྡོག་དང་བསྟུན་ནས་རྩིས་སྲོལ་ཡོད། དེ་ཡང་རྒྱ་ནག་ནི་གོ་ལའི་བྱང་གི་ཕྱོགས་ལ་གནས་ཤིང་ས་བབ་མཐོ་ལ་དགུན་ཉི་ལྡོག་སྐབས་ཉི་མ་རྒྱང་ཐག་རིང་ཞིང་ཐུར་གྲིབ་འགྱུར་ལྡོག་འགྲོ་བ་མངོན་གསལ་དོད་པ་དང་། དབྱར་ཉི་ལྡོག་སྐབས་རྒྱང་ཐག་ཐུང་ལ་ཅུང་མི་མངོན་ཞིང་དེ་ཙམ་གྱིས་མི་གསལ་སྟབས་དེ་ལྟར་མཛད། རྒྱ་གར་བའང་གོ་

ལའི་བྱང་གི་ངོས་ལ་ཕྱོགས་ཤིང་ལྷག་པར་བོད་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་ལ་གནས་སྐབས་དབྱར་ཉི་ལྡོག་ཐིག་རྒྱ་གར་དབུས་ཀྱི་མངའ་སྡེའི་ས་གནས་ (ཨུཛྫེན་) Ujjain གྱི་སྟེང་དུ་འཁེལ་ཡང་། ས་གཞི་དམའ་བ་དང་དགུན་དུས་བ་མོས་གཡོག་སྟེ་ཉི་ལྡོག་མི་མངོན་པ་སོགས་དང་བསྟུན་ནས་དབྱར་ཉི་ལྡོག་ཐིག་དང་བསྟུན་ཡོད། འོན་ཏང་ལོ་འགོ་ནི་དཔྱིད་ཉིན་མཚན་མཉམ་ཚད་དང་བསྟུན་ནས་འཛིན་གྱི་ཡོད།

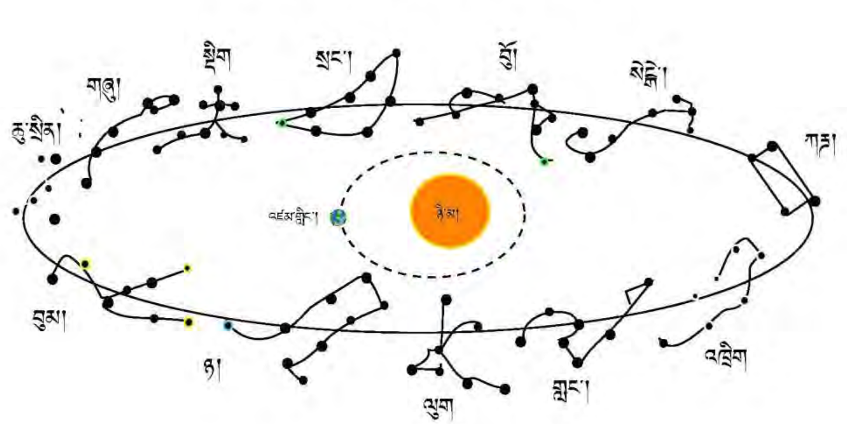
རྒྱ་དཀར་ནག་གཉིས་ཀའི་རྩིས་རིག་དང་། དུས་འཁོར་རྩིས་རིག་ཚང་མའི་ནང་སྐར་ཁྱིམ་གོ་ལའི་རྣམ་གཞག་སྐོར་མོའི་རྣམ་པར་བསྟན་ཡོད། དེ་ཡང་ཉི་མའི་རྒྱུ་ལམ་དང་རྒྱུ་སྐར་འབྲེལ་ནས་ཟླ་བའི་མིང་། གཟའ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་འགྲོས་ཕྱོགས་སོགས་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་ཡོད། བོད་དེ་རྒྱ་དཀར་ནག་གཉིས་ཀའི་ཁྱིམ་མཚོས་གྱུར་པ་དང་ལྷག་པར་ཁྱིམ་མཚོས་གཉིས་ཀ་ནས་རིག་གཞུང་ནང་འདྲེན་བྱེད་སྲོལ་གཏན་ཚུགས་སུ་འགྱུར་ཐེན་པ་མ་ཟད། རྩིས་རིག་སྐོར་རྒྱ་ནག་ནས་སྤྱ་བ་འབྲེལ་བ་བྱུང་ཡོད་སྐབས་བོད་མིའི་འཚོ་བའི་ཁྲོད་དུས་འཁོར་བོད་དུ་གདན་འདྲེན་ཞུ་སྐབས་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་རྩིས་སྲོལ་དེ་ས་ཁྲབ་ཇོ་ཁྲབ་ལྷ་བུ་བྱུང་ཟེན། དེ་ཡང་རྒྱ་ནག་དང་རྒྱ་གར་གཉིས་ཀས་ཟླ་བ་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་མིང་རྣམས་ཉི་མ་ཁྱིམ་དང་རྒྱུ་སྐར་ཐོག་སྤྱོད་ཚུལ་དང་བསྟུན་ནས་བཞག་ཡོད། རྗེ་བཙུན་གྲགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་མཆོག་གིས་ནམ་མཁའི་ཟླ་བ་རྒྱུ་སྐར་སྟེང་སྤྱོད་ཚུལ་དང་བསྟུན་ནས་ཟླ་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མིང་དག་སྦྱར་ནས་བསྟན་གནང་ཡོད། གནད་དོན་འདིའི་རྐྱེན་གྱིས་འཁྲུལ་པ་ལ་རྟོགས་དཔྱོད་མེད་པར་ཕྱི་བྱུང་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐར་རྩིས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་དེ་མུར་རྒྱུན་འཛིན་མཛད་པ་མ་ཟད། དཔྱང་གནའ་བོའི་གཞུང་ལུགས་རྣམས་ལུང་ཁུངས་དང་བཅས་ཏེ་དེ་ལྟར་བྱ་དགོས་པ་ཡང་ནས་ཡང་དུ་འགྲེལ་གྱི་ཡོད། དེ་ཡང་། ཁོང་གིས་དུས་ཚོད་བཟུང་བའི་རྩིས་ནང་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་ཟླ་བའི་མིང་དེ་བོད་ཀྱི་རྩིས་རིག་ནང་ནང་འདྲེན་འགྲིགས་ཐབས་མཛད་པ་ལས་རྩོད་རྙོག་གི་ཚ་སྒོ་གངས་ལ་ཐུག་པ་ལྷ་བུ་ཞིག་འདི་ནས་བྱུང་བར་སྣང་། ཕལ་ཆེར་ཁོང་གི་རྒྱལ་བ་ལྔ་པ་དང་། ཟླ་བ་ལྔ་པའི་དཔེ་ལྟར་ཆོས་གྲངས་བསགས་པའི་ཟླ་བ་དང་ནམ་མཁའི་ཟླ་བ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དོན་ལ་འཁྲུལ་པ་བྱུང་སྡེ་བྱུང་བ་མེད་དམ་སྙམ་པ་འདུག འོན་ཏང་སྐར་རྩིས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་རྟོགས་དཔྱོད་ལེགས་པར་མཛོད་ན་དགེ་ཕན་ཆེ་བར་སེམས་སོ། རྒྱ་ནག་ལུགས་སྲོལ་ལ་ཆོས་ཟླ་རེ་རེར་དཀར་ཕྱོགས་དང་ནག་ཕྱོགས་ཞེས་དུམ་ཚན་གཉིས་སུ་ཕྱེ་བ་དང་ཁྱིམ་ཟླ་ལ་དབུགས་དང་སྣང་གི་ཐ་སྙད་སྦྱོར་ཏེ་དུས་གཟེར་ཉེར་བཞི་བཞག་ཡོད། རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ལུགས་སྲོལ་ལའང་ཆོས་ཟླ་རེ་རེར་དཀར་ཕྱོགས་དང་ནག་ཕྱོགས་ཞེས་དུམ་ཚན་གཉིས་སུ་ཕྱེ་བ་དང་ཁྱིམ་ཟླ་ལ་ཁྱིམ་འཕོ་ཙམ་སྦྱོར་ཏེ་དུས་ཚིགས་བཅུ་གཉིས་ལས་རྩིས་སྲོལ་མེད། བོད་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་ཆོས་ཟླར་དཀར་ཕྱོགས་ནག་ཕྱོགས་སྤྱི་མཚུངས་ལ་ཁྱིམ་ཟླ་ལ་དབུགས་སྣང་ཁྱིམ་སླེབས་གསུམ་ཀ་དང་སྦྱོར་ཏེ་དུས་གཟེར་སོ་དྲུག་ཞེས་རྩིས་སྲོལ་བྱུང་ཡོད། འདི་ནི་རྒྱ་དཀར་ནག་གཉིས་ཀའི་ལུགས་སྲོལ་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐར་རྩིས་ནང་ཆེད་དུ་བསྒྲིགས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན།

དེར་བརྟེན་འཛམ་གླིང་ཡོངས་གྲགས་ཀྱི་ས་གཱ་ཟླ་བ་ལ་བོད་རྩིས་ཀྱི་ནག་པ་ཟླ་བ་ངོས་འཛིན་གནང་གི་ཡོད། རྒྱ་གར་རྩིས་ཀྱི་ཟླ་ལྷག་ས་གའི་སྔོན་ཙམ་དང་བོད་རྩིས་ཀྱི་ས་གའི་རྗེས་ཙམ་ལ་ཟླ་ལྷག་ཐོན་ན་ལས་དེ་མིན་རྒྱུན་དུ་ཟླ་བ་གཅིག་ཕྱི་ནུར་ཐོག་འཁེལ་གྱི་ཡོད། དེ་ཡང་འཛམ་གླིང་རྩིས་རིག་པལ་ཆེ་བས་ (precession) ཞེས་ཉི་འདྲིད་སྐར་འཕོ་ཞེས་པ་ཞིག་འགྲེལ་གྱི་ཡོད། ཉི་འདྲིད་སྐར་འཕོ་ཞེས་པ་ནི་འཛམ་གླིང་ཟླུམ་པོ་དེ་སྟོང་འཛིང་བཙོ་དབྱིབས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལམ་ཐོག་འཁོར་གྱིན་ལོ་རེའི་བརྩི་གཞི་ཉི་ལྡོག་གམ་དཔྱིད་སྟོན་ཉིན་མཚན་མཉམ་ཚད་མངོན་གསལ་མི་དོད་པོའི་ངང་ནས་གནམ་ཚིགས་ཆུང་དུ་འཕོ་ཤུས་བྱས་ཏེ་ལོ་ངོ་སྟོང་ཕྲག་ཉེར་དྲུག་ཙམ་ལ་འཁོར་ཐེངས་ཆེན་པོ་གཅིག་འཁོར་གྱི་ཡོད་པ་དེའི་འགྲོས་ལ་འགྲེལ་གྱི་ཡོད། འོན་ཏང་ལོ་ངོ་རེ་རེར་བར་ཁྱད་རྟོགས་པ་ཤིན་ཏུ་དཀའ་བ་ཡིན།



འདྲ་རིས། 1 ཉི་འདྲིད་སྐར་འཕོའི་འཁོར་རྒྱུལ་དཔེ་རིས།

རིག་པ་འདིའི་ཤིང་རྟའི་སྲོལ་འབྱེད་ཆེན་པོ་ནི་ Hellenistic-era ཧེ་ལེན་ནས་ཊིག་དུས་རབས་ཏེ་ཕྱི་ལོའི་སྔོན་གྱི་བརྒྱ་ཕྲག་གཉིས་པར་བྱོན་པའི་ཨང་རྩིས་པ་དང་སྐར་རྩིས་པ་གྲགས་ཅན་ Hipparchus ཧི་པར་ཆས་ (༡༩༠—༡༢༠) ཡིན། རྒྱ་ནག་གི་སྐར་རྩིས་མཁས་པ་ཡུས་ཞི་ (ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༢༨༡—༣༤༦) ནི་ལྡོག་གི་སྐར་གནས་ལོ་རེ་བཞིན་དུ་ནུབ་ཏུ་ཅུང་ཟད་ནུར་གྱི་ཡོད་པ་རྟོགས་ཏེ་ལོ་ཁྱད་ (ཉི་འདྲིད་སྐར་འཕོ་) ཅེས་སྐར་རྩིས་རིག་པའི་ནང་བཀོལ་སྤྱོད་མཛད་ཡོད།[2] རིག་པ་འདི་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་སྐར་རྩིས་ནང་དུའང་བེད་སྤྱོད་གནང་གི་ཡོད། ཉི་འདྲིད་སྐར་འཕོའི་རིག་པ་དང་འབྲེལ་སྐབས་ལོ་རེར་གནམ་ཚིགས་ཆུང་དུ་འཕོ་བའི་དབང་གིས་རིམ་པར་མིག་སྐར་འཕོ་ཞིང་རྩིས་རིག་གི་གཞི་བརྟེན་ནམ་འགྲོས་རྟགས་སུ་འགྱུར་བའི་རྒྱུ་སྐར་རྣམས་ཀྱང་རིམ་གྱིས་འཕོ་ཡི་ཡོད། འོན་ཏང་བོད་ཀྱི་རྩིས་རིག་ནང་གོ་དོན་རྟོགས་བཟོ་འདུག་ཀྱང་འདིའི་ལག་ལེན་ཇི་བཞིན་རྟོགས་མེད་པ་ལྟ་བུ་སྣང་བྱུང་།



འདྲ་རིས། 2 ཉི་མ་དང་། ཁྱིམ་བཅུ་གཉིས། འཛམ་བུ་གླིང་བཅས་ཀྱི་བར་སྣང་གི་རྟོག་བཟོའི་བཀོད་པ།

2 ཡུམ་པ། 1998: 551.23.

བོད་རྩིས་ཀྱིས་ཡོངས་གྲགས། ཟླ་བ་ཚེས་ཟླ་གཙོ་བ་འཛིན་དགོས་པ་དང་། ཞག་ཉི་མ་ལ་གཙོ་བ། ལོ་ཁྱིམ་ཞག་གཙོ་བོ་མཛད་དགོས་ཞེས་པ་བཞིན་ཁྱིམ་ཞག་གིས་དབྱར་དགུན་ཉི་ལྡོག སྟོན་དཔྱིད་ཉིན་མཚན་མཉམ་ཚད་སོགས་དུས་གཟེར་ཉེར་བཞིའམ་སོ་དྲུག་ཏུ་གཞི་བཅོལ་གྱི་ཡོད་པ་དང་འདི་དག་རྩིས་ཚུལ་ཇི་ཡིན་རྒྱས་པར་འགྲེལ་གྱི་ཡོད་སྐབས། ཕྱོགས་འདི་ནས་གོ་བ་ཙུང་ཟད་ཡོད་ཚོད་འདུག་ཀྱང་། བོད་རྩིས་པ་སུས་ཀྱང་རྟོགས་དཔྱོད་མཛད་པ་རང་ཉིད་མིག་དཀྱུས་ཆུང་བས་མཐོང་ཐོས་མ་བྱུང་། རྒྱུ་མཚན་གཞན་ཞིག་ནི་ལོ་ངོ་དྲུ་མའི་འགྱུར་འགྲོས་རྣམས་བཟོ་བཅོས་མ་མཛད་པ་ལས་ཀྱང་བྱུང་བར་སྙམ།

གནད་དོན་འདི་བར་སྣང་ཁམས་དང་བསྟུན་ནས་ཞུས་ན་ད་བར་བར་སྣང་སྐོར་མོ་དུམ་ཚན་བཅུ་གཉིས་སུ་བཏང་ནས་ཆ་གཅིག་ལྷག་ཙམ་མམ་རྒྱུ་སྐར་གཉིས་དང་གསུམ་ཆ་གཅིག་གི་ཁྱོན་ཙམ་ཁྲད་པར་བྱུང་ཟིན། ཡང་ན་ཉིན་གྲངས་ལ་རྩིས་ན་ཡོངས་གྲགས་ཕུག་པའི་ལུགས་སུ་ཉིན་མ་ ༢༧ དང་མཚུར་བུའི་ལུགས་ལ་ ༢༨ ཙམ་ཁྲད་པར་བྱུང་ཡོད། དེ་ཟླ་བར་སྦྲེལ་ན་ཟླ་བ་ཧྲིལ་པོ་གཅིག་ལྷག་ཁྲད་པར་བྱུང་གི་ཡོད་པར་བརྟེན་ད་ལྟའི་འཆར་ཟླ་བ་གཅིག་ཕྱི་ཤོལ་བྱུང་བའི་རྒྱུ་མཚན་འདི་ལ་ཐུག་པ་གསལ་པོ་ཡིན། ད་ཆ་འགྱུར་བཅོས་གཏོང་ན་གཏོང་དུས་རན་ཞིང་ཟླ་བ་གཅིག་ནི་ཟླ་ལྷག་རྐྱེན་གྱིས་ཡར་མར་ཁྲད་པར་ཡོད་སྐབས་བྱ་ཕྱོགས་བདེ་ཞིང་། ཅི་སྟེ་དེ་སྔར་སུ་མཐུད་རྒྱུན་འཛིན་གནང་ན་ཟླ་གྲངས་མཇུག་ཏུ་ལུས་ནས་མ་འོངས་པར་ཕྱི་ལོ་ཆིག་ཁྲི་ཉིས་སྟོང་ (ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༡༢༠༠༠) མིན་ཙམ་ལ་འཛམ་གླིང་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀུན་གྱི་དབྱར་དུས་སུ་བོད་རྩིས་ཀྱི་དགུན་དུས་འཁེལ་ཞིང་། དེ་བཞིན་འཛམ་གླིང་གི་དཔྱིད་དུས་སུ་བོད་རྩིས་ཀྱི་སྟོན་དུས་འཁེལ་ཏེ་རྩིས་ཀྱི་རིག་པས་ནམ་ཟླ་གཞལ་མི་ཐུབ་པའི་དཀའ་ངལ་འབྱུང་རྒྱུ་ཉག་ཅིག་ཡིན། དེ་ནས་སླར་ཡང་ལོ་ངོ་ཆིག་ཁྲི་གསུམ་སྟོང་ (ཕྱི་ལོ་༡༣༠༠༠) ཙམ་ལ་འཛམ་གླིང་སྤྱི་ཡོངས་དང་གཅིག་མཚུངས་འབྱུང་རྒྱུ་ཡིན།

རྒྱ་ནག་ཏུ་ཕྱི་ལོའི་སྔོན་གྱི་ལོ་ངོ་ཉིས་སྟོང་ནས་ཆིག་སྟོང་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་ལྷག་ཙམ་གྱི་བར་ཞྭ་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཀྱི་དུས་སུ་ལོ་འགོ་སྟག་ལ་འཛིན་པ་དང་།[3] ཕྱི་ལོའི་སྔོན་གྱི་ལོ་ཆིག་སྟོང་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་དྲུག་ཅུ་ཙམ་ནས་ཆིག་སྟོང་བརྒྱ་མེད་དྲུག་ཅུ་རེ་དྲུག་ཙམ་བར་ཧྲང་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཀྱི་དུས་སུ་ལོ་འགོ་གླང་ལ་འཛིན།[4] ཕྱི་ལོའི་སྔོན་གྱི་ལོ་ཆིག་སྟོང་བརྒྱ་མེད་དྲུག་ཅུ་རེ་ལྔ་ཙམ་ནས་བདུན་བརྒྱ་བཅུ་གཅིག་ཙམ་བར་ཀྲོའུ་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཀྱི་དུས་སུ་ལོ་འགོ་བྱི་བར་[5]འཛིན་པ་བཅས་གསུམ་ཡོད་ནའང་། དེང་སྐབས་ཡོངས་གྲགས་དཔྱིད་ར་སྟག་ནས་འཛིན་གྱི་ཡོད།

དུས་འཁོར་ནང་དུའང་། དེ་ནི་དུམ་བུ་བཅུ་གཉིས་སུ་འཁོར་བའི་དབང་གིས་ཉི་མ་ཁྱིམ་སོ་སོ་ལ་གནས་པའི་ཟླ་བ་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དབྱེ་བ་གསུངས་པ། ཁྱིམ་གཅིག་ལ་ནི་ཉི་མ་གནས་པས་མཐའ་དག་དུས་ཀྱི་ཚོགས་དང་ཟླ་བ་དང་ནི་ཕྱོགས་རྣམས་བྱེད་ཅེས་པ་སྟེ།། འདིར་ལུག་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ཁྱིམ་གང་ཡང་རུང་བ་གཅིག་ལ་ཉི་མ་གནས་པས་དུམ་བུ་བཅུ་གཉིས་སུ་དུས་དྲུག་དང་ཟླ་བ་བཅུ་གཉིས་དང་

3 ཡུམ་པ། 1998: 0.2.

4 ཡུམ་པ། 1998: 550.4.

5 ཡུམ་པ། 1998: 550.5.

ཕྱོགས་ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་བཞི་བྱེད་དེ་ཁྱིམ་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་འཁོར་བའི་དབང་གིས་སོ།། འདིར་ལྷུན་པོའི་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་ཆ་ཐམས་ཅད་དུ་ཁྱིམ་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་འཁོར་བའི་དབང་གིས་མེ་ལ་རེག་པ་གང་ཡིན་པ་དེ་ནི་བདུན་པའི་ཕྱོགས་ཐོབ་པ་ན་ལྷུན་པོའི་རྭ་ལ་རེག་ཅིང་གངས་ཀྱི་རིའི་ སྟེང་དུ་འགྲོའོ་ཞེས་པའི་རིགས་པས་ཉི་མ་ཁྱིམ་སོ་སོར་གནས་པའི་དུས་ཀྱི་ཚོགས་ལ་སོགས་པ་མཐའ་དག་སྟེ་ཐམས་ཅད་རིག་པར་བྱའོ།། དུས་བུ་དུས་བུ་དག་ཏུ་ཟླ་བར་འགྱུར་ཏེ་ས་གཞི་བཅུ་གཉིས་རྣམས་ལ་ནི་རིམ་པས་སོ་ཞེས་པ་ནི། འདིར་ས་གཞི་རྩིབས་བཅུ་གཉིས་པོ་ལ་དུས་བུ་སོ་སོ་དག་ཏུ་ཟླ་བ་སོ་སོར་འགྱུར་རོ།། ཉི་མ་ཁྱིམ་གཅིག་ལ་གནས་པའི་རྣམ་པ་གང་གིས་ཡིན་པ་དེ་ལྟར་བརྗོད་པར་བྱ་སྟེ་འདིར་ཁྱིམ་གཅིག་ངེས་པར་བསྟན་པས་ཁྱིམ་ཐམས་ཅད་རིག་པར་བྱའོ།། ལྷུན་པོའི་ལྷོ་འཛམ་བུའི་གླིང་ཆུང་དུ་འདིར་ལུག་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ཁྱིམ་རྣམས་དང་དབྱིད་ལ་སོགས་པའི་དུས་རྣམས་དང་། ནག་པ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ཟླ་བ་རྣམས་དང་། དེ་བཞིན་དུ་ཕྱོགས་རྣམས་ཐམས་ཅད་རབ་ཏུ་གྲགས་སོ།། དེའི་ཕྱིར་ལུག་གི་ཁྱིམ་དེ་ལ་ཉི་མ་གནས་པས་དུས་བུ་བཅུ་གཉིས་སུ་དུས་ཀྱི་ཚོགས་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་བྱེད་པ་ཇི་ལྟ་བ་དེ་བཞིན་དུ་བརྗོད་པར་བྱ་སྟེ། ལྷུན་པོའི་ལྷོའི་དུས་བུ་འདིར་ལུག་ལ་ཉི་མ་གནས་པས་དབྱིད་ཀྱི་དུས་སུ་ས་གའི་ཟླ་བ་བྱེད་དོ།།6 ཞེས་པ་དུས་འཁོར་ནང་དངོས་སུ་ཉི་མ་ལ་བསྟུན་ནས་རྩིས་དགོས་པ་གསལ་པོ་གསུངས་ཡོད།

ཕུག་པའི་སློལ་འབྱེད་ཆེན་པོ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་མཚན་ཅན་རྣམ་གསུམ་གྱི་སྐུ་དུས་ཙམ་ལ་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་པཎྜིཏ (ཕྱན་རཏྣ) ནགས་ཀྱི་རིན་ཆེན་བོད་ལ་གདན་འདྲེན་མཛད་དེ་རྒྱ་གར་ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་རྩིས་སྲོལ་དང་མཐུན་པ་ཡར་ངོ་སྔོན་འགྲོའི་དབང་དུ་བཏང་ནས་སྐར་རྩིས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་བསྟན་པའི་གཞུང་ལུགས་ལ་འགྱུར་བཅོས་ཆེན་པོ་མཛད་དེ་རྩིས་གཞུང་སྤུས་ཚད་གོང་མཐོར་སྤེལ་གནང་ཡོད། རྒྱ་གར་བྱང་ཕྱོགས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་གཙོ་བོ་མར་ངོ་སྔོན་འགྲོའི་དབང་དུ་བཏང་ནས་འཛིན་གྱི་ཡོད་པ་དང་། རྒྱ་གར་ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་པ་འགའ་ཞིག་གིས་མར་ངོར་འཛིན་ཀྱང་། ཉུང་ཤས་ཤིག་གིས་དཀར་ཕྱོགས་ནས་འཛིན་གྱི་ཡོད་སྟབས་ཁོང་གི་བཞུགས་ཡུལ་དང་མཚུངས་པར་རྩིས་པ་མིན་ནམ་སྙམ།

རྒྱ་སྐར་ངོས་འཛིན་སྐབས་འགའ་ཞིག་ས་ག་སྐར་མ་ཁྲིར་ཀྲུང་གཅིག་ལ་ངོས་འཛིན་མཛད་པ་དང་། ཡང་། བཻ་དཀར་ལས། ས་ག་སྐར་བཞི་ར་མགོའི་དབྱིབས།།7 ཞེས་ར་མགོའི་དབྱིབས་སུ་གསུངས། འོན་ཏང་དབྱིབས་སུ་ལྟ་ཞིག་བཀོད་པ་ལས་སྐར་མའི་དཔེ་རིས་བཀོད་མེད། དེ་བཞིན་བོད་བྱང་འབྲོག་ཁུལ་དུ་དར་བའི་སྐར་བརྟག་གནམ་དཔྱད་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་ལས། ངག་རྒྱུན་ལས། ས་ག་བེའུ་གདང་ཁྲ་མོ་འདྲ།།8 ཞེས་སྐར་མ་བརྒྱད་ཅན་གྱི་ཁྲུ་ཚོགས་ཞིག་བཀོད་འདུག རྒྱ་རྩིས་ལས། ས་ག་སྐར་མ་བཞི། རྣམ་པ་འབྲུ་གཞལ་

6 རིགས་ལྡན་པདྨ་དཀར་པོ། n.d.: 325.5.

7 སྡེ་སྲིད་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོ། 1986: 322.1.

8 མི་འགྱུར་རྡོ་རྗེ། 1998: 739.12.

བའི་འབོ་ཡོན་པོ་དང་འདྲ།[9] ཞེས་གསུངས། རྒྱ་རྩིས་ལ་ལར་སྐར་མ་ལྟ་བྲིས་པའང་ཡོད། སྐར་མའི་བཟོ་དབྱིབས་ལའང་འགྱུར་བ་ཅུང་ཟད་བྱུང་ཡོད། རྒྱ་མཚན་གང་ཡིན་ཞེ་ན། ཉི་འདྲེད་སྐར་འཕོའི་རྣམ་གཞག་གམ་ཉི་མ་དང་འཛམ་གླིང་གང་རུང་ནས་སྐར་མའི་གོ་ལའི་བར་རྒྱང་ད་ཅང་རིང་ཞིང་། སྐར་མའི་གནས་འབབ་སྔོན་མ་རང་ཅག་ཡིན་རུང་། སྣང་ལ་མ་ངེས་པའི་འཛམ་གླིང་གི་འཕོ་ཤུགས་ཀྱིས་འཛམ་གླིང་ནས་མཐོང་སྣང་ལ་རྒྱུ་སྐར་ཁྱུ་ཚོགས་ལ་འགྱུར་བ་ཅུང་ཟད་མངོན་གྱི་ཡོད།

དེ་ཡང་རྗེ་བཙུན་གྲགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་དུས་ཚོད་བཟུང་བའི་རྩིས་ནང་། དེ་ལྟར་བྱས་པས་ཟླ་བ་སུམ་ཅུ་སོ་གཉིས་སམ། སོ་གསུམ་ལ་ཟླ་ལྷག་འོང་བར་ཤེས་པར་བྱས་ལ། གང་ལ་ལྷག་པར་ངོས་བཟུང་སྟེ། དེ་ཡང་སྨིན་དྲུག་ཉ་བའི་རྗེས་ལ་སྣར་མ་ལ་ཉ་ན་སྨིན་དྲུག་གི་ཟླ་བ་གཉིས་འབྱུང་བར་ཤེས་པར་བྱའོ།། དེ་བཞིན་དུ་ཉ་ཁྲིམ་གཅིག་ལྷག་གཅིག་བྱུང་ན་དེ་གཉིས་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན་ནོ།། དེ་ལ་ཉ་ངོས་བཟུང་བ་ནི། ཉི་མ་ལྡོ་བགྲོད་ཀྱི་ནམ་རིང་བའི་དུས་ན་ས་ག་རྒྱུག་ན་ཟླ་བ་འཆར་གསུང་། བྱང་བགྲོད་ཀྱི་ནམ་ཐུང་བའི་དུས་སུ་དེ་བས་བག་སྔ་བར་འཆར། ཉིན་མཚན་མཉམ་པའི་དུས་སུ་དེ་བས་བག་ཙམ་འཕྱི་བ་ན་འཆར། ཆོས་བཅུ་བཞི་ལ་ནམ་དང་ཟླ་བ་ཁད་ཆད་རྒྱས་འགྲོ་བཅོ་ལྔ་ལ་ནམ་ལངས་ནས་རྒས་འགྲོ་སྟེ། ངེས་ཉ་ཁྲིམ་ངོས་འཛིན་པ་ཡིན།[10] ཞེས་ཟླ་ལྷག་འདོན་ཚུལ་གྱི་རིག་པ་དང་ལྷན་དུ་ཟླ་བའང་ངོས་འཛིན་གནང་ཡོད།

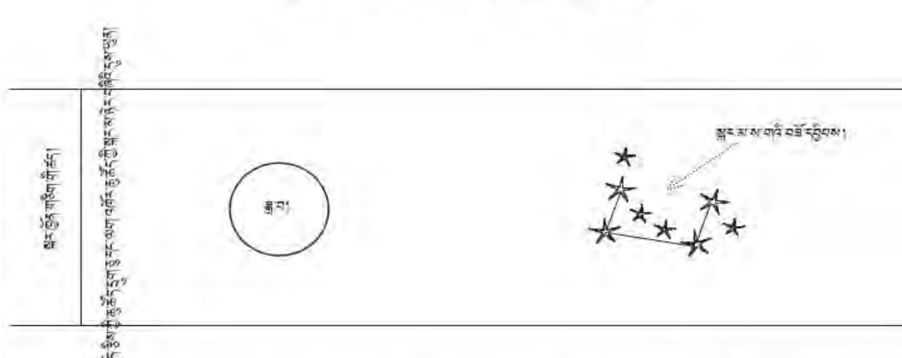
ཡང་དེ་ཉིད་ལས། ཟླ་བའི་མིང་ནི་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ལུགས་ཀྱིས་ཁྲའི་ཟླ་བ་ལ་དཔྱིད་ཟླ་ར་བར་བྱས་ལ། དེ་བཞིན་དུ་བརྩི། རྒྱ་ནག་གི་ལུགས་ཀྱིས་སྟ་ཆེན། བྲ་མཆུས་ཉ་བ་ལ་དཔྱིད་ཟླ་ར་བ་བྱས་ལ་དེ་བཞིན་དུ་བརྩི། རྒྱལ་གྱིས་ཉ་བ་ལ་དཔྱིད་ར་བར་བྱས་པ་དེ་ནི། རྒྱ་བོད་འཐབས་པའི་དུས་སུ་བརྟན་བྱས་པ་བལྟས་པ་ཡིན་པས་དེ་ནོར་བ་ཡིན་ནོ།། ཟླ་བའི་མིང་ནི་བྲུའུ་ནག་པས་ཉ་བ་ལ་ནག་པའི་ཟླ་བ་ཞེས་བྱའོ།། མིང་མེད་པར་བྱས་ནས་ནག་པའི་ཟླ་བ་ལ་ནམ་མཐོང་གི་ཟླ་བར་བཏགས། ནམ་མཐོང་གི་ཟླ་བ་ལ་ལག་སོར་གྱི་ཟླ་བར་བཏགས་པ་ནོར་བ་ཡིན། མདོར་ན་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་ལུགས་ཀྱིས་དཔྱིད་ཟླ་ར་བ་སྟ་པས་ཉ་བ་ལ། སྟག་གི་ཟླ་བར་བྱེད། ཁྲས་ཉ་བ་ལ་འབྲིང་པོ་ཡོས་བུར་བྱེད། བྲུའུ་ནག་པའི་ཉ་བ་ལ་ཐ་ཆུང་འབྲུག་ཏུ་བྱེད། ནམ་མཐོང་སྦྲུལ། ལྦེ་གུ་ཏྲ། གྲ་བྲེ་ལུག བྲ་སྦྲོ་གཞུག་སྦྲེའུ། སྒྲོག་ཁྲིམས་བྱ།[11] ཞེས་གནད་འདི་ནས་འཁྲུལ་པ་བྱུང་བའི་གཞི་རྩ་བྱུང་བར་སྙམ། ཅི་སྟེ་བྲུའུ་ནག་པའི་ཉ་བ་ལ་དཔྱིད་ར་རྟ་སོགས་རིམ་གྱིས་སྦྱར་ཡོད་ཚེ་ད་ལྟ་དེ་ལྟར་འཁྲུལ་གཞི་བྱུང་མེད་པར་སྙམ། སྐབས་འདིར་གནད་དོན་མཁྱེན་དགོས་པ་ཞིག་ནི་དུས་ཚིགས་རྣམས་བགོ་འགྲེམས་སྐབས། དུས་འཁོར་སྐར་རྩིས་ལུགས་ལ་དཔྱིད་ར་ནག་པ་སོགས་དང་། འབྱུང་རྩིས་ལུགས་ལ་དཔྱིད་ར་སྟག་སོགས་དུས་ཚིགས་མི་འདྲ་བ་གཉིས་ཡོད་པར་ངོས་འཛིན་མཛད་མཁན་ཡོད། དེ་ཡང་སྐར་རྩིས་སྐབས་ཀྱི་དཔྱིད་ར་ནི་ནམ་ཟླ

9 མི་འགྱུར་རྡོ་རྗེ། 1998: 739.13.

10 རྗེ་བཙུན་གྲགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། 1998: 724.5.

11 རྗེ་བཙུན་གྲགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། 1998: 784.13.

དུས་བཞིའི་གོ་དོན་དང་། འབྱུང་རྩིས་སྐབས་ཀྱི་དཔྱིད་ར་སྟག་སོགས་ནི་གཙོ་བོ་ནམ་ཟླ་དུས་བཞིའི་གོ་དོན་མིན་པར་དཔྱིད་ནི་ལོ་འགོ་འཛུགས་སའི་གོ་དོན་ལ་གོ་དགོས་པ་ཡིན། དེ་ཡང་འབྱུང་རྩིས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ལོ་འགོ་ནི་དཔྱིད་ར་སྟག་ནས་འཛིན་སྟབས་དེ་ལྟར་བེད་སྤྱོད་མཛད་པ་ཡིན། དེ་མིན་མགོ་ཟླ་དཔྱིད་ཀྱི་དུས་ཚིགས་ལ་ངོས་འཛིན་མཛད་ན་འཛོལ་བ་ཡིན་ནོ།།



འདྲ་རིས། 3 སྐར་རྩིས་གཞུང་ལུགས་ཁག་ནས་ས་ག་ཟླ་བའི་ངོས་འཛིན་བྱེད་ཕྱོགས།

ཡང་དེ་ཉིད་ལས། ཉི་མ་ལྡོག་པའི་དུས་ཚོད་བསྟན་པ་ནི། དགུ་ཟླ་ཞེས་པ་ཆུ་སྟོད་ཀྱི་གནས་ནས་ལྡོག་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། དེ་ཡང་གཞུ་ཞེས་པ་སྨལ་པོའི་མཇུག་ཏུ་ལྡོག་པ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་ཡོད་དེ་ཟླ་ལྷག་བྱུང་ཙ་ན་སྨལ་པོ་ལ་ལྡོག ཟླ་ལྷག་མེད་པའི་ལོ་གཉིས་པོ་རྒྱལ་སྟོད་ལ་ལྡོག དེའང་སྐར་མ་ལ་བརྟག་པར་བྱ་སྟེ། ཞག་བཅུ་བཞི། བཅུ་བཞི་ནས་རྒྱ་སྐར་གསར་པ་རེ་འཆར་ཏེ། ལྗེ་གུ་ཤར་ནས་ཞག་བཅུ་ཕྱུན་ཆད་དུ་གཉན་སྲུང་མི་དགོས། དེ་བས་ཞག་བརྒྱ་ཙམ་ན་ཉི་མ་ཁྱིམ་ནས་འཕོན་པ་ཡིན། འདི་བརྩིས་པས་གཉན་སྲུང་། ཞག་བརྒྱད་རིང་དུ་བྱས་པ་ཡིན། ཡང་དག་པར་ན་ལྗེ་གུ་ཤར་ནས་ཞག་བཅུ་ཕྱུན་ཆད་གཉན་སྲུང་མི་དགོས། དེ་ནས་ཞག་གསུམ་བསྣུངས་པས་ཆོག ཉི་མ་ལོག་ནས་ཟླ་བ་གསུམ་ན། ནམ་དང་ཉི་མ་མཉམ་པ་ཡིན། ཉི་མ་ལོག་ནས་ཞག་དགུ་བཅུ་ཐམ་པས་དབྱར་གྱི་ནམ་ཟད་པ་ཡིན། ནམ་གཞུག་རིང་ན་ནམ་རོ་ཡོད་པ་ནི་མ་གཏོགས་ཏེ། ཚད་ནི་དེ་ལས་མེད་དོ།།[12] སྐབས་འདིར་ཉི་འབྲེད་སྐར་འཕོའི་གོ་བ་ཅུང་ཟད་ཡོད་པར་མངོན།

12 ཇོ་བཙུན་གྲགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། 1998: 784.22.

ཡང་དེ་ཉིད་ལས། ལོའི་མགོ་གང་ནས་འཛིན་པའི་རྩིས་ནི་དུས་འཁོར་བ་ནག་པ་སྟེ། བྱུགས་ཉ་བ་ལ་དཔྱིད་ཟླ་འབྲིང་པོར་བྱས་ནས་དེ་ནས་ལོ་མགོ་འཛིན་ཏེ། ཤིང་ལོ་སྙིང་པ་ལྷུང་ནས་གསར་པ་སྐྱེ་བ་ལ་ལོ་མགོར་བྱེད། རྡོ་རྗེ་མཁའ་འགྲོ་དང་། རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན་བཞི་པ། སླལ་པོའི་བཅུ་དྲུག་ནས་ལོ་མགོ་འཛིན་ཏེ། ཉི་མ་བྱང་དུ་ལྡོག་པ་ལ་ལོ་མགོར་བྱེད། རྒྱ་ནག་པ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་མཇུག་ལ་ས་བདག་གི་སྐྱེས་ཇོགས་ནས་རྟ་པས་ཉ་བ་ལ་དཔྱིད་ཟླ་ར་བར་བྱས་ནས་དེ་ནས་ལོ་སར་དུ་བྱེད་དོ།། སྤྱིར་དབྱར་ཟླ་དང་དཔྱིད་ཟླ་ལ་སོགས་པ་སྤྱི་མིང་བས་ཀྱང་། རྒྱལ་གྱི་ཟླ་བ་དང་། སླལ་པོའི་ཟླ་བ་ལ་སོགས་པ། སྐར་མས་ཟླ་བའི་མིང་འདོགས་པ་ནི། རྒྱ་གར་ནག་གཉིས་ཀ་ན་ཡོད་པས་འདི་ལྟར་བྱས་ན་དག་གོ།[13] ཞེས་གནང་འདི་ནས་འཕྲུལ་ཏེ་རྗེས་འབྲང་བ་ཚང་མས་དེ་ལྟར་འཇུག་པ་ལས་ད་ལྟའི་དཀའ་རྙོག་འདི་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན། ཅི་སྟེ་སྐབས་འདིར་བྱུགས་ཉ་པ་ལ་དཔྱིད་ཟླ་ཐ་ཆུང་བྱས་ནས་ལོ་འགོ་འཛིན་ཡོད་ན་རྩོད་རྙོག་རིམ་བཞིན་ཞི་བར་འགྱུར་རོ།།

དེ་བཞིན་འགྲོ་མགོན་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་འཕགས་པས་མཛད་པའི་རྩིས་ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་དང་མཐུན་པར་ངེས་པ་ཞེས་པར། འཕགས་པའི་ཡུལ་དུ་རབ་བྱུང་ནས།། ལོ་ཡི་མགོ་འཛིན་རྒྱ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས།། ཤིང་ཕོ་བྱི་བ་ཐོག་མར་འདོད།། ཟླ་བའང་དབུས་འགྱུར་ཚལ་དུ་ནི།། རྒྱལ་གྱི་ཟླ་བས་ཐོག་མ་འདྲེན།། ཤམྦྷ་ལ་ནི་ནག་པའི་ཟླ།། ཟླ་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཐོག་མར་འདོད།། རྒྱ་ཡིས་རྟ་པ་དཔྱིད་ར་བ།། གཙིག་པ་ཞེས་བྱར་འདོད་པ་ཡིན།། བོད་རྣམས་ཕལ་ཆེར་དེ་རྗེས་འབྲང་།། དེ་ཕྱིར་ལོ་དང་ཟླ་བའི་ཚུལ།། རྒྱ་ཡི་རྗེས་སུ་འབྲང་ནས་ནི།། ཡང་དག་ངེས་པ་འཚོལ་བའི་ཚུལ།། དུས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོའི་ཚུལ་བཞིན་བཤད།། ཟླ་བཞོལ་དོར་བའི་ཚུལ་ཡང་ནི།། དཔལ་ལྡན་དུས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོའི་ལུགས།། དེ་རྗེས་འབྲང་པའི་གཞུང་ལས་ཤེས།། བོད་ལ་གྲགས་པའི་རྒྱ་རྩིས་པ།། འཕྲུལ་པ་ཉིད་དུ་འཆད་པར་བྱེད།། འདིར་ནི་རྒྱ་ཡི་གཙུག་ལག་ལས།། འབྱུང་བའི་ཚུལ་བཞིན་བདག་གིས་བཤད།།[14] ཅེས་པ་ལྟར་ན། རྒྱ་གར་འཕགས་པའི་ཡུལ་དུ་ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་རྩིས་ཐབས་ལྟར་ལོ་འགོ་རབ་བྱུང་ནས་འཛིན་པ་དང་། ཟླ་འགོ་རྒྱལ་ཏེ་དེང་གི་དུས་སུ་ཟླ་བ་བཅུ་གཉིས་པ་དེ་ལ་ངོས་འཛིན་མཛད། རྒྱ་ནག་ཏུའང་ལོ་འགོ་ཤིང་ཕོ་བྱི་བ་དང་། ཟླ་འགོ་རྟ་པ་དཔྱིད་ར་སྟེ་དེང་གི་དུས་སུ་ཟླ་བ་བཅུ་གཅིག་པ་དེ་དང་གཅིག་པར་བཞེད། བོད་རྩིས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་དེ་དང་ཕྱོགས་མཚུངས་པར་རྗེས་སུ་འབྲངས་ཡོད།

ཡང་། ཕུག་པ་ལྷུན་གྲུབ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་པད་དཀར་ཞལ་ལུང་དུ། གཞན་ཡང་ཉི་མའི་སྙིང་པོ་ལས། མར་ངོ་སྔོན་འགྲོའི་མཆུའི་ཟླ་བ་ལ་ཉི་མ་བཟློག་པ་ཡོད་པར་གསུངས་པ་དང་། རྒྱུད་ལས་རྒྱལ་དང་མཆུའི་མཚམས་སུ་ཆུ་སྲིན་དག་ལ་ཉི་མ་གནས་པའི་གཟའ་དེ་ལ་ནི་མ་རིག་པ།།[15] ཞེས་མཆུའི་ཟླ་བའི་དང་པོར་ཉི་མ་ཆུ་སྲིན་གྱི་ཁྱིམ་དུ་ཐོག་མར་ཞུགས་པ་ཡོད་པར་གསུངས་ཤིང་། དེ་དག་ཀྱང་ཞོང་སྔོན་དང་། པཎྜི་ཏ་ཕྱི་མ་ལ་ཤྲཱིའི་གསུང་ལས་རྒྱ་གར་དང་ཁ་ཆེ་བ་རྣམས་ནག་པ་ལ་སོགས་པའམ་ཟླ་བ་འདི་རྣམས་བོད་རྣམས་ལས་ཟླ་བ

---

13 རྗེ་བཙུན་གྲགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། 1998: 786.1.

14 འགྲོ་མགོན་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་འཕགས་པ། 1998: 810.3.

15 རིགས་ལྡན་འཇམ་དཔལ་གྲགས་པ། n.d.: ཤོག 2115

གཅིག་གིས་སྤྱ་བར་འདོད་པར་སྣང་ངོ༎ ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་བཞིན་དུ་ཧོར་ཟླ་བཅུ་གཉིས་པ་ཡར་ངོ་སྔོན་འགྲོའི་མཆུའི་ཟླ་བ་དང་། ཧོར་ཟླ་བཅུ་གཅིག་པའི་སྐད་དང་། ཧོར་ཟླ་བཅུ་གཉིས་པའི་སྟོད་ལ་མར་ངོ་སྔོན་འགྲོའི་མཆུའི་ཟླ་བར་བྱས་པའི་ཚེ་ཧོར་ཟླ་བཅུ་གཅིག་པའི་སྐད་ལ་དགུན་ཉི་ལྡོག་པ་དང་། ཉི་མ་ཆུ་སྲིན་གྱི་ཁྱིམ་དུ་ཐོག་མར་འཇུག་པའང་ཡོད་ཅིང་། དེའི་ཚེ་རྗེ་བཙུན་གྱིས་རྩ་བའི་ངེས་པར་གསུངས་པའི་སྐར་མ་ཉི་ཤུ་དང་། ཆུ་ཚོད་བཅོ་ལྔ་ཡང་ལུགས་འདི་ལ་འཆར་བ་ཡིན་ལ། བོད་དང་འཕགས་ཡུལ་གཉིས་ལྷོ་བྱང་གི་ཐིག་གཅིག་གི་སྟེང་ན་གནས་པས་ཉི་མ་ལྡོག་དུས་ཀྱང་གཅིག་པ་ཡིན་ནོ༎[16] ཞེས་མཁས་གྲུབ་ཞོང་སྟོན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དང་། པཎྜིཏ་ཝི་མ་ལ་ཤྲཱི་རྣམ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་གསུམ་ཙམ་ནས་བོད་དང་རྒྱ་གར་ཁ་ཆེ་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཟླ་བ་ངོས་འཛིན་ཐད་རྩོད་རྙོག་ཡོད་པ་གླེང་རྩང་། དཔྱད་པ་མཐིལ་ཕྱིན་པ་ཞིག་བྱུང་ཐུབ་མེད་པ་ལྟར་སྣང་། དེ་དང་ཕྱོགས་མཚུངས་འགོས་ལོ་གཞོན་ནུ་དཔལ་གྱིས་ཀྱང་རྟོགས་ཞིབ་གནང་ཡོད་པ་མངོན་གསལ་དོད་ཀྱང་། གཞུང་ཚན་ཆ་ཚང་མཇལ་བའི་གོ་སྐབས་དབེན་སྐབས་ལུང་དུ་ལུང་འདྲེན་མཛད་པ་དག་ལས་ཡོངས་རྫོགས་མ་ཤེས་སོ༎ ཕྱོགས་གཅིག་ནས་ཟླ་བ་ཡར་མར་གྱི་སྔོན་འགྲོའི་རྩིས་ཚུལ་དང་། ཟླ་ལྷག་འདོན་ཚུལ་གྱིས་ཀྱང་ཤུགས་རྐྱེན་ཐེབས་ཀྱི་ཡོད། དེ་བཞིན་བརྩི་གཞི་བྱེད་གྲུབ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཁྱད་པར་ཡང་ཡོད་ཚོད་སྣང་།

ཡང་དེ་ཉིད་ལས། ཐོག་མ་ཉིད་དུ་རྒྱ་གར་འཕགས་པའི་ཡུལ་དུ་ལོའི་ཐ་སྙད་ཆགས་པ་ནས་བཟུང་སྟེ། ཡོངས་སུ་རྫོགས་པ་ཆེན་པོ་པཎྜིཏ་ནགས་ཀྱི་རིན་ཅན་གྱི་ཞལ་སྔ་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཕོ་བྲང་ཆེན་པོར་སྐྱིའུ་ལྡོང་ (གདོང་) ཞབས་བཀོད་དེ་ཤིང་ཕོ་བྱི་བ་ལ་མིག་དམར་དུ་མཛད་ཀྱིན་འདུག་པ་བདག་ཅག་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མངོན་སུམ་དུ་གྲུབ་པའི་བར་དུ་བྱོན་པའི་འཕགས་ཡུལ་གྱི་མཁས་པ་ཆེན་པོ་བགྲང་པ་ལས་འདས་པ་དེ་སྐྱིད་ཀྱིས་རབ་བྱུང་གི་ལོ་མ་ཤེས་པར་ཁྱེད་བོད་པ་དག་གིས་ཤེས་ཏེ་བཙོད་འཕགས་ཡུལ་དུ་ཕར་བསྒྲིང་བ་འདི་མི་བཟོད་དོ༎[17] ཕུག་པ་བས་ཀྱང་ཀླུན་ཀ་འདི་ལྟར་མཛད་པ་ལ་གཞིགས་ན། བོད་ཀྱི་སྐར་རྩིས་མཁས་གྲུབ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཟླ་མ་ལ་དངོས་སུ་སངས་རྒྱས་རང་གི་འདུ་ཤེས་འཛིན་ཏེ་དེ་དེ་བཞིན་དུ་ཞལ་གྱིས་བཞེད་པ་ལྟར་སྣང་།

དེ་ཉིད་ལས། གཞན་ཡང་ཁྱེད་ཀྱིས་སྤྱིར་མདོ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་གསུང་རབ་རྣམས་གུང་བསྒྲིག་པ་ལྟར་བྱས། བྱེ་བྲག་ཏུ་པཎྜིཏ་བི་མ་ལ་ཤྲཱི་དང་། ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་ཞོང་སྟོན་གྱི་གསུང་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་ཟླ་བ་རྣམས་ལྟག་འོག་བསྒྱུར་ཏེ། ད་ལྟ་ཡོངས་སུ་གྲགས་པའི་ཧོར་ཟླ་གསུམ་པ་ལ་ནག་ཟླར་བྱེད་པ་སོགས་མཁས་གྲུབ་ཕལ་ཆེ་བས་བཀག་པའང་མི་འཐད་དེ། ད་ལྟ་ཡོངས་སུ་གྲངས་པའི་ཟླ་བ་ངོས་འཛིན་འདི་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ཇོ་བོ་ཆེན་པོ་རྗེ་དང་། པཎ་ཆེན་ཤཱཀྱ་ཤྲཱི་ལ་སོགས་པ་དང་། ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་ཡང་ཇི་སྙེད་པ་དག་གིས་རྒྱ་བོད་ཀྱི་དུས་ངེས་སྦྱར་བ་ལས་འོངས་པ་ཡིན་པ་དང་། ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་འདོད་པ་དེ་ཡང་ཁྱེད་རང་གིས་བསྒྲིགས་པའི་གསུང་རབ་རྣམས་དང་ཇི་བཞིན་དུ་མི་འགྲིག་པའི་རྒྱུ་མཚན་འཆད་པ་ལྟར་ཡིན་པའི་ཕྱིར་རོ༎ དེ་བས་ན་ལོ་པཎ་གྱི་གསུང་དེ་ནི་སྤྱིར་འཕགས་པའི་ཡུལ་ཉིད་ན་ནག་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཟླ་བ

16 ཕུག་པ་ལྷུན་གྲུབ་རྒྱ་མཚོ། 2002: 33.9.

17 ཕུག་པ་ལྷུན་གྲུབ་རྒྱ་མཚོ། 2002: 48.9.

རྣམས་ལ་གོང་འོག་མི་མཐུན་པ་ཡོད་སྲིད་པའམ། ཡང་ན་ཟླ་བཤོལ་གྱི་དབང་གིས་མི་མཐུན་པའམ། གལ་ཏེ་ན་དུས་འཁོར་བ་ཁ་ཅིག (ཀུན་) འཆད་པ་ལྟར། ཡར་ངོ་སྔོན་འགྲོ་དང་། མར་ངོ་སྔོན་འགྲོའི་དབང་གིས་འཁྲུལ་གཞི་བྱུས་པའང་སྲིད་པས་ཕྱོགས་གཅིག་པ་ཙམ་ལ་སྦྱར་བར་འོས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ།།[18]

མཁས་གྲུབ་ནོར་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་རྩིས་ལ་ལོག་རྟོག་ཀུན་སེལ་སྒྲོན་མ་ལས། འགོས་ལོ་ཡིད་བཟང་རྩེ་པའི་ཁྲུལ་སེལ་གྱི་ལུང་འགག་དྲངས་པ་ནི། གཞན་ཡང་གོང་དུ་བཤད་པ་ལྟར་འཁྲུལ་སེལ་རང་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཟླ་བཤོལ་བྱུང་བ་ནས་བྱེད་རྩིས་སྤྱི་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཟླ་བཤོལ་འོང་བ་ལ་ཐུག་པའི་ཟླ་བ་དགུའི་བར་ལ་འཁྲུལ་སེལ་དང་། བྱེད་རྩིས་སྤྱི་ལུགས་པ་དག་ནག་ཟླ་སོགས་ཀྱ་ཟླའི་ངོས་འཛིན་མཐུན་ཅིང་། ཧོར་ཟླ་དང་པོ་དང་གཉིས་པ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ངོས་འཛིན་མི་མཐུན་ཀྱང་བྱེད་རྩིས་པ་སྤྱི་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཟླ་བཤོལ་བྱུང་བ་ནས་འཁྲུལ་སེལ་རང་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཟླ་བཤོལ་འོང་བ་ལ་ཐུག་པའི་བར་ལ་ཧོར་ཟླའི་ངེས་འཛིན་མཐུན་ཅིང་། ནག་ཟླ་སོགས་ཀྱ་ཟླའི་ངོས་འཛིན་མི་མཐུན་པ་ཡིན་པ་ལ། ཁྱད་པར་དེ་ལྟར་སོ་སོར་མ་ཕྱེ་བར་འཁྲུལ་སེལ་ལས། གཞན་ཡང་ཁྱིད་ཀྱིས་ས་གའི་ཟླ་བ་ལ་ནག་པའི་ཟླ་བར་བཟུང་ནས་བརྩིས་པ་ན་ཞེས་བྱེད་རྩིས་སྤྱི་ལུགས་པ་རྣམས་ས་གའི་ཟླ་བ་ལ་ནག་པའི་ཟླ་བར་འཁྲུལ་བར་སྤྱིར་བཤད་པ་འདི་བརྩིངས་པའི་སྐྱོན་ཡིན་ཏེ། གཞན་དུ་ན། འཁྲུལ་སེལ་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱང་ས་ག་ཟླ་བ་ལ་ནག་པའི་ཟླ་བར་འཁྲུལ་པར་འགྱུར་ཏེ། བྱེད་རྩིས་སྤྱི་ལུགས་པ་རྣམས་ས་གའི་ཟླ་བ་ལ་ནག་པའི་ཟླ་བར་འཁྲུལ་པ་གང་གི་བྱེད་རྩིས་སྤྱི་ལུགས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མོ་གླང་གི་ལོ་འདིའི་ནག་པའི་ཟླ་བར་འདོད་པའི་ཟླ་དེ་ཉིད་འཁྲུལ་སེལ་གྱི་ལུགས་ཀྱིའང་ནག་པའི་ཟླ་བ་ཡིན་པའི་ཕྱིར་ཏེ། དེང་སང་ཟླ་བ་གཟམ་བཟུང་བའི་ཟླ་བ་དེ་འཁྲུལ་སེལ་གྱི་ལུགས་ཀྱིས་བྱིའི་ཧོར་ཟླ་བཅུ་གཉིས་པ་དང་། མཆུ་ཟླའི་གཞི་མཐུན་དང་། དེའི་ཕྱི་མའི་ཟླ་བ་དེ་ས་གླང་ཧོར་ཟླ་དང་པོ་དང་། དབོ་ཟླའི་གཞི་མཐུན་དང་། ཡང་ཕྱི་མའི་ཟླ་བ་དེ་ས་གླང་ཧོར་ཟླ་གཉིས་པ་དང་། ནག་ཟླའི་གཞི་མཐུན་དུ་འདོད་པ་ཡིན་ཞིང་།དེང་སང་ཟླ་བ་གཟམ་བཟུང་བའི་ཟླ་བ་དེ་བྱེད་རྩིས་སྤྱི་ལུགས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་གླང་ཧོར་ཟླ་དང་པོ་དང་། མཆུ་ཟླའི་གཞི་མཐུན་དང་། དེའི་ཕྱི་མའི་ཟླ་བ་དེ་ཧོར་ཟླ་གཉིས་པ་དང་། དབོ་ཟླའི་གཞི་མཐུན་དང་། ཡང་ཕྱི་མའི་ཟླ་བ་དེ་ཧོར་ཟླ་གསུམ་པ་དང་། ནག་ཟླའི་གཞི་མཐུན་དུ་འདོད་པའི་ཕྱིར་རོ།།[19]

ཡང་དེ་ཉིད་ལས། གཞན་ཡང་ད་ལྟར་གྱིས་གླང་འདི་ལྟ་བུ་གནས་སྐབས་འགའ་ཞིག་གི་ཚེ་འཁྲུལ་སེལ་རང་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ནག་པ་ཟླ་བའི་ངོས་འཛིན་ལ་པཎྜི་ཏ་ཕྲི་མ་ལ་ཝེའི་ཞལ་སྔ་ནས། བོད་རྣམས་དབོས་ཀྱ་བར་འདོད་པའི་ཟླ་བ་འདི་ལ་ཁ་ཆེ་བ་རྣམས་ནག་པས་ཀྱ་བར་འདོད་ཅེས་གསུངས་པ་དང་། ཤོང་སྟོན་གྱི་ཞལ་སྔ་ནས་ཀྱང་། རྒྱ་གར་པ་རྣམས་སྨལ་པོའི་ཟླ་བ་འདི། བོད་རྣམས་ལས་ཟླ་བ་གཅིག་སྔ་བར་འདོད་པར་སྣང་ངོ་།། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་གནོད་པར་འགྱུར་ཏེ། ད་ལྟར་གྱིས་གླང་གི་འདི་ལྟ་བུ་ལ་བྱེད་རྩིས་སྤྱི་ལུགས

18 ཕུག་པ་ལྷུན་གྲུབ་རྒྱ་མཚོ། 2002: 50.5.

19 མཁས་གྲུབ་ནོར་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ། 2004: 446.20.

ཀྱི་རྗེས་སུ་འབྲངས་ཏེ། བོད་སྤྱི་མངས་ལ་ཧོར་ཟླ་གསུམ་པ་ཞེས་ཡོངས་སུ་གྲགས་པ་འདི་ཉིད་འཁྲུལ་སེལ་རང་ལུགས་ལ་ནག་པའི་ཟླ་བ་ཡིན་ནོ་ཞེས་འདོད་པར་བསྒྲུབས་ཟིན་པའི་ཕྱིར་རོ།།[20] ཕྱིད་གྲུབ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དབང་དུ་བྱས་ནའང་སྐབས་འདིར་གནོད་པ་མི་འཕོག་པ་ལྟར་མངོན།

དེ་ཉིད་ལས། རྒྱུད་འགྲེལ་ལས། ཉི་མའི་སྐར་མ་ཉི་ཤུ་དང་། ཆུ་ཚོད་དུ་བཅོ་ལྔ་བྱུང་སྟེ། ཉི་མ་ཆུ་སྲིན་གྱི་ཁྱིམ་དུ་འཇུག་པའི་དུས་དེར་དགུན་ཉི་ལྡོག་པར་གསུངས་པ་ནི། ལྷོ་གླིང་དབུས་མའི་ཤར་ནུབ་ཀྱི་དབུས་དྲང་པོའི་འཕགས་ཡུལ་སོགས་ཡུལ་དྲུག་གི་སའི་ཆར་དགུན་ཉི་ལྡོག་པའི་དབང་དུ་བྱས་ནས་གསུངས་པ་ཡིན་ཅིང་། རང་ཅག་རྣམས་གནས་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་སའི་ཆ་འདི་ནི་ལྷོ་གླིང་དབུས་མའི་ཤར་ནུབ་ཀྱི་དབུས་དྲང་པོ་ལས་ཤར་དུ་རིང་དུ་གནས་པའི་ཕྱིར་རོ།། དེ་ཉིད་རྒྱུ་མཚན་གང་གིས་གྲུབ་སྙམ་ན། དེ་ཡང་མིག་སྐར་མངོན་སུམ་པ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་འགྲུབ་སྟེ། རང་ཅག་རྣམས་གནས་པའི་སའི་ཆ་འདིར་དགུན་ཉི་ལོག་པའི་ཚེས་གང་དང་གང་གི་བཅུ་གསུམ་ཆ་སོགས་དེ་དང་། དེ་འདས་པའི་མཐའ་གྲུབ་མཐའ་རྣམ་པར་དག་པའི་ཉི་དག་ལ་སྐར་མ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་དང་། ཆུ་ཚོད་ཉེར་དྲུག ཆུ་སྲང་ང་བཞིའོ།། དེ་ལས་སླེབས་པའི་ཟླ་སྐར་དེ་མིག་སྐར་དང་མཐུན་པ་མངོན་སུམ་གྱིས་གྲུབ།[21] ཅེས་སོགས་དུ་མ་འཁོད་ཡོད།

དེར་བརྟེན་ཉི་འདྲེད་སྐར་འཕོ་ཞེས་པའི་གོ་དོན་ཞིག་བོད་རྩིས་སུ་ལག་བསྟར་གནང་ཚེ་གནོད་བྱེད་ཐམས་ཅད་རང་སར་ཞི་ཞིང་། འཇིག་རྟེན་སྤྱི་ལུགས་དང་མཐུན་པ་ཞིག་འབྱུང་རྒྱུ་དང་དེ་མིན་ཁ་ཆེའི་རྩིས་ལྟར་རྩིས་རིག་གིས་དུས་ཚིགས་མི་རྟོགས་པ་འབྱུང་ཉེན་ཆེའོ།། འོན། བོད་རྩིས་ནང་ཇི་ལྟར་ལག་བསྟར་བྱ་དགོས་ཞེ་ན། དུས་འཁོར་དགོངས་དོན་ལྟར་ལོ་དྲུག་ཅུའི་མཚམས་སུ་རྩིས་འགོ་སྤྱི་སྐབས་རབ་བྱུང་རེ་རེར་བར་ཁྱད་ཇི་བྱུང་སྣོན་འཕྲི་མཛད་ན་དཀའ་བའི་གནད་ལས་འགྲོལ་ལོ།། དེ་ནི་དེང་གི་རྩིས་ཀྱི་འགྲོས་དང་མཐུན་པར་འགྱུར་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་སྙམ། དེ་བཞིན་རྫུ་ཕྱ་ཡར་སློག་རྩིས་སྐབས་རྩིས་འཕྲོའི་ཐད་ཁ་སྣོན་མཆན་དང་བཅས་པ་བྱ་དགོས་པར་སེམས་སོ།།

དེ་བཞིན་འདུལ་བ་དང་མངོན་པ་སོགས་ནས་ཀྱང་ལོ་འགོ་ཟླ་འགོའི་འཛིན་ཚུལ་མང་དུ་བསྟན་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། ཕལ་ཆེ་བ་རགས་པ་ཙམ་ལས་སྐར་རྩིས་དང་དཔྱད་པ་མཉམ་གཞིབ་ཐུབ་མཁན་མེད་པ་ལྟ་བུ་སྣང་བ་མ་ཟད། མཆིམས་མཛོད་དུ། བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ཀྱིས་བཀའ་སྩལ་པ། འདི་ནི་ཡུས་ཏེ་སྐར་རྩིས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རྗེས་སུ་འབྲང་བར་བྱའོ།། ཞེས་སྐར་རྩིས་པ་ལ་ཁ་འཕང་པ་ལ་གཞིགས་ན་སྐར་རྩིས་པའི་ལམ་དུ་ཁ་ཕྱོགས་ན་ལེགས་པར་སྙམ་མོ།།

དེ་བཞིན་ཆོ་འཕྲུལ་ཟླ་བ་དང་། ས་ག་ཟླ་བ། བླ་མ་སྐྱེས་ཆེན་དམ་པ་རྣམས་སྐུ་བལྟམས་པ་དང་མྱ་ངན་ལས་འདས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་དུས་ཚིགས་སོགས་ལ་དགེ་སྡིག་གང་བྱས་ཀྱང་དགེ་སྡིག་འགྱུར་ཁྲིད་བྱུང་ཚུལ་དུ་མ་གསུངས་པ་རྣམས་རྩིལ་གྱིས་དྲིལ་ན་རྩ་རླུང་

[20] མཁས་གྲུབ་ནོར་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ། 2004: 447.23.

[21] མཁས་གྲུབ་ནོར་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ 2004: 448.19.

ཐིག་ལེའི་རྣམ་གཞག་དང་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་གྱི་ཆོས་ཉིད་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་བྱུང་སྟབས། འདི་ལྟའི་དགེ་སྒྲུབ་ཚོགས་བསགས་སྒྲིབ་སྦྱོང་སོགས་ལ་འབད་སྐབས་ཟླ་བའི་རང་བཞིན་མཁྱེན་ན་དེ་དེ་བཞིན་གྱི་འབྲས་བུའང་སྨིན་རྒྱུ་ངེས་སྟབས་དེ་ལྟར་དཔྱད་གཞིའི་ཚུལ་དུ་བྲིས་པའོ།། །།

གོང་འཁོད་གྲུབ་དོན་རྣམས་སྐར་རྩིས་རིག་པའི་སློབ་གཉེར་ཐ་མལ་བ་བདག་གིས་མཁས་གྲུབ་དགེ་བའི་བཤེས་གཉེན་རྣམས་དང་། སྐར་རྩིས་པ་བསླབ་པ་བགྲེས་པ་རྣམས་ལ་ཞུ་དག་བྱ་བའི་ཚུལ་དང་། རང་དང་སྐལ་པ་མཉམ་པའི་རོགས་གྲོགས་དག་ལ་གླེང་མོལ། བློ་གསར་གཞོན་ནུ་རྣམས་ལ་རྣམ་པར་དཔྱད་པའི་བློ་སྒོ་དང་སྤོབས་པ་འབྱེད་པའི་ཚུལ་དུ་ཕུལ་བས་སྐར་རྩིས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཐུགས་དགོངས་ལེགས་པར་དཔྱད་དེ་ཇི་དགེའི་ཐག་ཆོད་འབྱུང་བའི་ས་བོན་སྐྲུན་པའི་རྒྱུ་རྐྱེན་འགྱུར་བར་སྨོན། རྒྱ་གར་ཡུལ་དབུས་ཝཱ་རཱ་ཎ་སཱི་དབུས་བོད་ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་སློབ་གཉེར་ཁང་གི་རྩིས་དགེའི་མིང་འཛིན་བྱམས་པ་ཆོས་འཕེལ་ལྷ་སྦྱིན་པས་རབ་བྱུང་བཅུ་བདུན་པ་མེ་ཕོ་སྤྲེལ་གྱི་ཕུག་ལུགས་གྲུབ་རྩིས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ནག་པ་ཟླ་བའི་དཀར་ཕྱོགས་རྫོགས་པ་གསུམ་པ། རེས་གཟའ་ཕུར་བུ་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༢༠༡༨ ཟླ་བ་ ༤ ཚེས་ ༢༡ ཉིན་ཡོངས་སུ་རྫོགས་པར་བྲིས་པའོ།། དགེ་བའི་འགྲོ་ཀུན་དུས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོའི་གོ་འཕང་མངོན་དུ་བྱེད་པའི་རྒྱུ་རུ་གྱུར་ཅིག་གྱུ།། །།

ཟླ་བའི་མིང་རྩིས་རིག་དང་སྦྱར་ནས་ངོས་འཛིན་བྱ་ཚུལ།

ཟླ་གྲངས་	རྒྱ་གར།	ཉ་སྐར།	ཁྱིམ།	དུས་ཚིགས་༤རབ་འབྱིང་ཐ་གསུམ་དང་སྦྱོར་ཚུལ།	རྟེན་འབྲེལ།	ལོ་རྟགས་༡༢རབ་འབྱིང་ཐ་གསུམ་དང་སྦྱོར་ཚུལ།
༡	མཱགྷ	མཆུ།	བུམ་པ།	དཔྱིད་ཟླ་ར་བ།	འདུ་བྱེད།	དཔྱིད་ཟླ་ཐ་ཆུང་འབྲུག
༢	ཕཱལྒུན	དབོ།	ཉ།	དཔྱིད་ཟླ་འབྲིང་པོ།	རྣམ་ཤེས།	དབྱར་ཟླ་ར་བ་སྦྲུལ།
༣	ཙཻཏྲ	ནག་པ།	ལུག	དཔྱིད་ཟླ་ཐ་ཆུང་།	མིང་གཟུགས།	དབྱར་ཟླ་འབྲིང་པོ་རྟ།
༤	བཻཤཱཁ	ས་ག	གླང་།	དབྱར་ཟླ་ར་བ།	སྐྱེ་མཆེད།	དབྱར་ཟླ་ཐ་ཆུང་ལུག
༥	ཛྱེཥྛ	སྣྲོན།	འཁྲིག	དབྱར་ཟླ་འབྲིང་པོ།	རེག་པ།	སྟོན་ཟླ་ར་བ་སྤྲེལ།
༦	ཨཱཥཱཌ	ཆུ་སྟོད	ཀརྐ།	དབྱར་ཟླ་ཐ་ཆུང་།	ཚོར་བ།	སྟོན་ཟླ་འབྲིང་པོ་བྱ།
༧	ཤྲཱབཎ	གྲོ་བཞིན།	སེངྒེ།	སྟོན་ཟླ་ར་བ།	སྲེད།	སྟོན་ཟླ་ཐ་ཆུང་ཁྱི།
༨	བྷཱདྲཔད	ཁྲུམས་སྟོད།	བུ།	སྟོན་ཟླ་འབྲིང་པོ།	ལེན་པ།	དགུན་ཟླ་ར་བ་ཕག
༩	ཨཱཤྭིན	དབྱུ་གུ	སྲང་།	སྟོན་ཟླ་ཐ་ཆུང་།	སྲིད་པ།	དགུན་ཟླ་འབྲིང་པོ་བྱི་བ།
༡༠	ཀཱརྟིཀ	སྨིན་དྲུག	གཞུ།	དགུན་ཟླ་ར་བ།	སྐྱེ་བ།	དགུན་ཟླ་ཐ་ཆུང་གླང་།

༡༡	མྲྀགཤཱིརྵ	མགོ	ཆུ་སྨིན།	དགུན་ཟླ་འབྲིང་པོ།	ཏ་ཤི།	དཔྱིད་ཟླ་ར་བ་སྟག
༡༢	པཽཥ	རྒྱལ།	སྨིག	དགུན་ཟླ་ཐ་ཆུང་།	མ་རིག	དཔྱིད་ཟླ་འབྲིང་པོ་ཡོས།

གནའ་བོའི་མཁས་གྲུབ་གྲུབ་པས་ལམ་ཞུགས་ནས།།
ལེགས་བཤད་བདུད་རྩིའི་རོ་མཆོག་འཁྲུངས་པ་མཚར།།
དེང་རབས་སློབ་སྦྱོང་དབེན་པའི་མཁས་པ་འགས།།
སྣ་མང་འཕྲུལ་ཆས་ལམ་དུ་སྤྱོར་བར་བྱེད།།

འབྲུམས་གླུས་མཁའ་དབྱིངས་གོ་ལའི་གློང་ཡངས་སུ།།
ཁྱིམ་དང་རྒྱུ་སྐར་གཞལ་བྱའི་ཡུལ་དུ་འགྱུར།།
བགྲོད་བྱེད་གཟའ་རྣམས་རང་འཁོར་སྣ་མང་ཐོག།
སྤྱོད་ཀྱང་ས་རིས་རིག་པས་འཇལ་བ་མཚར།།

མཐའ་མེད་ཀུན་གསལ་ཡངས་པའི་འཛོངས་བུ་རུ།།
མཛེས་པའི་གཟའ་སྐར་ཁྱུ་ཚོགས་གཡོ་ཞིང་འགྲོ།།
བློ་གསར་སྤྱོད་འདོད་བྱུང་བའི་ཁྱུ་ཚོགས་རྣམས།།
རིངས་པའི་ཚུལ་གྱིས་སྤྱོན་ལ་དགྱེས་པར་རོལ།།

གཞལ་ཡས་གཟའ་སྐར་འགྲོས་ཕྱོགས་ལ་བརྟེན་ཞིང་།།
ནམ་ཟླ་དུས་བཞིའི་འགྱུར་ལྡོག་སྣ་མང་རྣམས།།
གདོད་ནས་མཁྱེན་པས་བླང་དོར་མཛད་སྲུམ་དུ།།
སྔོན་པའི་དུས་འཁོར་བླ་མས་རྩིས་སུ་བསྒྲགས།།

མཁའ་དབྱིངས་ཟླ་བ་གཅིག་ལ་རྩིས་ཚུལ་མང་།།
ལུང་རིགས་དུ་མས་གཞལ་ཏེ་མི་གཅིག་པ།།
རྣམ་དག་རིག་པའི་འཕྲུལ་ཆས་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས།།
ཟླ་བའི་གྲུབ་དོན་ཉིད་ལ་རྩོད་པར་མཛོད།།

སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་དང་རྗེ་བཙུན་སྒྲོལ་མ་སོགས།།
ཐབས་མཁས་ཐུགས་རྗེས་དབྱངས་འཆར་མཁན་པོར་འགྲེལ།།
གནའ་དེང་ཨང་རྩིས་མཁས་རྣམས་སོ་སྐྱེ་འམ།།
ཐབས་མཁས་ཐུགས་རྗེའི་སྤྲུལ་པར་ཆ་མ་རྟོགས།།

སངས་རྒྱས་བྱང་སེམས་མཛད་པའི་ཆ་འདྲ་ཡང་།།
ཟབ་གནད་ཉམས་ལེན་ཟབ་མོ་ཕལ་ཆེར་དབེན།།
སྐྱབས་ཀྱི་གནས་སུ་མེད་ཀྱང་མོས་གུས་འོས།།
ཀུན་ཀྱང་མཆོད་པར་བྱ་བའི་གནས་སུ་མཐོང་།།

སྐར་རྩིས་རིག་པའི་གཞུང་ལུགས་ཕྱི་མོ་དཔལ་ལྡན་དུས་འཁོར་ལོ།།
ཕྱི་ནང་གཞན་གསུམ་དག་སྦྱོར་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཆེ་བ་ཕུལ་དུ་བྱུང་།།
གང་གི་དགོངས་པ་དཔྱིས་ཕྱིན་འགྲེལ་བ་ཉིན་མོའི་སྐར་མ་ལྟར།།
ལས་འདི་བསྒྲུབས་པའི་དགེ་ཚོགས་མཆིས་ཚེ་འགྲོ་ཀུན་ཀུན་ལ་བསྔོ།།

འཇིག་རྟེན་ཁམས་འདིར་གང་གི་གྲུ་སྟོན་མཛད་སྒོ་མང་།།
བདག་གིས་ལག་པའི་ཕྱེད་ཕྱག་གུས་ཤིང་སྙིང་ནས་བཀུར།།
མཉེས་མཆོད་སྒོམ་སྒྲུབ་ཟང་ཟིང་མཆོད་པ་བདག་ལ་དབེན།།
སུག་བྲིས་ཙུང་ཟད་འདི་ཡིས་མགོན་མཆོག་ཐུགས་དགྱེས་ཤོག།

འཇིག་རྟེན་ཀུན་ལ་ནད་འཆི་གོད་ཆགས་ཅི་མཆིས་པ།།
རྨིག་མེད་མིང་ཙམ་མེད་པར་ཐལ་བ་འདུལ་དུ་སློག།
ཀུན་ལ་དགའ་བདེའི་དཔལ་ཡོན་འབབ་ཞིག་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་ཅིང་།།
ཟད་མེད་འཛོ་བའི་སློན་འདུན་དྲག་པོས་མཚམས་སྦྱོར་རོ།།

སརྦམངྒལམ། སརྦམངྒལམ།

དཔེ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཐོ་གཞུང་།

མཁས་གྲུབ་ནོར་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ། [1483] 2004 དུས་འཁོར་འགྲེལ་ཆེན་དྲི་མེད་འོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱན། བོད་ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཞིབ་དཔྱོད་ཁང་།

མཁས་གྲུབ་ནོར་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ། [1470] 2002 པད་དཀར་ཞལ་ལུང་ལས་རྩིས་ལ་ལོག་རྟོགས་ཀུན་སེལ་སྒྲོན་མ། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་།

འགོས་ལོ་གཞོན་ནུ་དཔལ། [1443] n.d. རྩིས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་བཅོས་འཕྲུལ་སེལ། (ཆ་མ་ཚང་།)

འགྲོ་མགོན་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་འཕགས་པ། 1998 འགྲོ་མགོན་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་འཕགས་པའི་སྐར་རྩིས་སྐོར་གྱི་གསུང་བཏུས། བོད་ཀྱི་རྩིས་རིག་ཀུན་བཏུས་ཆེན་མོ་ལས་དེབ་ཕྲེང་གཉིས་པ་སྐར་རྩིས་ཀྱི་སྐོར། སི་ཁྲོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་།

མཆིམས་འཛམ་པའི་དབྱངས། 1989 མཛོད་འགྲེལ་མངོན་པའི་རྒྱན། ཀྲུང་གོའི་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་།

རྗེ་བཙུན་གྲགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། 1998 རྗེ་བཙུན་གྲགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་སྐར་རྩིས་སྐོར་གྱི་གསུང་བཏུས། བོད་ཀྱི་རྩིས་རིག་ཀུན་བཏུས་ཆེན་མོ་ལས་དེབ་ཕྲེང་གཉིས་པ་སྐར་རྩིས་ཀྱི་སྐོར། སི་ཁྲོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་།

སྡེ་སྲིད་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོ། [1685] 1997 ཕུག་ལུགས་རྩིས་ཀྱི་ལེགས་བཤད་མཁས་པའི་མགུལ་རྒྱན་བཻཌཱུར་དཀར་པོའི་དོ་ཤལ་དཔྱོད་ལྡན་སྙིང་ནོར། སྟོད་ཆ། ཀྲུང་གོའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་རིག་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་།

ཕུག་པ་ལྷུན་གྲུབ་རྒྱ་མཚོ། [1447] 2002 རྩིས་གཞུང་པད་དཀར་ཞལ་ལུང་། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་།

བུ་སྟོན་རིན་ཆེན་གྲུབ། [1321] 2010 འཇིག་རྟེན་ཁམས་ཀྱི་ལེའུའི་འགྲེལ་བཤད་དྲི་མ་མེད་པའི་འོད་མཆན། བུ་སྟོན་གསུང་འབུམ། ཀ སྔར་གློག་རྒྱབ་དུས།

མི་འགྱུར་རྡོ་རྗེ། 1998 བྱང་འབྲོག་ཁྲུལ་དུ་དར་བའི་སྐར་བརྟག་གནམ་དཔྱད་སྐོར། བོད་ཀྱི་རྩིས་རིག་ཀུན་བཏུས་ཆེན་མོ་ལས་དེབ་ཕྲེང་གཉིས་པ་སྐར་རྩིས་ཀྱི་སྐོར། སི་ཁྲོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་།

ཡུམ་པ། 1998 བོད་ཀྱི་གནའ་རབས་རྩིས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ནྱ་གྲོཏྟ་ཡི་ས་བོན། བོད་ཀྱི་རྩིས་རིག་ཀུན་བཏུས་ཆེན་མོ་ལས་དེབ་ཕྲེང་དང་པོ་སྐར་ནག་རྩིས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྐོར། སི་ཁྲོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་།

རིགས་ལྡན་འཇམ་དཔལ་གྲགས་པ། n.d. མཆོག་གི་དང་པོའི་སངས་རྒྱས་ལས་ཕྱུང་བ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དཔལ་དུས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ། རྒྱུད། ཙ སྡེ་དགེ་བསྟན་འགྱུར།

རིགས་ལྡན་པདྨ་དཀར་པོ། n.d. བསྡུས་པའི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དུས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོའི་འགྲེལ་བཤད་རྩ་བའི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་རྗེས་སུ་འཇུག་པ་སྟོང་ཕྲག་བཅུ་གཉིས་པ་དྲི་མ་མེད་པའི་འོད། རྒྱུད། ད སྡེ་དགེ་བསྟན་འགྱུར།

ལོ་ཆེན་རྣམ་ཤྲཱི། [1714] 2003 རྩིས་ཀྱི་མན་ངག་ཉིན་མོར་བྱེད་པའི་སྣང་བའི་འགྲེལ་པ་རྣམ་འགྲེལ་གསེར་གྱི་ཤིང་རྟ། བོད་ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཞིབ་དཔྱོད་ཁང་།

❖

Examining the Blo sbyong Component in Thogs med bzang po's Collected Works

Gloria I-Ling Chien

(Virginia Commonwealth University)

Blo sbyong, or 'mind training,' is a Tibetan Buddhist meditation practice that helps devotees remove destructive emotions and develop compassion towards all sentient beings.[1] To have universal compassion is not only a crucial goal for Blo sbyong practice, but is also a representative characteristic of the career of a bodhisattva in Mahāyāna Buddhism. Best known as rGyal sras Thogs med or dNgul chu'i Thogs med, Thogs med bzang po (1295–1369) is a renowned Blo sbyong master. His *Thirty-Seven Practices of Bodhisattvas* (*rGyal sras lag len so bdun ma*) has attracted the most attention out of his *Collected Works* (*bKa' 'bum* or *gSung 'bum*) from scholars even today.[2]

In spite of Thogs med bzang po's importance, his texts that discuss Blo sbyong have received little academic attention. These Blo sbyong texts are included in different editions of his *Collected Works*. This article analyzes the most complete edition of Thogs med bzang po's *Collected Works*, printed in the Dergé Printing House (sDe dge par khang). First I shall show how this edition provides a more thorough context for Thogs med bzang po's Blo sbyong philosophy than any other edition. Second, I shall demonstrate how the two editors of Thogs med bzang po's *Collected Works* construct their religious identities by building on the transmission of Blo sbyong teaching that Thogs med bzang po established. In this way, those editors justify their authority and the authenticity of the Blo sbyong tradition.

---

1 For an early discussion on the English translation of the Tibetan term *blo sbyong* and its meaning, see Stein 1972: 267; Tucci 1980: 23; Sweet 1996; Sweet and Zwilling 2001; Jinpa 2006, and Troughton 2008.

2 Such as Dilgo Khyentse 2007: 43–204; Tegchok and Chodron 2005; Gyatso 2010.

Gloria I-Ling Chien, "Examining the Blo sbyong Component in Thogs med bzang po's Collected Works", *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 37, December 2016, pp. 48–68.

1. Thogs med bzang po's Collected Works

There are at least five editions of Thogs med bzang po's *Collected Works* preserved today. For the sake of this discussion and in order to avoid confusion, this article names each edition based on where it comes from. The list of these editions and a brief description of their printing histories are as follows.

1. The Bhutan edition.[3]
2. The Dergé *Collected Works*.[4]
3. The Labrang (Bla brang) edition.[5]
4. The Drepung ('Bras spungs) manuscript.
5. The Ngülchu (dNgul chu) edition.[6]

Except for the Drepung manuscript, the other editions include the same one hundred and thirteen texts with some minor differences.[7] Thus I name these texts, as a group, the "113 Texts."

I shall first discuss the Bhutan edition. Thogs med bzang po composed one hundred and thirteen separate texts either at dNgul chu'i chos rdzong or at Bo dong E Monastery before his death in 1369. Then, disciple dPal ldan ye shes wrote Thogs med bzang po's biography, *Drops of Ambrosia*, around the late fourteenth century.[8] Later, dGe 'dun skyabs's team arranged or transcribed the "113 Texts."[9] Lord sGrol ma of Chu 'dus sponsored the printing of these texts, most likely in 1446.[10] Last, an unknown team combined *Drops of*

---

3 Thogs med bzang po 1975 and dPal ldan ye shes 1975.

4 TBRC has two digital facsimiles of this work. Their TBRC reference numbers are W1CZ895 and W00EGS1016240. The latter version has much clearer images so it was chosen for this discussion. See the last entry under Thogs med bzang po, n.d. [W00EGS1016240], in the bibliography.

5 Thogs med bzang po 2011.

6 Thogs med bzang po, n.d. [W1KG12765].

7 For example, the seventh text in the Dergé *Collected Works* is complete. However, the Bhutan and the Ngülchu editions omit words in different places; they have markers to indicate missing content. See Thogs med bzang po n.d. [W00EGS1016240]: 22.5–25.5; 1975: 65.1–66.2; n.d. [W1KG12765]: 10.5–11.1.

8 The text title is *rGyal sras rin po che thogs med pa'i rnam thar bdud rtsi'i thigs*. See dPal ldan ye shes 1975: 1–45.

9 Thogs med bzang po 1975: 47–434.

10 The colophon states that this *Collected Works* was completed in the Year of the Male-Fire Tiger under the sponsorship of Mi dbang Chu 'dus Drung chen sgrol ma. See Thogs med bzang po 1975: 433.2–6. I suspect that this Drung chen sgrol ma is the same person mentioned in Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po's (1382–1456) biography. As Jörg Heimbel points out, Ngor chen established a monastery in Chu 'dus and purification rituals for his patron, Drung chen sgrol ma, also called Chu 'dus sDe pa sgrol smyon. See Heimbel 2014: 431 and 437–38. The same Tibetan phrase "*drung chen sgrol ma*" and the place "Chu 'dus" appear both in the

Ambrosia with the "113 Texts" to produce the Bhutan edition, which was published in 1975.

The first part of the Dergé *Collected Works* contains the same "113 Texts." Its second part is text 114, titled *Great Hearing Transmission of Mind Training* (*Blo sbyong snyan brgyud chen mo*, hereafter called *Hearing Transmission*). The colophon shows that bSod nams mgon po sponsored the printing of the "113 Texts" in order to make his father's lifespan long.[11] bSod nams mgon po's father was the sDe dge ruler bsTan pa tshe ring (1678–1738). Thus this printing project must have been completed by 1738. The colophon of *Hearing Transmission* states that Kun dga' phrin las rgya mtsho (1714–1751) was the patron of this printing project.[12] Apparently, Kun dga' phrin las rgya mtsho's team published the "113 Texts" and *Hearing Transmission* as a

colophon of the "113 Texts" and in Ngor chen's biography. Based on Ngor chen's lifespan, the Year of the Male-Fire Tiger recorded in the colophon of "113 Texts" could be the year of 1446. Moreover, textual information shows that a manuscript (or even a block-print) of Thogs med bzang po's *Collected Works* had been accessible to scholars before 1446. In his *Thob yig rgya mtsho*, Ngor chen gave one hundred and seven titles for Thogs med bzang po's *Fragmentary Collected Works* (*bKa' 'bum thor bu*). Hereafter, I call Ngor chen's list "107 Titles." Ngor chen received the reading transmission (*lung*) of this *bKa' 'bum thor bu* from his teacher Grub chen Buddhaśrī (1339–1420) who received this reading transmission from Lo chen Byang chub rtse mo (1303–1380). Lo chen was Thogs med bzang po's disciple and inherited the reading transmission from him. See Heimbel 2014: 201–02, and 217; Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po 1993: 303.4–5; dPal gyi rin chen 2008: 119, 139, 190, 203, and 207. This line of transmission implies that a version of Thogs med bzang po's *Collected Works* at Ngor chen's disposal was completed by Thogs med bzang po's death in 1369. After comparing Ngor chen's "107 Titles" with the "113 Texts," I suspect that the content of "107 Titles" is similar to that in the "113 Texts." For example, the last eleven text titles in "107 Titles" correspond to texts 103 to 113 in the "113 Texts." See Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po 1993: 303.1–3; Thogs med bzang po 1975: 411.1–31.4. While some texts from the "113 Texts," such as texts 39 to 41, are not listed in "107 Titles," most of the texts recorded in the "113 Texts" have corresponding titles in "107 Titles" and are in a similar order. Sometimes a text title listed in "107 Titles" contains two or three texts in the "113 Texts" if they are related to a similar subject. For example, text title "*slob dpon chos mchog la gnyis*," in "107 Titles" combines texts 92 and 93, which are about offerings to Slob dpon Chos mchog in the "113 Texts." See Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po 1993: 302.6; Thogs med bzang po 1975: 401.4–406.2. Another piece of textual evidence shows that Ngor chen's teacher, Sa bzang 'Phags pa (1346–1412), studied under Thogs med bzabg po after he turned twenty-one in 1366. Before his death in 1369, Thogs med bzang po bestowed the reading transmission of his *Collected Works* upon Sa bzang. See Heimbel 2014: 233–34. Both Lo chen and Sa bzang received the reading transmission from Thogs med bzang po. Ngor chen's "107 Titles" can be traced back to Lo chen. Thus, it is certain that a manuscript of Thogs med bzabg po's *Collected Works*, which resembles the "113 Texts," was circulated among scholars before Drung chen sgrol ma sponsored printing the "113 Texts" hypothetically in 1446.

11 Thogs med bzang po n.d. [W00EGS1016240]: 425.6–26.5.

12 *Ibid*.: 593.5–6.

whole work, the Dergé *Collected Works*, by the middle of the eighteenth century. In terms of the editors who combined the "113 Texts" and *Hearing Transmission* into a single document in the first place, this could have been the Fifth Dalai Lama (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho; 1617–1682). I shall explore this possibility in more detail below.

As for the Labrang edition, its content and colophons are the same as those of the Dergé *Collected Works*, with two missing words.[13] A copy of the Dergé *Collected Works* could have been brought to Labrang Monastery as early as the late eighteenth century.[14] Later that copy became the source of today's Labrang edition published in 2011.

As for the Drepung manuscript, it only has a partial set of "113 Texts" and does not have a colophon. According to its cataloguing markers, this manuscript could have been brought to Drepung Monastery from a library not belonging to the dGe lugs pa school during the Fifth Dalai Lama's lifetime.[15]

The Ngülchu edition does not have a colophon, but states that it is a copy of an older Ngülchu print. This edition could have been printed during or after the nineteenth century.[16]

I have chosen the Dergé *Collected Works* to base our discussion upon because it has the complete "113 Texts" and includes *Hearing Transmission*. I shall next analyze the textual organisation in the

---

13 In the fifty-eighth text, the Labrang edition has two words missing: *gzhan don*. See Thogs med bzang po n.d. [W00EGS1016240]: 344.6; 2011: 208.

14 The second 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa, dKon mchog 'jigs med dbang po (1728–1791), initiated the printing operation at Labrang Monastery in 1761. Labrang Monastery received printing advice and sources from the Dergé Printing House during the late eighteenth century. See Nourse 2014: 204–05. The Dergé *Collected Works* was published by Kun dga' phrin las rgya mtsho, who passed away in 1751, as mentioned above. Thus I assume that, as early as the late eighteenth century, a copy of the Dergé *Collected Works* was travelling from Dergé to Labrang Monastery.

15 For the cataloguing markers, see Thogs med bzang po n.d. [W1CZ1084]: 151a, 165a, and 205a. The markers were used, but not necessarily created, by the editing team who published the *Drepung Catalogue*, *'Bras spungs dgon du bzhugs su gsol ba'i dpe rnying dkar chag*, in 2004. The preface of the *Drepung Catalogue* indicates that the Drepung manuscript could have been brought to Drepung Monastery from a library not belonging to the dGe lugs pa school during the Fifth Dalai Lama's lifetime. See Thub bstan nyi ma 2004: vol. 1, 7.

16 The Ngülchu edition is from gTsang bzhad dngul chu chos rdzong gi par khang, which was founded in the nineteenth century. See TBRC 2011. Gene Smith states that the regent sTag brag (1874–1952) probably ordered a survey done of printing houses of Central Tibet. This survey shows that Thogs med bzang po's *Fragmentary Collected Works* (*bKa' 'bum thor bu*) was printed at gTsang bzhad dngul chu chos rdzong. See Ngag dbang dge legs de mo 1970: Introduction, 233.4–5.

Dergé *Collected Works*, with each text numbered for the sake of clarity. By doing so, I shall locate Blo sbyong texts while making clear the structure of the "113 Texts" in all other editions. Similarly, I shall discover the structure of the Blo sbyong text, *Hearing Transmission*, in the Labrang edition.

2. *Blo sbyong Texts in the Dergé Collected Works*

In the Dergé *Collected Works*, the first part, "113 Texts," consists of 213 folios and the second part, *Hearing Transmission*, of 82 folios. Based on the folio count, *Hearing Transmission* makes up almost one-third of this work. In most cases within the "113 Texts," texts with similar topics are physically situated together. This fact shows that the editors had some rationale for their arrangement. Even though they might have had certain categories in mind, they did not specify what they were. After analyzing commonalities within its content, I have categorised the Dergé *Collected Works* into ten types of writings. I used existing genre terms when possible. These categories are as follows:

1. Praise/eulogy (*bstod pa*) to the buddhas, bodhisattvas, and masters.
2. Supplication (*gsol 'debs*) to masters.
3. Homage and prostration (*phyag 'tshal ba*) to the buddhas, bodhisattvas, and masters.
4. The *Thirty-Seven Practices of Bodhisattvas*.[17]
5. Preaching.[18]
6. Ritual (*cho ga*).
7. Instruction on dharma practices.
8. Replying with advice to questioners.
9. Aspirational prayer (*smon lam*) for someone.
10. Commentary on 'Chad ka ba's (1102–1176) *Seven-Point Mind Training* (*Blo sbyong don bdun ma*).

Some of these titles are taken from typical Tibetan genres and some of them are my inventions.[19] In the Dergé *Collected Works*, seven texts

---

[17] Due to its popularity and importance, I made text 29, *Thirty-Seven Practices of Bodhisattvas*, its own category.

[18] I created the term "preaching" for category 5 because there is no existing genre term. Texts in this category are related to Thogs med bzang po's teachings.

[19] I created these titles based on TBRC's genre denominations. For example, category 1, "praise" (*bstod pa*), category 2, "supplication" (*gsol 'debs*), category 6, "ritual" (*cho ga*), and category 9, "aspirational prayer" (*smon lam*). Category 7,

contain the term Blo sbyong. Text 9, *Lineage of Mahāyāna Blo sbyong Masters*, represents Thogs med bzang po's establishment of Blo sbyong transmission and its relation with the bKa' gdams pa school.[20] Text 9 is located in the second category, "supplication (*gsol 'debs*) to masters." In texts 42,[21] *Atiśa's Way of Ritual for Generating the Aspiration Awakening Mind and the Engagement Awakening Mind*, and 44, *Great Master Śāntideva's Way of Ritual for Generating the Aspiration Awakening Mind and the Engagement Awakening Mind*,[22] Blo sbyong is mentioned in ritual contexts. Both texts 42 and 44 are in the sixth category, "ritual" (*cho ga*).

In text 59, *Advice on the Stages of Blo sbyong to Spiritual Friend, Raptsé*,[23] Thogs med bzang po refers to Blo sbyong as the contemplation practice of awakening mind. Text 59 is located within category 7, "instruction on dharma practices."

In the eighth category, "replying with advice to someone," texts 63 and 113 are related to Blo sbyong. In text 63, *Advice to Shakya Tendzin Zangpo on The Complete Preparation, Main Practice, and Conclusion of Blo sbyong*,[24] Thogs med bzang po tells Śākya bsTan 'dzin bzang po about Blo sbyong practices in three steps. In text 113, *Reply to Questions in the Last Will of Virtuous Friend, Gyeltsen, Who Wore One Piece of Silk Cloth*, Blo sbyong is mentioned along with the practice of inner heat (*gtum mo*).[25]

While the term Blo sbyong has different applications in the texts mentioned above, texts 45 and 114 included in category 10 are particularly related to the tradition of commentary on 'Chad ka ba's *Seven-Point Mind Training*.[26] Text 45, *Writings in Oral Transmission of Seven-Point Mind Training, Explained in Fewer Words*,[27] and the second

---

"instruction on dharma practices," can be regarded as a subtype of the genre of instruction (*zhal gdams*). Category 8, "replying with advice to someone," contains two Tibetan genre types. One is questions and responses (*dris lan*), and the other is letters (*spring yig*). The precise definitions of different Tibetan genres are contested and developing. For example, category 10, "Commentary on 'Chad ka ba's *Seven-Point Mind Training* can be regarded as either a subtype of the genre of commentary (*'grel pa*) or a subtype of "literature on the paths." To better fit within our study of Blo sbyong context, I created category 10 without using existing genre terms. For more discussion on genres in Tibetan literature, see Sopa, Cabezón, and Jackson 1996.

20 Thogs med bzang po n.d. [W00EGS1016240]: 27.2–31.5.

21 *Ibid*.: 101.2–41.1.

22 *Ibid*.: 149.6–86.6.

23 *Ibid*.: 346.4–48.5.

24 *Ibid*.: 351.6–53.5.

25 *Ibid*.: 423.6–25.5.

26 For discussion on 'Chad ka ba's text and Thogs med bzang po, see Sweet 1996: 249.

27 Thogs med bzang po n.d. [W00EGS1016240]: 187.1–217.6.

part of text 114, *Hearing Transmission*, are Thogs med bzang po's explanations of 'Chad ka ba's work.[28] Furthermore, the author of the first section of text 114, *Hearing Transmission*, is Thogs med bzang po's disciple, dPal ldan ye shes (ca. fourteenth century). dPal ldan ye shes describes Atiśa's life story, the Blo sbyong transmission of seven-point mind training from Atiśa to Thogs med bzang po, as well as the history of the bKa' gdams pa school.[29]

If we simply divide the Dergé *Collected Works* into two parts, one is related to Thogs med bzang po's Blo sbyong teachings, and the other is not. The quantity of texts that have Blo sbyong in the content comprise around half of the Dergé *Collected Works*. According to their content and the categories in the Dergé *Collected Works*, Thogs med bzang po's Blo sbyong teachings can be displayed in five forms: supplication, ritual, replying with advice to questioners, history of Blo sbyong transmission, and commentaries on 'Chad ka ba's *Seven-Point Mind Training*. The high percentage of texts related to Blo sbyong teachings in the Dergé *Collected Works* means that this work functions as a central source for Thogs med bzang po's Blo sbyong philosophy. Such a focus could have been one of the editors' purposes, since the editors could have emphasised other topics in the Dergé *Collected Works*. We can assume that for some reason it was important for the editors to portray Thogs med bzang po as an essential Blo sbyong master. Who were these editors? Most likely they were dPal ldan ye shes and the Fifth Dalai Lama. The textual evidence for their identities as editors of the Dergé *Collected Works* is present in the fact that they established their own Blo sbyong transmission based on Thogs med bzang po's text 9, *Lineage of Mahāyāna Blo sbyong Masters.* I shall discuss these two editors after investigating how Thogs med bzang po constructed his own Blo sbyong lineage.

3. Thogs med bzang po's Blo sbyong Lineage

In text 9, *Lineage of Mahāyāna Blo sbyong Masters*, Thogs med bzang po praises the good qualities of twenty-five revered figures who transmitted the teachings of the Mahāyāna Blo sbyong practice. They

---

[28] *Ibid*.: 454.5–589.6. Based on my comparison of these three texts, Se sPyil bu Chos kyi rgyal mtshan's commentary is the main reference for Thogs med bzang po's explanations of 'Chad ka ba's *Seven-Point Mind Training* recorded in texts 45 and 114. The examination of their differences remains the subject for another research topic.

[29] Thogs med bzang po n.d. [W00EGS1016240]: 430.1–54.5.

are listed as follows, with their original Sanskrit names in parentheses:[30]

1. Shākya'i tog (the Buddha).
2. Mi pham mgon (Maitreya).
3. 'Phags pa Thogs med (Asaṅga).
4. dByig gi gnyen (Vasubandhu).
5. rNam grol ste (Ārya Vimuktisena).
6. bTsun pa rNam grol sde (Bhadanta Vimuktisena).
7. Gu ṇa mi tra.
8. Seng ge bzang (Haribhadra).
9. Gang ba spel (Pūrṇavardhana).
10. Ku su lu.
11. Ku su lu gNyis pa.
12. gSer gling pa.
13. Mar me mdzad (Atiśa).
14. rGyal ba'i 'byung gnas sTon pa.
15. Pu to ba.
16. Sha ra ba.
17. 'Chad ka ba.
18. rGyal ba Se.
19. sKyes mchog lha.
20. lHa sdings pa.
21. lHa sdings dbon.
22. Yon tan dpal.
23. bDe ba dpal.
24. bKa' bzhi ba.
25. bSod nams grags pa.

Certainly Thogs med bzang po did not create such a lineage out of thin air, as many masters in his list were recorded in other Blo sbyong texts. Also, his lineage presentation is associated with the textual tradition of 'Chad ka ba's *Seven-Point Mind Training* (hereafter called *Seven Point*). This aspect can be particularly demonstrated by his inclusion of masters 18 and 25, rGyal ba Se (1121–1189) and bSod nams grags pa (1273–1345). rGyal ba Se, whose full name is Se sPyil bu Chos kyi rgyal mtshan, composed the first commentary on 'Chad ka ba's *Seven Point*.[31] In terms of bSod nams grags pa, Thogs med bzang po addressed him as "Dharma Lord" (*chos kyi rje*), and he wrote ten verses (forty sentences) to revere this Dharma Lord. For the other masters, Thogs med bzang po only writes one or two sentences

[30] *Ibid.*: 27.2–28.5.
[31] Jinpa 2006: 12.

to praise them. Moreover, all three of the earliest Thogs med bzang po biographies mention that bSod nams grags pa taught Thogs med bzang po *Seven Point*.[32] bSod nams grags pa studied Atiśa's works, *Seven Point*, *Guide to the Bodhisattva's Way of Life*, etc.[33] Thus, it is possibly due to bSod nams grags pa's influence that Thogs med bzang po presented this particular Blo sbyong transmission in his text 9, *Lineage of Mahāyāna Blo sbyong Masters*.

An anonymous text contains a similar Blo sbyong transmission lineage to that which Thogs med bzang po presents. This text is *Mahāyāna Mind Training* (*Theg pa chen po'i blo sbyong*; hereafter called *Mahāyāna Mind*), which could have been composed by the twelfth century.[34] Thogs med bzang po orders masters number 12 to 17, gSer gling pa to 'Chad ka ba, in the same way as masters 3 to 8 are ordered in *Mahāyāna Mind*.[35] While acknowledging 'Chad ka ba, *Mahāyāna Mind* treats Blo sbyong differently from 'Chad ka ba's *Seven Point*.[36] In other words, even though the orders of masters in the lineages overlap somewhat, Thogs med bzang po and *Mahāyāna Mind* offer two different Blo sbyong lineage traditions. This textual information reflects the development of Atiśa's Blo sbyong teaching into various branches with alternative, equally valid lineages. Therefore, overlapping records of transmission appear in texts that have different approaches to Blo sbyong.

This situation is even more obvious when comparing Thogs med bzang po's lineage with that in *Eight Sessions Mind Training* (*Blo sbyong thun brgyad ma*; hereafter called *Eight Sessions*). The order of the first six masters in Thogs med bzang po's text 9, *Lineage of Mahāyāna Blo sbyong Masters*, is the same with that in *Eight Sessions*.[37] *Eight Sessions* could have been completed either late in Thogs med bzang po's life or after his death.[38] *Eight Sessions* belongs to another Blo sbyong tradition different from either 'Chad ka ba's *Seven Point* or *Mahāyāna Mind*.[39]

It is not conclusively proved whether or not Thogs med bzang po read *Mahāyāna Mind* or *Eight Sessions*. Because overlapping

---

32 gZhon nu rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po 2008: 18 and 28; dPal gyi rin chen 2008: 125 and 161; dPal ldan ye shes 1975: 18.7 and 29.2.

33 Las chen Kun dga' rgyal mtshan 2003: 585–91.

34 Jinpa 2006: 299–312 and 617, n. 472.

35 dKon mchog rgyal mtshan and gZhon nu rgyal mchog 2004: 194.

36 Jinpa 2006: 617, n. 472.

37 dKon mchog rgyal mtshan and gZhon nu rgyal mchog 2004: 136.

38 I make this assumption because *Eight Session* lists gZhon nu rgyal mchog as the last lineage holder. He compiled the first Blo sbyong anthology, *Great Collection* (*Theg pa chen po blo sbyong brgya rtsa*), in the late fourteenth or in the early fifteenth century.

39 Jinpa 2006: 225–37 and 606, n. 348.

transmissions in various Blo sbyong traditions exist, Thogs med bzang po could have inherited such transmission from his master bSod nams grags pa or from somewhere else.

Thogs med bzang po's educational background influenced the way he incorporated different Blo sbyong transmissions into his text 9, *Lineage of Mahāyāna Blo sbyong Masters*. Master number 1 in Thogs med bzang po's list is the Buddha Śākyamuni. It was probably essential to trace back his Blo sbyong lineage to the founder of the Buddhist teachings. As for masters number 2 to 9, I suggest that Thogs med bzang po incorporated them into the Blo sbyong lineage not just because he was following the perspective of his master bSod nams grags pa or that of the existing tradition. The reason for this inclusion could also be that Thogs med bzang po engaged extensively with Asaṅga's (master 3) and Vasubandhu's (master 4) textual traditions. These two brothers are renowned for their connection with Master 2, Maitreya. As his biographers point out, Thogs med bzang po studied the majority of Asaṅga's texts, including the *Compendium of Abhidharma* (*mNgon pa kun las btus pa*), as well as the five treatises that were believed to have been transmitted from the future Buddha Maitreya to Asaṅga (*byams chos lnga*).[40] Thogs med bzang po composed a commentary for one of these five treatises, the *Sublime Continuum* (*rGyud bla ma*).[41] Moreover, Thogs med bzang po was admired as the "new Asaṅga," and he was even called "Thogs med" (Asaṅga in Tibetan) himself.[42]

Thogs med bzang po's choice of masters 5 to 9 further connects him to Asaṅga's and Vasubandhu's textual traditions. Masters 5 to 8 are related to the commentarial tradition of *Ornament for Clear Realization* (*Abhisamayālaṃkāra, mNgon rtogs rgyan*; hereafter called *Clear Realization*), which is believed to have been revealed to Asaṅga by Maitreya.[43] Master number 8 is Haribhadra (Seng ge bzang po, ca. late eighth century). He is the most well-known Indian commentator on *Clear Realization*.[44] Master number 7, Gu ṇa mi tra, is Haribhadra's teacher. Before Haribhadra, master number 5, Ārya Vimuktisena ('Phags pa rnam grol sde; ca. sixth century), also composed his commentary on *Clear Realization*.[45] Ārya Vimuktisena's follower was

[40] gZhon nu rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po 2008: 6, 9–10, 16, 20, 41; dPal gyi Rin chen, 2008: 82, 85, 89, 91, 97–99, and 105; dPal ldan ye shes 1975: 11.1, 12.3, and 13.3.

[41] Thogs med bzang po [= tbrc.org W1KG12063]; Wangchuk 2009: 171–5.

[42] gZhon nu rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po 2008: 8–9.

[43] For the information about Thogs med bzang po's studies of *Ornament for Clear Realization*, see gZhon nu rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po 2008: 10.

[44] Haribhadra 1991: 169–306. For a translation, see Sparham 2006: 165–319.

[45] For a translation, see Sparham 2006: 3–161.

master number 6, Bhadanta Vimuktisena (bTsun pa rNam grol sde), who also wrote a commentary on *Clear Realization*.

Master 4, Vasubandhu, is also related to Thogs med bzang po's studies. Thogs med bzang po's biographies say that he studied Vasubandhu's works: *The Twenty Verses* [*on Mind Only*] (*nyi shu pa*), *The Thirty Verses of Root Text and Commentary* [on *Mind Only*] (*sum cu pa'i rtsa 'grel*), *Reasoning for Explanations* (*rnam bshad rigs pa*), and the *Treasury of Knowledge* (*Abhidharmakośa*).[46] Master 9, Gang ba spel, was renowned for his commentary on Vasubandhu's *Treasury of Knowledge* (*Abhidharmakośa*).[47] It is worth noting that Gang ba spel is not mentioned in any other of Blo sbyong texts included in the first Blo sbyong anthology, *Great Collection* (*Theg pa chen po blo sbyong brgya rtsa*).

In Thogs med bzang po's list, masters number 13 to number 25 are affiliated with the bKa' gdams pa school. Master 13 is Atiśa, who inspired his followers to establish the bKa' gdams pa tradition. Masters 10 to 12 were related to Atiśa's learning on the generation of awakening mind.[48] Masters number 15, Pu to ba (1027–1105), number 16, Sha ra ba (1070–1141), and number 17, 'Chad ka ba (1101–1175), established the "bKa' gdams pa lineage of treatises" (*gzhung pa*).[49] As described in his biographies, Thogs med bzang po studied and taught five of the six main treatises of this tradition.[50] Masters 17 to 25 are connected to 'Chad ka ba's *Seven Point*, as discussed above.

Ultimately we find that Thogs med bzang po puts together his Blo sbyong lineage by connecting two major Mind Only (*sems tsam*) philosophers, Vasubandhu and Asaṅga, with the commentators of *Clear Realization*, the Blo sbyong transmissions created by some bKa' gdams pa masters, and masters related to 'Chad ka ba's *Seven Point*. Based on the textual evidence, it seems that Thogs med bzang po's educational background and his engagement with these textual traditions played an important role in establishing his Blo sbyong lineage.

---

46 gZhon nu rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po 2008: 16–17; dPal gyi rin chen 2008: 97–98.

47 Gang ba spel 2001: 1587–728.

48 For Atiśa's three masters of the awakening mind, see Jinpa 2006: 8–9.

49 Kaizhu 2013: 46.

50 These texts are 1. *Ornament of the Great Vehicle Sutras* (*mdo sde rgyan*), 2. *Levels of the Bodhisattva* (*byang chub sems dpa'i sa*), 3. *Guide to the Bodhisattva's Way of Life* (*spyod 'jug*), 4. *A Garland of Birth Stories* (*skyes rabs*), 5. *Compendium of Trainings* (*bslab pa kun btus*). See gZhon nu rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po 2008: 10, 18, 22–23, and 38; dPal gyi rin chen, 2008: 86, 89, 91, and 163; dPal ldan ye shes 1975: 11.2, and 13.2. For Thogs med bzang po's commentary on *mdo sde rgyan* and *spyod 'jug*, see Thogs med bzang po 1979 and 2005 respectively.

4. Molding Thogs med bzang po's Blo sbyong Lineage

Thogs med bzang po's Blo sbyong lineage was inherited by his disciple, dPal ldan ye shes, as well as by the Fifth Dalai Lama. dPal ldan ye shes wrote the first section of text 114, *Hearing Transmission*. This section narrates how Blo sbyong teaching was passed down to Thogs med bzang po.[51] At the beginning, dPal ldan ye shes praises Blo sbyong transmission from the Buddha to gSer gling pa.[52] It has the same order from masters 1 to 12 as stated in Thogs med bzang po's text 9, *Lineage of Mahāyāna Blo sbyong Masters*.

After offering this transmission list, dPal ldan ye shes narrates the birth of gSer gling pa and how gSer gling pa became an outstanding master who knew well the practice of generating the awakening mind. Then dPal ldan ye shes goes on to talk about the birth of Atiśa and how Atiśa learned Blo sbyong practice from Dharmarakṣita (*dharma rakṣi ta*), Maitrīyogi (who is also Ku su lu gNyis pa), and gSer gling pa. After Atiśa's arrival in Tibet, dPal ldan ye shes describes how the Blo sbyong teachings were transmitted to different masters. This part of the transmission corresponds to masters 14 to 25 as stated in Thogs med bzang po's list recorded in text 9, *Lineage of Mahāyāna Blo sbyong Masters.* Finally, dPal ldan ye shes addresses Thogs med bzang po as rGyal sras Thogs med. He asserts that this Blo sbyong practice was transmitted to rGyal sras Thogs med, who became well known as the second Avalokiteśvara.[53] Then he employs poetic verses to summarise Thogs med bzang po's life. At the end dPal ldan ye shes refers to his work as a partial history of the transmission (*brgyud pa'i lo rgyus zur tsam*) of Thogs med bzang po's Blo sbyong lineage.[54]

dPal ldan ye shes's narration includes a brief biography of gSer gling pa and Atiśa, the spread of Blo sbyong teachings to Tibet, and a brief introduction of the bKa' gdams pa masters who received teachings before Thogs med bzang po. This history of transmission is situated before Thogs med bzang po's commentary on 'Chad ka ba's *Seven Point*. Apparently, dPal ldan ye shes's purpose was to bolster Thogs med bzang po's connection with the masters praised in text 9, *Lineage of Mahāyāna Blo sbyong Masters.* By so doing, dPal ldan ye shes emphasises the authority and authenticity of Thogs med bzang po's Blo sbyong transmission and interpretation. While dPal ldan ye shes does not directly state that Thogs med bzang po transmitted Blo sbyong teachings to him, the Fifth Dalai Lama includes dPal ldan ye

[51] dPal ldan ye shes in Thogs med bzang po n.d. [W00EGS1016240]: 430.1–54.5.
[52] *Ibid*.: 430.3–31.1.
[53] dPal ldan ye shes in Thogs med bzang po n.d. [W00EGS1016240]: 451.2–3.
[54] *Ibid*.: 451.4–6.

shes as one of the authoritative masters in Thogs med bzang po's lineage. I shall now compare the different Blo sbyong transmissions.

The second section of text 114, *Hearing Transmission*, is Thogs med bzang po's commentary on 'Chad ka ba's *Seven Point*. In the colophon of this second section, dPal ldan ye shes points out that he recorded Thogs med bzang po's commentary. Thogs med bzang po also proofread dPal ldan ye shes's record.[55] After dPal ldan ye shes's colophon, the Za hor monk (*za hor bande*), which is how the Fifth Dalai Lama refers to himself,[56] states that he received the five alternative and valid lineages of Thogs med bzang po's Blo sbyong transmission from his teacher, the abbot of Zhwa lu Monastery, bSod nams mchog grub (1602–1681). Before discussing these lineages, it is worth pointing out that the Fifth Dalai Lama provides text titles in the table of contents of his own edition of Thogs med bzang po's *Collected Works*. After presenting this title list, the Fifth Dalai Lama lists from whom he received Thogs med bzang po's *Collected Works*. It is worth noting that except for a missing text, the order of the Fifth Dalai Lama's text titles is the same as that of the "113 Texts" in the Dergé *Collected Works*.[57] Apparently, versions of the "113 Texts" and *Hearing Transmission* were at the Fifth Dalai Lama's disposal. We may further suppose that the Fifth Dalai Lama may have combined the "113 Texts" and *Hearing Transmission* into a single document. This single document could have become the reference for the creation of the Dergé *Collected Works*.

The five Blo sbyong lineages presented at the end of the Dergé *Collected Works* are the Fifth Dalai Lama's "records of teaching received" (*gsan yig* or *thob yig*). Thus, for the Fifth Dalai Lama, each lineage is a valid transmission. There are thirty-eight Blo sbyong

[55] *Ibid*.: 589.6–90.3.

[56] Van der Kuijp explains that the mysterious place, Za hor, is mentioned in texts connected to the royal families that transmitted Buddhist tantra and other tantric traditions. For example, the text *Zangs gling ma* narrates that Padmasambhava converted the entire kingdom of Za hor to the Buddha's teaching (see van der Kuijp 2013: 114–142). On how the Fifth Dalai Lama constructed a genealogical web that relates his patrilinear line to the Za hor royal family, see *ibid*.: 143–60. There, van der Kuijp asserts that such mythologies made Za hor tales count as historical facts for most Tibetan people. One of these "facts" was the established genealogy that most probably the Fifth Dalai Lama believed. The construction of genealogy correlates with our discussion on the Blo sbyong lineage. Both genealogy and lineage bridge biological and spiritual ancestors to their reputed origins.

[57] Text 32 in the "113 Texts" is missing in the Fifth Dalai Lama's list. Thus, text titles 1 to 31, and 32 to 112, recorded in the Fifth Dalai Lama's list correspond to texts 1 to 31, and 33 to 113 in the "113 Texts." See Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 2009: vol. 2, 110–15.

masters listed in the first lineage.[58] Thogs med bzang po is master 26 and is addressed as rGyal sras Thogs med pa. The order of the first twenty-five masters is the same as the Blo sbyong transmission that Thogs med bzang po records in his text 9, *Lineage of Mahāyāna Blo sbyong Masters*.

The Fifth Dalai Lama mentions that the authors of the five lineages are unclear. However, he is certain that Thogs med bzang po transmitted his Blo sbyong teachings to his immediate disciples: rGya ma pa yon tan 'od in the first lineage, Mang mkhar ba Tshul khrims dpal in the second lineage,[59] and dPal ldan ye shes in the fifth lineage.[60] Mang mkhar ba Tshul khrims dpal and dPal ldan ye shes transmitted Blo sbyong practice to gZhon nu rgyal mchog and dKon mchog rgyal mtshan (1388–1469), who were the editors of the first Blo sbyong anthology, the *Great Collection* (*Theg pa chen po blo sbyong brgya rtsa*).

It is important to point out that parts of the first and second lineages also appear in *The Assemblage of Good Explanations of Mind Training* (*Blo sbyong legs bshad kun 'dus*; hereafter *Assemblage*). *Assemblage* is related to the Fifth Dalai Lama's commentary on 'Chad ka ba's *Seven Point*. Based on the use of direct phrases and quotations in *Assemblage*, it is certain that the Fifth Dalai Lama employed Thogs med bzang po's *Hearing Transmission* and Se sPyil bu's (1121–1189) commentaries on 'Chad ka ba's text for his reference.[61] In the colophon of *Assemblage*, the Fifth Dalai Lama records the transmission of thirty-five masters from whom he received this assemblage of good explanations of mind training.[62] The order of the first twenty-six masters is the same with that in the first lineage. Then masters 27 and 28 listed in *Assemblage* are the same as masters 2 and 3

---

[58] Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho in Thogs med bzang po n.d. [W00EGS1016240]: 592.2–6.

[59] Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho in Thogs med bzang po n.d. [W00EGS1016240]: 592.6–93.1. The second lineage starts with Thogs med bzang po and he is addressed as rGyal sras rin po che.

[60] *Ibid*.: 593.3–6. The fifth lineage starts with Thogs med bzang po and he is addressed as rGyal sras rin po che. The fourth and fifth lineages overlap after master dKon mchog rgyal mtshan.

[61] For example, for the usage of Thogs med bzang po's phrase not found in Se sPyil bu's commentary, "*gnyis pa skye dka' ba la bsgom pa ni/ bdag gis…gnod pa chen po byed pa lta bu la bsgoms te/*," see Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1996: 87.1, and Thogs med bzang po n.d. [W00EGS1016240]: 525.3–4. For the usage in Se sPyil bu's quotation from *sPyod 'jug* "*sems can rnams don bs…/ /yid bzhin gyis ni lus su bsgyu*," see Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1996: 84.4 and 104.6. See also Se sPyil bu in dKon mchog rgyal mtshan and gZhon nu rgyal mchog 2004: 47. These quotations are not found in *Hearing Transmission*.

[62] Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1996: 247.3–6.

in the second lineage.[63] The remaining masters 29 to 35 in *Assemblage* are not mentioned in the five lineages in the Dergé *Collected Works*. Obviously *Assemblage* offers another valid lineage of Thogs med bzang po's Blo sbyong transmission.

The records of Thogs med bzang po, dPal ldan ye shes, and the Fifth Dalai Lama concerning the Blo sbyong transmission demonstrate an unbroken continuity of a certain authoritative teaching. This effort invites a discussion of the formation of religious lineage after the Buddha's death and various lineage claims in Chinese Buddhism. As Elizabeth Morrison points out, as early as the first century CE, the Pāli and Sanskrit records found in Sri Lanka and Northern India offer different lists of monks who transmitted the *Vinaya*, *Abhidhamma*, and teachings from the time of the Buddha. These lines of transmission affirm the authenticity of their tradition.[64] The establishment of a lineage to legitimise its Buddhist tradition is even more emphasised in the Chinese context, in which genealogy was deeply connected with issues of imperial succession. The issue of Buddhist lineage became more complicated when it was concerned with monastic leadership, ownership of monastic property, competing for superiority over rivals, etc., among the development of the Tiantai, Sanlun, and Chan schools in China. Eventually, after reflection amongst Chan school masters, the insistence on only one heir permitted per generation changed to an acceptance of multiple transmissions as correct.[65]

Like their Chinese and Indian counterparts, Tibetan scholars needed to trace their teachings to an authentic origin after the loss of the Buddha. In particular, the development of Blo sbyong was situated during the "later dissemination" (*phyi dar*) of Buddhism in Tibet.

The Blo sbyong lineage construction discussed in this article does not involve the aspect of competing for the sole authority of a school or downplaying other transmissions. For example, in another Blo

---

63 They are Mang mkhar ba Tshul khrims dpal and gZhon nu rgyal mchog.

64 The Pāli texts in the Sri Lanka tradition, such as the *Parivāra*, offer lists of the first six chiefs who transmitted the *Vinaya*, beginning with Upāli who recited the *Vinaya* at the first council. As Morrison points out, T.H. Barrett noticed that Buddhist literature, and the *Vinaya* in particular, has stressed unbroken continuity ever since the Buddha's lifetime. The Sri Lanka tradition also gives the lists of monks who transmitted the *Abhidhamma*, beginning with Śāriputra. As for the Sanskrit texts, such as *Aśokāvadāna* found in the northwest of India, they provide accounts related to the tradition of the five masters of the dharma. Morrison states that it is most likely that the Sri Lanka tradition wanted to attest that its Buddhism was received from India. Regarding the tradition of the five masters of the dharma, it links its validity to a particular place, in this case the northwest of India. See Morrison 2010: 19–23.

65 *Ibid*.: 51–85.

sbyong lineage, "Parting from the Four Clingings," the Sa skya pa scholar Go rams pa bSod nams sengge (1429–1489) also incorporated Thogs med bzang po into the transmission.[66] Blo sbyong lineages presented by the Fifth Dalai Lama are in the form of "records of teaching received" (*gsan yig*). This is a type of Tibetan writing that traces the transmission of a recipient's scholarly authority through a sequence of masters to its alleged root.[67] While this is open to discussion, I would suggest that the device of the *gSan yig* helps to establish the Fifth Dalai Lama as a spiritual heir of Thogs med bzang po's Blo sbyong tradition. Instead, by narrating the transmission history and by editing *Hearing Transmission* rather than by means of *gSan yig*, dPal ldan ye shes is included in the Fifth Dalai Lama's fifth lineage. In this way, he is regarded as one of Thogs med bzang po's authoritative Blo sbyong successors. At the same time, both dPal ldan ye shes and the Fifth Dalai Lama consolidate Thogs med bzang po's Blo sbyong legacy.

Conclusion

This article is a pioneering examination of the textual organisation of Thogs med bzang po's Dergé *Collected Works*. As presented above, this work can be divided into ten different categories. In particular, the first part, the "113 Texts," shows that the editors analyzed each text to some degree in order to group texts with similar topics or writing forms. To briefly describe what the Dergé *Collected Works* is about, it shows which Buddhist masters, deities, rituals, practices, religious lineages, and institutions were related to Thogs med bzang po's life experience. The Dergé *Collected Works* also functions as a record of a group of people's inquiries into Buddhist doctrines, devotions, and spiritual pursuits. The completion of the Dergé *Collected Works* exemplifies the success of preserving Thogs med bzang po's works and his interactions with his fellows after his death in 1369.

In terms of Blo sbyong, I have demonstrated that there is a high percentage of texts related to Blo sbyong teachings in the Dergé *Collected Works*. Hence, I argue that this work is an essential source of Thogs med bzang po's Blo sbyong philosophy. The Blo sbyong lineages recorded in the Dergé *Collected Works* demonstrate scholars' engagement with Blo sbyong transmission over space and time. Constructing Blo sbyong lineage is a device that assures Tibetan

---

[66] Go rams pa bSod nams sengge refers Thogs med bzang po as "rGyal sras Chos rdzong." See dKon mchog rgyal mtshan and gZhon nu rgyal mchog 2004: 377.

[67] My statement is shaped by Lusthaus's idea of lineage. See Morrison 2010: 49–50.

Buddhist practitioners of the authority and the authenticity of the Blo sbyong tradition. While Thogs med bzang po does not have a reincarnation, his identity as a Blo sbyong master is remembered even today. By engaging with an unbroken transmission line and compiling commentaries, later scholars have included Thogs med bzang po as part of the legacy of Blo sbyong transmission. Thogs med bzang po's image as a lineage holder is emphasised by the inclusion of text 114, *Hearing Transmission*, in the Dergé *Collected Works*, and by the Fifth Dalai Lama's lineage lists at the end of text 114 and *Assemblage*. By editing or arranging Thogs med bzang po's writings, dPal ldan ye shes and the Fifth Dalai Lama associated themselves with Thogs med bzang po's Blo sbyong transmission. They created their spiritual identities, and at the same time magnified Thogs med bzang po's identity, by molding the texts in such strategic ways.

Bibliography

Tibetan-Language Works

dKon mchog rgyal mtshan and gZhon nu rgyal mchog. 2004. *Theg pa chen po blo sbyong brgya rtsa.* New Delhi: Institute of Tibetan Classics. 476 pages; *dbu can* typeset text.

dPal gyi rin chen. 2008. *rGyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pa gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer.* In: *rGyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam thar dad pa'i gsal 'debs dang gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer*. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang. 68–236. 169 pages; *dbu can* typeset text (W1KG1797).

dPal ldan ye shes. 1975. *rGyal sras rin po che thogs med pa'i rnam thar bdud rtsi'i thigs pa.* In: Kun bzang stobs rgyal (ed.). *rGyal sras thogs med kyi bka' 'bum thor bu*. Thimphu. 1–45. 23 folios; *dbu can* xylograph (W2CZ6641).

Gang ba spel. 2001. *Chos mngon pa'i mdzod kyi 'grel bshad mtshan nyid kyi rjes su 'brang ba*. In: *bsTan 'gyur*. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa'i dpe skrun khang, volume 81, 1587–728. 142 pages; *dbu can* typeset text (W1PD95844).

gZhon nu rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po. 2008. *rGyal sras thogs med rin po che'i rnam par thar pad ad pa'i gsal 'debs*. In: *rGyal sras thogs med*

rin po che'i rnam thar dad pa'i gsal 'debs dang gzhan la phan pa'i 'od zer. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1–67. 67 pages; *dbu can* typeset text (W1KG1797).

Haribhadra. 1991. *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan ces bya ba'i 'grel pa*. In: *Byams chos sde lnga dang mngon rtogs rgyan gyi 'grel ba*. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 169–306. 138 pages; *dbu can* typeset text (W00KG0547).

Las chen Kun dga' rgyal mtshan. 2003. *bKa' gdams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron me.* Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang. 830 pages; *dbu can* typeset text (W26009).

Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho. 1996. *Blo sbyong legs bshad kun 'dus*. Delhi: N. Topgyal. 124 folios; *dbu can* xylograph (W1KG3712).

———. 2009. *Zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig ganggā chu rgyun las.* In: *rGyal dbang lnga pa ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum.* Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, volume 2. 574 pages; *dbu can* typeset text (W1PD107937).

Ngag dbang dge legs de mo (ed.). 1970. *Gangs can gyi ljongs su bka' dang bstan bcos sogs kyi glegs bam spar gzhi ji ltar yod pa rnams nas dkar chag spar thor phyogs tsam du bkod pa phan bde'i pad tshal 'byed pa'i nyin byed*. In: *dKar chag khag gsum*. New Delhi: Gedan sungrab minyam gyunphel, series 13. 169–343. 88 folios; *dbu can* xylograph (W4CZ2732).

Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po. 1993. *Thob yig rgya mtsho*. In: *Ngor chen kun dga' bzang po'i bka' 'bum*. Dehradun, U.P.: Ngor e wam chos ldan, volume 1 (*ka*), 179–433. 128 folios; *dbu can* xylograph (W11577).

Thogs med bzang po. 1975. *rGyal sras rin po che'i bkar 'bum thor bu ba*. In: Kun bzang stobs rgyal (ed.). *rGyal sras thogs med kyi bka' 'bum thor bu*. Thimphu. 47–433. 194 folios; *dbu can* xylograph (W2CZ6641).

———. 1979. *Theg pa chen po mdo sde'i rgyan gyi 'grel pa rin po che'i phreng ba*. Gangtok: Gonpo Tsetan. 268 folios; *dbu can* xylograph (W13914).

———. 2005. *Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa'i 'grel pa legs par bshad pa'i rgya mtsho*. gSer rta rdzong: gSer ljongs bla ma rung lnga ri gnang bstan slob grwa chen mo. 141 pages; *dbu can* typeset text (W00KG03).

———. 2011. *rGyal ba'i sras po thogs med bzang po'i bka' 'bum*. Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang. 375 pages; *dbu can* typeset text.

———. n.d. [W1CZ895]. *rGyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum.* sDe dge: sDe dge par khang chen mo. (n.d.). 297 folios; *dbu can* xylograph (W1CZ895).

———. n.d. [W1CZ1084]. *rGyal sras thogs med pas mdzad pa'i bka' 'bum*. (n.d.). 95 folios; *dbu med* manuscript (W1CZ1084).

———. n.d. [W1KG12063]. *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i 'grel pa nges don gsal bar byed pa'i 'od zer*. sDe dge: sDe dge par khang chen mo. (n.d.). 103 folios; *dbu can* xylograph (W1KG12063).

———. n.d. [W1KG12765]. *rGyal sras dngul chu pa chen po thogs med bzang po'i gsung thor bu phyogs bsgrigs*. dNgul chu ri khrod: gTsang bzhad dngul chu chos rdzong gi par khang. (n.d.). 190 folios; *dbu can* xylograph (W1K12765).

———. n.d. [W00EGS1016240]. *rGyal ba'i sras po thogs med chen po'i bka' 'bum.* sDe dge: sDe dge par khang chen mo. (n.d.). 297 folios; *dbu can* xylograph (W00EGS1016240).

Thub bstan nyi ma (ed.). 2004. *'Bras spungs dgon du bzhugs su gsol ba'i dpe rnying dkar chag*. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, volume 1. 1386 pages; *dbu can* typeset text (W28949).

Other-Language Works

Āryavimuktiṣeṇa, Gareth Sparham, Maitreyanātha, and Haribhadra. 2006. *Abhisamayālaṃkāra with vṛtti and ālokā*. Fremont, Calif: Jain Publishing Company.

Dilgo Khyentse (Padmakara Translation Group transl.). 2007. *Heart of Compassion: The Thirty-Seven Verses on the Practice of a Bodhisattva.* Boston, MA: Shambhala.

Gyatso, Tenzin and Wu zhu xian (Dianjin Sangmo transl.). 2010. *San*

shi qi fo zi xing. Tainan, Taiwan: Tainan shi ru yi bao yin liu tong fo xue hui.

Heimbel, Jörg. 2014. "Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po (1382–1456): An Investigation into the Life and Times of the Founder of the Ngor Subschool of the Sa skya Order." PhD diss., University of Hamburg.

Jinpa, Thupten (ed.). 2006. *Mind Training: The Great Collection*. Boston, MA: Wisdom Publication, The Library of Tibetan Classics.

Kaizhu, Luosang. 2013. *Zang chuan fo jiao wen hua gai lun*. Beijing: Zhong guo zang xue chu ban she.

Kuijp, Leonard W. J. van der. 2013. "On the Edge of Myth and History: Za hor, its Place in the History of Early Indian Buddhist Tantra, and Dalai Lama V and the Genealogy of its Royal Family." In *Fo jiao shen hua yan jiu: wen ben, tu xiang, chuan shuo yu li shi*, edited by Bangwei Wang, Jinhua Chen, and Ming Chen, 114–164. Shanghai: Zhong xi shu ju.

Morrison, Elizabeth. 2010. *The Power of Patriarchs Qisong and Lineage in Chinese Buddhism*. Sinica Leidensia; v. 94. Boston, MA: Brill.

Nourse, Ben. 2014. "Canons in Context: A History of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon in the Eighteenth Century." PhD diss., University of Virginia.

Sopa, Lhundup, Michael Sweet, and Leonard Zwilling (transl.). *Peacock in the Poison Grove: Two Buddhist Texts on Training the Mind.* 2001. Boston, MA: Wisdom Publication.

Stein, R. A. 1972. *Tibetan Civilization.* Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press.

Sweet, Michael. 1996. "Mental Purification." In *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, edited by Lhundup Sopa, José I. Cabezón, and Roger R. Jackson, 244–60. Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion.

Tegchok, Jampa and Thubten Chodron. 2005. *Transforming Adversity into Joy and Courage: An Explanation of the Thirty-Seven Practices of Bodhisattvas.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion.

Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center. 2011. "gTsang bzhad dngul chu chos rdzong gi par khang." Accessed July 30, 2016. http://tbrc.org/link?RID=G2CN10917.

Troughton, Thomas. 2008. "Tibetan Mind Training: Tradition and Genre." Master's Thesis, McGill University (Canada).

Tucci, Giuseppe. 1980. *The Religions of Tibet*. London: Routledge & K. Paul.

Wangchuk, Tsering. 2009. "The Uttaratantra in the Age of Argumentation: Dolpopa Sherab Gyaltsen and His Fourteenth-Century Interlocutors on Buddha-Lineage." PhD diss., University of Virginia.

❖

A Richness of Detail: Sangs rgyas gling pa and the *Padma bka' thang*

Lewis Doney

(British Museum)[1]

The importance of Padmasambhava in Tibet can hardly be overstated. His popularity crosses both sectarian and cultural boundaries, and generations of Tibetans revere him as "the second Buddha" (*sangs rgyas gnyis pa*). He is held to have converted Tibet to Buddhism in the eighth century. His religious biography has thus exerted a huge influence in Tibetan cultural areas. The earliest example of this important genre is the *Zangs gling ma* (henceforth *ZL*) by Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer (1124–1192). This biography has been fundamental to many Tibetans' sense of geographical identity, since it ties Tibet closely to the Indian subcontinent where Buddhism was born and where Padmasambhava manifested, became the adopted son of the king of Uḍḍiyāna and subsequently carried out tantric practices before being invited to Tibet. *ZL* thus offers significant insights into the history of Tibetan depictions of South Asia.

Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer's works gained extraordinary popularity, and their shared narratives provided the archetypes for later Tibetan historians writing on Tibet's place in the world and its predestined relationship to Buddhism. Tibetan historians drew on these narratives in the fourteenth century, following the fall of the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368), and again in the seventeenth century the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682) deployed the same fundamental myths in his formation of the pre-modern Tibetan state. In this sense, Nyang ral may be seen as forging together the earlier Tibetan ideas of Indic lands to the south as part of an enduring and influential narrative, one that was expanded and redacted by successive generations of Tibetan scholars to suit the changing requirements of its readership.

[1] This article was completed with funding from the European Research Council while employed by the project "Beyond Boundaries: Religion, Region, Language and the State," ERC Synergy Project 609823 ASIA. I would like to thank Michael Balk and the staff of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin for granting me access to their microfilms, and the two anonymous reviewers and Franz-Karl Ehrhard for their helpful comments on a penultimate draft of this article.

Lewis Doney, "A Richness of Detail: Sangs rgyas gling pa and the *Padma bka' thang*," *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 37, December 2016, pp. 69–97.

The narratives focused on here were not filled out with citations, as in other phases of this historiographical tradition, but with poetic descriptions seemingly intended to fix a vivid reimagining of a bygone age in the minds of their audiences—an increasing "richness of detail."[2]

This article is a text-critical prolegomenon to an analysis of the fourteenth-century transformation of the image of Padmasambhava in the *bka' thang* ("testament") genre of his biography. This genre consists of narrative accounts that are traditionally held to have been compiled in the eighth century and buried in some form, as "treasure" (*gter*), to be revealed during a later age. This article will address the problem of the acknowledged redaction of the *Padma bka'*(*i*) *thang* (*yig*), also known as the *bKa' thang Shel brag ma* (henceforth *PKT*), said to have been revealed by the famed treasure revealer (*gter ston*) named O rgyan gling pa (b. 1323).[3] As a partial solution to this problem, it proposes recourse to a recently discovered exemplar of *PKT* differing from the most popular recension, and three other early examples of the *bka' thang* genre predating the changes wrought on *PKT* in the sixteenth century. These works are attributed to the famed treasure revealers Sangs rgyas gling pa (1340–1396), rDo rje gling pa (1346–1405?)[4] and Padma gling pa (1450–1521). The main focus of this article is the *bKa' thang gSer phreng* (henceforth *SP*) attributed to Sangs rgyas gling pa.[5] It discusses the exemplars of this work so far published, as well as those microfilmed between 1982 and 1997 by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project and catalogued by the Nepal-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (henceforth NGMCP). It then compares how these *SP* exemplars set the scene for Padmasambhava's emanation in Uḍḍiyāna with the narrative given in *PKT*, the accounts attributed to rDo rje gling pa and Padma gling pa and the different recensions of *ZL*. This should show:

1. The general homogeneity of the *SP* tradition, despite minor

---

2 sPrul sku O rgyan rin po che (1920–1996), quoted in Kunsang 1999: 223. These historiographical values warrant comparison with the concept of *enargeia* or *evidentia in narratione* in the Western tradition (see Ginzberg 2012 [2006]: 1–24).

3 Dan Martin (1997: 56, no. 87) dates the *Padma bka' thang*, based on its colophon, to 1352. Among the many exemplars of this work's most popular recension, I shall use the 1987 book edition (W17320) and a xylograph from the 1755 Beijing edition (W1KG16912). References to W-prefixed resource IDs in this article correspond to those allocated by the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (TBRC), www.tbrc.org.

4 Dates according to Samten Karmay 2000.

5 Also known as the (*s*)*Pu ri'i*/*ru'i*/*rings kyi bka' thang*. My thanks to Samten Karmay for background information on this work. Martin (1997: 55, no. 84) dates the *gSer phreng* to the late 1300's.

transmissional or redactional affiliations among its exemplars;
2. The benefits and limitations of using other works as indirect witnesses to the "original" fourteenth-century *PKT*;
3. The light that all of these traditions may in the future shed on the transformations that Padmasambhava's image underwent between the twelfth and sixteenth century.

1. Witnesses to the "Original" Padma bka' thang*?*

We can be sure that *ZL* was incorporated in some form into the two fourteenth-century biographies of Padmasambhava, *PKT* and *SP*.[6] Yet all extant editions of *PKT* appear to stem from a text that Za hor Mi dbang bSod nams stobs rgyal (16th century) redacted in line with some version of *ZL*.[7] He himself acknowledges such alteration in his printing colophon.[8] It is clear that the *Padma bka' thang* caused problems at the time of its creation, and its final form is still quite unlike *ZL*. Nonetheless, we do not know exactly what was changed during the sixteenth century, prior to the Fifth Dalai Lama's printing of the work in 1676, in the 1730s at sDe dge or in the 1755 "corrected" print of *daguoshi* lCang skya Khutugtu Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717–1786).[9] The popularity of the dGa' ldan phun tshogs gling and sDe dge editions seemingly made all earlier, "mixed-quality" versions of *PKT* scarce.[10]

---

6 For a discussion of the influence of *ZL* on these two *bka' thang*s, see Doney 2014: 33–38. Of the three *ZL* recensions identified in that work, *ZL*3 is followed in *PKT*, though with many omissions, alterations and additions, and *SP* follows *ZL*1 as well as something akin to O rgyan gling pa's narrative. My labelling of *ZL* exemplars used in this article as *ZL*a, *ZL*f and *ZL*h is based on that 2014 work.

7 On bSod nams stobs rgyal's life and patronage of other printing projects, such as rDzogs chen treatises attributed to Klong chen pa (1308–1364) and Prajñāpāramita texts, and the ruler's relationship with 'Phreng po gter ston Shes rab 'od zer (Prajñāraśmi; 1518–1584), see Deroche 2013: 81–89.

8 See Ehrhard 2000: 16 and 16–17, n. 13; Kapstein 2015: 180–81. *Idem*: 180–86 contains a translation of the colophon of the *PKT* Beijing edition.

9 These dates are given in Kapstein 2015: 170–172. Leonard van der Kuijp (2010: 138, n. 1) states that the sDe dge blocks for the xylograph "were prepared by Kun dga' 'phrin las rgya mtsho'i sde at the behest of Dpal ldan chos skyong (1710-1769). It [the xylograph] is a "corrected" edition of the earlier Dga' ldan phun tshogs gling xylograph from the 1675 printing blocks."

10 While van der Kuijp (2010: 139) suggests that manuscript copies may still exist in private collections around the Tibetan Buddhist world, he also notes that numerous Tibetan intellectuals, including dPa' bo gTsug lag phreng ba (1504–1566), cast doubt on scribal faithfulness of works of the *bka' thang* genre (*ibid*: 139, n. 1 and 143, n. 1)—though whether they noticed actual scribal errors or mistook *PKT*'s idiosyncratic style for such remains to be investigated on the basis of the discussion below. Van der Kuijp later records that the Fifth Dalai Lama

I consulted a handful of editions of this work, with and without printing colophons, and they all seem to tell the same narrative; perhaps they are all ultimately based on the same sixteenth-century print. I have not begun to thoroughly study the *PKT* exemplars in the NGMCP collection, but Robert Mayer has kindly shared a very interesting manuscript exemplar with me (henceforth *PKT* 2013).[11] It differs from the published and Beijing editions in a way that suggests another recension of *PKT* has survived.[12] When I speak simply of "*PKT*" below, I am refering to the shared traits, style and content of all these exemplars.

In addition to *PKT* itself, we are fortunate to possess the witness of Rig 'dzin Sangs rgyas gling pa's fourteenth-century prose and poetry *SP*. I shall discuss the exemplars below, but the scholarly consensus is that, to quote Anne-Marie Blondeau, "[t]he *gSer-phreng*...often seems to be an interpretative gloss on the *Shel-brag-ma* [i.e. *PKT*], from which it nevertheless differs on a number of points."[13] One of

mentioned a *PKT* circulating with glosses attached (*gter ma'i thang yig tshig sna ring ba*; *ibid*.: 143).

11 According to Robert Mayer (personal communications, July 1 2015), Ngawang Tsepag of the Audio Visual Unit, Śāntaraksiṭa Library, Central University for Tibetan Studies, photographed this *PKT* exemplar in the village of Sangs rgyas gling, Tawang, Arunachal Pradesh, in the summer of 2013. It was photographed as part of a University of Oxford digitisation program titled *The Ancient Tantra Collection from Sangyeling* (*Sangs rgyas gling rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum*), directed by Cathy Cantwell and Robert Mayer (with an award from the John Fell OUP Research Fund). Ngawang Tsepag found this *PKT* exemplar among the volumes of the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* (which follows the Bhutanese 46-volume recension) and fortunately decided to photograph it also.

12 This is a work of poetry like other *PKT* exemplars. Yet it comprises 122 rather than 108 chapters, omitting other exemplars' chapter fifteen (as do the other works discussed below) but including much of Padmasambhava's final advice on leaving Tibet as found in *ZL* (most closely resembling recension *ZL*3 with its lack of opening requests; see Doney 2014: 53–56). It presently consists of 281 folios, though the foliation is rather confused and we lack perhaps 20 folios of Padmasambhava's final advice, including chapters 104–114. The *recto* of the final folio first describes the treasure text as written in "Sanskrit," then Ur rgyan (*sic*) gling pa discovering it in "Yar lungs Shel gyi brag phug." This ordering of the account contrasts with the above editions of *PKT*; its importance will be discussed below. The very short colophon on the *verso* suggests it was distributed by U rgyan phun thshogs Monastery, perhaps the one in Nyag rong rdzong founded in 1491 (TBRC place G1632): *mchos med prad po ur rgyan phun tsho'i bri mgon pa rgram* (*sic*).

13 Blondeau 1980: 49. A. I. Vostrikov seems to have put an end to the debate concerning the primacy of *PKT* over *SP* by agreeing with Emil Schlagintweit (1899: 420–421) against Berthold Laufer (1911: 246–248), "that *Thang-yig-gser-'phreng* indeed is a prose rendering of the versified *Padma-bka'-thang*" (Vostrikov 1994 [1936]: 48). Vostrikov evidently compared the works in some detail, so we have reason to trust his conclusion. However, his argument against Laufer's for dating *SP* earlier than *PKT*, namely that the former (e.g. *SP* 2007: 362) mentions O

the main differences between *SP* and *PKT* is the inclusion of narratives from the longer, interpolated *ZL* recension, *ZL*1, in the former, which are missing from the latter (see footnote 6 above). Another is that it comprises 117 chapters.[14] The posited foundation of *SP* upon *PKT* and *ZL*1 stands in contrast to the approach employed in another Padmasambhava biography attributed to Sangs rgyas gling pa, found in his famous *Bla ma dgongs 'dus* cycle.[15] This work condenses *ZL*3, including some of its telltale details and none of the extra detail included in either *ZL*1 or the much larger *PKT*, before moving on to its own narrative.[16] So, if we are to continue to attribute both works to Sangs rgyas gling pa,[17] it seems we could hypothesise that *ZL*1 and *PKT* were not available to him at the time of compiling the biography in the *Bla ma dgongs 'dus*, and/or he did not feel the need to be consistent across his oeuvre of Padma-*vita*s.

We also have access to two works, attributed to later treasure revealers, that resemble *PKT* and are likewise written solely in verse. The first is the *Lo tsha'i 'gyur byang rnam thar* attributed to gTer chen Rig 'dzin rDo rje gling pa (henceforth *LTGB*). This treasure biography of Padmasambhava, preserved at O rgyan chos gling in Bumthang,

---

rgyan gling pa while the latter does not mention Sangs rgyas gling pa, is not strictly sound. This is because *SP* (2007: 382) also mentions O rgyan Padma gling pa who, if our dates are correct, was not born until fifty years after Sangs rgyas gling pa died. This raises the further problem of later interpolations into *SP*, which cannot be properly addressed here.

14 Guiseppe Tucci (1949: 110–15) already noted the different number of chapters in *PKT* and *SP*, but also suggested the existence of a longer *PKT* (*ibid*.: 114).

15 This work is titled the *Yid ches shing khungs btsun pa'i lo rgyus shel gyi me long gsal ba*, found among other places in the *Bla ma dgongs 'dus* published in 1972 (W18978), vol. 4 (*nga*), 683–763, which I cite below. Erik Pema Kunsang (1999: 229) identifies it as a Padma-*vita*, though without noting this work's debt to *ZL*.

16 Kunsang (1999: 96; 219, n. 33; 246) coincidently gives one indication of this dependence on *ZL*3 in the description of the *Sems smad bco brgyad* or "Eighteen Marvels of Mind" attributed to Master Vairocana (*Bla ma dgongs 'dus* vol 4, 726.2; see also Doney 2014: 24–25, n. 13; 49, n. 58). Another clear sign is the placement of Uḍḍiyāna to/in the south of India rather than the west (*Bla ma dgongs 'dus* vol 4, 687.4), corresponding to *inter alia ZL*h of the *ZL*3 recension that I quote in section 3 of this article, below (see also Doney 2014: 29 and 72). Sangs rgyas gling pa begins to diverge from *ZL*3 at about page 732, when recounting Padmasambhava's advice and prophecies to the court and Ye shes mtsho rgyal.

17 There seems no reason to doubt this biography's link to Sangs rgyas gling pa. It is found in his most famous work, attributes it to him as treasure revealer in the colophon (*Bla ma dgongs 'dus* vol 4, 763.1), and contains Padmasambhava's prophecy to Sangs rgyas gling pa's claimed pre-incarnation Dam 'dzin (Mu rug btsan po). This prophecy states that he will be reborn in a city named "Kong" (*ibid*.: 152.6), i.e. Kong po where Sangs rgyas gling pa was born (see Dargyay 1979: 133).

Bhutan, follows *PKT verbatim* in the majority of its narrative.[18] The work comprises only 100 chapters, but ends with a brief interment formula and treasure revealer's colophon in keeping with other works of the *bka' thang* genre.[19] rDo rje gling pa appears to have been a slightly younger contemporary of Sangs rgyas gling pa, also born in dBus and active in the Lhasa area; he is famed as one of the five great treasure revealer-kings (*gter rgyal*) and a discoverer of Bon treasure.[20] rDo rje gling pa visited Bhutan and discovered much treasure there; today O rgyan chos gling in Bumthang (where this manuscript was preserved) is still the main seat of his descendants.[21]

Another work, attributed to the even later gTer rgyal Rig 'dzin O rgyan Padma gling pa,[22] very closely resembles *LTGB*. This is the *Sangs rgyas bstan pa'i chos 'byung mun sel sgron me* (henceforth *MSGM*), comprising 105 or 106 chapters.[23] *MSGM* is more widely known than *LTGB* among Tibetologists and has often been compared to *PKT*, yet I shall show below that it more closely resembles *LTGB*.[24]

---

18 On the 21-volume series of rDo rje gling pa's works, of which this forms the first volume, and on other rare texts held at the O rgyan chos gling Monastery, see Karmay 2003. This publication is catalogued in Karmay 2003: 138, entry A.343–1.

19 *LTGB*: 191a2–6 reads: *dbyangs can sprul pa ye shes mtsho rgyal gyis / mi brjed gzungs thob ma 'ongs phyi rabs don / pad ma bka'i thang yig zhes kyang bya rnam thar skyes rabs rgyas pa zhes kyang bya / khri srong sde* (=*lde*) *btsan bka' chems zhes kyang bya / lo pan skar* (=*dkar*) *chag chos kyi 'gyur byang 'di / yi ger stab* (=*btab*) *nas rin chen gter du sbas / skal ldan las 'phro can dang 'phrad par shog / sa ma ya / rgya rgya rgya / / gter rgya / sbas rgya / gsang rgya / zab rgya gtad rgya'o / rgya rgya rgya* (then, in smaller letters:) *rin po che rdo rje gling pas gnam lcags srin phug pa nas gdan drangs so'o /.*

20 See Dargyay 1979: 139–43 for a potted emic account of his life. He was also known as Bon zhig g.Yung drung gling pa, and considered a reincarnation of the Bon-Buddhist Master Vairocana (see Karmay 1988: 36 and 216 ff.).

21 On rDo rje gling pa's journeys in Bhutan and reincarnations and descendants there, see Ehrhard 2008. Further references to secondary literature on rDo rje gling pa are found at *ibid.*: 62, n. 2. O rgyan chos gling today is the subject of contributions by Françoise Pommaret and Kunzang Choden in Ardussi and Pommaret (eds.) 2007.

22 See first and foremost Aris 1979, esp. 160–65, and 1989: 1–105. On the influence of rDo rje gling pa on Padma gling pa and his disciple, Rig 'dzin mChog ldan mgon po (1497–1531), whom Padma gling pa considered to be rDo rje gling pa's reincarnation, see *ibid.*: 31 and 34–35 and Ehrhard 2008. Ehrhard's impressive contribution updates Aris's pioneering effort in this regard, especially in its details of these figures' movements over the lHo brag-Bhutan border.

23 Martin (1997: 86, no. 162) lists four exemplars of this work published in 1976, 1977, 1978 and 1981. See the bibliography below for more information.

24 See the comparison of these two sources in section 3, below. Anne-Marie Blondeau (1980: 49) states that "in 1513 at bSam-yas according to the colophon, Padma gling-pa discovered his *bka'-thang* which also sticks closely to the *Shel-brag-ma* [i.e. *PKT*]." In the context of the attribution of various names to Master Vairocana, including Ye shes sde, Karmay (1988: 30, n. 41) notes: "The same account is also given in *bKa' thang gser phreng* (or *Pu ru'i bka' thang*), but further exaggerated by Padma gling-pa (1450–1521) in his [*MSGM* 1978], Vol. II, f. 4."

If the attributions of these two works and the dates of their attributed authors are correct, then most likely *LTGB* influenced *MSGM*. Yet, until we can text-critically confirm dependence of one upon the other, the direction of influence between the pair *LTGB-MSGM* will have to remain open. I have yet to find either work within the NGMCP collection.

In the future, "triangulating" between these three sources, with the help of *PKT* 2013, could shed light on the fourteenth-century *PKT*. Their divergences from *PKT* may also allow us to see the variety and possible areas of tension within the fourteenth to sixteenth-century tradition of Padmasambhava *vita*. Given that *SP* appears to borrow and quote from a different recension of *ZL* (*ZL*1) from the rest (*ZL*3), further investigation could then lead to insights into the redaction of that first full-length biography of Padmasambhava.

2. *Exemplars of the* gSer phreng

In my previous work, I consulted the *SP* 2007 book edition as a representative and easily available version of Sangs rgyas gling pa's narrative. Leonard van der Kuijp has recently identified this edition, by means of the printing colophon it reproduces, as stemming from Bhutanese Punakha (sPung thang) blocks via a printery in Ngo mtshar lhun grub zil gnon rje 'bum temple.[25] Franz-Karl Ehrhard and Marta Sernesi have been able to supply me with a likely site for this temple, in the Blo gsal gling college of 'Bras spungs Monastery near Lhasa.[26] The Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (TBRC) also holds an undated *SP* xylograph (W1PD89340) taken from Lhasa blocks, which were in turn based on the Punakha blocks.[27] The Lhasa blocks also

[25] Van der Kuijp (2010: 138, n. 3) describes the Lhasa xylograph, as typeset in *SP* 2007, in these terms:

> Not very informative, the original printer's colophon relates, on pp. 485–488, that the original printing blocks were based on the xylograph edition from the Bhutanese Spung thang pa blocks. The Dga' ldan pho brang in Lhasa had these new printing blocks prepared and these were, or perhaps still are, housed in Ngo mtshar lhun grub zil gnon rje 'bum, a temple (*lha khang*) that I am unable to identify.

See *SP* 2007: 486.5–7 on the Bhutanese provenance. See *ibid.*: 488.15, the final line of the colophon, on the Ngo mtshar lhun grub zil gnon rje 'bum temple.

[26] Ehrhard (personal communications after consulting with Marta Sernesi, June 18 2015) suggests that this temple housed further blocks of a work concerning scholars of Blo gsal gling (see the TBRC entry on W23345; compare also W2CZ8096). Ehrhard (2013: 151, n. 16) also notes that the *Mani bka' 'bum* was realized in the Blo gsal gling college.

[27] This Lhasa edition's final folio is numbered "365," but two folios are numbered "7," *bdun gong* and *bdun 'og*, and folios 91–95 are missing. Another exemplar of

formed the basis for the *SP* edition published by His Holiness bDud 'joms 'jigs bral ye shes rdo rje (1904–1987) in 1970, in Kalimpong (*SP* 1970).[28] Lastly, a copy published in 1985 by the National Library of Bhutan (henceforth *SP* 1985a) is also "[r]eproduced from a clear print from the early 17th century (*sic*) blocks from Punakha (sPungs-thang)."[29] Therefore all of these exemplars form a group dating from seventeenth-century blocks, which I shall call *SP*1.

More recently, Dan Hirshberg generously shared with me copies of *SP* exemplars that he acquired from the National Archives in Kathmandu, microfilmed in 1982, 1988, 1990, and 1992. Franz-Karl Ehrhard then made me aware of another exemplar, on which he had previously published based on his own photographs. I subsequently found another copy of that same exemplar, photographed in 1983, among the NGMCP microfilms held in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, and discovered there five more exemplars of *SP*, one complete and four in partial form.

Of these, *SP* 1982 and 1992 are also descended from the Punakha blocks, with only minor differences. *SP* 1982 is identical to the undated Lhasa xylograph—including the two folios numbered *bdun gong* and *bdun 'og* and the missing folios 91–95.[30] *SP* 1992 is *almost* identical to the Bhutanese edition *SP* 1985a. Yet it diverges in a few minor but interesting ways.[31] Therefore both belong to the group *SP*1.

---

the Lhasa edition, said to consist of 365 folios, exists in the Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente (IsIAO; see de Rossi Filibeck 2003: 336, no. 673), though it remains to be seen whether it is missing folios 91–95.

28 This edition displays the same layout, wording and accompanying images as the Lhasa edition. In his preface to this text, John Reynolds states (*SP* 1970: 4, col. 1): "The original of the text is in the possession of H. H. Dudjom Rinpoche and His Holiness has graciously arranged for new blocks to be made at Varanasi for the printing of this edition."

29 This is according to the descriptor on the boards (*SP* 1985a: i). Though the colophon does not mention sPungs thang directly, the names of the compiler (rNam rgyal 'brug pa) and overseer of the printing (Ngag gi dbang po; 1580–1639) accord with those of other works clearly stated to have been produced at sPung thang.

30 The doubled folio number 7 and the five missing folios are noted in the card catalogue entry for *SP* 1982. For this reason, the work is described there as consisting of 361 folios. The only difference between these two exemplars is that the microfilm copy of *SP* 1982 omits folios 3b–4a.

31 Two stand out: First, *SP* 1992 has a different title page from the Bhutanese edition *SP* 1985a, but the same title: *U rgyan gu ru padma 'byung gnas kyi rnam thar rgyas pa gser gyi phreng ba thar lam gsal byed*. Second, though *SP* 1992 is then identical to *SP* 1985a up to folio 394a, its folio 394b appears to repeat exactly the same text as *SP* 1985a 394b but condensed onto five of the six lines (whereas the Bhutan edition spreads this text over the whole six lines). The sixth and final line of *SP* 1992, i.e. 394b6, is the beginning of the secondary colophon covering 394b6–97a4. This colophon is also recorded in *SP* 1985a: 395a1–97a4, but it is quite different to the printing colophons above. Because of the misalignment on folio 394b, the two

SP 1988 and *SP* 1990a are more interesting. *SP* 1988 is a microfilm of an illustrated xylograph from Drumba in Jomsom, in the possession of a mTshams pa Ngag dbang. The work originally consisted of 282 folios but at the time of microfilming had lost 54 folios, reducing its usefulness for comparison with other exemplars.[32] This xylograph is written with "treasure punctuation" (*gter shad*) throughout and illustrated with twelve images, eight opening the work and four closing it. The copy that was microfilmed has been heavily damaged, especially its opening folios. The treasure revealer's colophon ends by describing the work as originally a scroll written in "Sanskrit," then stating that Sangs rgyas gling pa retrieved it from the great Pu ri cave (perhaps on the border of Assam).[33] In contrast, all of the above exemplars stemming ultimately from the Punakha blocks relate the scroll's discovery first, before stating that it was written in Sanskrit. This order is in agreement with the published and Beijing editions of *PKT*. So, it is perhaps interesting to note that *PKT* 2013 also reverses the order of its account of its own revelation in the same way as *SP* 1988 (see footnote 12, above). The final folios of *SP* 1988 are damaged and also misprinted, but contain a unique secondary colophon that would reward further study. The final line of this colophon states: "this Biography Catalogue, Clarifying the Path to Liberation, was composed by Shākya'i btsun pa dBang phyug rgyal mtshan, at gSang sngags rNying ma'i dgon chen chos lung."[34]

The next exemplar, *SP* 1990a, was photographed in Dzaden, Helambu. It is a manuscript rather than a xylograph and contains no secondary colophon. It includes only one image and lacks treasure punctuation throughout.[35] Interestingly, *SP* 1988 and *SP* 1990a both

versions do not match line-for-line until folio 396a1 *nas ma 'ongs lnga brgya par /…* after which the shared colophon mentions the Punakha editor rNam rgyal 'brug pa (396b2).

[32] The largest of these gaps appears after *SP* 1988: 161a. The narrative corresponding to *SP* 2007: 280.2–372.16 (most of chapter 70, all of chapters 71–107 and half of chapter 108) is then missing. Oddly, folio 161b begins in the middle of chapter 108 and the next folio is numbered 214a.

[33] *SP* 1988: 276b6–7 (corresponding to e.g. *SP* 2007: 485.12–14) is rather difficult to read (uncertain readings are given in brackets), but appears to run: *rgya rgya rgya / sh*[*og*] *hril gi cig yod / yi ge sang kri ta'i yi ger 'dug / ma dag pa tshig gcig kyang med par bsgyur yod / pu ri* [*ph*]*ug* [*mo*] *che shel* [*gy*]*i brag phug nas /* [*gu*] *ru sangs rgyas gling pas gter nas bton pa'o / e baṃ /* [ornamentation] /.

[34] The final line (282a7) appears to read: *snam* (=*rnam*) *thar gyi kar chags* (=(*d*)*kar chag*) *thar lam gsal byed 'di nyid / shākya'i btsun pa dbang phyug rgyal mtshan gyis gsang sngags rnying ma'i dgon chen chos lung du sbyar ba'o / / e baṃ / manghalaṃ bha rba ntu* (?) /.

[35] Folios 162 and 163 are misplaced in the manuscript as it was photographed for the NGMCP microfilm. These folios are found between folios 62 and 63, perhaps

omit the Uḍḍiyāna script included at the end of chapters in the *SP*1 exemplars above (though they both give the Uḍḍiyāna language title on folio 1b1). This binds these two exemplars closer together against the Punakha group.[36] The treasure revealer's colophon of *SP* 1990a also agrees with *SP* 1988 against the *SP*1 exemplars, in first describing the work as a scroll written in "Sanskrit," *then* describing its recovery by Sangs rgyas gling pa from Pu ri cave.[37]

As will become clear below, these two versions also agree with each other against the *SP*1 versions in many readings within the main body of the work, and so I designate them *SP*2 for now. The testimony of these two versions confirms the general faithfulness of the Punakha blockprint group *SP*1, while highlighting some of its divergences where *SP* 1988 and 1990a agree against the Punakha group.

Franz-Karl Ehrhard has already discussed another printing of the *gSer phreng*, completed in 1535 at the Byams pa sprin lha khang, or Royal Temple (because of its associations with Srong btsan sgam po), in Mang yul Gung thang.[38] Ehrhard points out that the apparently earliest printing of both *SP* and *PKT* (that I discussed above) took place around the same time, and suggests that the choice to go to all the expense of cutting blocks of *SP* "may indicate that this tradition of the life-story of the 'Precious One from O-rgyan' was the one prevalent in Mang-yul Gung-thang."[39] Ehrhard was able to photograph the colophon of a 378-folio manuscript copy of the sixteenth-century blockprint *SP*, held in a private collection.[40] I have since identified a 1983 microfilm of that manuscript, and find it generally similar to the *SP*1 exemplars derived from the Punakha

---

because the *brgya*, written in red ink, has become faded and so was not noticed by whoever re-ordered the folios.

36 *SP* 2007 does not reproduce this script at the end of chapters either, but perhaps this is an editorial decision due to the difficulty of reproducing the script.

37 *SP* 1990a: 526a6–27a1 reads: *rgya rgya rgya / shog hril gcig yod / yi ge sang kri ta'i yi ger 'dug / ma dag pa tshig gcig kyang med par brgyur* (=*bsgyur*) *yod / bu ri phug mo che shel gyi brag phug phrag nas / gu ru sangs rgyas gling pas gter nas bton pa'o / ē baṃ /* [ornamentation] /.

38 Ehrhard 2000: 16. See also Ehrhard *forthcoming*: Section 5 and Appendix, where he transliterates and translates the printing colophon.

39 Ehrhard 2000: 16. Note that the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* Royal Print was made not much earlier, in 1521 (see Ehrhard 2013). Ehrhard (2004: 91) also reports that a further edition of *SP* was also printed in 1789 by Brag dkar rta so sPrul sku Chos kyi dbang phyug (1775–1837) and his brother, Kun bzang 'Phrin las dbang phyug (1772–1812), after the demise of their teacher, Rig 'dzin 'Phrin las bdud 'joms (1726–1789).

40 Ehrhard 2000: 16, n. 12.

blockprints.[41] However, some minor divergences agree with *SP* 1988 and *SP* 1990a, as will be evident from the transliteration of the description of Uḍḍiyāna in section 3, below. The early date of the creation of the blockprint on which this manuscript purports to rely suggests it should be categorised for the time being within its own group, *SP*3.

The last of the complete exemplars available to me is *SP* 1997, a 313-folio manuscript from Thamé in Solokhumbu. It is a beautiful production, its opening folios covered in silk and replete with silver (?) ink on dark paper as well as images of celestial deities and Padmasambhava together with his consorts. This exemplar shares the use of Uḍḍiyāna language after chapter colophons and the order of phrases in its colophon with *SP*1 and *SP*3 against *SP*2.[42] Between these two, *SP* 1997 most resembles the Royal manuscript *SP* 1983 (*SP*3), as can also be seen in the short excerpt quoted below. However, I hestitate to definitively assign it to *SP*3 just yet.

Since the next section of this article focuses on the earlier chapters of *SP*, there are four partial exemplars of *SP* that, though important, can only be mentioned here. The most noteworthy of these, *SP* 1990b, is an *dbu can* manuscript of the second volume of *SP*.[43] This volume contains images, including of Sangs rgyas gling pa and Legs ldan on folio 296. Most importantly for any future research, its treasure revealer's colophon resembles that of group *SP*2.[44] Parts of *SP* were

---

41 The Uḍḍiyāna language is used in the opening folios for the title and after each chapter colophon of the manuscript based on the Royal Temple print (henceforth Royal manuscript or *SP* 1983), as in the *SP*1 exemplars discussed above. Much of the wording of the Royal manuscript is identical too, yet it does at other times agree with *SP*2. In its treasure revealer's colophon, *SP* 1983 follows *SP*1 in its ordering of the phrases on the discovery and on the Sanskrit nature of the work. So, unless this is a hypercorrection in the Royal manuscript or its exemplar, *SP* 1983 differs from *SP* 1988 and 1990a. *SP* 1983: 376b5–6 reads: *rgya rgya rgya / / pu ri phug mo che shel gyi brag phug nas ghu ru sangs rgyas gling pas gter nas bton pa'o / / shog dril gcig sang skri ta'i yig ger 'dug / ma dag pa tshig cig kyang med par bsgyur yodo.*

42 *SP* 1997: 312a2–3 reads: *rgya rgya rgya / pu ri phug mo che shel gyi brag phug nas ghu ru sangs rgyas gling pas gter nas bton pa'o / shog dril gcig yig ges saṃkra* (=*saṃskri*) *ta'i yi ger 'dug / ma dag pa tshig gcig kyang med par bsgyur yod do*… . The rest of the colophon is worthy of further investigation, but omitted for lack of space here.

43 See the bibliography. Another manuscript held in the IsIAO is also marked *kha* throughout and attributed to Sangs rgyas gling pa (de Rossi Filibeck 2003: 337, no. 687). It is titled *Urgyan padma 'byung nas* (=*gnas*) [*rnam*] *thar smad cha* and thus apparently the second part (*smad cha*) of a Padmasambhava biography. This is an *dbu can* manuscript in 291 folios (37 x 9 cm), and may reward future study.

44 *SP* 1990b: 295b6–96a5 reads: *rgya / rgya / rgya / shog dril gcig yod / yi ge sang tri ta'i yi ger 'dug / ma ngag* (=*dag*) *pa tshig gcig kyang med par sgyur yod / pu ri phug mo che shel gyi brag phug nas / gu ru sangs rgyas gling pas gter nas ston* (=*bton*) *pa'o ithi / lhag chad nyes pa'i tshogs rnams bzod par gsol / bkra shis par gyur cig ye dharma he tu pra*

also evidently popular and distributed as independent texts at some unspecified time, at least in southern Tibet. Two manuscripts held in Nepal contain the same excerpt from *SP*'s chapter 104, detailing the benefits of reciting *oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*. The first was microfilmed in 1985 (*SP* 1985b) and is titled "The benefits of the [*oṃ*] *ma ṇi* [*padme hūṃ mantra*], from the *gSer phreng* extensive [Padmasambhva biography]" (*rGyas pa gser phreng las ma ṇi phan yon*). It also contains Padmasambhava's advice about Mahākāruṇika Avalokiteśvara.[45] The second manuscript was published in 1991 and is slightly shorter.[46] The existence of these two exemplars is important, since Anne-Marie Blondeau believed that fourteenth-century *bka' thang*s omit *ZL*'s speeches on this *mantra* and its benefits.[47] Not only is this claim contradicted by the inclusion of such a speech in *SP* (and *PKT* 2013, see again footnote 12), these stand-alone works suggest the popularity of this portion of the work as an independently circulating text. Finally, another stand-alone text was microfilmed in 1996, this

---

bha wa / he tun te ṣān ta thā ga to / hya ba dad te shā ñtsa yo ni ro dha e baṃ bha ti ma hā shrā ma ṇa / oṃ sarba bidyā svāhā / oṃ su pra tiṣthā badzra ye svāhā / shu bhaṃ / / / / zhus dgo.

45 This section corresponds to *SP* 2007: 453.21–57.8. *SP* 1985b contains an adapted chapter colophon from *SP*'s chapter 104, used perhaps to indicate its provenance (*SP* 1985b: 6b5–6 reads: *orgyan gu ru padma 'byung gnas kyi skyes rabs rnam thar rgyas pa gser phreng ba zhal chems bzhag pa'i le'u te brgya dad* (=*dang*) *bzhi pa'o / / sarba manga laṃ / / / /*. The chapter colophon at the end of *SP*'s chapter 104 (*SP* 2007: 458.15–17) reads: *o rgyan gu ru padma 'byung gnas kyi skyes rabs rnam thar rgyas par bkod pa las / bod kyi rgyal po dang btsun mo rnams la zhal chems bzhags pa'i le'u ste brgya dang bzhi pa'o /*). *SP* 1985b's manuscript follows this work with another text on Padmasambhva's mantra (folio 7a1–20b6), which is titled: "The benefits of the *vajra guru* [*mantra*] together with its results" (7a1: / *badzra gu ru'i phan yon 'bras bu 'brel*). According to the online NGMCP catalogue, this work was held in Baudhnath by a Tashi Dorje.

46 This shorter manuscript, *SP* 1991, is also held in Kathmandu (this time by the National Archives of Nepal). It contains no title page or adapted chapter colophon, but an indication of the excerpt's provenance is appended above folio 1a1, which reads: / *bka' thang gser phreng las* / /. This manuscript only consists of five folios, and includes slightly less of *SP* than *SP* 1985b does (its text corresponds to *SP* 2007: 453.21–57.6). This work also omits the "benefits of the *vajra guru mantra*" part after the *SP* excerpt, suggesting that this part is not integral to the independent *SP* quotation circulating around the Himalayas at some unknown time.

47 Blondeau (1977-1978: 85) states:

> l'insertion dans le *Zangs-gling-ma* de commentaires sur la formule et d'enseignements sur Avalokiteśvara mis dans la bouche de Padmasambhava, absents des *bKa'-thang* ultérieurs, illustre le propos de dPa'o gtsug-lag phreng-ba : Nyang-ral a réuni dans sa personne les enseignements sur Avalokiteśvara selon les systèmes de Srong-btsan et de Padmasambhava, qu'il a transmis ensuite à son fils.

time containing a narrative on Mandārava that it claims is excerpted from *SP*.[48] Ehrhard's above-quoted remarks on the popularity of *SP* in Mang yul Gung thang in the sixteenth century are perhaps important in this regard. Despite the influence of *PKT* throughout Tibet, it seems that *SP* was not without its own following, evidence of which remains from the Himalayan region and Nepal today.

3. A Comparison of Descriptions of Uḍḍiyāna

The opening section of *ZL* follows a short prologue, both paying homage to the three *kāya*s—Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara and Padmasambhava—and also promising to tell the life-story of the latter while detailing his qualities. *ZL* chapter one and the main narrative begins this task by setting the scene surrounding King Indrabodhi (or Indrabhūti; the former seems more common below) of Uḍḍiyāna, who lacks a son. Recension *ZL*1 (exemplars *ZL*a–e) reads:

> As for that [life-story: in/to] the west of India, [in] the country named "ŚrīUḍḍiyāna," in the city named "Blazing Jewel," there was a palace named "Beryl" (*baiḍūrya*), ornamented with all sorts of jewels. Inside that [palace], on top of a great throne blazing with jewels, sat the Dharma-protecting king named Indrabodhi, ruling over the land of Uḍḍiyāna surrounded by 108 queens, outer ministers, inner ministers, intermediate ministers and an innumerable retinue. [The king] had no son [to be] prince… .[49]

So begins the narrative of how the king comes to adopt Padmasambhava. Recension *ZL*2 and *ZL*3 (exemplars *ZL*f–g and *ZL*h–l) give a somewhat different description (here I shall quote from *ZL*h, with *ZL*f in angle brackets):

---

[48] The colophon attributes the source, from which nine chapters are excerpted to form this work, as the *Extensive Life-Story Biography* (a title found in a number of *bka' thang*s) discovered by Sangs rgyas gling pa in Shel brag (rather than Pu ri) cave, in Yar lung (*SP* 1996: 39a5: *gter ston sangs rgyas gling pa'i yar lung shel brag nas spyan drangs pa'i* / <inserted below the text: *gu ru padma'i*> *rnam thar skye rabs rgyas par bkod pa nas khol du phyung pa'o* /). This requires further study.

[49] Here I quote from *ZL*a (1b5–2a3), but the same text is given in the other exemplars as well: *de yang rgya gar yul gyi nub phyogs / dpal u rgyan zhes bya ba'i yul rin po che 'bar ba zhes bya ba'i grong khyer na / baiḍūrya bya ba'i pho brang rin po che sna tshogs kyis brgyan ba zhig yod do / de'i nang na rin po che 'bar ba'i khri chen po'i steng na / chos skyong ba'i rgyal po indra bo dhi zhes bya ba'i btsun mo brgya rtsa brgyad dang / phyi blon dang / nang blon dang / bar blon dang / 'khor dpag tu med pa dang bcas pa / u rgyan gyi khams la mnga' mdzad cing bzhugs pa la / sras rgyal ba* (=*bu*) *mi mnga' nas / … .*

> As for that [life-story]: first of all, [in/to] the south <west> of India, [in] the country named “Śrī Uḍḍiyāna,” in the city of “Blazing Jewel,” [lived] <the son of King Dza,> named “King Indrabodhi” The <that> dharma-protecting king ruled the kingdom of Uḍḍiyāna. Inside the so-named “Palace of Beryl” that blazed with the light of jewels and was <not> obscured without inside or outside, resided <there was> an innumerable retinue, including 108 queens and outer, inner and intermediate ministers. Since [the king] had no son [to be] prince… .[50]

For lack of space, I shall focus on the same scene set in the sources outlined above, *PKT*, *LTGB*, *MSGM* and finally *SP*, attributed to O rgyan gling pa, rDo rje gling pa, Padma gling pa and Sangs rgyas gling pa respectively. My reason for dealing with *SP* last is that *LTGB* and *MSGM* corroborate *PKT* 2013 and so should directly follow its unique witness. *SP* then confirms the early existence of a *PKT* chapter *not* included in either *LTGB* and *MSGM*.

The prologue from *ZL* is neither used at the outset nor integrated into the narrative of any of these *bka’ thang*s. They all also add around eleven chapters of preceding narrative before turning to King Indrabodhi. Yet *ZL*’s opening narrative on the king’s search for a son can be found, though greatly expanded, in most versions of *PKT* from chapter twelve to eighteen, *PKT* 2013 from towards the end of chapter eleven to the end of chapter seventeen, and *LTGB*, *MSGM* and *SP* from towards the end of chapter eleven to the end of chapter fifteen. Most *PKT*s’ chapter eleven ends with this aphorism:

> Many different forms of dharma do not arise and
> [Dharma] is not connected with a lot of self-aggrandizement or famous names (*snyan ming*).
> This is the eleventh chapter… .[51]

PKT 2013 instead continues and ends its eleventh chapter with a description of Uḍḍiyāna and King Indrabodhi. It states:

---

[50] *ZL*h: 2a2–2b2 (with variants from *ZL*f: 14a2–4 in parentheses) reads: *de yang* (*dang po*) *rgya gar yul gyi lho* (*nub*) *phyogs / dpal dbu* (*u*) *brgyan ces* (*zhes*) *bya ba’i yul / rin po che ’bar ba’i grong khyer na /* (*yab rgyal po dza zhes bya ba’i sras*) *rgyal po in tra bo dhe ces* (*indra bo de zhes*) *bya ba chos skyong ba’i rgyal po* (*rgyal po de*) *urgyan gyi* (*gyis*) *rgyal khams la mnga’ mdzad pa* (*do*) */ baidūrya’i* (*baidurya’i*) *pho brang zhes bya ba na* (omits: *na*) *rin po che ’od ’bar ba phyi nang med par* <*ZL*h: deleted *ma*> (*ma*) *bsgribs pa’i* (*pa’i*) *nang na / btsun mo brgya rtsa brgyad dang / phyi blon nang blon bar blon las sogs pa* (*la sogs pa’i*) *’khor dpag tu med pa bzhugs pa la* (*yod kyang*) */ sras rgyal bu mi mnga’ bas* (*med nas*) */ … .*

[51] *PKT* Beijing edition: 56b2–4 (with *PKT* book edition: 92.1–5 in parentheses) reads: *chos lugs mi ’dra mang po mi ’byung zhing / bzang ’dod snyan ming mang po mi ’dogs so / u* (*o*) *rgyan gu ru padma ’byung gnas kyi skyes rabs rnam par thar pa rgyas par bkod pa las / rgya gar chos khungs btsun par bstan pa’i le’u ste bcu gcig pa’o /.*

Many different forms of dharma do not arise and
[Dharma] is not connected with a lot of self-aggrandizement or famous men (*snyan mi*; or perhaps *snyan ming* intended, as above).
At this time, [in] the western country, Uḍḍiyāna,
There was a precious/bejewelled nine-turreted palace.[52]
In [that palace], blazing with light rays of beryl,[53]
[The king] who was empowered over all the lands of Uḍḍiyāna,
Was named "King Blind Rich,"
Also named "Dharmarāja Prajñākīrti,"
Also named "Mahārāja Gaulaśa (?),"
Also named "King Dhanapāla,"
Also named "King Inḍrabhoti (*sic*)."
This is the eleventh chapter… .[54]

All versions of *PKT* then provide a twelfth chapter describing Uḍḍiyāna in detail. The chapter (with divergences of *PKT* 2013 given in braces) begins:

At this time, [regarding] the western country, Uḍḍiyāna,
{inserts: As for an explanation of the background (lit. "lineage") of the country of Uḍḍiyāna:}
To Uḍḍiyāna belonged two-thirds of the continent,
It gave the appearance of a pair of face-down {gem-coated} cymbals,
[It contained] five great regions and twenty-one "island" regions,
270,000,000 {290,000,000} great districts,[55]
[And] 96 great cities.
In the centre of the great region, Dhanakośa,
There were twenty-two great cities {twenty-one great palaces};

---

52 Or "palace [named] 'Nine-Turreted'"—see *LTGB* and *MSGM*, below. Here and below, I have chosen to distinguish between (*l*)*cog*, translated as "turret" (since *SP* places them at the corners of the palace), and *thor* (*l*)*cog*(*s*), "tower" (which *SP* may use in describing either the city or the palace). However, they may mean the same thing, as is suggested by the use of both "Nine-Towered" and nine-turreted/"Nine-Turreted" in *PKT* (see below).

53 Or: "In [that palace named] 'Blazing with the Light Rays of Beryl.'"

54 *PKT* 2013: 39b6–40a3 reads: *chos lugs mi 'dra mang po mi 'byung zhing / bzang 'dog* (=*'dod*?) *snyan mi* (=*ming*?) *mang po mi 'dogs so / 'di'i dus na nub phyogs u rgyan yul / rin cen pho brang lcog dgu ldan pa yin / be durya'i 'od zer 'bar ba na / u rgyan yul khams dag la dbang bskur zhing / rgyal po spyan med 'byor ldan zhes kyang bya / chos rgyal prajña gir ti zhes kyang bya / rgyal po ga'u la sha zhes bya / rgyal po dha na pa la zhes kyang bya / rgyal po inḍra bho ti zhes kyang bya / u rgyan ghu ru padma 'byung gnas kyis* (=*kyi*) */ skyes rabs rnams* (=*rnam*) *thar pa rgyas par bkod pa las / chos khungs btsun par bstan pa'i le'u ste bcu gcig pa'o /.*

55 Unless we take the *dgu* in *yul gru chen po bye ba bco brgyad dgu* as meaning "i.e. many," we are left with a number of options, of which the two most likely are (10,000,000x18)+(10,000,000x9)=270,000,000 and 10,000,000x18x9=1,620,000,000. *SP* (below) specifies only 180,000,000 cities (*grong khyer bye ba bco brgyad*).

The great[est] city / capital (?) was named "Beautiful."[56]
In the centre of that was "Nine-Towered,"
[And / i.e.] the precious / bejewelled palace, "Beryl,"[57]
Majestic with blazing light, on the four corners golden turrets
[And] turquoise beam-ends endowed with hangings.
That [palace] had a courtyard and four gates,
Surrounded by a rampart and beautiful parapet.
Inside sat King Indrabodhi {In tra bho ti},
Surrounded by 100 inner ministers and 1,000 outer ministers, {*PKT* 2013: *vacat*}
Married to Queen 'Od 'chang ma {'Od chang ma}.
{inserts: Many beings / phenomena spontaneously appeared without being born.}
In the centre of "Nine-Towered" was a self-arisen
Temple that was the *stūpa* of a *heruka* / Cakrasaṃvara.
[It was] made from all sorts of precious ornaments,
[and] radiated many waves of light rays in the four directions.[58]

This continues for the rest of chapter twelve, almost two folios worth of text in the Beijing edition. As we shall see below, *SP*, *LTGB* and

---

56 The published and Beijing exemplars of *PKT* give *grong khyer chen po* twice, meaning that the text could be read as either stating that the name for the twenty-two cities was "Beautiful Great Cit[ies]" or that the greatest city, i.e. the capital, was named "Beautiful." *PKT* 2013 avoids this problem by giving *pho brang* for *grong khyer* in the first instance, thus only allowing for the second interpretation.

57 Whereas *PKT* specifies that the palace is within the great city of "Beautiful," *SP* gives "Nine-Towered" (*thor cog dgu ldan*; also possibly "Endowed with Nine Topknots / Tufts") as an alternative name of the city (see below). "Nine-Towered" appears to be another name for the palace, as it is described at the end of *PKT* 2013's chapter eleven and at the start of the other *PKT* exemplars' chapter thirteen (see below). In naming the king's palace, other (exemplars of) works within the *bka' thang* genre also include the terms "Precious / Bejewelled Palace" (*pho brang rin cen/rin po che*) and / or "Blazing with Light (Rays)" (*'od* (*zer*) *'bar ba*).

58 *PKT* Beijing edition: 56b5–57a6 (*PKT* book edition: 93.1–94.1 in parentheses and *PKT* 2013: 40a3–40b3 in braces) reads: *'di yi* {*'di'i*} *dus na nub phyogs u rgyan* {*urgyan*} *yul /* {inserts: *urgyan yul gyi yul rabs shad pa ni /*} *u rgyan* {*urgyan*} *yul la 'dzam gling sum gnyis* {*nyid*} *yod / yul gyi chags* {*cha*} *lugs cha lang kha sbub* {*spug*} *'dra / yul chen lnga dang yul gling nyi shu gcig / yul gru* {*grong*} *chen po bye* {*byed*} *ba bco brgyad* {*nyi shu*} *dgu / grong khyer chen po dgu bcu rtsa drug yod / yul chen dha na ko sha dbus na yod / grong khyer* {*pho brang*} *chen po nyi shu rtsa gnyis* {*cig*} *yod / grong khyer chen po mdzes ldan zhes bya ba* {*ba'i*} */ de yi* {*de'i*} *dbus na thor cog dgu* {*dgu'*} *ldan yod / baiḍūrya yi* {*bedurya'i*} *pho brang rin po che / 'od 'bar byin che* {*chen*} *gru bzhir* (*bzhi*) {*grub zhi*} *gser gyi lcog / g.yu yi* {*g.yu'i*} *kha bad dra ba dra phyed* {*gra ba gra phyed*} *ldan / de la khyams dang sgo khyud bzhi dang bcas / lcags ri dang ni mda'* {*dha na 3?*} *yab mdzes pas bskor / nang na rgyal po indra bo dhi* {*in tra bho ti*} *bzhugs / nang blon brgya dang phyi blon stong gis bskor /* {omits: *nang blon brgya dang phyi blon stong gis bskor /*} *btsun mo 'od 'chang* {*chang*} *ma ni khab tu bzhes* {*du zhes*} */* {inserts: *skyes pa mang la skyes med cing rdzus skyes /*} *thor cog* {*lcogs*} *dgu ldan dbus* {*dkyil*} *na rang 'byung gi* {*ni*} */ mchod rten he ru ka yi* {*ka'i*} *lha khang yod / rgyu ni rin cen sna tshogs las grub pa* {*pa'i*} */ 'od zer dra ba mang po* {*dra ba'i pos*} *phyogs bcur 'phro /.*

MSGM omit this chapter; yet *SP* retains some phrases similar to it at the end of its chapter eleven.

PKT 2013 then diverges from all other *PKT* exemplars again. The latter begin their thirteenth chapter with the description that ends the eleventh chapter of *PKT* 2013, and then continue with a stark contrast between the king's possessions and lack:

> In the precious/bejewelled, nine-turreted palace blazing with light rays of beryl,[59]
> [The king] who ruled over all the lands of Uḍḍiyāna,
> Was named "King Blind Rich,"
> Also named "Dharmarāja Prajñākīrti,"
> Also named (/broadened to) "Mahārāja Gauśa (?),"
> Also named "King Dhanapāla,"
> Also named "King Indrabodhi."
> Then that king, "Blind Rich"
> [Gained] great power and riches, but his two eyes were blind.
> He lacked a son. All his royal ministers were dispirited.[60]

The first part ("…'Indrabodhi'") was quoted above from the end of chapter eleven in *PKT* 2013. The last part ("Then that king…") corresponds almost identically to the beginning of *PKT* 2013's chapter fourteen.[61] Chapter thirteen of *PKT* 2013, describing Dhanakośa Lake, is chapter fourteen in the other exemplars of *PKT*. Since this chapter is not narrative and so does not "fit" anywhere necessarily, and because *SP*, *LTGB* and *MSGM* all lack the corresponding chapter, it is not possible to adjudicate between the two chapter orders at this point. Putting this small matter aside though, it is obvious that whereas *PKT* 2013 places its description of Uḍḍiyāna's king just before its detailed chapter on Uḍḍiyana, the other *PKT* exemplars place it straight after that chapter. Which has the greater claim to be the "original" place of this description in *PKT*?

Interestingly, both *LTGB* attributed to rDo rje gling pa and *MSGM* attributed to Padma gling pa agree with *PKT* 2013 (as does, to a lesser

59 Or: "[named] 'Blazing with the Light Rays of Beryl,'A.K.A. 'Nine-Turreted'" as noted for *PKT* 2013 above. See also *LTGB* and *MSGM*, below.

60 *PKT* Beijing edition: 59a4–59b2 (*PKT* book edition: 97.1–8, in parentheses) reads: *rin cen pho brang lcog dgu ldan pa yi / bai ḍūrya yi 'od zer 'bar ba na / u rgyan yul khams dag la dbang sgyur* (*bsgyur*) *ba'i / rgyal po spyan med 'byor ldan zhes kyang bya / chos rgyal prajñā* (*pra jñā*) *kīrti zhes kyang bya / rgyal po chen po ga'u sha zhes* (*rgyas*) *bya / rgyal po dha na pā la zhes kyang bya / rgyal po indra bo dhi zhes kyang bya / de nas rgyal po spyan med 'byor ldan de / mnga' thang 'byor pa che de mig gnyis long / sras med rgyal blon thams cad yid la bcags /.*

61 *PKT* 2013: 43a3–4 reads: *de yang rgyal po spyan med sbyor ldan de / mnga' thang 'byor pa che ste mig gnyis long / sras med rgyas* (=*rgyal*) *blon thams cad yid la cags /.*

extent, *SP*) against the other exemplars here. To quote from the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth chapter in *LTGB*:

> Many different forms of dharma do not arise, and
> A lot of self-aggrandizement [and] famous names (*snyan ming*) are not necessary.
> At this time, [in] the western country, Uḍḍiyāna,
> In a precious/bejewelled, nine-turreted palace
> Blazing with light rays of beryl,
> [Sat] one who held dominion over the regions of Uḍḍiyāna,
> Named "King Blind Rich,"
> Also named "[King] Prajñākīrti,"
> Also named "Ghaudeśa" (? *gha'u dhe sha*),[62]
> Also named "King Dharmapāla,"
> Also named "Uḍḍiyāna Indrabodhi."
> This is the eleventh chapter…[chapter colophon].
>
> Then that king, "Blind Rich"
> [Gained] great power and riches, but his two eyes were blind.
> He lacked a son. All his royal ministers were dispirited.[63]

LTGB here agrees in its wording with *PKT*, especially *PKT* 2013 in retaining the foot (*rkang pa*) "At this time, [in] the western country, Uḍḍiyāna." *MSGM* concurs, except in a few minor details.[64] Most

[62] *MSGM* instead gives *go'u*/ *gho'u*/*ghi'u dhe sha* (see below).

[63] *LTGB*: 28b8–29a4 reads: *chos lugs mi 'dra' mang po mi 'byung zhing / bzang 'dod snyan ming mang po mi dgos so / 'di'i dus na nub phyogs orgyan yul / rin chen pho brang lcog dgu ldan pa na* (=*yi*) / *baiḍūrya yi 'od zer 'bar ba na / orgyan yul khams dag la dbang sgyur ba / rgyal po spyan med 'byor ldan zhes kyang bya / pradzña ghir*? *ti zhes kyang bya / rgyal po gha 'u dhe sha zhes kyang bya / rgyal po dharma pa ma* (=*la*) *zhes kyang bya / rgyal po indra bo de zhes kyang bya / argyan* (*sic*) *padma 'byung gnas gyi kye* (=*kyi skyes*) *rabs lo tsha'i 'gyur byang las / rgya gar chos khungs btsun pa'i bstan pa'i le'u ste / bcu gcig pa'o* / / [Uḍḍiyāna script] / *de nas rgyal po spyan med 'byor ldan de / mnga' thang 'byor pa che te mig gnyis long / sras med rgyal blon thams cad yid la cags* /.

[64] *MSGM* reads *snyan grags*, "fame" (like *SP*), instead of *snyan ming*, "famous name" (like *LTGB* and *PKT*); includes the unique line: "The dharma-king himself was famous throughout all the world(s)" at the end of chapter eleven; and gives *longs spyod*, "wealth," instead of *mnga' thang*, "power," at the beginning of chapter twelve. *MSGM* 1978: 45a4–45b3 (with *MSGM* 1976: 42a5–42b3, *MSGM* 1977: 54b2–55a2 and *MSGM* 1981: 42b5–43a3 in parentheses) reads: *chos lugs mi 'dra mang po mi 'byung zhing / bzang 'dod snyan grags mang po mi dgos so / de'i* (1977: *de yi*) *dus na nub phyogs urgyan* (1976, 1977: *u rgyan*) *yul / rin chen pho brang lcog dgu ldan pa yi* (1976, 1977, 1981: *yis*) / *baiḍūrya yi* (1976, 1977: *baiḍūrya'i*; 1981: *bai durya'i*) *'od zer 'bar ba na / urgyan* (1976, 1977: *u rgyan*) *yul khams dag la dbang bsgyur pa'i* (1976, 1977, 1981: *ba'i*) / *chos rgyal spyan med 'byor ldan zhes kyang bya / rgyal po pradzñā* (1976: *pradzñā*; 1977: *prad gnya'*) *gi rdi* (1976, 1977: *gi rti*; 1981: *ghi rti*) *zhes kyang bya / rgyal po go 'u* (1976: *ghi'u*; 1977: *go'u*; 1981: *gho 'u*) *dhe sha zhes*

importantly, they place the description of Uḍḍiyāna and Indrabodhi's names at the end of their chapter eleven, like *PKT* 2013 but in contrast to the other *PKT* exemplars.

However, *PKT*'s chapter twelve is missing in both *LTGB* and *MSGM*. Could it be an interpolation into *PKT*? The witness of *SP* here becomes important, since it suggests that Sangs rgyas gling pa was aware of the content of this chapter and incorporated it into his prose description of Uḍḍiyāna.

SP also ends its eleventh chapter with a description of Uḍḍiyāna and King Indrabodhi, but a longer one than that found in *PKT* 2013, *LTGB* and *MSGM*. *SP*'s description of Dhanakośa, its great city and the king's palace and names closely resemble the end of *PKT* 2013's chapter eleven and the first lines of *PKT*'s shared chapter twelve, albeit in a somewhat different order and with divergences. In this passage I translate the Lhasa xylograph *SP*, which agrees almost entirely with the Bhutanese edition *SP* 1985a and *SP* 2007, also from the *SP*1 group. I show divergences in *SP*2 in angle brackets and *SP*3 in braces. Correspondences with passages in *PKT* are underlined:

> Many different forms of Dharma also do not arise, and the Dharma and two types of superior being have not arisen for the sake of false profundity, self-aggrandizement <self-aggrandizement, false profundity> or the desire for fame (*snyan grags*). [The dharma] is endowed with virtues as great as that [told above] and become the source of all dharma.
>
> To the west of Bodhgaya (rDo rje gdan) in India, in the middle of that famous country named Uḍḍiyāna, in the great land named Dhanakośa, in the middle of a great city named "Beautiful,"[65] "Nine-Towered" and also "Blazing Jewel," there was a palace [named] "Blazing Light of Beryl." And it was adorned with all sorts of precious substances such as four corners and four gates made from seven sorts of precious ornaments, golden turrets and turquoise <omits "turquoise"> beam-ends endowed with hangings.

---

kyang bya / rgyal po dharma (1977: *dharmā*) *pa la zhes kyang bya / urgyan* (1976: *u rgyan*; 1977: *rgyal po*) *indra* (1976: *intra*; 1977: *inṭa*) *bo* (1981: *bho*) *dhi zhes kyang bya / chos rgyal de nyid 'jig rten kun tu grags / urgyan* (1976: *u rgyan*; 1977: *u rgyan ghu ru*) *padma 'byung gnas kyi / skyes rabs rnam thar rgyas par bkod* (1977: *dkod*) *pa las /* (1977: */ chos*) *khungs btsun par bstan pa'i le'u ste / bcu gcig pa'o /* [ornamentation and Uḍḍiyāna script (1976: only Uḍḍiyāna script)] / *de nas rgyal po spyan med* (1976: *mig*) *'byor ldan de / longs spyod 'byor pa che ste mig gnyis long / sras med rgyal blon thams cad yid la bcags* (1976: *brtags*; 1977: *gcag*; 1981: *rtags*) */*.

65 The phrase *grong khyer chen po* is repeated after its names are given in all exemplars, which suggests that the first term "great city" may be part of the first name, i.e. "Beautiful Great City."

> Furthermore, {from} inside the four gateways to the courtyard, which was surrounded by ramparts <{a rampart}>, sat a great dharma-king who held dominion over all the regions of Uḍḍiyāna <{from}> on the top of a big piled-up throne blazing with jewels. He was named "Dharma-protecting King Indrabhūti <{Indrabodhi}>," "King with Nine-Topknots/Towers," "King Blind Rich," "King Prajñākīrti," "King Ga'u sha na" and also "King Dharmapāla" (a reprise of his first epithet). From [where he sat], surrounded by 500 queens, 100 inner ministers, 1,000 outer ministers, and 1,000,000,000 subject-ministers <governing ministers>, [the dharma-king] excercised power over the 180,000,000 cities. This is the eleventh chapter… .[66]

Within group *SP*1, the Lhasa edition and Bhutanese *SP* 1985a are almost identical. The book edition *SP* 2007 differs only in that it contains some obvious mistakes (*btsan* for *btsun*) and editorial

[66] Below is a diplomatic edition of the *SP* Lhasa edition (identical with *SP* 1982): 39a4–39b4, here A, with references in parentheses to divergences in the Bhutanese *SP* 1985a (=*SP* 1992): 44a4–44b6 (here B), *SP* 2007: 51.16–52.9 (here C; all from group *SP*1), *SP* 1988: 30b1–7 (here D), *SP* 1990a: 60b4–61a8 (here E; both NGMCP texts from group *SP*2), *SP* 1997: 34b5–35a4 (F), *SP* 1983: 42b1–43a1 (G; the Royal manuscript from group *SP*3): *chos lugs mi 'dra ba mang po yang mi 'byung zhing* (D: the part of the text corresponding to *chos lugs mi 'dra ba mang po yang mi 'byung zhing* is illegible) / *zab mdog dang / bzang 'dod dang /* (DE: *bzang 'dod dang / zab mdog dang /*) *snyan grags 'dod pa'i ched* (F: *tshad*) *du chos dang gang zag gnyis ka mi 'byung ba yin no / de lta bu'i che ba'i yon tan du ma dang ldan zhing chos thams cad kyi 'byung gnas su gyur pa rgya gar rdo rje gdan gyi* (E: *gi*) *nub phyogs dpal u* (C: *o*) (D: text *rje gdan gyi nub phyogs dpal u* illegible) *rgyan zhes bya bar grags pa'i yul / de'i dbus su yul chen po dha na ko sha bya ba na / grong khyer chen po mdzes ldan zhes kyang bya / thor cog* (FG: *thor chog*) *dgu ldan zhes kyang bya / rin chen 'bar ba zhes bya ba'i grong khyer chen po zhig yod pa'i dbus na / rgyal po'i pho brang baiḍūrya'i* (E: *bai' du rya'i*; FG: *baidurya'i*) *'od 'bar ba zhig* (D: text *baiḍūrya'i 'od 'bar ba zhig* illegible) *yod de / de yang rgyu rin po che sna bdun las grub pa gru bzhi sgo bzhi* (G: text *sgo bzhi* vacat) *gser gyi cog* (B: *lcog*; F: *tsog*) *dang g.yu'i* (DE: omits *g.yu'i*) *kha bad / dra ba dra phyed dang* (E: *dang /*) *ldan pa'i rin po che sna tshogs kyis brgyan pa / de yang khyams sgo khyud bzhi lcags ris bskor ba* (DE: *bskor ba cig*; F: *bskor ba gcig*; G: *skor ba gcig*) *yod pa'i nang na* (FG: *nas*) / *rin po che 'bar ba'i khri chen po brtsegs* (EFG: *rtsegs*) *pa'i steng* (E: *stengs*) (D: text *brtsegs pa'i steng* illegible) *du* (DEFG: *nas*) / *u* (C: *o*) *rgyan gyi yul khams thams cad la dbang bsgyur ba'i chos skyong rgyal po indra bhū ti* (DE: *intra bho ti*; F: *intra bho dhi* G: *inṭa bho dhi*) *zhes kyang bya / rgyal po thor tshugs* (B: *thog tsugs*; F: *thor tsug*; G: *thor cog*) *dgu pa* (G: *dgu ldan*) *zhes kyang bya / rgyal po spyan med 'byor ldan zhes kyang bya / rgyal po pradzñā girti* (C: *pradzñā kirti*; DE: *prañdza gir ti*; FG: *prañdza gir rti*) *zhes kyang bya / rgyal po ga'u sha na zhes kyang bya / rgyal po dharma* (E: *dha na*) *pha la* (D: text *po dharma pha la* illegible) *zhes kyang bya ba'i chos kyi* (E: *kyis*) *rgyal po chen po zhig* (DFG: *cig*; E: *gcig*) *bzhugs pa las / btsun mo lnga brgya / nang blon brgya / phyi blon stong / 'bangs* (DE: *dbang*; FG: *'bang*) *blon khri 'bum gyi 'khor gyis bskor* (FG: *skor*) *nas / grong khyer bye ba bco* (F: *bcwo*) *brgyad la mnga' mdzad cing bzhugs so / u* (C: *o*) *rgyan gu* (F: *ghu*) *ru padma* (E: *pad ma*) *'byung gnas kyi* (FG: *kyis*) *skyes rabs rnam thar* (D: text *skyes rabs rnam thar* illegible) *rgyas par bkod pa las / khungs btsun* (C: *btsan*) *par bstan pa'i le'u ste bcu gcig pa'o /*.

alterations (*o rgyan* for *u rgyan*), some of which may have already existed in its exemplar. These are uncovered by the witness of *SP* Lhasa edition where it agrees with the *SP*2 group. This latter group's exemplars, *SP* 1988 and 1990a, agree in some spellings, ordering of phrases (*bzang 'dod dang / zab mdog dang /* for *zab mdog dang / bzang 'dod dang /*) and semantic divergences (*dbang blon* for *'bangs blon*) against *SP*1. Finally, the Royal manuscript *SP* 1983 and *SP* 1997 agree most often with each other, and then are fairly well split between agreeing with *SP*1 and *SP*2. It may be then that both these exemplars belong to their own group, *SP*3.

The differences between the exemplars of *SP* are generally transmissional though, and relatively minor when compared to the larger divergences of *SP* from *PKT*, including *PKT* 2013. It appears that *SP* expands in prose the short description of Uḍḍiyāna and King Indrabodhi from *PKT* at the end of its chapter eleven (like *PKT* 2013). It incorporates parts of *PKT*'s shared chapter twelve in this description but does not include the chapter itself. Instead, *SP* simply moves on to its own chapter twelve, which opens with a description of the king's wealth and blindness roughly mirroring the beginning of *PKT* 2013's chapter fourteen and obviously lacking the description opening chapter thirteen of the other *PKT* exemplars.[67]

SP, in addition to incorporating details from *PKT*'s chapter twelve at the end of chapter eleven, also includes all of the information quoted above from *ZL*1, and in the latter's order. The only exceptions are an increase in the number of queens from 108 to 500, and a lack of *ZL*1's specification that the king's retinue is innumerable. Of course, a great deal is added around this core description, but the contrast with the different ordering of the description in *ZL*2 and *ZL*3 is noteworthy.

What do these excerpts tell us about *PKT*? *SP* agrees with *PKT* 2013 against the published and Beijing exemplars of *PKT* in the way that it structures its ending of chapter eleven and beginning of chapter twelve. However, *PKT* 2013 agrees with other exemplars of *PKT* against *SP* in its exact wording at the end of chapter eleven (found at the beginning of chapter thirteen in all other exemplars of *PKT*), as well as in including a chapter twelve not present in *SP* but

[67] *SP* exemplar A (*SP* Lhasa edition=*SP* 1982): 39b4–5, with parenthetical divergences in B (Bhutanese *SP* 1985a=*SP* 1992): 44b6–45a1 and C (*SP* 2007): 52.11–13, all from *SP*1, D (*SP* 1988): 30b7–31b1, E (*SP* 1990a): 61a8–61b1, F (*SP* 1997): 35a5 and G (*SP* 1983): 43a1–2, reads: *de lta bu'i dpal 'byor dang ldan pa'i rgyal po* (F: *bo*<deleted *d*>) *de nyid* (DEFG: *yang*) *de lta bu'i yon tan dang ldan* (G: *ldan pa*) *yang spyan gnyis kyang long / gdung* (E: *gdud*?) *brgyud* (FG: *rgyud*) *'dzin pa'i sras gcig* (FG: *cig*) *kyang med de / rgyal blon btsun mo 'bangs dang bcas pa thug mug* (B: *thugs mug*; E: *thugs mu*) *ste* (B: *te*; FG: *te /*) … .

seemingly roughly borrowed from some version of *PKT* at the end of its eleventh chapter. If *SP* does base its description on *PKT* here, in its details it agrees less with *PKT* 2013 than with other *PKT* exemplars. For instance, it omits the *rkang pa* "As for an explanation of the background of the country of Uḍḍiyāna" and includes information on Indrabodhi's ministers that *PKT* 2013 lacks (though perhaps only by scribal error).

LTGB and *MSGM* shine another light on both *SP* and *PKT*. They omit some of *SP*'s odder unique elements, such as naming the king and his palace almost the same (here footnote 13's caveat concerning possible interpolations into *SP* should be borne in mind). They also concur with *PKT* 2013 in their phrasing and placement of the short description at the end of chapter eleven. Overall, *LTGB*, *MSGM* and *SP* appear to corroborate the testimony of *PKT* 2013 against the Beijing and published exemplars of this work. *PKT* 2013 agrees more with *SP*, *LTGB* and *MSGM* in ending its chapter eleven with a short description of Uḍḍiyāna (now appearing after chapter twelve in other *PKT* exemplars), and agrees with all other *PKT* versions in containing a twelfth chapter on Uḍḍiyāna (now missing from *LTGB* and *MSGM* but partially precised in *SP*). This *may* reflect the "original" form of *PKT*, on which these other *bka' thang*s are based.

Preliminary Conclusions

It is time now to return to the three intentions set out at the beginning of this article, regarding *SP*, *PKT*, and the Padma-*vita* tradition. First, I can tentatively affirm the general homogeneity of the *SP* tradition, while categorising the affiliations of its exemplars into three groups based upon transmissional divergences: *SP*1 (including the Lhasa edition and Bhutanese *SP* 1985a), *SP*2 (the two NGMCP manuscripts *SP* 1988 and 1990a) and *SP*3 (including the Royal manuscript *SP* 1983). However, there is no evidence yet to suggest which of these groups lies closer to the other *bka' thang*s under discussion here.

Second, comparing all these works sheds interesting light on *PKT*. Combined, *LTGB* and *MSGM* resemble *SP* in that they omit *PKT*'s chapter twelve and thus a long description of Uḍḍiyāna. This chapter is also found in *PKT* 2013 though, and its opening appears to be precised in *SP* chapter eleven. So the evidence indicates that *LTGB* and *MSGM* simply reflect a different editorial decision in their creation than *SP* does. However, *PKT* 2013 agrees with *LTGB*, *MSGM* and *SP* against other exemplars of *PKT* in placing the short description of Uḍḍiyāna at the end of chapter eleven. This suggests

that an ancestor of the other *PKT* exemplars has been edited in order to place that description after chapter twelve.

It could be argued that, instead, *PKT* 2013 was the result of *later* editing of *PKT*, perhaps in order to bring it into line with *LTGB* or *MSGM* (though not with *SP*, which is in prose). However, then one would have to find the source for the poetic chapters of Padmasambhava's advice, which are not found in *LTGB* or *MSGM* and are differently phrased in *SP*. The simplest solution at present is to say that *PKT* 2013 reflects another, perhaps earlier, recension of *PKT* that has survived the growth in popularity of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth-century editions.

Could we explain the divergence of the other *PKT* exemplars from *PKT* 2013 as due to the redaction to Za hor Mi dbang bSod nams stobs rgyal, or even to an earlier editor of *PKT*? The absence, in *PKT* exemplars other than *PKT* 2013, of such large blocks of text as Padmasambhava's chapters of advice is almost certainly not due to the sixteenth-century alteration to which bSod nams stobs rgyal refers in his colophon. This is because these are also found in *ZL*, which bSod nams stobs rgyal claims to be following (as well as clearing up some minor incoherencies). So it is unlikely that he would remove parts of *PKT* that are also in *ZL*, as part of his explicit aim of bringing the former in line with the latter. Nor does it seem credible that he carried out such editing without acknowledging it, though this possibility cannot be absolutely ruled out. Perhaps in future though, *PKT* 2013 (if its recension is genuinely old) could help to assess what bSod nams stobs rgyal and others *have* altered.

The entry of *ZL* into these discussions bring us to the third theme of this article: the expansion of Padmasambhava's *vita* between the twelfth and sixteenth century. The earliest stratum of narrative is almost certainly the shorter *ZL*3 rather than the longer *ZL*1 or *ZL*2. *SP* is still the only work that incorporates *ZL*1 into its narrative, whereas *PKT* 2013 contains no extra *ZL*1 narratives that could have been removed by bSod nams stobs rgyal. Even its many chapters relating Padmasambhava's advice on leaving Tibet, not included in *LTGB*, *MSGM* or other exemplars of *PKT*, resemble *ZL*3 rather than *ZL*1 (see footnote 12 above)—whereas in *SP* they resemble *ZL*1.

For now, it seems clear that large portions of the *ZL*3 prose narrative were expanded and rendered into poetry to finally become included in *PKT*, *LTGB* and later *MSGM*. Then at some point, this poetry was re-rendered into prose and had elements of *ZL*1 added to ultimately form *SP*. Assessing such transformations of prose into poetry and vice versa requires a more detailed investigation of the *bka' thang* genre, which would be rewarding not only for the Tibetan linguistic data that it may throw up but also for the insights it would

provide into the constantly changing image of Padmasambhava created in these works. Nevertheless, these sources are already acting as valuable reminders to question the assumption that the published and Beijing editions of *PKT* fully represent the *bka' thang* that O rgyan gling pa wrote and that *SP*, *LTGB* and *MSGM* are easily described by assessing to what extent each is an "interpretative gloss on" or "sticks closely to" those *PKT* exemplars.

These sources have yet to be properly disentangled. It may be that a more wide-angle approach that identifies the text included and omitted over the whole narrative arc of the works in question may uncover connections between them not identifiable by the above kind of micro-analysis. Here, I have at least set the scene, and pointed out some of the "richness of detail," and attendant challenges, awaiting any future analysis of these important biographies. Moreover, if a strikingly different exemplar of any of the above *bka' thang*s appears in the meantime, it can be quickly compared to the others, by means of the descriptions above, in order to assess the importance of its witness. In this way, we may work towards a better representation of the rich, complex and changing tradition of depicting Padmasambhava in Tibet.

Bibliography

Tibetan-Language Works

LTGB: Kunzang Tobgyel (ed.). 1984. *Orgyan pad ma 'byung gnas kyi skyes rabs lo tsha'i 'gyur byang rnam thar rgyas par bkod pa*. Thimphu: Druk Sherig Press. 191 folios; *dbu med* manuscript (Karmay 2003: entry A.343–1; W23642).

MSGM 1976: "O rgyan padma 'byung gnas kyi 'khrungs rabs sangs rgyas bstan pa'i chos 'byung mun sel sgron me." In 1975-1976. *Rig 'dzin padma gling pa'i zab gter chos mdzod rin po che*, volume 21. Thimphu: Kunsang Tobgay. 456 folios; *dbu can* manuscript (W21727).

MSGM 1977: *O rgyan padma 'byung gnas kyi 'khrungs rabs chen mo zhes bya ba sangs rgyas bstan pa'i byung khung mun sel sgron me las rnam thar don gsal me long*. Gangtok: Gonpo Tseten. 2 volumes; 566 folios; *dbu can* manuscript (W00KG03746).

MSGM 1978: *O rgyan padma 'byung gnas kyi 'khrungs rabs sangs rgyas bstan pa'i chos 'byung mun sel sgron me*. Sumra, Himachal Pradesh: Urgyin Dorji. 2 volumes; 453 folios; *dbu med* manuscript (W21555).

MSGM 1981: *O rgyan padma 'byung gnas kyi 'khrungs rabs sangs rgyas bstan pa'i chos 'byung mun sel sgron me*. Thimphu: Drug Sherig Press. 2 volumes; 440 folios; *dbu can* manuscript (W1CZ3868).

PKT Beijing edition: lCang skya rol pa'i rdo rje (ed.) [1755]. *Gu ru padma 'byung gnas kyi rnam par thar pa rgyas par bkod pa*. 463 folios; *dbu can* xylograph (W1KG16912).

PKT book edition: 1987. *Padma bka' thang: gter chen o rgyan gling pas gter nas bton pa*. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe khang. 792 pages; *dbu can* typeset text (W17320).

PKT 2013: *Padma mthang* (*/ma thang*) *yid*(?). Manuscript from Tawang, photographed by Ngawang Tsepag for Cathy Cantwell and Robert Mayer's University of Oxford project, *The Ancient Tantra Collection from Sangyeling* (2013). 281 folios; *dbu can* manuscript.

SP Lhasa edition: *U rgyan gu ru padma 'byung gnas kyi rnam thar rgyas pa gser gyi phreng ba thar lam gsal byed*. 361 folios; *dbu can* xylograph (W1PD89340).

SP 1970: Dudjom Rinpoché (ed.). 1970. *O rgyan gu ru padma 'byung gnas kyi skyes rabs rnam par thar pa rgyas par bkod pa padma bka'i thang yig*. Kalimpong: Eureka Printing Works. 361 folios; *dbu can* xylograph (W24062).

SP 1982: *U rgyan gu ru padma 'byung gnas kyi rnam thar rgyas pa gser gyi phreng ba thar lam gsal byed*. NGMCP 58493; reel E 1359/3 (1982). 361 folios; *dbu can* xylograph.

SP 1983: *O rgyan chen po'i rnam thar rgyas pa / yid bzhin nor bu / dgos mdod* (*='dod*) *kun 'byung / mthong ba kun grol / pod dmar ma chen mo mang ngag dud* (*=bdud*) *rtsi'i chu rgyun*. NGMCP 62785; reel E 1755/3 (1983). 378 folios; *dbu can* manuscript.

SP 1985a: *U rgyan gu ru padma 'byung gnas kyi rnam thar rgyas pa gser gyi phreng ba thar lam gsal byed*. 1985. Thimpu: National Library of Bhutan. 397 folios; *dbu can* xylograph (W27933).

SP 1985b: *rGyas pa gser phreng las ma ṇi phan yon*. NGMCP 60284; reel E 1855/12 (1985). 6 folios; *dbu can* manuscript.

SP 1988: *O rgyan gu ru padma 'byung gnas kyi rnam thar skyes rab gser gyi 'phreng ba zhes bya ba thar lam gsal byed*. NGMCP 47019; reel L 205/8 (1988). 282 folios; *dbu can* xylograph.

SP 1990a: *U rgyan gu ru rin po che'i rnam thar rgyas pa gser gyi phreng ba*. NGMCP 47714; reel L 269/2 (1990). 526 folios; *dbu can* manuscript.

SP 1990b: [no title page, chapter colophon title: *U rgyan pad ma 'byung gnas kyi skyes rabs rnam thar rgyas par bkod pa*]. NGMCP 48039; reel L 300/2–301/1 (1990). Second volume (*kha*). 282 folios; *dbu can* manuscript.

SP 1992: *U rgyan gu ru padma 'byung gnas kyi rnam thar rgyas pa gser gyi phreng ba thar lam gsal byed*. NGMCP 70523; reel AT 92/3 (1992). 394 folios; *dbu can* xylograph.

SP 1991: [*bKa' thang gser phreng las*.] NGMCP 74344; reel AT 84/7 (1991). 5 folios; *dbu med* manuscript.

SP 1996: *U rgyan gu ru pad ma 'byung gnas kyis skye rabs rnam thar rgyas par bkod pa'i nang nas/lha lcam man dha ra ba'i rnam thar khol du phyung ba le'u dgu pa*. NGMCP 39287; reel L 757/2 (1996). 39 folios; *dbu med* manuscript.

SP 1997: *U rgyan ghu ru padma 'byung gnas kyi rnam mthar* (*=thar*) *rgyas pa gser gyi phreng ba bzhes bya ba / pu ri phug mo che shel gyis* (*=gyi*) *brag phug nas/ghu ru sangs rgyas gling pas gter nas gdan drangs pas gzhan gyi bcos pa sna gcig kyang med pa'i gter ma.* NGMCP 40435; reel L 888/1 (1997). 313 folios; *dbu can* manuscript.

SP 2007: *U rgyan gu ru padma 'byung gnas kyi rnam thar rgyas pa gser gyi phreng ba thar lam gsal byed* Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang. 488 pages; *dbu can* typeset text (W1PD83975).

*ZL*a: 1976. "Slob dpon padma 'byung gnas kyi skyes rabs chos 'byung nor bu'i phreng ba zhes bya ba bzhugs so/rnam thar zangs gling ma'o." In *Rin chen gter mdzod chen mo*, edited by Ngodrup and Sherab Drimay, volume *ka*, 1–204. Paro: Ngodrup and Sherab Drimay. 102 folios; *dbu can* xylograph.

ZLf: *U rgyan gu ru padma 'byung gnas kyi rnam thar 'bring po zangs gling mar grags pa*. NGMCP 54683; reel AT 28/2 (1989). 148 folios; *dbu can* manuscript.

ZLh: *Padma bka' chems brgyas pa.* NGMCP 61057; reel E 2703/10 (1992). 123 folios; *dbu med* manuscript.

Other-Language Works

Ardussi, John and Françoise Pommaret (eds.). 2007. *Bhutan: Traditions and Changes. Proceedings of the Tenth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Oxford 2003*. Volume 5. Brill's Tibetan Studies Library, 10. Leiden: Brill.

Aris, Michael. 1979. *Bhutan: The Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom*. Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips.

Blondeau, Anne-Marie. 1977–1978. "Padmasambhava et Avalokiteśvara." *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Ve. section* 87, 99–106.

———. 1980. "Analysis of the Biographies of Padmasambhava According to the Tibetan Tradition: Classification of Sources." In *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson: Proceedings of the International Seminar on Tibetan Studies, Oxford 1979*, edited by Michael Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi, 45–52. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.

Dargyay, Eva. 1979. *The Rise of Esoteric Buddhism in Tibet.* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Deroche, Marc-Henri. 2013. "History of the Forgotten Mother-Monastery of the rNying ma School: dPal ri Monastery in the Tibetan 'Valley of the Emperors.'" *Bulletin of Tibetology* 49(1), 77–111.

Doney, Lewis. 2014. *The* Zangs gling ma*: The First Padmasambhava Biography. Two Exemplars of its Earliest Attested Recension.* Series Monumenta Tibetica Historica, Abteilung 2 (Vitae), Band 3. Andiast: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies.

Ehrhard, Franz-Karl. 2000. *Early Buddhist Block Prints from Mang-yul Gung-thang*. Lumbini International Research Institute Monograph Series, 2. Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute.

———. 2004. *Die Statue und der Tempel des Ārya va-ti bzang po: Ein beitrag zu Geschichte und Geographie des tibetischen Buddhismus.* Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

———. 2008. "Addressing Tibetan Rulers from the South: mChog-ldan mgon-po (1497-1531) in the Hidden Valleys of Bhutan." In *Chomolangma, Demawend and Kasbek: Festschrift für Roland Bielmeier zum 65. Geburtstag, vol. 1*, edited by Brigitte Huber, 61–91. Beiträge zur Zentralasienforschung, 12:1. Halle: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies.

———. 2013. "The Royal Print of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*: Its Catalogue and Colophon." In *Nepalica-Tibetica: Festgabe für Christoph Cüppers, Vol. 1*, edited by Franz-Karl Ehrhard and Petra Maurer, 143–171. Beiträge zur Zentralasienforschung, 28. Andiast: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies.

———. *forthcoming*. "Buddhist Hagiographies from the Borderlands: Further Prints from Mang yul Gung thang" In *Manuscript and Xylograph Traditions in the Tibetan Cultural Sphere*, edited by Orna Almogi. Indian and Tibetan Sudies Series. Hamburg: University of Hamburg Press.

Ginzburg, Carlo (A.C. and J. Tedeschi transl.). 2012 [2006]. *Threads and Traces: True False Fictive*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kapstein, Matthew T. 2000. *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism: Conversion, Contestation, and Memory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

———. "*gTer-ma* as Imperial Treasure: The 1755 Beijing Edition of the *Padma bka' thang*." *Revue d'Études Tibétaines* 31, 167–87.

Karmay, Samten Gyaltsen. 1988. *The Great Perfection (Rdzogs Chen): A Philosophical and Meditative Teaching of Tibetan Buddhism*. Leiden: Brill.

———. 2000. "Dorje Lingpa and His Rediscovery of the 'Gold Needle' in Bhutan." *Journal of Bhutan Studies* 2(2), 1–34.

———. 2003. *The Diamond Isle: A Catalogue of Buddhist Writings in the Library of Ogyen Chöling, Bhutan.* Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien.

van der Kuijp, Leonard. 2010. "On the Edge of Myth and History: Za hor, its Place in the History of Early Indian Buddhist Tantra, and Dalai Lama V and the Genealogy of its Royal Family." In *Studies on Buddhist Myths: Texts, Pictures, Traditions and History*, edited by Bangwei Wang *et al*., 114–64. Shanghai: Zhongxi Book Company.

Kunsang, Erik Pema. 1999. *The Lotus-Born: The Life Story of Padmasambhava Composed by Yeshe Tsogyal, Revealed by Nyang Ral Nyima Öser.* London: Shambhala.

Laufer, Berthold. 1911. *Der Roman einer tibetischen Königin*. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz.

Martin, Dan. 1997. *Tibetan Histories: A Bibliography of Tibetan-Language Historical Works*. London: Serindia.

Schlagintweit, Emil. 1899. "Die Lebensbeschreibung von Padma Sambhava, dem Begründer des Lamaismus 747 n. Chr., I. Teil: Die Vorgeschichte, enthaltend die Herkunft und die Familie des Buddha Śākyamuni." *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Classe der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 21, 417–444.

Tucci, Giuseppe. 1949. *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (2 vols.). Rome: Libreria dello Stato.

Vostrikov, A. I. (H. C. Gupta transl.). 1994 [completed 1936]. *Tibetan Historical Literature*. Surrey: Curzon Press.

bKa' brgyud Treasure and rNying ma Revealer: The *Sras mkhar ma* of Mar pa Lo tsā ba

Cécile Ducher

(École Pratique des Hautes Études) [1]

Mar pa Lo tsā ba Chos kyi blo gros (1000?–1081?)[2] is considered the Tibetan founder of the bKa' brgyud tradition. He went to India several times in order to receive from the greatest *siddha*s of his time the latest development in the Yoginī *tantra*s that were then in fashion. The collection presented in this article is representative of the teachings that he brought back to Tibet and that contributed to the renewal of Buddhist teachings there from the 11th century onwards. However, the collection was transmitted in a somewhat unusual way, leading us to question several of our assumptions about Mar pa's life-story and the way treasures (*gter*) are defined in Tibet. In the Western world, it was largely unknown until now,[3] although it is present in several famous Tibetan collections. It comprises fifteen scrolls of teachings said to have been concealed by Mar pa in the walls of his house, Sras mkhar, and revealed by Guru Chos dbang (1212–1270) after five generations. In the following article, I shall discuss the content of the collection, the light it sheds on Mar pa's life and legacy, and its status as a treasure. Some of my conclusions are necessarily tentative, and the data on which they are based could be investigated in more detail in the future, but I hope that this introduction to that mysterious collection

1 I wish to thank the scholars who helped improve this article, including Lewis Doney and Per Sørensen who were at the ISYT, Robert Mayer and Anne-Marie Blondeau who later shared their thoughts with me, and the two anonymous reviewers. I also thank the CRCAO and the EPHE for their financial help.

2 Securely dating the birth and death of Mar pa seems to be a distant dream, since none of the biographies agree on the subject and no outside information can help us ascertain which is correct. Andrew Quintman (2013 (2015)) studies the issue of Mi la ras pa's dates and concludes that Tibetan biographers and historians eventually formulated three main traditions: 1028–1111; 1040–1123; and 1052–1035. The same three traditions emerge from the study of Mar pa's biographies: 1000–1081; 1012–1097; and 1024–1107. I tend to prefer the earlier dates, which correspond with what early biographies state and what late bKa' brgyud historians finally decided on.

3 It is mentioned without further detail in Martin 2001: 26.

Cécile Ducher, "bKa' brgyud Treasure and rNying ma Revealer: The *Sras mkhar ma* of Mar pa Lo tsā ba", *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 37, December 2016, pp. 98–126.

may help advance our knowledge of the development of the various Tibetan Buddhist traditions in the first centuries of the second millennium.

My own story of how I discovered this teaching may serve as a short introduction to the various versions, although much more may actually be necessary to give a full account of the variants of this 150-folio long collection. The first time I heard of it was when I was researching Mar pa's biographies for my Master's thesis.[4] While checking "Nāropā"[5] in Dan Martin's *Tibskrit*, I found Martin's note on the *Fifteen Scrolls on the Six Doctrines from mKhar kha ma*, which, he said, contained an autobiographical account of Mar pa. I returned now and again to those biographical passages in the *Indian Mahāmudrā Works*,[6] but finally decided that the autobiographical passage in question was decidedly not in line with Mar pa's biographies, and I so decided to put it aside for the time being. Then, a few years later, dPal brtsegs published the *lHo brag mar pa lo tsā'i gsung 'bum* (henceforth "MPSB"). As often with their publications, it contained a large amount of texts recently dug out from the gNas bcu Temple in 'Bras spungs Monastery, where it had laid dormant since the Fifth Dalai Lama's (1617–1682) time, as well as everything related to Mar pa that the editors collected from various sources. Of particular interest, the sixth volume contains a *Chos drug mkhar khang ma*,[7] as well as a *Chos drug sras mkhar ma*.[8] The former is probably the

4 The result of that research can be read in Ducher *forthcoming*.

5 Although Mar pa's master is generally named "Nāropa" in Tibetan-derived sources, I write "Nāropā" on the basis of a Sanskrit manuscript on the cult of Vajrayoginī discovered by Sylvain Lévi in Nepal in 1928. It indicates that the *pa* in the Tibetan version of "Nāropā" (*nā ro pa*) is not a Tibetan rendering, but a Sanskrit abbreviation of *pāda*, and should therefore be written *pā*. See Lévi 1931.

6 *Chos drug mkhar kha ma'i shog dril bco lnga pa*, found in *Phyag chen rgya gzhung*: 105–215 (henceforth "*Indian Mahāmudrā Works*"). The "autobiographical descriptions" are on pp. 106–108. This one-volume collection contains mainly texts from the Mar pa bKa' brgyud tradition. Although half of the volume is made up of translations of Indian texts by Tilopā, Saraha, Nāropā and others, some of them on Mahāmudrā, the other half is made up of the writings of Mar pa, several Karma pas and others, and deal mainly with tantric topics. As suggested by some colophons, annotations and authors included in the collection, it may have been compiled by a holder of the rNgog pa bKa' brgyud transmission in the late 15th or early 16th century. At the time, the rNgogs themselves were waning in sPre'u zhing, but their transmission went into the hands of Khrims khang Lo tsā ba bSod nams rgya mtsho (1424–1482) and his disciple, the Fourth Zhwa dmar Chos grags ye shes (1453–1524), whose writings are the last recorded in the collection.

7 *Chos drug mkhar khang ma'i gter gyi kha byang* (henceforth "Drepung"), directly preceding the fifteen scrolls. Found in MPSB, vol. 6: 1–102.

8 *rJe btsun mar pa lo tsā'i gdams pa chos drug sras mkhar ma'i skor rnams* (henceforth "RT"). Found in MPSB, vol. 6: 103–208.

version mentioned in the *Drepung Catalogue* and coming from the gNas bcu Temple.[9] The latter most attracted my attention: its level of detail, harmony and completeness was truly amazing. It was only later that I understood why: it is an exact copy of the *Sras mkhar ma* found in 'Jam mgon Kong sprul's (1813–1899) *Rin chen gter mdzod* (RT),[10] and it displays all the usual qualities of that author. The authoritative and slick dimension of Kong sprul's compilations, however, should not make us forget the fact that his editing habits often hide the complex history that lie behind his compilations. Finally, I found another rather detailed version within Nāropā's collected works from the *'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod chen mo*.[11]

1. The Content of the Sras mkhar ma

The four versions of the collection are quite different from one another in terms of content, sequence, wording and lineages of transmission. Despite this diversity, one can basically distinguish four elements, present in the various editions as follows:

	RT	DK-DZO	*Indian Mah. Works*	Drepung
Chos dbang's inventory	x			
Mar pa's inventory	x	x		x partial[12]
Introduction	x	x	x	
15 scrolls	x	x	x	x

9 *Drepung Catalogue*: 643.

10 *rJe btsun mar pa lo tsā'i gdams pa chos drug sras mkhar ma'i skor rnams*. Found in the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, vol. 85: 51–201. See Everding 2008: 93–98 for a German translation of the titles and colophon of the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, but containing no background on the history of the *Sras mkhar ma*.

11 *rJe na ro dang mar pa'i thugs kyi nying khu chos drug rdo rje'i tshig 'grol chen mo 'am chos drug sras mkhar ma* (henceforth DK-DZO). Found in *'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod chen mo*, vol. 4: 373–511.

12 I characterise the Drepung version of the "inventory" (*gter gyi kha byang*) as 'partial' since it shares a few sentences in common with RT and DK-DZO but is actually quite different from, and much shorter than, these two.

Guru Chos dbang's Inventory

This describes how Mar pa's inventory was transmitted by previous generations and given to Chos dbang, how Chos dbang discovered the treasure in Sras mkhar, and how he disseminated it.[13]

Mar pa's Inventory

In this versified part, Mar pa describes the offerings made to receive the fifteen scrolls from Nāropā, Maitripa and the woman named Endowed with Human Bone Ornaments (*mi rus rgyan can*),[14] and how he was instructed by Nāropā to make several copies and conceal them. He gives the titles of the fifteen scrolls and describes their content. Chos dbang claims in his inventory that Mar pa's inventory was shown to him by the owner of Mar pa's mansion, Se bro Gyang gsar pa.[15]

The Introduction of the Treasure

The introduction is an integral part of the treasure revealed by Chos dbang. In it, Mar pa describes the circumstances of his journeys to India and how he received instructions from his masters. Three masters in particular gave him these instructions: One Who Shows the Path to Liberation (*thar pa'i lam ston*), i.e. Nāropā, Display of Great Bliss (*bde chen rol pa*), i.e. Maitripa, and Endowed with Human Bone Ornaments.[16]

The Fifteen Scrolls

The scrolls (*shog dril*) make up the core of the treasure and most are present in all editions. They are held to be small scrolls of paper hidden in *tsatsa* within a wall of Mar pa's house and contain short texts dealing with the most important traditions brought by Mar pa from India to Tibet, especially means of practice associated with the creation phase (*sādhana*s) and the perfection phase (the Six Doctrines). All scrolls are said to be translations made by Mar pa while he was in

---

13 RT, vol. 85: 52–57 (MPSB, vol. 6: 103–106).

14 The identity of Endowed with Human Bone Ornaments is not certain. She was the fifth of Mar pa's main gurus and he received Catuṣpīṭha from her. She may or may not be the same as Cluster of Banana Trees (*chu shing gi nye ma can*), who is in some sources considered to be Maitripa's consort (more details on Mar pa's masters will appear in my forthcoming PhD dissertation).

15 RT, vol. 85: 58–63 (MPSB, vol. 6, 107–10); DK-DZO, vol. 4: 373–78.3.

16 See e.g. RT, vol. 85: 62.3–4.

Tibet and some have a colophon with a transmission lineage. The scrolls are not found in the same order in all versions. It is only in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* that the sequence of the scrolls and their titles correspond exactly with Mar pa's inventory, which may be a mark of Kong sprul's editing. Each scroll contains at least one transmission (sometimes an additional one is given) and is given a *vajra* title, for instance Vajra Greed for the *sādhana* of Vajravārāhī. In the conclusion of his edition of the collection, Kong sprul presents the content of the fifteen scrolls as threefold:[17]

> The maturing empowerment is the great empowerment, the *Scroll of Vajradhara* (1).
> The liberating path has three aspects:
> The view: this is the view [described] in the *Scroll of Vajra Space* (2)
> The phase of creation:
> The *sādhana* of the glorious Cakrasaṃvara–the Indian text of the *Scroll of the Vajra Destroyer* (3), together with its supplement.
> The *sādhana* of the glorious Hevajra as a Single Hero–the Indian text of the *Scroll of the Unshakeable Vajra* (4), composed by Master Padmavajra, together with the condensed *sādhana*.
> The *sādhana* of the glorious Vajravārāhī, the *Scroll of Vajra Greed* (5), together with the related zodiac period calculations and the *homaḥ* of the four activities, to complete the ancillary activities.
> The phase of completion:
> The upperdoor inner heat *Scroll of Vajra Desire* (6)
> The lower door path of methods, *Scroll of Vajra Activity* (7)
> The illusion body, *Scroll of Vajra Illusion* (8)
> The luminosity, *Scroll of Vajra Dullness* (9)
> The dream, *Scroll of Vajra Jealousy* (10)
> The ejection, *Scroll of Vajra Aversion* (11)
> The intermediate state, *Scroll of Vajra Pride* (12)
> Entering another's body, *Scroll of Vajra Illusion* (13)

[17] RT, vol. 85: 200–201 (MPSB, vol. 6: 207–208): *smin byed dbang/ grol byed lam/ bka' srung chos skyong gi skor ro/ /dang po ni/ dbang chen rdo rje 'chang gi shog dril(1) lo/ /gnyis pa la gsum/ lta ba/ sbkyed rim/ rdzogs rim mo/ /dang po ni lta ba nam mkha'i rdo rje'i shog dril(2) lo/ /gnyis pa la/ dpal 'khor lo bde mchog gi sgrub thabs 'jigs byed rdo rje'i shog dril(3) rgya gzhung/ de'i lhan thabs/ dpal dgyes pa rdo rje dpa' bo gcig pa'i sgrub thabs mi bskyod rdo rje'i shog dril(4) rgya gzhung slob dpon mtsho skyes kyis mdzad pa/ de'i sgrub thabs bsdus pa/ dpal rdo rje phag mo'i sgrub thabs ser sna(5) rdo rje'i shogdril/ de dang rjes su 'brel ba'i dus sbyor thun tshod brtsi pa las bzhi'i sbyin sreg zhar byung las kha tshar dang bcas pa rnams so/ /gsum pa las/ steng sgo gtum mo 'dod chags rdo rje'i shog dril(6)/ 'og sgo thabs lam las rdo rje'i shog dril(7)/ sgyu lus sgyu 'phrul rdo rje'i shog dril(8)/ 'od gsal gti mug rdo rje'i shog dril(9)/ rmi lam phrag dog rdo rje'i shog dril(10)/ 'pho ba zhe sdang rdo rje'i shog dril(11)/ bar do nga rgyal rdo rje'i shog dril(12)/ grong 'jug sgyu 'phrul rdo rje'i shog dril(13) rnams so/ /gsum pa la/ bka'i srung dpal ldan lha mo dud sol ma'i sgrub thabs bha ga rdo rje'i shog dril(14)/ thun mong gi phrin las sgrub pa gnod sbyin mo khol po dar thod can gi sgrub pa'i shog dril(15) te/* Note that the 15th scroll does not have a *vajra* title.

The cycles of guardians of the doctrine and dharma protectors:
The *sādhana* of the guardian of the doctrine, Śrīdevī Dhūmāṅgārī (*dpal ldan lha mo dud sol ma*), *Scroll of Vajra Bhaga* (14).
The scroll of the practice of the *yakśa* Khol po Dar thod can to accomplish the common activity (15).

Although a detailed analysis of the content of each of the fifteen scrolls exceeds the ambition of the present article, a few general remarks can be made. For the scrolls that are translations of Indian texts, that is to say the Vajradhara empowerment and the *sādhana*s, a most likely invented Indian title is provided, doubled by a Tibetan translation. Four of the *sādhana* scrolls provide another method of practice in addition, and several other texts are included in between the scrolls, such as the *Prayer of Mar pa's Six Doctrines*,[18] or the *Vajra Song that Concentrates the Six Doctrines by Nāropā*.[19]

The collection opens with the empowerment of Vajradhara, who epitomises the guru. Mar pa states in the introduction to that scroll that there exists elsewhere elaborate empowerments from scholarly traditions, but that this transmission is the unelaborated tradition of *kusulu* yogis.[20] It is designed for those of highest capacity, he continues, and so he will reserve it for future practitioners, to whom he will miraculously appear, and for the time being hide it in Sras mkhar. The definition of the view follows this, which is the method to introduce the practitioner to his mind's true nature, presented in nine seals. Next come several *sādhana*s, methods for practicing the phase of creation of three deities in particular: Hevajra, Mar pa's main practice, as well as Cakrasaṃvara and Vajravārāhī, which are key deities of the sNyan brgyud tradition.

Then follow eight scrolls detailing practices of the phase of completion, the so-called "Six Doctrines of Nāropā" (*nā ro chos drug*).[21] These scrolls make up the main part of the collection, generally titled for that reason the *Six Doctrines from Sras mkhar* (*chos drug sras mkhar ma*).[22] None of the eight have an Indian title, which indicates that they represent oral instructions translated by Mar pa, not texts. It must be noted that the expression "Six Doctrines" (*chos drug*) is used like a term of art referring to practices associated with the Perfection phase of the Niruttara *tantra*s, the foremost being inner heat (*gtum mo*), and is not to be taken literally as referring to six

[18] *Mar pa'i chos drug gi gsol 'debs*; MPSB, vol. 6: 126.
[19] *Chos drug dril ba'i rdo rje'i mgur*; MPSB, vol. 6: 145.
[20] MPSB, vol. 6: 113.
[21] See Kragh 2011 on this cycle of key instructions transmitted by Nāropā to Mar pa.
[22] This is the title given by the Fifth Dalai Lama in his *Thob yig* (DL5 *Thob yig*, vol. 2: 302).

specific practices designed by Nāropā. As is clear in this presentation of eight scrolls, the Six Doctrines are not actually six in number. In his *Encyclopedia of Knowledge*,[23] Kong sprul mentions several early groupings, for example Mar pa's grouping into four or eight, Mi la ras pa's grouping into eight, Ras chung pa's grouping into three cycles of mixing and nine cycles of mixing and transference, etc. Later, the system was more generally called "Six Doctrines," but to get to a fixed set of six, the practice of the "Lower Door" (*karmamūdra*) was excluded, and the practices of ejection and entering another's body were counted as one. As regards the practice of entering another's body (*grong 'jug*), gTsang smyon states in his biography of Mar pa that it did not spread in Tibet because of Mar pa mDo sde's death.[24] The presence of instructions on this practice in the *Sras mkhar ma* as well as in other collections, however, shows that it did not disappear, although it may not have been widespread.[25]

The collection ends with the *sādhana*s of two protectors, Dhūmāṅgārī (*dud sol ma)* and the *yakśa* Khol po Dar thod can, also called Upāya. Dhūmāṅgārī is a well-known protector of the Mar pa bKa' brgyud lineage.[26] She was initially the protector of the Catuṣpīṭha and Hevajra *tantra*s, and later became the protector of the rNgog pa bKa' brgyud tantric lore in general. As for Khol po Dar thod can, not much is known about this practice; it may be related to one of Mar pa's three protectors, Thod 'phreng can.[27]

The content of the fifteen scrolls that make up the *Sras mkhar ma* fits perfectly with what we know of Mar pa's transmission, and in particular the aural transmission (*snyan brgyud*). Thus, it is possible that he played a role in the spread of these scrolls, which may have been initially written at his behest.

---

[23] *Shes bya mdzod*, vol. 3: 326–328, translated in Kongtrül Lodrö Thayé 2007: 149–152.

[24] Tsangnyön Heruka 1982: 171.

[25] See Ducher *forthcoming* for more details on the six doctrines and especially the practice of entering another's body.

[26] The Sanskrit name Dhūmāṅgārī corresponds to the Tibetan Dud sol ma, and is found in several Sanskrit manuscripts of the Catuṣpīṭha cycle, for instance the *Yogāmbarasādhanopāyikā* of Amitavajra (see Szántó 2012: 170-172, Tôh 1619). Her name also appears in several fragments related to the Catuṣpītha cult (Szántó 2012: 180). It is noteworthy that in the *Dud sol ma'i sgrub thabs* (Tôh 1769) composed by Vanaratna (1384–1468), the Indic title is given as *Dhūmāṅgārīsādhana*; the translator was Khrims khang Lo tsā ba bSod nams rgya mtsho (1424–1482), an important disciple of rNgog Byang chub dpal (1360–1446). More details will be given in my forthcoming PhD dissertation.

[27] In the *rNgog Histories*: 9, the three protectors are said to be Ka ka rtsal, Thod 'phreng can and Dud sol ma.

2. The Two Inventories: The Life of Mar pa Reassessed

The *Sras mkhar ma* compiled by Kong sprul in the RT has two broad sections, an "historical" one (*lo rgyus*), made up of the two inventories and an introduction by Mar pa, and an "instructional" one (*gdams pa*), the fifteen scrolls of instructions. The historical section, and especially Guru Chos dbang's inventory, provides some unique information clarifying several aspects of Mar pa's life that are debated within his biographies,[28] especially with regards to the years following his death. As described below, the reliability of this account is questionable, and no other source allows us to precisely verify Chos dbang's claim. I believe, however, that Chos dbang's description of the years following Mar pa's death may hold some truth. I shall thus present them in the following section of this article, while asking the reader to keep in mind the speculative character of some of the conclusions and the elusive character of hagiography more generally.[29]

Every reader of gTsang smyon's *Life* of *Marpa* will remember its fourth chapter, which vividly relates the death of Mar pa's son mDo sde, a topic depicted in scant detail in previous versions.[30] gTsang smyon's emphasis on Mar pa's loss and grief, and his invention of a few songs, raises questions about the validity of the description, which was contested elsewhere.[31] Even though this narrative's claim

---

[28] Recently, the works of Peter Alan Roberts (Roberts 2007), Andrew Quintman (Quintman 2014) and myself (Ducher *forthcoming*) have shed some light on the complex history of the biographical traditions of Ras chung pa (1084–1161), Mi la ras pa and Mar pa respectively, and shown that much was written about these masters prior to the masterpieces of gTsang smyon He ru ka (1452–1507) and his disciples at the turn of the 16th century. Despite this variety, what is generally remembered of—in this case—Mar pa's life, is found in gTsang smyon's biography of him, famously translated into English under the title *The Life* of *Marpa* (Tsangnyön Heruka 1982). Just as Kong sprul's compilation skills generally hide the complex history of his sources, gTsang smyon's informed literary genius tended to obscure the heterogeneity of Mar pa's biographical tradition.

[29] As described, for instance, in Quintman 2014 and Ducher *forthcoming*.

[30] Tsangnyön Heruka 1982.

[31] The issue concerning Mar pa mDo sde's death is related to the biography of Rwa Lo tsā ba. In one famous version (said to be compiled by Rwa lo's nephew and translated in Cuevas 2015a: 188–191), Rwa lo is depicted as killing mDo sde. In Tāranātha's *Yamāntaka Religious History*: 95, Tāranātha does not endorse Rwa lo's "liberation" of mDo sde, but states that Mar pa mDo sde died after his father, thus contradicting gTsang smyon's scene. Within Mar pa's biographical tradition, 'Be lo Tshe dbang kun khyab (18th c.), in his *Supplement* to Si tu Paṇ chen's standard Karma bKa' brgyud history ('Be lo 1990: 66.5) agrees with Tāranātha's view that mDo sde died after Mar pa (see Decleer 1992: 23–27 for more detail on Mar pa mDo sde's death, and Cuevas 2015b for bibliographical details on Rwa Lo tsā ba's biographies and a discussion of the likely author of the famous

to historicity is feeble, almost all of Mar pa's biographies feature a prophecy by Nāropā stating that Mar pa's familial lineage would not survive, and the rNgog pa bKa' brgyud histories relate that rNgog mDo sde (1078-1154) had to retrieve Mar pa's bone relics because Mar pa's descendants did not take care of them.[32] Thus, it seems that Mar pa's sons did not continue his legacy, but not much is known about Mar pa's estate in Gro bo lung and how his family lineage came to an end. The *Sras mkhar ma* provides a narrative that sheds some light on the decades following Mar pa's passing.

Guru Chos dbang (1212–1270) was born in lHo brag. He was lauded by later rNying ma apologists as the second of five kings among treasure revealers (*gter ston*), a reincarnation of Emperor Khri Srong lde btsan and of the earlier important treasure revealer, Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer. Chos dbang was an early chronicler of the treasure tradition, and played a critical role in fashioning standards that enabled the practice of treasure revelation to become popularly accepted.[33] In the inventory which opens the *Sras mkhar ma* in the RT, while describing the events leading to its discovery, Chos dbang provides some information as to what befell Mar pa's estate in Gro bo lung in the years following his demise.[34] Guru Chos dbang regularly returned to lHo brag, where he sometimes studied with the master living in Gro bo lung, Bla ma Se bro Gyang gsar pa, who was the third representative of the Se bro clan who took over Mar pa's seat from Mar pa's son dGe 'dun. Although he was living at Gro bo lung, Se bro Gyang gsar pa was not a holder of Mar pa's teachings, as none of what Chos dbang studies with him relates to Mar pa's

biography translated in Cuevas 2015a). Given the amount of interpolation in all versions of these narratives, it is impossible to decide whether Mar pa mDo sde died before or after his father. It is likely that there was never much detail about it in Mar pa's biographies, so gTsang smyon and Rwa lo's biographer could unleash their creative inspiration and thereby produced memorable pieces of literature.

32 The description of how rNgog mDo sde retrieved Mar pa's relics is found in several of the *rNgog Histories* (see the bibliography under this title for references). This account was instrumental in the rNgog pa's self-identification as Mar pa's rightful heirs, almost in a biological sense (more details will be given in my forthcoming dissertation on the rNgog pa bka' brgyud history).

33 For his biography and reference to its sources, see the website *Treasury of Lives*: http://www.treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Guru-Chowang/5588 (accessed on 16/09/2015). For more details on Chos dbang's role in the elaboration of the treasure tradition, see Gyatso 1993 and especially 1994.

34 RT, vol. 85: 52–56.

transmission.[35] During one teaching, he showed Chos dbang a scroll he had received from his father, Se bro rJe btsun. Se bro rJe btsun had himself inherited the scroll from *his* father, Se bro Rin chen dbang phyug, who in turn had received it from Mar pa's son dGe 'dun.

The circumstances in which dGe 'dun gave the scroll to Se bro Rin chen dbang phyug are rather shadowy:

> While Se bro Rin chen dbang phyug […] was receiving Hevajra from Mar pa's son, dGe 'dun, [Mar pa's] son, Bya ring 'khor lo, secretly sold *Bla ma* Mar pa Lo tsā ba's reliquary. As his son, dGe 'dun, was not able to redeem it, the lady,[36] having asked him to stay on a [black] magic retreat [in order to] change [the situation],[37] gave poison to the *bla ma*. She fled when he collapsed, locking the door from the outside. When the *bla ma* was about to die, [Se bro Rin chen dbang phyug] came from the outside by climbing over the wall. [dGe 'dun] asked him to pass him a black felt bag, which [Se bro] did, and then to make a fire, which he did. Then [dGe 'dun] asked him to see whether that woman had come from the roof. After [Se bro] had gone there, he smelt burned papers and came back: [dGe 'dun] had thrown some texts into the fire; holding one scroll, he said […][38]

This is followed by dGe 'dun's instructions on what to do with these key-instructions from his father that did not require empowerment and were to be revealed after five generations. He, dGe 'dun, was the first generation; three more remained until the scroll could be opened. Together with the scroll, dGe 'dun gave Se bro Rin chen dbang phyug the translator's texts, bone ornaments and relics. Se bro Rin chen dbang phyug later passed them on to his successor, Se bro rJe btsun, who kept the secret and warned people that the seal should not be broken.

---

35 RT, vol. 85: 52: only Hevajra may come from Mar pa, although the tradition is not specified. Other teachings include the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, *sūtra*s, Vajravārāhī from dPyal's tradition and others.

36 *Jo mo:* it is unclear who that woman is. She may be dGe 'dun or Bya ring 'khor lo's wife, or maybe both.

37 *Chos gsungs*: here, this expression probably does not refer to teaching the Dharma. *Chos* may be the imperative form of *'chos pa*, "to alter, modify".

38 RT, vol. 85: 53.4-54.4: *Se bro rin chen dbang phyug bya ba* […] *bla ma mar pa'i sras dge 'dun la dgyes pa rdo rje gsan cing yod tsa na / bla ma mar pa lo tsā ba'i gdung khang / sras bya ring 'khor los lkog tu btsongs pas / sras dge 'dun gyis blur ma thub par / mthu mtshams su bzhugs nas chos gsungs pa las / bla ma la jo mos dug btang / shul du sgo'i phyi lcags bcug nas mo rang bros / bla ma 'grongs la khad pa'i tsar / phyi nas rtsig pa la 'jogs nas phyin / phying khug nag po thong gsung nas khyer byon tsa na / me zhig thong gsungs nas btang bas / da khang thog nas bud med de byung ngam ltos gsungs / ltar phyin pa'i shul du shog dud mnam nas log phyin tsa na / dpe tsho me la phul nas shog dril gcig tshags mdzad nas 'di skad gsung so /.*

Thus, if we are to believe this story, Mar pa concealed a precious textual collection in his house and gave a scroll of instruction to his son, dGe 'dun. As it was dGe 'dun, and not mDo sde, who had responsibility for the scroll, it means that mDo sde was already dead or at least not in charge of Gro bo lung at the time of dGe 'dun's death, which fits with what is known about Mar pa's life. Moreover, although the exact situation is hazy, there was apparently some tension in the house. dGe 'dun may have performed some black magic because he wanted to punish his brother for losing their father's relics, or because he wanted to retrieve them. He did not manage, however, and was killed by a woman, maybe his wife or Bya ring 'khor lo's, and Mar pa's property was given away to the member of another clan, without any of his sons being able to safeguard either his material or spiritual wealth.

Even if this story was concocted to account for the way Se bro Rin chen dbang phyug came into possession of Mar pa's house and goods, it means that Mar pa's blood line declined very quickly: his favourite son, mDo sde, died early, and the others were up to no good. Bya ri 'khor lo gambled away the relics of his father; dGe 'dun could not stop him, was poisoned and locked up by a woman. Perhaps no more than two decades after Mar pa's death, Sras mkhar belonged to another family, the Se bro. This aspect of Mar pa's life, although not much expanded upon in Mar pa's biographies, is in line with them. The quick downfall of Sras mkhar explains why we find the prophecy of the disappearance of his familial lineage in Mar pa's earliest biographies, and why the rNgog clan worked hard to present themselves as Mar pa's rightful heirs. rNgog mDo sde in particular, with his name, his transmission coming from Mar pa via his father and his gathering of Mar pa's relics, managed in a few decades to make his estate the new center of Mar pa's tantric transmission in Tibet, and was certainly aided in that by the failure of Mar pa's children to preserve his legacy.

3. The Sras mkhar ma *and the Treasure Tradition in Tibet*

Let us now turn to the treasure aspect of the collection and the role Guru Chos dbang played in its revelation in the mid-13th century. In the inventory, Guru Chos dbang states that he studied at Sras mkhar with Se bro Gyang gsar pa. During one teaching, Se bro opened his library, which revealed a mysterious scroll wrapped in three layers of silk. It was three years since his father, Se bro rJe btsun, had died, but Gyang gsar pa had not unsealed the scroll. His father told him about it, but he "had never heard of the existence of treasures in the New

Traditions,"[39] so thought it could only be a fraud. When the scroll was unsealed in Chos dbang's presence, the two found out that it was an inventory (*kha byang*) composed by Mar pa indicating that a collection of fifteen translations of his most secret instructions was concealed somewhere in the house. The treasure revealer kept thinking about it. Eventually, he felt the time had come for the revelation, so he went to Gro bo lung. He did not dare intruding into Sras mkhar, waited for two weeks, and finally found the treasure. He placed another volume of text in its place and made a hundred *gaṇacakra*s.

At this point, the following question may occur to readers: as Se bro Gyang gsar pa remarked, can there be a bKa' brgyud treasure? The subject of treasures and their revelation is very broad and cannot be the covered in the present article, but I shall shortly summarise how they are generally defined in order to contextualise the *Sras mkhar ma*. Janet Gyatso explains in *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*[40] that the term "treasure" refers to something drawn from a treasure cache (*gter kha*). It can be a text or a material object, a statue for instance. The two primary modes of treasure discovery are unearthing an object buried in the ground (*sa gter*) and finding a teaching buried in one's mind (*dgongs gter*). In both cases, the discoverer claims that the item was hidden there at some point in the past. This claim concerning the past distinguishes the treasure tradition from other visionary modes of text revelation in Tibet, such as pure vision (*dag snang*) and aural transmission (*snyan brgyud*). There are at least three ways in which treasures lay claim to authenticity: the exalted status of their original expounder, the similarity of their doctrines or practices to the orthodox tradition, and the special powers of the treasure revealer (*gter ston*). An additional feature of the rNying ma treasure tradition is that the original concealer is usually Padmasambhava or one of his disciples, and that the revealer was present at the time of the treasure's concealment or placement in his/her mind. If one sets these last features aside, the *Sras mkhar ma* could be considered a treasure: it is a text that was revealed from a cache, the content is in line with the rest of Mar pa's teaching, and it was found by Guru Chos dbang, who was recognised as an authentic treasure revealer.

If the *Sras mkhar ma*, as described by Guru Chos dbang, can to some extent be considered a treasure, are there more examples of such treasures existing outside of the rNying ma tradition? As far as the Bon religion is concerned, the answer is obviously yes, since

39 RT, vol. 85: 55.5: *gsar ma ba la gter yod zer ba ngas ma thos* /
40 Gyatso 1996: 147–150.

many of the texts making up the corpus of that Tibetan tradition are indeed considered treasures.[41] Although the new traditions that developed from the 11th century onward generally rely on direct transmission from a master, there exist several examples of texts considered to have been concealed and revealed at a later point. The dGe lugs pa master Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma (1737–1802) mentions several such treasures in his *Cleansing of the Purificatory Gem*.[42] Although Mar pa's *Sras mkhar ma* does not figure in the list, Thu'u bkwan mentions a number of other famous bKa' brgyud treasures. One was concealed by sGam po pa (1079–1153) in a lake above his monastery of Dwags lha sgam po. This collection of two teachings came from Nāropā through Mar pa and Mi la ras pa; it was retrieved two centuries later by Dung mtsho Ras pa (1267–c. 1329) and became an important part of the Zur mang snyan brgyud tradition.[43] Another was hidden by Ras chung pa (1085–1161) in mKhar chu, namely the *Six Cycles on the Equal Taste* (*Ro snyoms skor drug*), a teaching he received from Ti pu pa and that came from Nāropā. It was retrieved by gTsang pa rGya ras (1161–1211), disciple of gLing ras pa, and became an important feature of the 'Brug pa lineage.[44] Like the *Sras mkhar ma*, these two treasures have inventories that were passed on in a lineage down to the treasure revealer and that led to their discovery. In both cases, a material text was concealed that needed no specific elaboration or translation, unlike later rNying ma treasures written in "*ḍākinī* language." A significant difference between the *Sras mkhar ma* and these two collections is that the former was included by Kong sprul in his RT while the other two are found in his *gDams ngag mdzod*. The reason could be that the *Sras mkhar ma* was discovered by a famous treasure revealer while the other two were found by bKa' brgyud masters. One further example of an early bKa' brgyud treasure is a teaching of the gCod tradition concealed by Ma gcig lab sgron and retrieved by distant disciples, also found in the *gDams ngag mdzod*.[45]

The common features of all these treasures are that they were concealed in the late 11th to early 12th centuries, hence do not have any claimed link with the Tibetan empire (generally the purported origin of both rNying ma and Bon treasures), and were retrieved one

---

[41] For a study on the inclusion of Bon po treasures within the RT, see Blondeau 1988. See also Martin 2001: 16–29, Blondeau 2002.

[42] Translated in Kapstein 2000: 133–134.

[43] See Mei 2009: 40–47. The texts are in the *gDams ngag mdzod* (vol. 8: 408–428).

[44] See e.g. Smith 2001: 44; *Blue Annals*: 438 & 668. *gDams ngag mdzod* (vol. 10: 91–122).

[45] *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gcod kyi gzhung shes rab skra rtse'i sa gzhung spel ba rin po che'i gter mdzod*; found in *Gdams ngag mdzod*, vol. 14: 81–99.

or two centuries later. We may therefore wonder what happened during the second spread (*phyi dar*) of Buddhism in Tibet that could explain the phenomenon of treasure,[46] and why it did not endure in the New Schools to such an extent as within the rNying ma and Bon ones, where it continues to be popular even today.

Robert Mayer[47] argues that "the *gter-ma* tradition is primarily a Tibetan elaboration of Buddhist systems already well attested in Indian Literature many centuries before the introduction of Buddhism to Tibet—rather than a syncretic development derivative of indigenous Tibetan religion, or a Buddhist invention entirely unique to Tibet." Just like the reincarnation (*sprul sku*) system, the Svātantrika-Prāsangika divide or the gZhan stong view, treasures represent "Buddhist developments of Buddhist ideas, albeit worked out on Tibetan soil." He backs up this view with reference to an early Mahāyānā *sūtra*, the *Pratyutpanna-buddha-saṃmukhāvasthita-samādhi-sūtra*.[48] In this long and complex text, the Buddha explains to his disciple Bhadrapāla that his teaching will disappear after a few years, so Bhadrapāla and other bodhisattvas should copy and conceal it in order to rediscover it at a later time. Robert Mayer also gives the example of a Hindu and Buddhist tantric cult that used to find hidden treasures, usually material, where fierce treasure-protectors play an important role, just like in the Tibetan treasure tradition.[49]

Thus, when Buddhism was brought to Tibet from India in the 11th century, Tibetan translators may have been familiar with these Indian traditions, and maintained and developed them in Tibet. With the period of fragmentation (*sil bu'i dus*) that followed the downfall of the Tibetan empire, Tibetans, like other people at difficult times, were also familiar with the simpler tradition of concealing texts in order to protect them from destruction.

In the 11th century, lineages were in formation, religion was mushrooming again in Tibet, and the treasure tradition was not a specifically rNying ma phenomenon yet. It is therefore not impossible that Mar pa, sGam po pa, Ras chung pa, Ma gcig lab sgron and others may have concealed teachings for future generations. In the following centuries, rNying ma treasures started to be revealed. One of the first great treasure revealers was the 12th-century Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer who, among other texts, revealed

---

46 See Martin 2001 ; Davidson 2005: ch. 6.

47 Mayer 1997: 137.

48 Translated in Harrison 1990. The Tibetan version is very different from the Chinese version, and the story of the two methods of scriptural revelation that form the main narrative of the *sūtra* is distributed across its whole length in fragmentary bits. Thanks to Robert Mayer for his comments on this *sūtra*.

49 Mayer 1997: 144 ff.

Padmasambhava's first treasure biography.[50] He retrieved exclusively material treasures, be it texts, statues or substances claimed to be concealed by Padmasambhava and his students.[51] He was followed a couple of generations later by Guru Chos dbang, whose treasures are also mainly textual, although he also found a mind treasure.[52] In later times, treasures were decreasingly material, and involved a larger elaboration on the part of the revealer.

During the 13th century, lineages were consolidating and a dramatic shift in consciousness occurred in Tibet because the Buddhist civilisation in India was being destroyed. Polemic attacks, led by Sa skya Paṇḍita, were launched against rNying ma treasures. Priorities shifted from skilful indigenisation of Buddhism (which might encourage treasure) to a much more conservative effort to conserve in Tibet what was being destroyed in India (which might discourage treasure). The treasure tradition became an increasingly codified rNying ma (and Bon po) phenomenon.[53]

4. *Why Treasures and is the* Sras mkhar ma *Really a Treasure?*

As I just argued, it is not inconceivable that masters of the New Schools may have hidden some teachings for later generations, hence that Guru Chos dbang's claim that the *Sras mkhar ma* was concealed by Mar pa may have some truth in it. Despite that possibility, it seems more likely, however, that the collection is not an actual treasure but was just revealed so by Chos dbang's agency.

In terms of content the fifteen scrolls fit remarkably well with the teachings Mar pa transmitted directly to his students. So why would Mar pa have concealed texts that he taught to his disciples anyway? Let us first look at the answer to these questions provided in Mar

---

[50] Doney 2014.

[51] Hirshberg 2012.

[52] Dudjom Rinpoche [1991] 2002: 764. The *Sras mkhar ma* is mentioned as the tenth treasure.

[53] That view was suggested to me by Robert Mayer (personal communication). A similar one, albeit not centered on treasures, can be found in Martin 2001: 6-7: "I would say […] that eras of renewal are likely to occur after times of disruption, […] and during times of importation, when desirable properties and ideas are being brought in from outside for internal use. In such times, the locally glorious past is reasserted at the same time as the new items and ideas are being integrated. The nation feels strong and unchanging even as it is changing. Times of consolidation to the contrary occur under the real or imagined threat of unwanted invasions, when local goods and ideas are being threatened from without. Such times demand greater internal uniformity, greater conservatism with respect to the immediate past. Early Tibet's age of renewal, I would suggest, probably came to its symbolic end by 1240 […]"

pa's inventory:[54] Mar pa, we are told, was asked by his three main masters (Nāropā, Maitripa and the *ḍākinī*) not to spread those teachings but to keep them secret. Mar pa calls these teachings "the fifteen cycles of instruction of aural transmission" (*snyan brgyud gdams skor bco lnga*), and elsewhere "the fifteen cycles of instructions of the mind" (*thugs rgyud gdams pa skor bco lnga*). This indicates, first, that the terms *snyan brgyud* should not be understood to refer strictly to the specific cycle of teaching that became famous with Ras chung pa, but also to innermost, secret, precious teachings meant to be transmitted from master to disciple in a secret way, and, second, that this cycle may be better approached from within the frameworks of aural transmissions than that of treasures. This aural transmission, according to Mar pa's masters, should not be made available to everyone, like milk which becomes spoiled on the market place, but kept for future generations, or else it would lose its value. It is the masters' innermost, most precious teaching, and as such should not be made available to many people.

This is a well known use of rhetoric to explain lineages restricted to a single holder (*gcig brgyud*), which are trademarks of aural transmissions. Here, however, the advice goes further than just restricting the transmission to one person: Mar pa's masters tell him that he should take care of worthy disciples, but that although there are fortunate and appropriate recipients to his teachings, in the end none will abide by their *samaya*s. Thus, Mar pa is asked *not* to spread these key instructions, but rather conceal them, transmitting the lineage of the empowerments but keeping the blessing of his master's mind for later generations. This is why he asks his close disciple Mar pa mGo yags to make five copies of the collection and hide them in the house.

When trying to understand the collection on the basis of the inventories composed by Guru Chos dbang and Mar pa, which intimately echo each other, many questions arise. The inventories' narrative is rather straightforward: Mar pa intentionally concealed this collection because his masters asked him to do so, and Chos dbang found it thanks to a letter of indication descended from Mar pa. When looking closer, however, we may ask: in what way is this collection a treasure? Should we consider it within the framework of the rNying ma treasure tradition, or instead as an aural transmission that found its way into the hands of a treasure revealer? Did Mar pa really conceal a collection for future generations? Can he be considered the origin of the collection? Of the inventory?

[54] I depend here on the reading of Mar pa's inventory given in the DK-DZO, vol. 4: 374–375, the orthography of which is more correct than that given in the RT.

Concerning the role of Mar pa in the translation of these texts, there is little doubt that the scrolls fit completely with the other teachings he received in India and gave to his disciples, especially those from the aural transmission, and not with what Chos dbang taught and spread elsewhere. It seems therefore unlikely that Chos dbang edited the scrolls, let alone composed them. The question remains open for the inventory, however. In both Chos dbang's inventory and in what is presented as Mar pa's inventory, the collection is depicted as a treasure (*gter*) voluntarily concealed by Mar pa and formally revealed by Chos dbang. Could it be that Chos dbang indeed found the scrolls in Sras mkhar, but that Mar pa did not conceal them? It is likely that Mar pa possessed written versions of the *sādhana*s and oral instructions he received from his masters, but that he did not want them to be seen by everyone in the house or spread in writing among his disciples. In that case, he may well have taught orally these practices to his disciples—the aural transmission and the six doctrines are meant to be oral teachings—without providing them with a written text, although he personally had one. In that case, it would mean that he did not actively conceal the collection with the aspiration that it would be revealed after five generations, but rather simply hid the collection somewhere, not as a treasure but simply as something precious that he did not want to be read by anyone save himself, so as to keep the power of these transmissions intact.

In that case, although Chos dbang's narrative about the extinction of Mar pa's familial rule and the Se bro clan may have some truth in it—as a local he could be aware of the history of the place independently of any actual inventory—one can wonder about the authenticity of Mar pa's inventory and about the instruction he is said to be given by his masters to conceal the collection for future generations.

As shown by Janet Gyatso in her study of Chos dbang's *gTer 'byung chen mo*,[55] Guru Chos dbang had a very wide understanding of what treasure was, ranging from "outer" treasures (water, hidden valleys, wish-fulfilling gems, etc.), "inner" treasures (texts about secular and religious arts) and "secret, supreme Treasures of body, speech, and mind," i.e. Buddhist materials. That, in turn, covers "the nine vehicles of the Buddhist teachings, which […] had all been hidden in the heart-mind of Śākyamuni as Treasure and then revealed when appropriate to the needs of disciples." Thus, for Guru Chos dbang, everything is a treasure, and if he indeed found scrolls coming from Mar pa in Sras mkhar, it is conceivable that he may

[55] Gyatso 1994: 276–277.

have designated them as a treasure, just like the rest of the teachings he found and spread.

It seems therefore likely that the *Sras mkhar ma* was not initially hidden by Mar pa with the overt aspiration of safeguarding it for future generations while hiding it from present disciples. It was, which is more common for a bKa' brgyud master, a written testimony of a very secret oral teaching, not designed to be spread in writing to his disciples, at least for several generations (as other aural transmissions). Guru Chos dbang's role as the revealer of the scrolls to the world, and his active legitimation of the collection as a treasure by way of his inventory and the expansion of Mar pa's inventory made it appear as if it was a bKa' brgyud treasure,[56] a status further reinforced by its inclusion in the RT. It might be more straightforward, however, to consider this collection as a written testimony of an aural transmission.

In both cases, the issue of blessing and direct transmission, just like in the treasure tradition, prevail. As argued by Robert Mayer, treasure texts are new readings of an older teaching. They have a rather conservative content but are revealed for the sake of refreshing that teaching:

> The direct lineages of Treasure re-transmit the blessings direct from their original transcendent sources, rather than through a longer historical human lineage potentially polluted by breaches of tantric ethics and conduct. It is the blessings that are fresh, and their redissemination which is new, far more than any changes in actual ritual content.[57]

This, according to Mar pa's inventory, is the reason given by his masters when they advise him to conceal the collection:

> Thus, you too, Lo tsā ba,
> Should not spread this now!
> Get it sealed into three caches.
> Teach the empowerment to your lineage
> And let the heart-transmission's blessing appear later.[58]

---

[56] Mar pa's inventory found in the Drepung version (MPSB, vol. 6, 1–2), although called *gter gyi kha byang*, is completely in line with the sNyan brgyud tradition. As this recension also does not contain Chos dbang's inventory, it is possible that it represents another line of transmission of the text, one that was less shaped by Chos dbang's discovery of it (see below for more detail), hence not so strongly painted with the colours of the treasure tradition.

[57] Mayer 2013-2014 (2015): 235.

[58] DK-DZO, vol. 4: 375; RT, vol. 85: 60: *de phyir lo tstsha khyod kyis kyang/ /da lta spel bar ma byed par/ /gter kha gsum du phyag rgyas* (RT: *rgya yis*) *thob/ dbang ni rgyud*

For Guru Chos dbang, who played a large role in the establishment of the treasure tradition in Tibet, it would therefore seem quite natural, if he found a text, to legitimise it by stating that this discovery revivified the transmission, in that its blessing was fresh, while the empowerment had been transmitted in direct line from Mar pa through several generations.

5. Various Readings for a Complex History

Moving on from the issue of the scrolls being a treasure or an aural transmission, the various versions present differences which are at times quite telling with regard to the history of the collection. One such case appears in the end of the introduction and before the start of the fifteen scrolls, in a note featured in both the RT and the DK-DZO. The RT version reads as follows:

> In Gro bo lung, a lord of gSer sding, Sangs rgyas mgon, cleaved open a rock in the castle's wall and found [Mar pa's] quintessential intention from a *tsha tsha* wrapped with cloth and yak fabric. It then fell in the hands of the great accomplished one, gSer sding pa gZhon nu 'od.[59]

gSer sding pa gZhon nu 'od (lived 12th to 13th century) was a famous bKa' bgryud master who received Mar pa's transmission of the Guhyasamāja from a lineage descended from Mar pa's disciple, mTshur ston dbang nge (dates uncertain).[60] He met with the Kashmiri *paṇḍita* Śākyaśribhadra (1127–1225), who arrived in Tibet in 1204, and therefore lived before Guru Chos dbang's revelation of the *Sras mkhar ma*. According to the *Blue Annals,* gSer sding pa came to Gro bo lung;[61] if we are to believe this note, he may have been given Mar pa's fifteen scrolls in the early 13th century, before Chos dbang found them. The DK-DZO version reads as follows:

(RT: *brgyud*) *pa la lung ston* (RT: *ma lus ton*)/ /*thugs rgyud* (RT: *brgyud*) *byin brlabs* (RT: *rlabs*) *phyi phyir 'byung* (RT: *'bungs*)/

59 RT, vol. 85: 66: *gro bo lung du gser sding pa rje bo sangs rgyas mgon gyis mkhar rtsig pa'i brag gshags pas / sā tstsha ras dang re bas dril ba'i nang nas thugs kyi nying khu rnyed do / de nas gser sding pa grub chen gzhon nu 'od kyi phyag tu byung nas rim par brgyud do /*

60 *Blue Annals*: 420–22.

61 *Blue Annals:* 421.

> These key-instructions coming from Lord Mar pa's heart were inserted into a big *tsha tsha*, wrapped with cloth and yak fabric, and then concealed in-between the slabs of Gro bo lung. Later, a sinful shepherd found them when he cleaved open a rock of the house's wall. Not knowing what it was, he passed them on and they fell into my hands. The shepherd's name was Sangs rgyas mgon.[62]

According to this narrative, the key-instructions were found in a wall by someone called Sangs rgyas mgon. He was not a lord (*rje bo*) from gSer sding, but a shepherd (*rdzi bo)*, and he gave the scroll to gSer sding pa gZhon nu 'od, who compiled a version of the text. Thus we may conceive that at some time in the late 12th or early 13th century, someone found scrolls in Sras mkhar's wall. Not knowing what they were, he gave them to gSer sding pa during his visit to Gro bo lung. This may be the sense of a note at the end of Mar pa's introduction in the *Indian Mahāmudrā Works* version, which states that "the verses up to that point are known to have been composed by gSer sding pa".[63] gSer sding pa may have passed the collection on, and the *Indian Mahāmudrā Works* version would thus be a witness of that manuscript, thus explaining the absence of both Guru Chos dbang and Mar pa's inventories. A few decades later, Guru Chos dbang found the text again in Sras mkhar, maybe another of the five copies made by Mar pa mGo yags. Immersed as he was in the treasure tradition, he saw it as a treasure. On the basis of what he knew because of attending Se bro Gyang gsar pa, the landlord of Mar pa's estate at that time, he wrote an inventory to legitimise his find, in the same way that he wrote inventories for his other, more orthodox treasures. He may have, to some extent, edited or enlarged Mar pa's instructions based on his masters' advice; possibly a less extensively edited form of these instructions are represented by those that open the Drepung version. Several centuries later, when Kong sprul compiled the *Sras mkhar ma*, he retained Chos dbang's presentation while incorporating the above remark about gSer sding pa, which may be based on his reading of the DK-DZO and the *Indian Mahāmudrā Works* versions.

---

62 DK-DZO, vol. 4: 381: *rje mar pa'i thugs nas byung ba'i man ngag 'di rnams / shog ril chi chi* [*tsha tsha*] *chen mo'i nang du bcug nas ras dang re bas gril nas gro bo lung gi brag sebs su sbas so / dus phyis rdzi bo sdig can cig gis dpe'u* [*spe'u*] *rtsig pa'i brag bshags pas rnyed de / khos ngo ma shes / de nas brgyud de kho bo'i lag du byung ngo / rdzi bo'i ming sangs rgyas mgon bya ba yin no /*

63 *Indian Mahāmudrā Works*: 108.

6. *The Transmission of the* Sras mkhar ma

After Guru Chos dbang found Mar pa's written texts of his secret, oral transmission, the treasure revealer taught them to his disciples, and several lineages are recorded in the various versions. To underline another interesting aspect in this collection, we may again return to Mar pa's life.

When Mar pa came back to Tibet, he gave teachings to his students. Two main lineages emerged, the lineage of practice (*sgrub brgyud*) comprising mainly Cakrasaṃvara and the Six Doctrines of Nāropā and transmitted through Mi la ras pa, and the lineage of exegesis (*bshad brgyud*) consisting mainly of Hevajra and the six doctrines of "mixing and transference" (*bsre 'pho*) and transmitted through rNgog Chos rdor. During Chos dbang's time, Mi la ras pa's legacy had expanded into the various sNyan brgyud lineages, as well as the four primary and eight secondary bKa' brgyud lineages, and the rNgog pa lineage was in full strength at sPre'u zhing. One day, according to the *Sras mkhar ma*, Guru Chos dbang went to Sras mkhar, and found Mar pa's texts. At once, he recognised them as a very precious and secret teaching—a treasure as he saw it. He gave that collection of bKa' brgyud *sādhana*s and practices of the six doctrines to one of his most important disciples, gNyos lHa Rin chen rgyal po (1201–1270), a holder of the lHa pa bKa' brgyud lineage, a subsect within the 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud lineage founded by his uncle gNyos lHa nang pa (1164–1224), one of the principal students of 'Bri gung skyob pa 'Jig rten gsum mgon (1143–1217). As shown by Per Sørensen, that lineage was very powerful in southern Tibet and Bhutan at the time.[64] Guru Chos dbang had close relationships with Rin chen rgyal po and took part in the consecration of his new monastery, the Gye re lha khang, in Central Tibet.[65]

Any reader of Mar pa's biography, as told by gTsang smyon,[66] will remember in addition to Mar pa's mDo sde's death that Mar pa had a very difficult relationship with gNyos Lo tsā ba Yon tan grags, gNyos lHa Rin chen rgyal po's distant ancestor, who threw Mar pa's texts in the Ganges out of jealousy. As the story goes, Mar pa went to India with him and the two were quite close. But then, gNyos became jealous, and destroyed Mar pa's texts. That treason, however, despite what we are led to believe by reading gTsang smyon's biography of Mar pa, is much debated in Mar pa's biographical tradition. While some say that he indeed destroyed Mar pa's texts, some say they

[64] Sørensen 2007: 443.
[65] See Ducher *forthcoming* for more details.
[66] Tsangnyön 1982.

were burnt, or merely fell in the water. The Jo nang master, Kun dga' grol mchog (1507–1565), who visited the gNyos' Gye re Temple in the 16th century, says that he saw there a Cakrasaṃvara statue that Mar pa had received from Nāropā. On that basis, later biographers completely rehabilitated gNyos in Mar pa's biography, saying that he was a great master and could not have destroyed Mar pa's texts.[67]

Despite this liability (gNyos's role is already murky in the earliest of Mar pa's biographies), Chos dbang gave the *Sras mkhar ma*, Mar pa's secret texts, to gNyos Rin chen rgyal po, who in turn revealed it more widely, giving it to three to four people.[68] With that in mind, some of the peculiarity of the introduction of the *Sras mkhar ma* may be explained. One indeed finds in that description of Mar pa's journeys to India a rather unique depiction of how he traveled back to Tibet with gNyos Lo tsā ba and was advised by him to return to India as there were great obstacles to his return to Tibet. In the wording, nothing like an enmity between the two is discernable. Strangely enough, the term employed to describe Nāropā, "the one who shows the path to liberation," is the name Mar pa uses in the biographies to hide the identity of his Mahāmāyā master (Śāntibhadra) from gNyos.[69] These elements, which are not in line with the rest of Mar pa's biographical tradition, may lead us to suspect that there may have been some interpolation in "Mar pa's" introduction to the *Sras mkhar ma* when gNyos Rin chen rgyal po transmitted it to his disciples. That is not certain, however, since the *Indian Mahāmudrā Works* version also contains these descriptions, despite the fact that it may have come from a source that was independent of Guru Chos dbang's version.

The various versions of the *Sras mkhar ma* record different lineages, which shows that the collection spread quite widely after gNyos Rin chen rgyal po. The Drepung version states that it was copied from a Karma pa's copy,[70] maybe the third, who is part of a lineage recorded in the DK-DZO.[71] At the end of the RT version,

---

67 'Be lo 1990: 60. See Decleer 1992 for details.

68 RT, vol. 85: 57.

69 See for instance Tsangnyön 1982: 25.

70 MPSB: 6.

71 DK-DZO: 510–511: "Vajradhara, Vajrapani, Vajrayoginī, Tilo, Nāro, Mar pa, Chos kyi dbang phyug, the siddha Me long rdo rdje [1243–1303], the glorious Rang byung rdo rje [1284–1339], the sprul sku Dus 'khor ba, the sprul sku Rol pa'i rdo rje [Fourth Karma pa, 1340–1383], mKha' spyod dbang po [Second Zhwa dmar pa, 1350–1405], the one named mGon po, the one named 'Jams dbyangs, Dran chog blo gros rgyal mtshan, the yogin from La phyi, dBang phyug rin chen dpal ba, the learned and accomplished one from 'Brug bu, bDe chen dpal 'bar ba, 'me.'" bDe chen dpal 'bar ba, also known as Shar ka Ras chen, was a contemporary of the Seventh Karma pa (1454–1506). Another lineage went through Chos dbang's son, Padma dbang chen (see RT, vol. 85, 65–66). Another

Kong sprul notes that except the inventory(/-ies?), the verses listing the contents of the collection (*dkar chag*) and the *sādhana* of Khol po Dar thod can, all texts also feature in the Zur mang tradition of the bDe mchog snyan brgyud.[72]

7. Conclusion

Unstudied until now, this collection of Mar pa's translations of Indian *sādhana*s and oral instructions retains some ambiguity. Although it is not possible to deny with certainty that Mar pa intended to conceal this text for future generations, it seems more probable that it is the written material he used for the transmission to his disciples of what became known as the aural transmission, that is to say an esoteric wisdom not intended to be spread widely or written down. It is stated in Mar pa's inventory that it was copied several times by his close disciple, Mar pa mGo yags, and concealed at several places within his mansion. That too, is open to doubt, but it is possible that there were several versions, and that one of them was found in the early 13th century and transmitted by gSer sding pa gZhon nu 'od, while another was brought to light by Guru Chos dbang. The latter, as a famous treasure revealer and important designer of the treasure tradition, conceived of the collection in the same way that he did the other treasures he revealed, presenting it as a teaching that kept intact the blessing of Mar pa and his masters, thus not as replacing the existing empowerments and instructions passed down in the various bKa' brgyud lineages, but as enriching them with a fresh energy.

Although the status of the *Sras mkhar ma* as treasure is thus moderated, the fact remains that, during the early period of the second spread of Buddhism in Tibet, there was a somewhat common tendency to conceal texts. A close study of the period's other "bKa' brgyud treasures" may reveal a similar twist in the treasure's status, which became treasure by the agency of the revealer rather than that of the concealer. In later centuries, however, the solidification of the

was received by the Fifth Dalai Lama and transited (among others) through rNgog Byang chub dpal (1360–1446) (see DL5 *Thob yig*, vol. 2, 302–303)

[72] This tradition was also instrumental in the transmission of *Sems khrid yid bzhin nor bu* (the treasure revealed by Dung mtsho ras pa). It was probably that lineage's founder, Drung rMa sras Blo gros rin chen (1386–1483), who introduced these teachings received from the Fifth Karma pa in his tradition.

rNying ma tradition put a halt to this way of presenting teachings in the bKa' brgyud tradition.

Despite these doubts, the information provided in Chos dbang's inventory on the events following Mar pa's death cannot be easily brushed aside. Both Mar pa's biographical tradition and the rNgog pa bKa' brgyud histories similarly assert that Mar pa's estate in Gro bo lung quickly declined, and that his biological succession collapsed. Although Guru Chos dbang may have expanded the introduction of the collection in order to legitimise it, he certainly relied for that on first-hand information from lHo brag, since his estate neighbored Mar pa's. Regarding his bestowal of the transmission to the holder of the lHa pa bKa' brgyud lineage, it can be explained by the fact that the gNyos clan was very powerful in southern Tibet and Bhutan at the time. It is certainly quite ironical for modern readers of gTsang smyon's *Life of Marpa* that his scrolls were given to the successor of gNyos Lo tsā ba, but given the content of the *Sras mkhar ma*—an eminently bKa' brgyud teaching very different from the other treasures revealed by Guru Chos dbang—it is not surprising that he gave it to a powerful heir of 'Bri gung skyob pa 'Jig rten gsum mgon. Thus, he at once strengthened his footing in southern Tibet, cleared away the doubts surrounding the sanctity of the gNyos transmission, and ensured that Mar pa's blessing reached those it intended to benefit, the practitioners of the various bKa' brgyud sub-branches.

Bibliography

Versions of the Sras mkhar ma

DK-DZO: 2004. "rJe na ro dang mar pa'i thugs kyi nying khu chos drug rdo rje'i tshig 'grol chen mo 'am chos drug sras mkhar ma." In *'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod chen mo*, vol. 4, 373–511. Lhasa: A mgon rin po che. 2004.

Drepung: 2011. "Chos drug mkhar khang ma'i gter gyi kha byang." In MPSB, vol. 6, 1–102.

Indian Mahāmudrā Works: 1985. "Chos drug mkhar kha ma'i shog dril bco lnga pa," In *Phyag chen rgya gzhung: Collected Texts of the Mahāmudrā Practice Translated from Sanskrit,* 105–215. Bir: D. Tsondu Senghe. (W21554).

MPSB: dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang (ed.). 2011. *lHo brag mar pa lo tsā'i gsung 'bum*. Pe cin: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang.

RT: "rJe btsun mar pa lo tsā'i gdams pa chos drug sras mkhar ma'i skor rnams. Gu ru chos dbang rin po che'i gter byon." In *Rin chen gter mdzod chen mo*, edited by 'Jam mgon Kong sprul. vol. 85: 51–201. Paro: Ngodrup and Sherab Drimay. Ed. 1976–1980. TBRC W20578.
—See also: 2011. "rJe btsun mar pa lo tsā'i gdams pa chos drug sras mkhar ma'i skor rnams." In MPSB, vol. 6, 103–208.

Other Tibetan-Language Sources

'Be lo Tshe dbang kun khyab & Si tu Chos kyi 'byung gnas. 1990. "Karma kaṃ tshang brgyud pa'i rin po che'i rnam thar rab 'byams nor bu zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba". In *Ta'i si tu pa kun mkhyen chos kyi 'byu gnas bstan pa'i nyin byed kyi bka' 'bum*. Sansal: Palpung Sungrab Nyamso Khang. (W26630).

DL5 *Thob yig*: Ngag dbang Blo bzang rgya mtsho. 1991–1995. "Zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig ganggā'i chu rgyun las glegs bam dang po." In *The Collected Works (gSung-'bum) of the Vth Dalai Lama*, vols. 1–4. Sikkim: Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology.

Drepung Catalogue: bsTan 'dzin phun tshogs. 2004. *'Bras spungs dgon du bzhugs su gsol ba'i dpe rnying dkar chag.* Edited by dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

rNgog Histories: 2010. "Bla ma rngog pa yab sras rim par byon pa'i rnam thar rin po che'i rgyan gyi phreng ba" and "Rje mar pa nas brgyud pa'i rngog gzhung pa yab sras kyi bla ma'i rnam thar nor bu'i phreng ba." In: *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs*, vol. 22, 1–50. Zi ling: mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Tāranātha's *Yamāntaka Religious History*: "rGyud rgyal gshin rje gshed skor gyi chos 'byung rgyas pa yid ches ngo mtshar." In *gSung 'bum dpe bsdur ma,* vol. 11: 1–138. Pe cin: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang.

Other-Language Sources

Blondeau, Anne-Marie. 1988. "La controverse soulevée par l'inclusion de rituels bon-po dans le *Rin-chen gter-mjod*. Note préliminaire." In *Tibetan Studies. Proceedings of the 4th Seminar of the International Studies*, edited by H. Uebach and J. L. Panglung, 55–67. München: Kommission für Zentralasiatische Studien Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

———. 2002. "La tradition des "Textes-trésors" (*gter ma*) dans le bouddhisme tibétain: apocryphes ou révélation?" In *Facets of Tibetan Religious Traditions and Contacts with Neighbouring Cultural Areas*, edited by A. Cadonna and E. Bianchi, 3–16. Firenze: L. S. Olschki.

Clemente, Michela. 2013. "Review of Karl-Heinz Everding, Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke. Die mTshur-phu-Ausgabe der Sammlung Rin-chen gter-mdzod chen-mo, nach dem Exemplar der Orientabteilung Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Teil 14, Bände 52–63." *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 86: 169–73.

Cuevas, Bryan. 2015a. *The All-Pervading Melodious Drumbeat: The Life of Ra Lotsawa*. Penguin Classics.

———. 2015b. "Rva *Lo tsā ba* and His Biographers." In: *Festschrift for Per K. Sørensen on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, edited by Olaf Czaja and Guntram Hazod, 57–78. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

Davidson Ronald, 2005. *Tibetan Renaissance: Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Doney, Lewis. 2014. *The* Zangs gling ma*: The First Padmasambhava Biography. Two Exemplars of the Earliest Attested Recension*. Andiast: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies.

Ducher, Cécile. *Forthcoming*. *Building a Tradition: the Lives of Mar-pa the Translator*. München: Indus Verlag.

Decleer, Hubert. 1992. "The Melodious Drumsound All-Pervading, Sacred Biography of Rwa Lotsâwa: About Early Lotsâwa rnam thar and chos 'byung." In: *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 5th International Association of Tibetan Studies Seminar*, edited by

Shōren Ihara, and Zuihō Yamaguchi, vol. 1, 13–28. Narita: Naritasan Institute for Buddhist Studies.

Dudjom Rinpoche (Gyurme Dorje and Matthew Kapstein transl.). [1991] 2002. *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism*. Translated by. Boston: Wisdom.

Everding, Karl Heinz. 2008. *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke, Teil 14*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Gyatso, Janet. 1993. “The Logic of Legitimation in the Tibetan Treasure Tradition.” *History of Religions,* 33(2): 97–134.

———. 1994. “Guru Chos-dbang’s Gter ’byung chen mo: An Early Survey of the Treasure Tradition and its Strategies in Discussing Bon Treasure.” In *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetans Studies*, edited by Per Kvaerne, vol. 1, 275–87. Oslo: Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.

———. 1996. “Drawn from the Tibetan Treasury: The gTer ma Literature.” In *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, edited by José Ignacio Cabezón and Roger Jackson, 147–169. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Kapstein, Matthew. 2000. *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism: Conversion, Contestation, and Memory*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Kragh, Ulrich Timme. 2011. “Prolegomenon to the Six Doctrines of Nā ro pa: Authority and Tradition.” In *Mahāmudrā and the bKa’-brgyud Tradition*, edited by Roger Jackson and Matthew Kapstein, 131–178. Andiast: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies.

Lévi, Sylvain, 1931. “Un nouveau document sur le bouddhisme de basse époque dans l’Inde.” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 6(2), 417-429.

Harrison, Paul. 1990. *The Samādhi of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present.* Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies.

Hirshberg, Daniel. 2012. "Delivering the Lotus-Born: Historiography in the Tibetan Renaissance." Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University.

Kongtrül Lodrö Thayé (Sarah Harding transl.). 2007. *The Treasury of Knowledge: Book Eight, Part Four: Esoteric Instructions*. Ithaca: Snow Lion.

Martin, Dan. 2001. *Unearthing Bön Treasures: Life and Contested Legacy of a Tibetan Scripture Revealer with a General Bibliography of Bon.* Leiden: Brill.

Mayer, Robert. 1997. "Caskets of Treasures & Visions of Buddhas: Indic Antecedents of the Tibetan gTer-ma Tradition." In *Indian Insights*, edited by Peter Connolly et al., 137–151. London: Luzac Oriental.

———. 2013-2014 (2015). "gTer ston and Tradent: Innovation and Conservation in Tibetan Treasure Literature." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 36-37, 227–242.

Mei, Ching Hsuan. 2009. "The Development of 'Pho-ba Liturgy in Medieval Tibet." PhD thesis, Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn.

Quintman, Andrew. 2014. *The Yogin and the Madman: Reading the biographical corpus of Tibet's Great Saint Milarepa*. New York: Columbia University Press.

———. 2013 (2015). "Wrinkles in Time: On the Problem of Mi la ras pa's Dates." *Acta Orientalia*, 74, 3–26.

Roberts, Peter Alan. 2007. *The Biographies of Rechungpa: The evolution of a Tibetan hagiography.* London: Routledge.

Roerich, George. [1949] 1976. *The Blue Annals*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Schwieger, Peter. 2009. *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke, Teil 13*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

———. 2010. "Collecting and Arranging the *gTer ma* Tradition: Kong sprul's Great Treasury of the Hidden Teachings." In *Édition,*

éditions: l'écrit au Tibet, évolution et devenir, edited by Anne Chayet et al., 321–335. München: Indus Verlag.

Smith, Gene. 2001. *Among Tibetan Texts*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.

Sørensen Per K. et Hazod Guntram, 2007. *Rulers on the Celestial Plain: Ecclesiastic and Secular Hegemony in Medieval Tibet. A Study of Tshal Gung-Than.* Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Tsangnyön Heruka (Nālandā Translation Committee transl.). 1982. *The Life of Marpa the Translator: Seeing Accomplishes All*. Boston: Shambhala Publications.

❖

On the Historical Background of a Buddhist Polemical Exchange between Tibetan and Mongolian Scholars in the 19th Century

ErdeneBaatar Erdene-Ochir

(University of California, Santa Barbara)

This study attempts to shed a light on the historical background of a particular series of Buddhist textual polemical exchanges that took place in the nineteenth century among some A mdo-Tibetan and Mongolian dGe lugs scholars. Keeping in mind the focus of my larger project, I intend elsewhere to explore the importance of philosophical aspects of this polemical exchange.[1] Here, discussing the historical background and sociopolitical context of the time during which the polemicists were writing their works, I attempt to explore the mundane motivations of the authors involved and the shared characteristics of the ways in which they exchanged their works. I find such an attempt to be intrinsically a fascinating project for many reasons related to the historical time frame in connection with the geographical framework. The scholars involved in this polemical debate represented Yeke Küriy-e,[2] a.k.a. Urga, the largest central monastic seat in Qalq-a (Khalkha) Mongolia, on the one hand, and Bla brang Monastery, the biggest dGe lugs monastery in Tibetan A mdo region, on the other, whereas the textual basis of the dispute was a Buddhist commentarial exegesis composed by a Central Tibetan dGe lugs writer.

---

1 In the current work, I have intentionally avoided discussions of the philosophical and/or Buddhist theological aspects of the polemics, since I am planning to discuss these aspects extensively and in more depth in a future work.

2 "Yeke Küriy-e" is the transliteration of the classical Mongolian spelling for "Ih Hüree," or "Ikh Khüree." "Yeke Küriy-e" is nowadays probably more frequently used following the modern Mongolian Romanisation system of the Khalkha dialect. In this article, due to the phonetic varieties of different Mongol dialects, I mostly use the transliterations of the classical Mongolian spellings for names of Mongolian institutions and individuals, providing their alternative transliteration in parentheses at their first occurrences. This practice excludes few instances such as "Chinggis Khaan" and "Zanabazar," whose classical Mongolian transliterations otherwise would look exceptionally awkward against the more wide-spread and common spelling of these names.

ErdeneBaatar Erdene-Ochir, "On the Historical Background of a Buddhist Polemical Exchange between Tibetan and Mongolian Scholars in the 19th Century," *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 37, December 2016, pp. 127–144.

1. Introduction to the Polemics

lCang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717–1786), a Tibetanised ethnic Mongolian or Monguor well-educated Buddhist teacher, who served the Qianlong Emperor (1711–1799) of the Manchu Qing Dynasty in China as a chief administrative lama in Beijing, was evidently one of the most important Buddhist leaders of his time. This was due to his religious and even political influences in the court, especially its policies toward Mongolian and Tibetan affairs.[3] It is noteworthy that Rol pa'i rdo rje, in addition to his tremendous intellectual training in the Qing court, was recognised as the third emanation of the lCang skya Qutuγtu (Khutugtu)[4] lineage, a reincarnation lineage that may have been used by the Manchu rulers in Inner Mongolia to mirror the Qalq-a Mongolian Jebtsundamba (rJe btsun dam pa) institution. He composed a short but influential work in the genre of spiritual songs (*mgur*), namely *A Song on the Profound View, Recognising the Mother* (*lTa ba'i gsung mgur zab mo a ma ngos 'dzin*).[5]

Among a number of commentaries on this text, the one by the Second 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa dKon mchog 'jigs med dbang po (1728–1791) is significant for a historical analysis of this polemics,[6] because of his close association to Bla brang Monastery which is the home institution of polemicists who represent the first instigators of the debate. dKon mchog 'jigs med dbang po was recognised as the subsequent reincarnation of 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje Ngag dbang brtson grus (1648–1721/2) or simply the 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa, who is none other than the founder of Bla brang Monastery.[7] He composed the commentarial exegesis from a *sūtra* point of view in accordance with an exoteric Madhyamaka interpretation.

Later, his younger contemporary Blo bzang bstan pa rab rgyas (1759–1815), the Second Rwa sgreng sprul sku, composed another commentarial exegesis, titled *A Commentary of the Song on the View, the Sun Which Makes the Fortunate Lotus Blossom* (*lTa ba'i nyams mgur 'grel ba skal ldan padmo bzhad pa'i nyin byed*).[8] This latter text (henceforth, *The Sun*) was written from a *tantric* perspective in

---

3 For details of his biography, see Thu'u bkwan chos kyi nyi ma 1989.

4 *Qutuγtu* in Mongolian literally means *ārya* or noble one, but a *qutuγtu* commonly refers to a high ranking reincarnated lama, in much the same way as *rin po che* in Tibetan.

5 See Rol pa'i rdo rje 2003: 385–90.

6 The title of the text is *A Commentary of the Song on the View, the Lamp of Words* (*lTa ba'i gsungs mgur gyi 'grel pa tshig gi sgron me)*; dKon mchog 'jigs med dbang po 1999: 1a–11b.

7 For detailed accounts of the First 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa's biography, see [Kun mkhyen] dKon mchog 'jigs med dbang po 1991.

8 See Blo bzang ye shes bstan pa rab rgyas 1985: 121–44.

accordance with an esoteric Buddhist interpretation, and it became the basis for the polemical exchanges that I would like to explore. Involvement of the Rwa sgreng sprul sku in the debate is also politically important because he was believed to be the subsequent reincarnation of the famous Rwa sgreng Ngag dbang mchog ldan (1677–1751), who was reportedly a direct disciple of the 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa and was the Fifty-fourth dGa' ldan khri pa as well as a tutor to the Seventh Dalai Lama sKal bzang rgya mtsho (1708–1757). The Qing court also recognised Blo bzang bstan pa rab rgyas's reputation, and the Qianlong Emperor bestowed upon him an honorary title, *Achi-tu Nom-un Qan* (*Khan*).[9] Moreover, Blo bzang bstan pa rab rgyas became an influential religious figure in Central Tibet in his own right and was appointed by the Eighth Dalai Lama 'Jam dpal rgya mtsho (1758–1804) to be a tutor to the next lCang skya Qutuγtu, Ye shes bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (1787–1846).

A textual critique of the Rwa sgreng sprul sku's commentary is said to have come out of Bla brang, initiating the polemics, but this text, whose author(s) perhaps had purposely hid his (or their) name(s), has not been located. We are only able to infer its existence from later works that mention and quote it: for example, a rebuttal to it titled *A Reply to the Refutation, the Magical Wheel of Fire* (*dGag lan me'i 'khrul 'khor*).[10] This latter text was composed by Aγvangqayidub, a.k.a. Ngag dbang mkhas grub (1779–1838), a well-known Qalq-a Mongolian scholar and an abbot of Yeke Küriy-e. In response to this, dBal mang dKon mchog rgyal mtshan (1764–1853), a famous A mdo-Tibetan scholar and an abbot of Bla brang, attacked Aγvangqayidub with his polemical work, *A Reply to the Refutation, the Enjoyment Ocean of Compassion* (*dGag lan snying rje'i rol mtsho*).[11] With his *Further Objection to the Reply, a Roar of the Elephant that Guards the Quarter* (*Yang lan phyogs kyi glang po'i ngar skad*),[12] Aγvangqayidub also responded to dBal mang's reply. An oral tradition claims that later scholars continued this debate throughout subsequent generations, exchanging further polemical writings.

Religious Studies scholars tend to seek a sociopolitical underpinning to philosophical/theological debates, especially those which took place between religious institutions. As a student of religion, I also implement this approach in the current study. Were

---

9 Mi nyag mgon po 1996–2000: 575. *Achi-tu Nom-un Qan* is a religious title in Mongolian language, meaning *A Kind Dharma-king*. A detailed hagiography of Blo bzang bstan pa rab rgyas was composed by Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal (18th–19th century) in 1818/9; see the entry under this name in the bibliography.

10 See Ngag dbang mkhas grub 1972–1974b: 423–504.

11 See dKon mchog rgyal mtshan 1974a: 1–215.

12 See Ngag dbang mkhas grub 19th or 20th century.

there any political motivations, perhaps based on ethnic identities, to carry out such debates between the two monastic centres? Before I present my hypothesis, I would like to elucidate briefly the political conditions in Tibet and its neighbouring nations at the time of the debate.

By the late seventeenth century, the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617–1682), a.k.a. the Great Fifth, had gained victory over other political powers in Tibet, with some Mongol support. The dGe lugs tradition of Tibetan Buddhism then successfully dominated in Central Tibet, as well as most other Tibetan cultural areas conquered by its Mongol benefactors. Tāranātha Kun dga' snying po (1575–1634), of whom the Great Fifth had become a political opponent, was prosecuted and exiled to the north—specifically to A mdo. At the same time, the dGe lugs school also pursued its expansionist policy towards the north by successfully converting Mongol lords as well as cultivating Manchu political allies. The Great Fifth was destined to have two remarkable younger associates, among many others, to take up once again the expansion of the dGe lugs church: (1) Zanabazar Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (1635–1723), who was born in an important Mongolian royal family among the "golden-lineage" descendants of Chinggis Khaan (Genghis Khan, Činggis Qaɣan; c.1162–1227) and was recognised as the Jebtsundamba Lama, and (2) 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje Ngag dbang brtson grus, who was a great A mdo-born scholar, later recognised as the first of the 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa incarnations. These two men shared similar personal histories. Both came from relatively isolated areas far from Central Tibet, which was the intellectual centre of the dGe lugs scholastic tradition; both spent time studying in lHa sa close to the Dalai Lama, who gave them special teachings, instructions, and empowerments and who, thereby, became their spiritual and intellectual guide. Both were awarded distinctive high-ranking titles from the Dalai Lama's institution, and finally returned, or were sent back, to their respective native regions in order to propagate the Buddhist dharma in its "dGe lugs" dispensation. Their individual biographies also suggest that each of them was exceptionally charismatic, smart, and a naturally talented leader. In addition to these shared "this-worldly" qualities, some traditional Tibetan sources also mention that they were considered to be two of the three prophesised immediate "emanations" of the famous Tāranātha. The third emanation, interestingly enough, was the Great Fifth's own regent sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1653–

1705), one of the most famous figures in Tibetan history.[13] It is also not impossible that the "other-worldly" belief in these figures as emanations of Tāranātha was propagated by, or at least known to, the then dGe lugs administrators. If that is the case, the dGa' ldan pho brang, perhaps considering Tāranātha's enduring posthumous fame among Tibetans and Mongols, may have assured that all his "emanations" become contained within the dGe lugs system, particularly in the most inner circle of the Dalai Lama.

2. *Yeke Küriy-e Monastic Seat*

The transformation of Qalq-a Mongolians from "horse-riding ferocious warriors" to devoted dGe lugs pa supporters began when the Third Dalai Lama bSod nams rgya mtsho (1543–1588) converted the leading Qalq-a prince Abatai Qan (Abtai Khan; 1534–1589) to his order. Then in 1639, Abatai Qan's four year old grandson, Zanabazar, was recognised by both the Great Fifth and the Panchen Lama Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1570–1662) as the Jebtsundamba Lama, which later became the reincarnation lineage of the most important Mongolian *qutuγtu* lama.[14] Zanabazar was then enthroned as an incarnation of the dGe lugs tradition in Mongolia. Subsequently, Qalq-a aristocrats built a portable seat for their new religious leader, initiating the establishment of the future Yeke Küriy-e, the monastic residence of the Jebtsundambas. In its early years, this seat was named "Örgüge," better known as Urga.[15] The young Zanabazar was sent to Central Tibet to meet the Dalai and Panchen Lamas and ultimately to study the dharma as a Buddhist leader. Later, he was recognised to be the subsequent reincarnation of Tāranātha by the dGe lugs administrators. Perhaps taking the fame of the late Tāranātha among believers into account, the dGe lugs church may have intended to control the reincarnation lineage of its political opponent within its frame.

Zanabazar returned from Tibet with a number of experts who specialised in various traditional sciences and technologies. With thire help, he dedicated his life to establishing Buddhism in general, and dGe lugs monasticism in particular, on Mongolian soil. Within a few years, he and his followers successfully founded several

[13] This account is mentioned in a contemporary Jonang booklet on Tāranātha's reincarnation lineage published by the Jonang Monastery Takten Puntsokling in India. Yet, the actual source needs to be located (presumably in Tāranātha's prophecies in Takten Damchöling).

[14] For details of Zanabazar's biography, see Bareja-Starzynska 2015.

[15] For details of Urga's establishment and its development, see Teleki 2011.

monasteries throughout Qalq-a. However, there was, for example, no Buddhist philosophy college (*mtshan nyid grwa tshang*) until the time of the Second Jebtsundamba (1724–1757). As a result, with a few exceptions, institutionalised scholastic Buddhism was not a reality in Qalq-a until 1778, the year in which Yeke Küriy-e changed from a portable monastery into a permanent residential monastic seat. There seem to be good reasons why it took a relatively long time for a mature intellectual centre to be formed in Mongolia. First, because of a lack of educated teachers, it may have required some amount of time for sophisticated philosophical training to flourish there. In the early years of the dGe lugs dissemination in Qalq-a Mongolia, many young talented Mongols were recognised as reincarnated *qutuγtu* lamas by the Dalai Lama. These Mongols especially included royal princes from within Chinggis Khaan's "golden lineage," for instance Zanabazar himself and other important figures such as Lama Gegegen Blo bzang bstan 'dzin rgyal mtshan (1639–1704), Zaya Paṇḍita Blo bzang 'phrin las (1642–1708/15) and many more. They studied Buddhist teachings in lHa sa, making master-student relationships with the Dalai and Panchen Lamas and other leading dGe lugs religious figures. When they returned to Qalq-a from Tibet, almost every one of these figures sought to establish his own monastic seat in Qalq-a, with local support. Consequently, within a short period of time, the Mongol *qutuγtu*s founded several dGe lugs monasteries throughout the Qalq-a territories. However, at this initial stage, the monasteries still lacked sufficient teachers who had thoroughly completed their studies in the dGe lugs curricula of the Central Tibetan large monastic institutions, which normally take decades. Second, at this time, the model of an institutionalised centre of study for monastic training was likely a new phenomenon for the Mongols. They were temporally not very far removed from their traditional ancestors, who worshipped the eternal *tengri* heaven. For them, a more tantric style of Buddhism, rather than "exhaustively" philosophised, exoteric Buddhism, was perhaps easier and more natural to adopt. This is indicated by the fact that early Mongolian dGe lugs scholars mostly wrote various *sādhanā*s of different Buddhist tantric deities rather than commentaries—for example, on the Perfection of Wisdom, the Middle Way, or Buddhist logic and epistemology.[16] Among the compositions of the Mongols during this period, there is a noticeably smaller percentage of works dedicated to philosophical training, even those which belong to the genre of the

[16] The list of the titles of many Buddhist works written by Mongolian scholars from the 17th to the early part of the 20th century can be found in Mi rigs dpe mdzod khang 1984–1997. Also, for a partial list, see Ragchaa 2004.

stages of path and mind training, than the percentage of works dedicated to the same subject by subsequent generations up to the early 20th century.

However, at the turn of the nineteenth century Yeke Küriy-e started to produce well-trained Buddhist scholars on Mongolian soil, in addition to the educated lamas of Mongol origin who studied in Tibetan monastic seats. In fact, this century can be seen as a "golden age" for scholastic Buddhism in Mongolia, since many great Yeke Küriy-e scholars—such as those known as the five Aγvang*s* or Ngag dbang*s* of Yeke Küriy-e—composed numerous important works that contributed to dGe lugs scholasticism during this time.[17] For example, a particularly well-known Aγvang of the five Aγvang*s* was the famous Aγvangbaldan, or Ngag dbang dpal ldan (1797–1864?). He wrote probably the longest Buddhist text within the genre of doxography, titled *An Annotated Commentary of the Great Exposition on Philosophical Tenets* (*Grub mtha' chen mo'i mchan 'grel*). Another well-known scholar of that time was Braγri Damčiγdorji, a.k.a. Brag ri Dam tshig rdo rje (1781–1855), whose works remain famous in Tibetan monastic seats even to this day. Early Qalq-a Mongol *qutuγtu*s, who were mostly born in royal families of Chinggis Khaan's lineage, were educated in Central Tibet under the Dalai and Panchen Lamas and returned primarily to propagate dGe lugs Buddhism in Mongolian soil. Yet, evidently they wrote significantly few philosophical works. In contrast, unlike their predecessor *qutuγtu*s, the new generation of Qalq-a scholars of the nineteenth century, who were not necessarily from loyal families nor had special privileges, started to produce many highly sophisticated writings on the most profound Buddhist philosophical views, including those of the most specific points of Buddhist epistemology and Madhyamaka doctrine.

It is tempting to speculate that the creation of the stationary Yeke Küriy-e, and to some extent the foundation of other stable dGe lugs monasteries in Mongolia and A mdo, reveals an intention to imitate the three main monastic seats and two tantric colleges in lHa sa — dGa' ldan, 'Bras spungs, and Se ra, and rGyud smad and rGyud stod— incorporating both exoteric and esoteric studies into one large monastic seat. For example, the main assembly hall or the Tshogs chen Temple of Yeke Küriy-e was named Γandanšaddubling, or dGa' ldan bshad sgrub gling. This implies that its administrative centre was like dGa' ldan, which could refer to dGa' ldan Monastery, the residence of the dGa' ldan khri pa, the nominal head of the dGe lugs

[17] At least two of the five Aγvang*s*—Aγvangqayidub and Aγvangdorji—said to be directly involved in the polemics that is being discussed here. The other three Aγvang*s* are Aγvangbaldan, Aγvangtübten, and Aγvangdondub (all 19th century).

tradition, and/or refer to the dGa' ldan pho brang of 'Bras spungs Monastery, the central political institution of the Dalai Lama. The curricula of older two philosophy colleges in Yeke Küriy-e gradually came to resemble those of the two main colleges of 'Bras spungs Monastery of lHa sa, following their respective textbooks, pedagogies, and other regulations. The third and newest philosophy college was later founded in line with the regulations of Byes College at Se ra Monastery. Other institutions within Yeke Küriy-e seem to resemble their lHa sa originals, such as the tantric college, Kālacakra College, medical college, oracle temple, certain shrines, printing houses, and many more.[18] This is also true of many other dGe lugs monasteries in Mongolia and A mdo. In short, by the nineteenth century, the Mongolian Yeke Küriy-e may have had a clear and ambitious vision for its future: to become a second dGe lugs centre of learning, this time in the northern region of the Qing Dynasty, and perhaps competing with lHa sa to some extent. However, I would not argue that such competition, at least its initial stage, had a political motivation in a literal sense. Rather, the intention seems to have been to attract Mongolian students and patrons and ultimately gain the support from the Qing court.

3. Bla brang Monastery

Whereas we can see a gradual development of scholastic monasticism at Yeke Küriy-e, it developed very differently at Bla brang. The 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa, as a prominently sophisticated scholar in his own right, intended to found Bla brang bKra shis 'khyil in 1709 as a monastic university, at least primarily, and to propagate dGe lugs ideology right at the meeting point of different cultural and political realms—Chinese, Tibetan, Muslim, Mongolian, and many more minor ethnic groups.[19] So, from the time of its establishment, as the 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa envisioned, Bla brang has never been short of learned scholars. This includes even during the hardest times of its history, such as its temporary closures due to the early twentieth-century Muslin invasion, and later the Cultural Revolution of the People's Republic of China during the 1960s and 1970s. In Bla brang, the 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa possessed a highly educated retinue of disciples originally from A mdo and trained in lHa sa under him and other great scholars. Such disciples include Gung thang dGe 'dun phun tshogs (1648–1724), sDe khri Blo bzang don

[18] A short yet useful illustration of the units of Yeke Küriy-e is found in Ölzii 1999.
[19] For details of Bla brang's establishment and its development, see Nietupski 2011.

grub (1673–1746), and bSe tshang Ngag dbang bkra shis (1678–1738). Bla brang was originally established in imitation of ’Bras spungs Monastery in lHa sa (of course excluding philosophy colleges other than sGo mang). Its curricula and pedagogies especially resemble ’Bras spungs sGo mang College for its exoteric studies and rGyud smad College for its esoteric training, since the ’Jam dbyangs bzhad pa maintined a special connection with those colleges in lHa sa. In return, sGo mang College adopted many of the ’Jam dbyangs bzhad pa’s *yig cha*s, or textbook manuals, for its training program.[20]

Nevertheless, it would be naïve and mistaken to think that the motivation to establish Bla brang was purely religious or scholastic. In fact, Bla brang’s establishment seems to have essentially been caused by the concurrent political environment in Central Tibet. So what was happening in Central Tibet at the time of the establishment of Bla brang? The Great Fifth died in 1682, but his regent, Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho decided to keep the Dalai Lama’s death a secret for fifteen years, probably due to the critical circumstances of Tibet and its powerful neighbours at the time. Over the course of this period, the ’Jam dbyangs bzhad pa became a moderately influential political figure in the lHa sa area, and eventually served as the abbot of sGo mang College at ’Bras spungs from 1700–1708. So it is hard to believe that, as a close attendant of the Dalai Lama and later as an abbot of one of the most important religious and political institutions of lHa sa, he was not aware of Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho’s deception for this entire time.

In 1697, when the Sixth Dalai Lama Tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho (1683–1706) was enthroned by the regent and received novice ordination from the Panchen Lama Blo bzang ye shes (1663–1737) at bKra shis lhun po, the ’Jam dbyangs bzhad pa formally participated in the ceremony. In 1702, when Tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho refused the precepts of a celibate monk along with his position as a Dalai Lama, the Qoshud Mongol prince Lhabsang, or lHa bzang Khan (d. 1717), who was already enraged by the deception, blamed the regent for all the chaos.[21] sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, learning Lhabsang’s strong opposition, attempted to murder the latter at least twice. However, each time the ’Jam dbyangs bzhad pa managed to stop the sDe srid’s plans. Eventually, Lhabsang ended up executing Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (in 1705). He also sent Tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho to the imperial court, and became the next ruler through the support of the Manchu Kangxi Emperor (1654–1722). Tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho disappeared on the way to China and it is

[20] On dGe lugs monastic curricula and pedagogies as well as *yig cha* traditions, see Dreyfus 2003 and Newland 1996: 202–216.

[21] For further information about this incident, see Petech 1972: 9–12, 16–18.

commonly believed that he died of illness.[22]

During this turmoil, the 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa gained great fame and influence in Central Tibet. Nevertheless, with support from different Mongol factions in both Central Tibet and A mdo, as well as the support of the imperial court, he decided to leave the then politically chaotic Central Tibet for his homeland A mdo with his students. This was ostensibly as the result of an invitation from the Köke Naγur (Kökenuur) Qoshud Mongol prince Erdeni Jinong Tsevengdanzin, or Tshe dbang bstan 'dzin (d. 1735). Erdeni Jinong, leading eleven other Mongol support groups, sponsored the 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa's establishment of Bla brang Monastery in 1709.[23] Mongol sponsorship of a monastery in Tibetan cultural areas was not an unusual phenomenon, and was enjoyed by many dGe lugs monasteries throughout Tibet. In fact, almost all major dGe lugs monasteries and institutions in Tibet received plentiful donations from different Mongol princes demonstrating their dGe lugs loyalty, especially after the extensive conversion of the Mongol tribes by the Third Dalai Lama.[24]

During his early years studying in lHa sa, the 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa befriended a man who was half Chinese and half Tibetan, also of A mdo origin. This man was later recognised as the Second lCang skya Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan (1642–1714), and eventually became the throne holder of dGon lung Monastery, another important dGe lugs monastery in A mdo and the primary residence of the famous reincarnation lineages of the lCang skya and Thu'u bkwan Lamas.[25] Since their early years at 'Bras spungs, the lCang skya and 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa lamas became lifelong close collaborators. Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan seems to have left lHa sa for A mdo earlier than the 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa, but was able to establish a special relationship with Kangxi Emperor and spent his later years mostly at the Qing court in Beijing. On one occasion he was even sent to lHa sa to serve as the emperor's representative at the enthronement of Tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho.

After this lCang skya's death, his reincarnation (the Third lCang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje) was recognised and installed at dGon lung by none other than the 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa in 1720. However, in 1724, due to a rebellion led by some Köke Naγur Mongol princes against the Manchu rulers, the Qing troops destroyed dGon lung

---

22 See Smith 1997: 122.

23 See Nietupski 2011: 120–121.

24 See, for example, McCleary and van der Kuijp 2007: 31–32.

25 For details on lCang skya Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan and dGon lung Monastery, see Sullivan 2013.

Monastery and the young Rol pa'i rdo rje was taken to Beijing.[26] As a result, he grew up highly educated, well respected, and as probably the most influential Buddhist teacher in the Qing court; dGon lung was rebuilt by an imperial order in 1732. Besides his political activities, which were reflected in the Qing policy toward Buddhism (particularly in the regions of both greater Mongolia and greater Tibet), Rol pa'i rdo rje became famous among Buddhist intellectuals for his leading role in the translation and the publication of Mongolian bsTan 'gyur between 1742 and 1749 and for initiating the translation of the Manchu bKa' 'gyur, which started at some time in 1773 and was published in 1794. lCang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje composed his *A Song on the Profound View* (discussed in section 1 of this article; henceforth, *The Song*), which can be said to be the root text of the polemical exchange, no later than 1769.[27]

As another sign of the special relationship between the lCang skya and 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa reincarnation lineages, Rol pa'i rdo rje, now an influential religious figure, confirmed dKon mchog 'jigs med dbang po as the reincarnation of the 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa and granted him full ordination. This was done regardless of disputes over the identification of the "true reincarnation" taking place between some political groups among the 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa's senior disciples and Mongol as well as Tibetan nobles.[28] Later, in the summer of 1769, dKon mchog 'jigs med dbang po visited Rol pa'i rdo rje at Wutai Shan in China and composed his work titled *A Commentary of the Song on the View, the Lamp of Words* (*lTa ba'i gsungs mgur gyi 'grel pa tshig gi sgron me*), explaining the latter's *Song* from a Buddhist exoteric point of view.

4. Connections between the Polemicists

Rol pa'i rdo rje's subsequent "reincarnation," the Fourth lCang skya Ye shes bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan, began to study under the Second Rwa sgreng Blo bzang bstan pa rab rgyas in 1806, presumably assigned the Rwa sgreng as a tutor by the Eighth Dalai Lama 'Jam dpal rgya mtsho. According to the colophon of *the Sun*, the Fourth lCang skya jointly with the Third sGrub khang Blo bzang dge legs rgyal mtshan (1780–1815) requested the Rwa sgreng sprul sku to compose a commentary on the Third lCang skya's *Song* from a Buddhist tantric perspective. There is no explicit sign of criticism in *The Sun* against dKon mchog 'jigs med dbang po's *sūtric* exegesis,

26 See, for example, Wang 2000: 126.
27 Chogkhan Thubten Tandhar 1995: 80.
28 Nietupski 2011: 126.

except that the Rwa sgreng sprul sku says: "although 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje [the Second] explained […] it exclusively in accordance with the *sūtra* system, the actual intention of the *Song* in its nature is tantric […]."[29] Nevertheless, *the Sun* can be considered the basis of the polemics because the first known criticism of it emerged most likely from Bla brang, initiating the entire polemics. As I mentioned in section 1, although I have not been able to locate the actual text of this first criticism, we can infer its existence based on a counterargument against it by the abbot of Yeke Küriy-e, Aγvangqayidub and his respondent dBal mang dKon mchog rgyal mtshan.

Aγvangqayidub was born not far from Yeke Küriy-e and began his education there at a young age. Eventually he travelled to lHa sa and studied at 'Bras spungs for fifteen years, during which time he received full ordination from the Eighth Dalai Lama, 'Jam dpal rgya mtsho.[30] After his return from Tibet, he was enthroned first as one of the seven *tsorji*s (*chos rje*) or Dharma Lords of Yeke Küriy-e in 1812, then as the vice abbot in 1822, and in 1834 as the abbot (*mkhan po*) of Yeke Küriy-e. It may be worth noting here that, in Yeke Küriy-e, unlike the large Central Tibetan dGe lugs monastic seats, the *mkhan po* was considered the throne holder of the entire monastic seat and not of a particular college or subsection of the monastery. Based on the works he wrote and the years of his abbacy in association with the history of Yeke Küriy-e, Aγvangqayidub can be credited for his exceptional service in developing the Jebtsundamba's monastic seat through both external appearance and internal practices regarding both the conduct of monks and their scholastic training.[31]

Aγvangqayidub received many teachings from Rwa sgreng sprul sku Blo bzang bstan pa rab rgyas when he was studying in lHa sa, and developed faith in him for the rest of his life. This faith could have formed one of his motivations for presenting his polemical counterargument, *The Magical Wheel of Fire*, defending his teacher's work against those anonymous writer(s) at Bla brang who questioned the validity of interpreting the *Song* from a tantric perspective. Regardless of his motivations, this writing appears to constitute a pronouncement from Yeke Küriy-e of its scholastic maturity regarding Buddhist philosophical training in both *sūtra* and *tantra*. Mongolian philosophical training was evidently already adequate enough to enter into debate with its intellectual and spiritual preceptors, the Tibetans, at least those at Bla brang.

---

29 Blo bzang ye shes bstan pa rab rgyas 1985: 124.

30 For a brief account of Aγvangqayidub, see Smith 1972. Detailed accounts of his biography can be found in Ngag dbang thub bstan 1840.

31 For details of Aγvangqayidub's works, see Ngag dbang mkhas grub 1972–1974a.

At the same time, at Bla brang, its twenty-fourth throne holder dBal mang dKon mchog rgyal mtshan also seems to have had an ambitious vision. This was to grow Bla brang as an individual religious as well as sociopolitical institution to attain maximal influence, at least in the surrounding regions.[32] In fact, in one of his writings, dKon mchog rgyal mtshan expressed his vision of Bla brang Monastery by likening it to the wonderful Magadha of India, which was a famous historic centre of Buddhist learning, practice, and support for Buddhist institutions.[33] dKon mchog rgyal mtshan was originally recognised as the Second dBal mang by the Second 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa and educated at Bla brang under the latter and many other Bla brang scholars. During his abbacy, dBal mang monitored numerous activities in the monastery, in a similar way to Aγvangqayidub at Yeke Küriy-e. dBal mang is also well known for his polemical writings, surveying the highest views of the other major Tibetan Buddhist schools—Sa skya, rNying ma, bKa' rgyud, bKa' gdams, and Jo nang. His *Enjoyment Ocean of Compassion* further clarifies the original criticisms from Bla brang against the Rwa sgreng sprul sku's commentary, and it reports two separate responses to those criticisms. The first of the two responses, as one can easily discover, is nothing other than Aγvangqayidub's *Magical Wheel of Fire*. Concerning the second response, dBal mang reports that he had "seen a reply to the refutation, entitled *The Lightening of Thunderbolt* (*gNam lcags thog mda'*), which is said to be written by someone called Mati, a *rab 'byams pa* of scripture and reasoning,[34] who resides in a place called U."[35] I have not identified either this particular text or its author. While *mati* ("mind") and "U" can refer respectively to anyone who has the syllable *blo* in his or her name, such as Blo bzang or Blo gros, and any place that perhaps starts with the letter *u*, this unidentified polemical reply could have come from Yeke Küriy-e. Indeed, the "U" could refer to Urga and "Mati" could refer to someone named "Blo-" in Yeke Küriy-e, leaving aside the coincidence that Aγvangqayidub's full name is Aγvanglubsang-qayidub or Ngag dbang *blo* bzang mkhas grub.

This series of polemics is believed to be further continued by scholars of succeeding generations. These include Aγvangqayidub's disciple, Aγvangdorji, a.k.a. Ngag dbang rdo rje (19th century), who was another distinguished scholar of Yeke Küriy-e and a disciple of Aγvangqayidub, and dKon mchog rgyal mtshan's disciple, dKon

---

32 For details of dBal mang dKon mchog rgyal mtshan's activities at Bla brang, see Oidtmann 2016.

33 dKon mchog rgyal mtshan 1974b: 554.

34 *Rab 'byams pa* is a monastic degree title within Buddhist philosophical training.

35 This U is not for Ü (*dbus*) of Tibet. It is merely spelled *u* in the Tibetan text.

mchog rgya mtsho (19th century).[36] The last reported title of these textual exchanges is said to be *A Melody of the Garuḍa, Raising Doubts Regarding the Lying Lion's Babble* (*Logs smra seng ge'i ca co 'phrogs pa'i dogs slong mkha' lding dbang po'i sgra dbyangs*) and is believed to be composed by a Yeke Küriy-e monk named Mipamdava or Mi pham zla ba (probably in the late 19th century).[37]

5. Conclusion

Putting aside the Buddhist hermeneutic and theological implications of this debate, in the present paper I have explored its significance within a sociopolitical and historical context. Of particular interest in this intra-dGe lugs polemics is that successive generations of A mdo-Tibetan and Mongolian scholars who took part in this debate attempted to defend the honor of their own teachers and their hermeneutic positions on a single text. In some way, this can be likened to the feuds that develop between families over many generations, except in this case the polemicists were of course not engaged in blood feuds but "spiritual," perhaps "intellectual feuds."

Moreover, the background history and the sociopolitical context in which the debates were initiated are no less interesting than the arguments within the debate itself, and are perhaps no less relevant to the debate within these particular polemical writings. For example, one can assume that there may have been some intellectual as well as "this-worldly" competition between Yeke Küriy-e and Bla brang in the early nineteenth century. However, as far as state level politics driven by ethnic identities is concerned, there seems to have been no evident implication of a power struggle between the two sites. This is despite the appearance that each of them had ambitions to become a larger and more important institution than the other. The competition may have been based on the attempt by both to attract the attention and patronage of the Qing court, which was the supreme power over both regions. The competition, if it ever existed, was perhaps based on more socioeconomic factors. Thus, the two monastic centres were perhaps attempting not only to attract more students but also to gain attention and ultimately potential economic support from the imperial court and local patrons.

Here I have considered the possibilities of any historical tensions between Yeke Küriy-e and Bla brang. Yet I cannot help but conclude that the debate may have been carried out *primarily* for religious and

36 Lhamsurengyn Khurelbaatar 2002: 104–105.

37 Stories about the polemical exchanges of the consecutive generations are still told among Mongolian lamas today.

scholastic purposes, and concerned with doctrinal interpretations of certain intellectuals, rather than for a state level political purposes and representing the interests of conflicting institutions.

Bibliography

Bareja-Starzynska, Agata. 2015. *The Biography of the First Khalkha Jetsundampa Zanabazar by Zaya Pandita Luvsanprinlei: Studies, Annotated Translation, Transliteration and Facsimile*. Warsaw: ELIPSA Dom Wydawniczy.

Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal. 19th or 20th century. *Rigs dang dkyil 'khor kun gyi khyab bdag dpal ldan bla ma dam pa khri chen Blo bzang ye shes bstan pa rab rgyas dpal bzang po'i 'khrungs rabs dang rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar nor bu'i phreng ba thar 'dod mkhas pa'i mgul rgyan*. Block print. Lhasa: bZhi sde dga' ldan bsam gtan gling.

Blo bzang ye shes bstan pa rab rgyas. 1985. "lTa ba'i nyams mgur a ma ngos 'dzin gyi 'grel pa bdag 'dzin dgra dpung 'joms pa'i mtshon cha skal ldan padmo bzhad pa'i nyin byed." In *Collected Works (gSung 'bum) of Rwa-sgren A-chi-thu no-mon-han Blo-bzang-ye-shes-bstan-pa-rab-rgyas*, vol. 2, 121–44. Block print. Dharamsala, H.P.: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.

Chogkhan Thubten Tandhar. 1995. "A Passage to Lta mgur a ma ngos 'dzin, the Song of View, Recognizing the Mother, the Ultimate Reality." Master's thesis, Indiana University.

[Kun mkhyen] dKon mchog 'jigs med dbang po. 1991. *Kun mkhyen 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rnam thar*. Lanzhou: Gansu People's Publishing House.

dKon mchog 'jigs med dbang po. 1999. "lTa ba'i gsungs mgur gyi 'grel pa tshig gi sgron me." In *Kun mkhyen 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje dKon mchog 'jigs med dbang po'i gSung 'bum (bLa brang par ma)*, vol. 7, 1a–11b. Block print. Bla brang dKra shis 'khyil: bLa brang dgon pa.

dKon mchog rgyal mtshan. 1974a. "Gyi na ba zhig gi gzu bo'i blo'i sprin rum las 'ong ba'i bden gtam bdud rtsir 'khyil ba'i snying rje'i rol mtsho." In *Collected Works (gSung 'bum) of dBal mang*

dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan, vol. 6, 1–215. New Delhi: Gyalten Gelek Namgyal.

———. 1974b. "rGya bod hor sog gyi lo rgyus nyung ngur brjod pa byis pa 'jug pa'i 'bab stegs (deb ther)." In *Collected Works (gSung 'bum) of dBal mang dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan*, vol. 4, 480–665. New Delhi: Gyalten Gelek Namgyal.

Dreyfus, Georges B. J. 2003. *The Sounds of Two Hands Clapping: the Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lhamsurengyn Khurelbaatar. 2002. *Sudar Shastiryn Bilig*. Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia: Institute of Language and Literature, Academy of Science.

McCleary, Rachel M. and Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp. 2007. "The Formation of the Tibetan State Religion: The Geluk School 1419–1642," Center for International Developnment Working Paper No. 154. John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

Mi nyag mgon po. 1996–2000. "Rwa sgreng khri chen Bstan pa rab rgyas kyi rnam thar mdor bsdus." In *Gangs can mkhas dbang rim byon gyi rnam thar mdor bsdus*, vol. 1, 570–587. Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang.

Mi rigs dpe mdzod khang. 1984–1997. *Bod gangs can gyi grub mtha' ris med kyi mkhas dbang brgya dang brgyad cu lhag gig sung 'bum so so'i dkar chag phyogs gcig tu bsgrigs pa shes bya'i gter mdzod*, vols. 1–3. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Newland, Guy. 1996. "Debate Manuals (*Yig cha*) in dGe lugs Monastic Colleges." In *Tibetan literature: Studies in Genre*, edited by Lhundup Sopa, José Ignacio Cabezón, and Roger R. Jackson, 202–16. Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion.

Ngag dbang blo bzang don grub *et al*. 2004, 2006. *Khal kha rJe btsun dam pa sku phreng rim byon gyi rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs kha skong dang bcas pa*, vols. 1–2. Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia: R. Byambaa.

Ngag dbang mkhas grub. 19th or 20th century. *bDen gtam bdud rtsir 'khyil ba'i snying rje'i rol mtsho'i zob ming 'chang ba dgag lan 'dam*

bu'i rnyog chu brlag par byed pa'i yang lan phyogs kyi glang po'i ngar skad. Block print. Yeke Küriy-e.

Ngag dbang mkhas grub. 1972–1974a. *Collected Works (gSung 'bum) of Ngag-dbang-mkhas-grub, Kyai-rdor mkhan-po of Urga*, vols. 1–5. Leh: S.W. Tashigangpa.

Ngag dbang mkhas grub. 1972–1974b. "dGag lan me yi 'khrul 'khor." In *Collected Works (gSung 'bum) of Ngag-dbang-mkhas-grub, Kyai-rdor mkhan-po of Urga*, vol. 5, 423–504. Leh: S.W. Tashigangpa.

Ngag dbang thub bstan. 1840. *Rigs dang dkyil 'khor kun gyi khyab bdag dpal ldan bla ma dam pa rdo rje 'chang ngag dbang blo bzang mkhas grub dpal bzang po'i rnam thar dad pa'i 'khri shing*. Block print. Yeke Küriy-e.

Nietupski, Paul Kocot. 2011. *Labrang Monastery: A Tibetan Buddhist Community on the Inner Asian Borderlands, 1709–1958*. Plymouth, UK: Lexington Books.

Oidtmann, Max. 2016. "A Case for Gelukpa Governance: The Historians of Labrang, Amdo, and the Manchu Rulers of China." In *Greater Tibet: An Examination of Borders, Ethnic Boundaries, and Cultural Areas*, edited by P. Christiaan Klieger, 111–48. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books.

Ölzii, Sereeter. 1999. *Mongolyn Ih Hüree, Gandan Hiidiin Tüühen Bütetsiin Tovch, 1651–1938*. Ulaanbaatar: Mongolian National Central Archives.

Petech, Luciano. 1972. *China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century: History of the Establishment of Chinese Protectorate in Tibet*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Ragchaa, Byambaa. 2004. *Mongolčuudyn Tövd Kheleėr Tuurvisan Mongol khelend Orčuulsan Nom Züin Bürtgel*, vols. 1–3. [S.I.]: Byambaa.

Rol pa'i rdo rje. 2003. "lTa ba'i gsung mgur." In *Collected Works (gSung 'bum) of Rol pa'i rdo rje*, vol. 4, 385–90. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.

Smith, E. Gene. 1972. "Introduction." In *The Collected Works of Ngag-dbang-mkhas-grub, Kyai-rdor mkhan-po of Urga*, vol. 1, [?]. Leh: S.W. Tashigangpa.

Smith, Warren W. 1997. *Tibetan Nation: A History of Tibetan Nationalism and Sino-Tibetan Relations*. New Delhi: HarperCollins.

Sullivan, Brenton T. 2013. "The Mother of All Monasteries: Gönlung Jampa Ling and the Rise of Mega Monasteries in Northeastern Tibet." PhD diss., University of Virginia.

Teleki, Krisztina. 2011. *Monasteries and Temples of Bogdiin Khüree*. Ulaanbaatar: Institute of History, Mongolian Academy of Sciences.

Thu'u bkwan chos kyi nyi ma. 1989. *Khyab bdag rdo rje sems dpa'i ng obo dpal ldan bla ma dam pa Ye shes bstan pa'i sgron me dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa mdo tsam brjod pa dge ldan bstan pa'i mdzes rgyan*. Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Wang, Xiangyun. 2000. "The Qing Court's Tibet Connection: Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje and the Qianlong Emperor." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 60: 125–163.

❖

The Disciplinarian (*dge skos/ dge bskos/ chos khrims pa/ zhal ngo*) in Tibetan Monasteries: his Role and his Rules[1]

Berthe Jansen

(Leiden University)

I never saw a master of discipline in the lamaseries wearing a delightful smile. More often they seemed to be the type of tormentors that might step out of a picture of the Eighteen Buddhist Hells.[2]

Not much seems to have changed since Schram visited the Tibetan plateau in the first half of the 20th century: disciplinarians nowadays are still supposed to look menacing and act impressively strict. In an ideal world, however, wrath is only to be displayed and never felt.[3] In fact, when conducting fieldwork in Northern India in 2012, interviewing disciplinarians on the background and use of monastic guidelines (*bca' yig*),[4] the occasional tormenting questions I put to them were regularly met with delightful smiles rather than with menacing looks.

The word "disciplinarian" is one of the possible translations for a number of official positions, most notably *dge skos*, *chos khrims pa* or *zhal ngo*. Being primarily interested in the usage of monastic guidelines, whenever I asked at a monastery whether someone could tell me something about them during my fieldwork I was referred to a person who was either the disciplinarian or had been one in the past.

Generally speaking, the monastic guidelines contain a lot of information on the roles and duties of monk-officials.[5] When reading these texts I found that the disciplinarian was discussed the most often and in most detail. Some of these monastic guidelines even

1 I am grateful to Heidelberg University, whose fellowship 'Buddhism between South Asia and Tibet—Negotiating Religious Boundaries in Doctrine and Practice' made the writing of this article possible. This article is an expansion of research that was conducted in the context of my dissertation; therefore some of the contents will be similar to that published in Jansen 2015.

2 Schram 2006 [1954]: 374.

3 See for example Lempert 2012: 125.

4 For a more general discussion on the genre of *bca' yig* see Jansen 2016.

5 See Jansen 2015: 70–106.

Berthe Jansen, "The Disciplinarian (dge skos/ dge bskos/ chos khrims pa/ zhal ngo) in Tibetan Monasteries: his Role and his Rules", *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, 37, December 2016, pp. 145–161.

solely address the disciplinarian—they are, so to speak, job-descriptions for the *dge skos*. The primary function of a disciplinarian is to keep the discipline in a monastery. How he is appointed, instated, and how he keeps discipline varies greatly. While these days the Tibetan Buddhist monasteries are becoming more homogenous in terms of their internal organisation—when it comes to the role of the disciplinarian, my sources show that there were all sorts of disciplinarians in the past, and that the apparent uniformity in monasteries these days is not necessarily a continuation of the past.[6] This article then is an investigation of the disciplinarian's institution, largely viewed from monastic guidelines written before the 1950s for monasteries of all sorts of different schools, but it also attempts to contrast the earlier period with information on current day affairs. Before turning to the role of disciplinarian itself, I will first discuss the terminology used.

1. Terminology

The word *dge skos*[7] occurs in the *Kṣudrakavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya*, the *Vinayasūtra*, and the *Mahāvyutpatti* as a translation for the Sanskrit *upadhivārika*.[8] The Tibetan term, which is not a literal translation from the Sanskrit, may be short for *dge bar skos pa*; he who establishes [others] in virtue, or he who is established in virtue. In the Indic context, the term is translated as "supervisor" or "provost" of the monastery. He is in charge of the material possessions of the Sangha and in the *Kṣudrakavastu* one of his tasks is described as having to beat the dust out of cloth seats.[9] In Tibetan-ruled Dunhuang, the *dge skos* appears to have been in charge of loaning out grains from the temple granary against interest.[10] The connection of the *dge skos* to the maintenance of the monastery's discipline appears exclusively in later Tibetan sources. Generally speaking, he is a supervisor of the standards of discipline but he is not seen to have a

---

[6] The—occasionally politically divisive—homogenisation process of the organisation of Tibetan monasteries in- and outside Tibetan areas in more recent times, while being a development that has not gone unnoticed by academics and Tibetans themselves, is a topic that is in need of further research.

[7] The spelling *dge bskos* also occurs regularly. For the sole reason of consistency I refer to *dge skos*.

[8] Silk 2008: 103–4; Schopen 1996: 117; and Schopen 2004: 68–9; 103–4.

[9] The role of the *upadhivārika* varied in the different narratives in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya* from having a rather elevated status to being not much more than a janitor. See Schopen 1996: 97, n. 35.

[10] Takeuchi 1993: 56–7. The source used is Pt 1119. In Pt 1297, the disciplinarian (*dge skos*) of Weng shi'u temple (*weng shi'u si'i* (si =寺) also loans out grains (*gro nas*).

consultative role,[11] solving problems according to Vinaya scripture.[12] Rather, his role is executive and he is to punish those who are in breach of the rules. His judiciary arm was said to even stretch beyond the monks in the monastery itself. A contemporary Tibetan work that deals with the history of monasticism in Tibet and particularly with dGa' ldan monastery explains it as follows:

> The disciplinarian has the authority to take charge of things related to the discipline of the general monk populace. Previously, he could also take charge of the judiciary issues of the lay-people and monks [who lived at] the monastic estate. [13]

While the word *dge skos* has older Indic precedents, the earliest extant monastic guidelines do not mention the term. One of the oldest extant sets of monastic guidelines, written for 'Bri gung mthil in the first part of the 13th century, describes how that discipline was kept by an uncertain number of *ban gnyer ba* and by twenty *dpon las*, who had executive power. According to this text, reportedly authored by sPyan snga grags pa 'byung gnas (1175–1255),[14] discipline in 'Bri gung mthil in the early 13th century was kept in the following way:

> In order for the new monks to listen to the honourable *slob dpon*[15] who holds the vinaya (*'dul ba 'dzin pa*, S. *vinayadhara*), you, supervising monks (*ban gnyer ba rnams kyis*) must encourage them. Not being familiar with the trainings and the precepts (*bslab bsrung*) will cause annoyance to all.[16]

In this monastery the executive power lay with the aforementioned twenty *dpon las*, as is evidenced by the following segment:

---

11 Gyatso 2003: 230.

12 The *dge skos* should therefore not be confused or equated with the term *vinayadhara*, someone who has memorised and has extensive knowledge of the Vinaya.

13 *Bod kyi dgon sde* 2005: 86: *dge bskos kyis grwa ba spyi'i sgrig khrims thad the gtogs bya ba'i dbang cha yod/ sngar yin na des dgon pa'i mchod gzhis skya ser gyi gyod don la'ang the gtogs byas chog*

14 He was the fourth abbot of 'Bri gung mthil, for which this *bca' yig* was composed. The author held that post from 1235 to 1255, suggesting that this text is likely to have been composed within this timeframe.

15 The text reads *slob dpon lha*. This unusual address "*lha*" is here taken as an expression of respect, possibly interchangeable with *bla*.

16 *'Bri gung mthil bca' yig*: 248b: *slob dpon lha 'dul ba 'dzin pa la ban gsar rnams 'dul ba nyan pa la khyed ban gnyer ba rnams kyis bskul/ bslab bsrung ngo ma shes pas thams cad sun 'don par 'dug*

> Items of clothes worn by monks (*ban dhe*) that are not in accord with the Dharma, such as *ral gu*,[17] black boots, a type of woollen blanket,[18] all kinds of hats (*zhwa cho ru mo ru*), need to be taken off by the twenty [*dpon las*]. From then on they are not to be worn.[19]

The apparent absence in the earliest *bca' yig* texts of the usage of the word *dge skos* to denote someone with an official position is remarkable. It is my estimate that the term only starts to get used in a Tibetan context from the 15th century onwards.[20] The transformation of the word *dge skos* in Vinaya literature denoting a monk in charge of the material surroundings of the monastery to a relatively late adoption of the word that then has come to refer to a position that involves implementing discipline is a curious one and is in need of further research.

2. Selection Requirements: Education, Status, or Character

Some of the available sources state that the disciplinarian required a certain level of education, whereas others stipulate a preference for non-intellectuals. Nornang, for example, notes that in his monastery before the 1950s the *dge skos* were appointed from among the *sgrogs med* monks, i.e. monks who did not study logic.[21] The colleges of 'Bras spungs monastery found middle ground by choosing their disciplinarians during the summer period from among the scholars and those who would serve in the winter from among "the lay brethren."[22] Per college two disciplinarians thus served terms of six months at a time.[23] This half-year term was the same for sMin sgrol

---

[17] This word is derived from the Sanskrit *rallaka*, a blanket or cloth made from wool, possibly from the rallaka deer, comparable to Pashmina, Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit English Dictionary*: 868.

[18] Another version of this text (*'Bri gung mthil bca' yig* a: 168a) reads *glag pa* for *glog pa*, this may be an alternative spelling for *klag*, which is an archaic word for a thick cape woven from wool, *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*: 40: (*rnying*) *bal gyis btags pa'i snam bu'i lwa ba*.

[19] *'Bri gung mthil bca' yig*: 250a: *ban dhes ral gu gon pa dang/ lham nag dang/ glog pa dang/ zhwa cho ru mo ru la sogs pa chos dang mi mthun pa'i gos rnams nyi shu bos shus/ phyin chad ma gon/*

[20] The earliest reference to the word *dge skos* in monastic guidelines I have come across so far is in Tsong kha pa's *bca' yig* for Byams pa gling, probably written in 1417. *Byams pa gling na bzhugs pa'i spyi'i dge 'dun la khrims su bca' ba'i yi ge*: 249a.

[21] Nornang 1990: 251.

[22] By this I assume the author means the non-scholar monks, without *dge slong* ordination.

[23] Snellgrove and Richardson 1986 [1968]: 241.

gling monastery in the late 17th century.[24] Its *bca' yig* gives the job-description for the office of disciplinarian as follows:

> The disciplinarian—who, in possession of the approval of the general constituency, has good intentions for the general welfare, is involved with the monastery committee (*spyi so*) and is very strict on discipline—is appointed for six months. He sets forth the general discipline, in all its facets, with effort, without regard for shiny white faces (*ngo skya snum*).[25]

The disciplinarian was clearly in charge of the day-to-day upkeep of discipline: his permission had to be received before leaving the monastery grounds, he would make sure all dress appropriately and he was responsible for the comportment of the monks, during assembly, but also outside of it.[26] He would confiscate improper attire or forbidden objects, such as weapons, but also divided the shares of donations (*'gyed*) to the Sangha among the resident monks.[27] He furthermore was responsible for keeping the register (*tho len po*) of the total monk-population (*grwa dmangs*).[28] In 'Bras spungs monastery during the late 17th century, the disciplinarian was also charged with handing out degrees. According to the Fifth Dalai Lama the *dge skos* did not always remain an impartial judge:

> It is well known that when taking the *gling bsre* [exam],[29] one would be let off the hook without having one's level of education examined,

[24] This six-month term is also in place in rGyud stod monastery in India, while I was informed that in Tibet the disciplinarian's position used to change four times a year. Personal communication with Ngag dbang sangs rgyas, Dharamsala, August 2012. The maximum term appears to be three years, which is in place in 'Bri gung byang chub gling in India. Personal communication with the director of 'Bri gung byang chub gling, Rajpur, August 2012.

[25] *sMin sgrol gling bca' yig*: 309: *dge bskos spyi'i 'os 'thu'i steng nas spyi bsam bzang zhing blo spyi sor gnas pa khrims non che ba re zla ba drug re bsko ba dang/ ngo skya snum la ma bltos pa'i spyi khrims yo srong 'bad rtsol gyis thon pa byed/* The unusual phrase *ngo skya snum* is here understood to indicate a certain bias, perhaps based on mere external qualities (a face that is white and shiny). The call to impartiality is also found in *bKra shis lhun po bca' yig*: 87, where the word *snyoms gdal* is used, which can be translated as 'a fair approach'.

[26] This is summed up in a contemporary Tibetan book on the history of mTshur phu, which also contains a reconstruction of a *bca' yig* that is presumed lost; see *mTshur phu dgon gyi dkar chag* 1995: 280.

[27] *sMin sgrol gling bca' yig*: 238. What the disciplinarian is meant to do with the forbidden objects is not specified.

[28] *Bod kyi dgon sde* 2005: 87.

[29] This is one of the lower level *dge bshes* degrees at 'Bras spungs, see Tarab Tulku 2000: 17–19.

had the disciplinarian received a present (*rngan pa*).[30]

The author of the bca' yig for bKra shis lhun po monastery, the Eighth Panchen Lama bsTan pa'i dbang phyug (1855–1882), considers his ideal candidate to be who is not just well educated, but also affluent, with a reliable background (*rgyun drang*),[31] and a sturdy appearance.[32] This 1876 text states that suitable candidates should not try to get off the shortlist and that those not on the list should not try to get on it. The monk selected for the job is given a seal or contract (*tham ga*), which lists his responsibilities, and from that moment on he cannot go back on his word.[33] While describing the procedure, the text then warns that no one should try to order around those who exercise the general law (*spyi khyab kyi khrims*), such as the disciplinarian, or those have done so in the past.[34]

The above selection procedure for bKra shis lhun po was for the position of "great disciplinarian" (*dge skos chen mo*). It is clear, however, that procedures varied greatly and unfortunately not all *bca' yig* contain their descriptions. The following accounts on the selection process are based on the contemporary situation in exile.

At rNam rgyal grwa tshang in India, the disciplinarian is picked from the senior monks. He is appointed for two years. Thub bstan yar 'phel, who was the general secretary (*drung spyi*) at the monastery in 2012, mentioned that at other monasteries, like at mTshan nyid grwa tshang (Insitute of Buddhist Dialectics), a new disciplinarian is chosen every six months on the basis of votes. When the change is made there is a specific ceremony in which he gets handed his special

---

30 *'Bras spungs bca' yig*: 308: *gling bsre gtod* [sic?: *gtong*] *skabs dge skos kyi rngan pa blangs nas yon tan che chung la mi blta bar gtong ba yongs su bsrgags shing/*

31 I take this to refer to his ordination lineage. It might, however, also refer to one's family background. Here no mention is made whether having *dge slong* ordination was a prerequisite. The elderly monk Shes rab rgya mtsho of Sa skya monastery noted that one did not have to have *dge slong* vows to be a disciplinarian there. Personal communication, Rajpur, August 2012.

32 This physical quality is also mentioned by an anonymous monk-officer in 'Brug pa dkar [sic] rgyud monastery in Clement Town, Dehradun. He said that while the chant-master needs to be well educated (*slob sbyong yag po*) the disciplinarian has to be *gzugs po stobs chen po*: big and strong.

33 *bKra shis lhun po bca' yig*: 86: [..] *dge skos las 'khur 'dzin dgos kyi tham ga byung phral dang len byed pa las/ tham ga phyir 'bul dang don bud sogs dgyis mi chog cing* [..]/ In contemporary rNam rgyal grwa tshang, the new disciplinarian (*dge skos*), during his appointment ceremony, recites a prayer (*smon lam*), the wording of which is not set. In this prayer he promises to follow the Vinaya and to serve the monastery. Personal communication Ngag dbang dpal sbyin, Dharamsala, July 2012.

34 *bKra shis lhun po bca' yig*: 86: *dge skos 'di bzhin spyi khyab kyi khrims gnon du song gshis byed dang byas zin kyi rigs la mtho dma' sus kyang g.yog skul bgyis mi chog cing* [..]/

hat and stick. The out-going *dge bskos* then hands over the monastic guidelines and the new disciplinarian reads out the *bca' yig* to the assembly of monks (*tshogs*).[35]

In gNas chung monastery in India, the monastery's committee (*lhan rgyas*), which consists of eight people, choses three candidates (*'os mi*). Monks who have been in the monastery for more than ten years can vote and the person with the most votes is elected as the *dge skos*. The position is rotated every two years. The change takes place during *dGa' ldan lnga mchod*.[36] The new disciplinarian performs a Yam ntaka self-initiation. Subsequently, all monks are called to the assembly to witness the ceremony. A prayer to Mañjuśrī is recited, the hat gets handed over, and the new disciplinarian makes three prostrations. Rice and flowers are scattered. The new master of discipline then recites a short prayer (*smon lam*), the contents of which is at his own discretion, although it needs to contain the promise that during his term he will follow the Vinaya and serve the monastery to the best of his abilities. The congregation of monks is then given tea and rice; the disciplinarian is served first. After this short break, he reads out the short biography of Tsong kha pa, which completes the ceremony. During the evening session the new disciplinarian reads out the monastery's rules,[37] slowly and clearly, so that everyone can hear.[38]

According to Gutschow, at the *dGe lugs* Karsha monastery in Zangskar a new disciplinarian is appointed on a yearly basis and the ceremony also takes place during *dGa' ldan lnga mchod.* The new disciplinarian arrives at the monastery riding a horse, and is welcomed "like a new bride," i.e. he is presented with ceremonial scarves (*kha btags*) and receives a variety of gifts. He then reads out the *bca' yig* to the congregation.[39]

In rGyud stod monastery in India, the appointment of disciplinarian rotates every six months. According to Ngag dbang sangs rgyas, it would change every three months in old Tibet: once per season. Contrasting to the tradition at the previous monasteries, the ceremony is not on a specific day. The date is decided by the newly appointed disciplinarian. The actual instatement is planned on

---

[35] Personal communication with Thub bstan yar 'phel, McLeodganj, July 2012.

[36] This is the twenty-fifth day of the tenth month: the day on which the death of Tsong kha pa is commemorated.

[37] In gNas chung these rules are called the *nang khrims*, not *bca' yig*. On the possible difference between these two see Jansen 2015: 30–32.

[38] Personal communication with Ngag dbang dpal sbyin, Dharamsala, August, 2012.

[39] Gutschow 2004: 63. The *bca' yig* in question is reportedly written by the 15th century *dGe lugs* master Shes rab bzang po and his disciple Slob dpon mdo sde rin chen.

a good or auspicious day (*dus bzang*). When everyone is already seated, the new disciplinarian comes into the assembly hall (*tshogs khang*) with his shoes still on: he is the only one allowed to wear them inside. He is shown to his new place in the seating arrangement (*gral*) and his new place in the debate ground. He then gets handed a drum (*brkang rnga*) and beats it three times, just for the sake of ceremony. At that moment, he gets to wear his hat on his one shoulder and the disciplinarian's staff. He then commits to being the disciplinarian. The outgoing disciplinarian gets off his throne (*khri*) and the monastic seats (*sding ba*) are changed. A swastika (*g.yung drung*) is then drawn on the seat of the new disciplinarian.[40]

In the case of dGa' ldan monastery in Tibet, the office of disciplinarian is nowadays elected by the general office (*bla spyi*) alone. Previously, however, the Tibetan government had the authority to appoint monks to this post.[41] This may be read as an indication that the maintenance of discipline in a monastery so close to the government was seen as important enough to get involved.

3. On the Term Zhal ngo

Aside from *chos khrims pa* and *dge skos*, another term to denote a monk charged with maintaining the discipline is *zhal ngo*. The above described position of *dge skos chen mo* in bKra shis lhun po is similar to that of *zhal ngo* in old Tibet's 'Bras spungs, Se ra and dGa' ldan. This is a disciplinarian who oversees the great assembly (*tshogs chen*) and has a position of considerable power. The word *zhal ngo*, literally meaning simply "presence,'" is also used in the secular world. Aside from referring to "someone who does the Sangha's work" the term is also simply explained to mean "manager" (*do dam pa*).[42] In Bhutan, *zhal ngo*s are the "hereditary chiefs," i.e. the leaders of the clans.[43] The sense of an exalted social status in the secular world is also attested in *bKra shis lhun po bca' yig* where it is mentioned that the *chos mdzad* ('monk-sponsors')[44] come from a lineage of *zhal ngo*.[45] In the early 20th century, the word referred to a low ranking military officer,[46] which

[40] Personal communication with Ngag dbang sangs rgyas, Dharamsala, August, 2012.

[41] *Bod kyi dgon sde* 1995: 86: *de ni bla spyis 'dem bsko byed kyin yod/ sngar bod sa gnas srid gzhung gis 'dem bskor the gtogs byed kyin yod pa dang/*

[42] *brDa dkrol gser gyi me long*: 765: *1) do dam pa'i ming 2) dge 'dun gyi las byed mkhan gyi ming*

[43] Aris 1976: 690.

[44] For more on *chos mdzad* see Jansen 2015: 74–78.

[45] *bKra shis lhun po bca' yig*: 71: *zhal ngo'i brgyud las gson nges pa'i chos mdzad de/*

[46] Travers 2008: 14.

the *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* specifies as a military commander over a group of twenty-five people.[47] Although there is no clear evidence for this, I find it unlikely that the monastic institution borrowed this term from the "secular world" or vice versa. The term in all cases seems to imply a certain natural authority that the *zhal ngo* possessed.

4. The Disciplinarian and the bCa' yig

One monk I interviewed explains the disciplinarian to be the monastery's *khrims bdag*, the "owner of the rules," and to him it makes sense that he would be the one appointed to take care of the monastic guidelines.[48] This often means quite literally that the disciplinarian keeps the monastery's copy of the *bca' yig*. In Spituk in Ladakh, for example, the monastic guidelines are kept in a box to which only the *dge skos* has the key. Taking care of the monastic guidelines also included carrying the text to certain ceremonies. During the Great Prayer Festival (*smon lam chen mo*) in Lhasa, 'Bras spungs' *Tshogs chen zhal ngo* would carry the monastic guidelines of said monastery on his shoulder during the procession.[49]

When the monastic guidelines were read out, which was a regular occurrence—although not in all monasteries—it would be the disciplinarian's task to do so. In Kirti monastery in Tibet the *bca' yig* is still read out every year by the overarching disciplinarian (*zhal ngo*). The scholar monk Re mdo sengge from Kirti describes it as a nice occasion: someone holds out the scroll and it is slowly unrolled as the *zhal ngo* reads. The reading out of it does not sound like ordinary prayers (*kha 'don*) or reciting other texts, since there is a specific "melody" (*dbyangs*) to it. In general, Kirti monastery has eight doctrinal sessions (*chos thog*), two per season of the year. The *bca' yig* is read during one of those sessions but Re mdo sengge does not remember which one. At that time all the monks would come together. The *zhal ngo* then would read out the bca' yig and explain the commentary (*'grel pa*) accompanying the bca' yig. If he is well-educated then he would also add his own citations (*lung drangs pa*), which are usually from the Vinaya.[50]

In 19th century bKra shis lhun po, where the disciplinarians for the individual colleges were called *chos khrims pa*, they exercised their

[47] *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*: 2379.
[48] Personal communication with Thub bstan yar 'phel, McLeodganj, July 2012.
[49] For more on this ceremony and the role of the *bca' yig* therein, see Jansen 2013a: 114–115.
[50] Personal communication with Re mdo sengge, Dharamsala, July 2012.

own set of rules with the help of their own guidelines:

> The *chos khrims pa* is one who, without hypocrisy, enforces the rules with regard to the duties allotted to each tantric functionary. By praising the good and putting an end to the bad and by taking the contents of tantric college's own *bca' yig* as a base, he enforces the rules and guards their upholdance (*rgyun skyong*).[51]

A large monastery could thus house a sizeable number of disciplinarians. In smaller monasteries, there was often just one disciplinarian, who was either called *dge skos* or *chos khrims pa*.[52]

In many cases, disciplinarians were also involved in composing the *bca' yig*. While oftentimes important religious masters authored these texts, they regularly did so consulting the disciplinarians of the monastery in question. In exile monasteries, the steering committee regularly writes new *bca' yig* together. In some cases the disciplinarian would write new monastic guidelines by himself. A monk who acted as the disciplinarian at Se ra byes in India, wrote a set of guidelines for his monastic college (*grwa tshang*), but "when the rules were completed, many [monks] did not like them and for two nights, stones were pelted at my house, which is why those shutters had to be made. They did that twice in the night within a gap of about seven days."[53]

5. The Disciplinarian's Executive Role

While the role of the disciplinarian was seen by some monks as a burden or a distraction, within the *dGe lugs* school in particular it was an important stepping-stone. For the selection of the position of *dGa' ldan khri pa* (the head of the *dGe lugs* school), one had to have served as—among other things—a *dge skos* at either rGyud stod or rGyud smad.[54] It can be surmised from the above that the disciplinarian, as the enforcer of both unspoken rules as well as the *bca' yig*, generally

51 *bKra shis lhun po bca' yig*: 84: *sngags pa'i las tsham rnams nas kyang so so'i bgo skal gyi bya ba chos khrims pa nas khrims gnon ngo lkog med nges/ bzang po la gzengs bstod dang/ ngan pa tshar gcod pa sogs 'di dang rgyud grwa rang gi bca' yig dgongs don gzhir bzhag gi khrims gnon rgyun skyong dang/*

52 I have not been able to explain the use of the two terms on the basis of school or regional preference. It appears that monasteries in Ladakh prefer *chos khrims pa*.

53 Interview with Ngawang Choseng (no. 91), Tibetan Oral History Project, 2007: 38. This source unfortunately only gives the English translation, while the interview was conducted in Tibetan.

54 I was told that in rGyud stod monastery the *bla ma dbu mdzad* could become the abbot and only retired abbots could become dGa' ldan khri pa. Personal communication with Ngag dbang sangs rgyas, Dharamsala, August 2012.

speaking was not required to have an in-depth knowledge of Vinaya literature, whereas a thorough understanding of the local monastic rules was pivotal. He had high levels of responsibility and power and was therefore corruptible. This is perhaps one reason that nowadays the Bon Bya ti lo monastery in Li thang (Khams) only replaces its disciplinarian yearly and leaves all the other administrative monks in place.[55] While the disciplinarians did not stand alone in maintaining discipline in the monastery, the day-to-day activities depended greatly on the moral standing of these monks.

It was not just their moral standing as disciplinarians that was important; they also needed to be decisive and they could not let bad behaviour go unpunished. The *'Bri gung byang chub gling bca' yig*, written in 1802, states for example that in the case of someone breaking the rules "the two disciplinarians (*chos khrims pa*) should not turn a blind eye (*btang snyoms su ma bzhag par*), but should give a fitting punishment (*bkod 'doms*)."[56] Both favouring certain individuals and being lax in enforcing the rules were apparently not uncommon among monks in officials posts. So much so that some *bca' yig* even stipulate punishments for those officials that let monks go scot-free or display a bias toward a certain group. For example, The *'Bri gung byang chub gling bca' yig* notes that when the committing of a *pārājika* offence would go unpunished, those in charge of punishing, such as the *spyi gnyer* (general caretaker), would need to prostrate themselves five hundred times, while—when the disciplinarian and the chant-master (*dbu chos*) were guilty of letting misbehaving monks go unpunished—they would have to do a thousand prostrations each.[57]

It is a general feature of the *bca' yig*, that the implementation of rules is often portrayed as being crucial to the (social) order, thereby adding to the importance of the position of disciplinarian. This sentiment is found in the set of monastic guidelines for Se ra monastery from 1820:

> For the teachers and the disciplinarians and the like not to implement the rules is to undo the Teachings from their base. Therefore, from now on, to show biased and to not uphold the rules, be they great or small, without concern for the consequences, which is irresponsible,

---

[55] Karmay and Nagano 2003: 508.

[56] *'Bri gung byang chub gling bca' yig*: 403: *chos khrims pa gnyis nas btang snyoms su ma bzhag par 'os 'tshams kyi bkod 'doms byed dgos shing/*

[57] *'Bri gung byang chub gling bca' yig*: 404, 5: *lhag par chos khrims gnyis dang/ do dam thun mong nas pham pa bzhi bcas 'gal ba byung rigs rna thos tsam byung 'phral rtsad gcod thog gong gi chad las sogs khrims kyi bya ba la nan tan byed dgos/ de la spyi gnyer sogs kyis 'gal na phyag lnga rgya re/ dbu chos kyis 'gal na stong phyag 'bul dgos/*

> should be vigorously and continuously suppressed.[58]

For internal monastic matters, the obvious candidate for mediation would be the disciplinarian. The guidelines for dPal yul dar thang, written in the early 20th century, indicate that this person was not handed an easy task:

> From now on, the disciplinarian should not, when quarrels and suchlike occur, oversee major or minor disputes—whether internal or external, general or specific, large or small—that are not relevant. Surely, one needs to continue to treat all the external and internal rules of the Teachings (*bstan pa'i bca' khrims*) with priority. Therefore, no one should encourage him to act as go-between for others, whether they be high or low, in disputes (*gyod 'khon par*).[59]

From the above can be gleaned that the disciplinarian was asked to adjudicate various, perhaps personal, disputes and that that was, strictly speaking, not part of his job description. The involvement of the disciplinarian could easily lead to him losing the impartial stand many bca' yig implore him to take, making mediation of smaller disputes not officially part of the function of disciplinarian.

In this *rNying ma* monastery, which was situated in mGo log, Amdo, the abbot was also held responsible for the upkeep of discipline along with the disciplinarian.[60] A clear distinction is made between the abbot and the disciplinarian, however. The abbot has a supervisory function (*klad gzigs*), whereas that of the disciplinarian is executive (*do khur*).[61]

6. Concluding Remarks

In summary, the role of the disciplinarian was, and still is, significant. According to the *bca' yig* that I have studied, his tasks were significant, a few of which have been highlighted in this article.

---

[58] *Se ra theg chen gling rtsa tshig*: 183: *bla ma dge skos sogs nas sgrig lam ma mnan na bstan pa 'go nas bshigs pa yin pas da nas bzung phyogs lhungs dang/ rgyu la ma bltas par sgrig lam che phra tshang mar 'khur med ma byas par tsha nan rgyun chags su dgos rgyu yin/*

[59] *dPal yul dar thang bca' yig*: 198, 9: *deng phan dge bskos nas grwa tshang nang 'khon pa lta bu byung na dang/ spyi khag che chung rnams kyi don ma yin pa'i phyi nang gyi gyod che phra gang la yang gzigs mi dgos/ bstan pa'i bca' khrims phyi nang thams cad la nan tan gzigs pa mtha' 'khyongs nges dgos pas gzhan mtho dman sus kyang gyod 'khon bar bzhugs bcol mi chog.*

[60] *dPal yul dar thang bca' yig*: 199: *sgrigs yig 'di'i nang 'khod tshad mkhan po dang dge bskos gnyis kyi khur thang yin la/*

[61] *Ibid.*: *de dag gi klad gzigs mkhan po dang do khur dge bskos nas mdzad dgos pas/*

Among others, the disciplinarian was to: take charge of the discipline in and outside the monastery; keep the monastic guidelines; read them out in the assembly; mete out punishments for misbehaving monks (and sometimes lay-people); fill a post on the general board (*spyi so*, *lhan rgyas* etc.);[62] examine and enroll new monks;[63] keep the monk-population records; oversee the seating arrangements; adjudicate during conflicts; give monks permission to leave or conduct business, and to deal with (potential) sponsors (*sbyin bdag*).[64]

Naturally, being a disciplinarian also had certain perks, indicated in both the texts and by the monk officials I have consulted. A fair number of *bca' yig* refer to the corruptibility of the *dge skos*, which means that in that position one could acquire "presents" from certain people. Aside from that obvious perquisite, according to the monastic guidelines, a disciplinarian sometimes was to live in different (presumably better) housing. In other instances he was allowed to keep a horse and in most cases he would receive a larger share of the offerings. The disciplinarian monks I interviewed were less outspoken regarding the benefits of filling this role, which may have to do with that monks nowadays are more study oriented and it is therefore seen as an interruption of the monastic education. Some monks did point out that one gains in perceived status (*mthong*) among the monks, one is able to make important decisions for the monastery, and—perhaps not unimportantly—one is allowed to keep one's shoes on in the assembly.

Even though more fieldwork as well as more textual study remains to be done, on the whole, it appears that the differences between the tasks of the *dge skos* in the various monasteries are less big in contemporary times—the disciplinarian's duties appear more uniform compared to the past. Furthermore, disciplinarians nowadays seem to have less power and are thus less corruptible, which has to do with the change in economic position of the monasteries in Tibetan society. Lastly, it is my direct experience that they are not as menacing as Schram once described them to be.

I initially set out to get to grips with the genre of *bca' yig*, but in the process I have found that to understand the monastic guidelines—and particularly the way they were used—one needs to understand the disciplinarian. The reverse is also true: to understand the disciplinarian is to understand the monastic guidelines.

---

[62] On the managerial committees in monasteries see Jansen 2015: 105–106.

[63] For more on the enrollment process, see Jansen 2013b.

[64] In dPal yul dar thang, for example, the disciplinarian—together with the main manager (*spyi pa*)—was to give the donors an estimate of the cost of the requested ritual, he then had to keep a record of it and had to divide some of the proceedings (*dung yon*) among the reciting monks. *Ibid.*: 194.

Bibliography

Aris, Michael. 1976. "The Admonition of the Thunderbolt Cannonball and its Place in the Bhutanese New Year Festival." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 39(3), 601–35.

bKra shis lhun po bca' yig: bsTan pa'i dbang phyug. 1876. "bKra shis lhun po dpal gyi bde chen phyogs thams cad las rnam par rgyal ba'i gling gi dge 'dun dbu dmangs dang/ bla brang nang ma sogs lto zan khongs gtogs dang bcas pa spyi khyab tu nges dgos pa'i yi ge khrims gnyis srog gi chad mthud rab brjid gser gyi rdo rje'i gnya' shing dge." In *Gangs can rig brgya'i sgo 'byed lde mig ces bya ba bzhugs so: bca' yig phyogs sgrig*, edited by mGon po dar rgyas, 35–158. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang (1989).

Bod kyi dgon sde: Tshe rgyal, Tshe ring 'bum, and dBang drag rdo rje. 2005. *Bod kyi dgon sde'i rig gnas spyi bshad me tog phreng ba.* Xining: mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo: Zhang Yisun (ed.). 1993. *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo.* Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

brDa dkrol gser gyi me long: bTsan lha ngag dbang tshul khrims. 1997. *brDa dkrol gser gyi me long.* Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

'Bri gung byang chub gling bca' yig: 'Bri gung bstan 'dzin pad ma'i rgyal mtshan. 1802. "'Bri gung byang chub gling gi bca' yig thar pa'i gru rdzings." In *Bod kyi snga rabs khrims srol yig cha bdams bsgrigs*, 398–406. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang (1989).

'Bri gung mthil bca' yig: sPyan snga grags pa 'byung gnas (1175–1255). n.d. "Magha dha rdo rje gdan 'bri gung byang chub gling gi bca' khrims." In *gSung 'bum vol. 1*, 247–50. Delhi: Drikung Kagyu Publications (2002).

Byams pa gling bca' yig: Blo bzang grags pa'i dpal (Tsong kha pa). 1417. "Byams pa gling na bzhugs pa'i spyi'i dge 'dun la khrims su bca' ba'i yi ge." In *gSung 'bum vol. 2 (Zhol)*, 250b–58a. New Delhi: Mongolian lama Gurudeva (1978–9).

dPal yul dar thang bca' yig: dPal yul dar thang mchog sprul rin po che 'jam dpal dgyes pa'i rdo rje (20th century). n.d. "Phan bde'i rtsa ba bca' yig gi skor." In *dPal yul dar thang mchog sprul rin po che*

'jam dpal dgyes pa'i rdo rje'i gsung 'bum legs bshad nor bu'i bum bzang, 186–225. Chengdu: Si khron dpe skrun khang (2008).

Gutschow, Kim. 2004. *Being a Buddhist Nun: the Struggle for Enlightenment in the Himalayas*. Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press.

Gyatso, Sherab. 2003. "Of Monks and Monasteries." In *Exile as Challenge: the Tibetan Diaspora*, edited by Dagmar Bernstorff and Hubertus von Welck, 213–43. Hyderabad: Orient Longman.

Jansen, Berthe. 2013a. "How to Tame a Wild Monastic Elephant: Drepung Monastery According to the Great Fifth." In *The Tibetans that Escaped the Historian's Net*, edited by Charles Ramble, Peter Schwieger and Alice Travers, 109–39. Kathmandu: Vajra Books.

———. 2013b. "Selection at the Gate: Access to the Monkhood and Social Mobility in Traditional Tibet." In *Current Issues and Progress in Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Third International Seminar of Young Tibetologists, Kobe 2012: Journal of Research Institute* 51, edited by Tsuguhito Takeuchi, Kazushi Iwao, Ai Nishida, Seiji Kumagai and Meishi Yamamoto, 137–64. Kobe: Kobe City University of Foreign Studies.

———. 2015. "The Monastery Rules: Buddhist Monastic Organization in Pre-modern Tibet." PhD diss., Universiteit Leiden.

———. 2016. "Monastic Guidelines (*bCa' yig*): Tibetan Social History from a Buddhist Studies Perspective." In *Social Regulation: Case Studies from Tibetan History*, edited by Jeannine Bischoff and Saul Mullard, 64–98. Leiden: Brill.

Karmay, Samten Gyaltsen and Yasuhiko Nagano (eds.). 2003. *A Survey of Bonpo Monasteries and Temples in Tibet and the Himalaya. Bon Studies vol. 7*. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.

Lempert, Michael. 2012. *Discipline and Debate: The Language of Violence in a Tibetan Buddhist Monastery*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Monier-Williams, Monier. 1999 [1872]. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

mTshur phu dgon gyi dkar chag: Rin chen dpal bzang. 1995. *mTshur phu dgon gyi dkar chag kun gsal me long*. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Nornang, Ngawang L. 1990. "Monastic Organization and Economy at Dwags-po bShad-grub-gling." In *Reflections on Tibetan Culture: Essays in Memory of Turrell V. Wylie*, edited by Lawrence Epstein and Richard F. Sherburne, 249–68. Lewiston: The Edward Mellen Press.

Schopen, Gregory. 1996. "The Lay Ownership of Monasteries and the Role of the Monk in Mūlasarvāstivādin Monasticism." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 19(1), 81–126.

———. 2004. "Doing Business for the Lord: Lending on Interest and Written Loan Contracts in the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya." In *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters: Still More Papers on Monastic Buddhism in India*, 45–90. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Schram, Louis M. J. and Kevin Stuart (eds.). 2006 [1954]. *The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Border*. Xining: Plateau Publications.

Se ra theg chen gling rtsa tshig: Tshe smon gling rgyal thog gnyis pa (Ngag dbang 'jam dpal tshul khrims). 1820. "Tshe smon gling rgyal thog gnyis pas se ra theg chen gling gi chos khrims sogs byed sgo'i skor btsal ba'i rtsa tshig." In *Bod sa gnas kyi lo rgyus dpe tshogs bca' yig phyogs bsgrigs*, edited by Bod rang skyong ljongs yig tshags khang, 180–90. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang (2001).

Silk, Jonathan. 2008. *Managing Monks: Administrators and Administrative Roles in Indian Buddhist Monasticism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

sMin sgrol gling bca' yig: gTer bdag gling pa. 1698. "O rgyan smin sgrol gling gi 'dus sde'i bca' khrims kyi yi ge blang dor gsal bar byed pa'i nyi ma." In O rgyan smin sgrol gling gi dkar chag, edited by bsTan pa'i sgron me, 272–316. Xining: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang (1992).

Snellgrove, David L. and Hugh Richardson. 1986 [1968]. *A Cultural History of Tibet*. Boston: Shambhala.

Takeuchi, Tsuguhito. 1993. "Old Tibetan Loan Contracts." *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko (the Oriental Library)* 51, 25–83.

Tibet Oral History Project. "Interview # 91 - Ngawang Choseng: July 7, 2007." http://www.tibetoralhistory.org. Accessed May 23, 2016.

Tulku, Tarab. 2000. *A Brief History of Tibetan Academic Degrees in Buddhist Philosophy*. Copenhagen: NIAS.

Travers, Alice. 2008. "Exclusiveness and Openness: A Study of Matrimonial Strategies in the Ganden Phodrang Aristocracy (1880-1959)." *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* 4, 1–27.

❖

A mdo, Collected Works (*gSung 'bum*), and Prosopography

Hanung Kim

(Harvard University)

lHa sa na mjal ba mang/
Khams na tshong pa mang/
A mdo na mkhas pa mang//

"In lHa sa, there are many pilgrims,
in Khams, there are many merchants,
in A mdo, there are many scholars."[1]

1. Introduction

Although A mdo, a northeastern part of the Tibetan plateau, has been important throughout Tibetan history, its role in both the political and cultural scenes in particular began to loom large from the seventeenth century. This essay attempts to demonstrate the growth of A mdo's importance in the cultural scene by focusing on the development of Tibetan collected works (Tib. *gsung 'bum*). This essay uses a prosopography to study Tibetan cultural history, applying this methodology specifically to the study of *gsung 'bum*. I hope that this essay will illuminate new substantive and methodological aspects within the study of A mdo and Tibetan studies at large.

[1] A contemporary Tibetan folkloric saying; my gratitude for providing this phrase goes to Dr. Dorje Tseten, a soon-to-be professor at Qinghai University for Nationalities. I also would like to express my sincere gratitude to my academic advisor Prof. Leonard W. J. van der Kuijp and two anonymous reviewers of this essay for their invaluable suggestions to improve previous drafts. Last but not the least, I also thank Mr. Andy Francis for his expertise in proofreading this essay.

Hanung Kim, "A mdo, Collected Works (gSung 'bum), and Prosopography ", *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, 37, December 2016, pp. 162–177.

2. Emerging Importance of A mdo

It is interesting to note that people from A mdo are a dominant force in contemporary Tibetan intellectual culture. *A mdo ba*s make up a large proportion of the "brainworkers" in both A mdo and Tibetan areas outside of A mdo. We see evidence of this in the current state of the Department of Tibetan Studies at Central University for Nationalities (a.k.a. Minzu University of China) in Beijing, where a majority of students (and even lecturers) come from A mdo. There are a few possible explanations for this phenomenon. One plausible explanation is that the regional imbalance in advanced academic representation is a direct result of a discrepancy in the education policies of the Central Chinese Government, which differs for different Tibetan-populated regions.[2] While this circumstance might be one of many reasons behind this phenomenon of late, those who have a broader understanding of the cultural history of pre-modern Tibet will know that the dominance of *A mdo ba*s in Tibetan intellectual culture likely has roots that reach deeper than contemporary education policy in the People's Republic of China.

A number of leading Tibetan studies scholars have pointed out that eastern Tibet grew in importance in late pre-modern history. In his brief but profound general history of Tibet, Matthew Kapstein noted "a remarkable shift in Tibet's cultural geography" in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[3] In a similar vein Sam van Schaik also provided an account of importance of the Khams area in the politics and culture in the same period in his overview of Tibetan history.[4]

More recently several studies have looked more closely at A mdo's role in Tibetan history. Among others, Paul Nietupski's extensive study of the Bla brang monastery revealed that the monastery played a central role not only at the local level, but in the context of tripartite relations between A mdo, Central Tibet, and Qing China, as well. To support his observation, Nietupski analyzed the scholarship of the third Gung thang dKon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me (1762–1823) to illustrate literary innovations that Bla brang contributed to Tibetan literary heritage.[5] It is true that producing extensive literary

[2] For the history of PRC's education policy in Tibet, especially of language, see Janet Upton 1999: 281–323 and Ma Rong 2014: 83–106. I owe the latter reference to Mr. Ling-wei Kung of Columbia University.

[3] Kapstein 2006: 164–68.

[4] Van Schaik 2011: 160–69. Van Schaik deals only with the Khams area, and in many aspects the importance of Khams should be separately considered from that of A mdo.

[5] Nietupski 2010: 25–31.

collections was a new direction in scholarship at Bla brang, but there is room for further examination in Nietupski's assertions. We must place his argument in a broader context in order to determine whether the new trend was just an institution-specific cultural phenomenon or perhaps a cultural phenomenon in the A mdo region.

Gray Tuttle has made other important contributions to our understanding of A mdo cultural history, especially in his recent three studies, which contribute insights into the discussion at hand. Tuttle uses an analytic reading of *mDo smad chos 'byung* to superbly study the shifting concept of geography in historical writing regarding Central Tibet's dominance over Eastern Tibet. Thus, his study indicates yet another aspect of conceptual innovation of literature developed in the A mdo area.[6] In another study Tuttle focuses on the history of the founding of monasteries in A mdo. By dividing development of monasteries in A mdo into four diachronic stages, Tuttle makes it clear that A mdo began to take initiative in the establishment of religious institutions during the latter of those stages.[7] Furthermore, Tuttle's broad discussion of "the spread of incarnation lineages across time and throughout Tibetan territory" was not originally intended to make a case for the historical importance of A mdo, but it becomes obvious in the course of his piece that the dGe lugs pa specifically in the region of A mdo became

---

6 Tuttle 2011: 135–72. Along with the overall discussion in the article, by pointing out the downfall of the *mNga' ris* region after the early eighteenth century, Tuttle seems to suggest a broader viewpoint regarding the "shift to the east" (147). His brilliant analysis notwithstanding, Tuttle's reading of one of key phrases from *mDo smad chos 'byung* in his article requires further reflection. Tuttle asserts that Gushri Khan offered only the thirteen myriarchies to the fifth Dalai Lama and the area consists only of four horns (r*u bzhi*) by providing a translation of relevant part (141–42). However, the context of the passage in question is about how the names for the "four horns" have changed before and after Gushri Khan's conquest, *not* about whether or not Gushri Khan offered *only* the thirteen myriarchies to the Dalai Lama. Here I provide full Tibetan transcription and translation of the relevant passage for readers' consideration: *bar dbus gtsang ru bzhi ni/ snar gtsang la g.yas ru dang/ ru lag gnyis/ dbus la dbu ru dang/ g.yo ru gnyis zer yang/ chos rgyal ku shri han gyis bod khri skor bcu gsum dbang du bsdud te rgyal dbang rin po cher phul phyin la g.yas ru/ g.yon ru/ sbus ru/ gung ru bzhi byed do/* "As for the four horns of *dBus* and *gTsang* in the middle, in former times it was said that two, that is, *g.Yas ru* and *Ru lag* were in *gTsang*, and two, that is, *dBu ru* and *g.Yo ru* were in *dBus*. However, after Dharmaraja Gushri Khan conquered Tibet's thirteen myriarchies and offered them to the Precious Victor (i.e., the fifth Dalai Lama) [the four horns] became four of *g.Yas ru*, *g.Yon ru*, *sBus ru* and *Gung ru*." (dKon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas 1982: 1). The thirteen myriarchies of course historically existed within *dBus* and *gTsang* territories, but this passage seems not to strongly corroborate Tuttle's assertion that "A mdo fell outside the fifth Dala Lama's realm of authority."

7 Tuttle 2011: 126–40.

the leading players in the institution of incarnation lineages.[8] By meticulous and extensive use of relevant Tibetan historical source materials, Tuttle's works on the A mdo conception of geography, its development of monastic institutions, and the history of emanation bodies (Tib. *sprul sku*) fully demonstrate the importance of A mdo in Tibetan cultural history.

Evidence for the emergence of A mdo as a dominant force on the cultural scene is not only found in the form of the growing influence of social institutions like monasteries or reincarnation lineages, but also in literary innovations within Tibetan intellectual history. In what follows I will further consider the impact that *A mdo ba* thinkers have had on Tibetan literary culture.

3. "Collected Works" (Tib. gSung 'bum) as a Barometer of Tibetan Literary Culture

When it comes to traditional literary culture in Tibet, canonical works are likely the first of its exemplars to leap to mind. The redaction and publication of the Buddhist canon is surely an important part of Tibetan literary history. The publication of canons dates back to the time of the Tibetan Empire (7–9th centuries), and its vitality has not dimmed even today with continuous efforts to publish Tibetan canonical literature and extensive studies on it.[9] Nonetheless, as the Tibetan terms for such literature (Tib. *bka' 'gyur* and *bstan 'gyur*) indicate, the publication of canons or "collections of translations (*'gyur*)" is considered, in essence, an act of reproduction—either translations from Indian originals or redactions of old Tibetan translations—rather than an act of creation.

The literary form of "collected works (Tib. *gsung 'bum*)" written by Tibetan intellectuals are precisely the opposite. Although they follow specimens mainly from *bstan 'gyur* in topics, collected works can provide broader aspects of what are called the "ten forms of knowledge (Tib. *rig gnas bcu*)" in Tibetan intellectual circles, even covering subjects beyond the scope of Buddhist studies.[10] With its

---

8 Tuttle *forthcoming*.

9 For more details of the history of Tibetan Canonical literature, see Eimer and Germano 2002.

10 For a brief but useful introduction to these "ten forms of knowledge," see Schaeffer 2011: 292–93. When Lokesh Chandra discusses the significance of *gsung 'bum* in his *Materials for a history of Tibetan literature*, he situates the scope of such works only within the rubric of "the Five Sciences" (Chandra 1963: 15–16). However, the contents of *gsung 'bum*—especially those of later generations—go beyond the scope of "five greater forms of knowledge (Tib. *rig gnas che ba lnga*)," i.e., interior knowledge, logic, language, medicine, and artistic crafts. I hope to

broader sphere of themes, this realm of Tibetan literature represents the *bona fide* creativity of Tibetan intellectuals.

Although the body of this literature is huge, the conception of cataloging works under the term "*gsung 'bum*" does not have a long history. The term itself is found in earlier literature, but the first cataloging activity under which the term "*gsung 'bum*" began to be used the way we use it nowadays dates back only to eighteenth century's *Bka' gdams pa dang dge lugs pa'i bla ma rags rim gyi gsung 'bum dkar chag* by Klong rdol bla ma Ngag dbang blo bzang (1719–1794).[11] However, once the practice of cataloging *gsung 'bum*s took root, catalogers began to use the term to cover a diverse array of Tibetan literary works. As seen in Ngag dbang blo bzang's case, it started with collections from a small number of bKa' gdams pa and dGe lugs pa masters, but in one catalogue compiled in 1980s, even works from early times of the Tibetan Empire are included under the category of *gsung 'bum*.[12]

"Collected works" are observed from a different perspective in a discussion of the desired level of competency for "the learned (Tib. *mkhas pa*)" in Tibetan culture. What is at issue here is whether it was necessary that the act of producing literature have a central—or at least not marginal—role among the Tibetan learned. It is widely known that mastery of three scholarly activities, i.e., explanation, debate, and composition (Tib. *'chad rtsod rtsom gsum*), is required among Tibetan intellectuals. Although the emphasis on which of the three activities should be most important varies over time and space, as José Cabezón has pointed out, it is a common notion that for scholarly monks "scholarship was measured not by one's ability as a

use prosopographical methods in a future study to analyze the pattern and the trend of which subjects of knowledge are emphasised more in different *gsung 'bum* collections throughout time and space.

[11] This work is included in the *Klong rdol bla ma Ngag dbang blo bzang gi gsung 'bum* (Klong rdol bla ma Ngag dbang blo bzang 1991: vol. 2, 495–638. I follow Ahua Awanghuadan's opinion that it is the first activity of cataloging *gsung 'bum*s. For this see Awanghuadan 2012: 81. Of course, the activity of cataloging works of Tibetan intellectuals dates back to even earlier periods, an example of which is the fifteenth-century Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po's catalogues of Sa skya masters such as his *Thob yig rgya mtsho* in *The Works of Ngorchen Kunga Zangpo* (Nor chen Kun dga' bzang po 2005: folios 89–217). However, it seems that the use of the term *gsung 'bum* as a heading and its resultant bibliographic conception in cataloging activities had not existed in these earlier periods. I would like to thank Prof. Leonard van der Kuijp for bringing this issue to my attention.

[12] *Bod kyi bstan bcos khag cig gi mtshan byang dri med shel dkar phreng ba* (a.k.a. *Bla brang dkar chag*) places Srong btsan sgam po's works as its first entry for *gsung 'bum*. For this see Grags pa *et al*. 1985: 89–90. It would be interesting to see how the extent of the concept of *gsung 'bum* has changed over time and from region to region.

writer."[13]

We need to think more carefully about the relationship between "an act of writing" and "an act of producing literature." First, as Cabezón puts it, the act of "*rtsom*" is not "the act of writing," but "the act of com-pilation or con-junction."[14] Therefore, even though the act of writing itself might be discouraged, the act of compiling what one has explained and what one has debated might be encouraged. Second, it should be remembered that the exact Tibetan term for "collected works" is "*gsung 'bum*," a compound word comprising a honorific form of the gerund "saying (*gsung*)" and what was generally a numeric term for "hundred-thousand (100,000)," but which may also mean "multifarious (*'bum*)."[15] So even though the "sayings" exist in written form, the text represents the corpus of a teacher's teaching itself, even in the absence of any manuscript. As Kurtis Schaeffer suggested, sGam po pa bSod nams rin chen's (1079–1159) *gsung 'bum* might have been created by spoken communication, whereas 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje's (1648–1721) was surely based on written communication.[16] Whether spoken or written, both are called "*gsung 'bum*"—the significance is placed on the creativity of its "sayings," not on whether it was originally spoken or written.

Even though the act of writing is not equivalent to producing literature, we still need to give a second thought to the writing culture itself, because development of a writing culture has a direct correlation to the development of the written form of literature. Has writing really continuously been discouraged in Tibetan culture? The three main dGe lugs pa monasteries, which originated in the vicinity of lHa sa, have traditionally discouraged the act of writing. Georges Dreyfus discussed this fact in his detailed, first-hand account of the education of Tibetan Buddhist monks. Although Dreyfus' discussion is very informative, his explanation of why writing was discouraged, especially in those three monasteries and not in others, is not so plausible. According to Dreyfus, writing was discouraged in Lhasa's monasteries "to counteract the danger of scholars becoming involved in politics." Therefore, "other important but more remote dGe lugs centers, such as bKra shis lhun po and Bla brang, encouraged literary skills. Thus they (Bla brang in particular) are the source of most of the

---

13 Cabezón 2001: 236.

14 Cabezón 2001: 242. Tibetan has a specific verb for the meaning of "to write," i.e., "*'bri ba*." For this see Cabezón 2001: 241, 257, n. 19.

15 It should be noted that sometimes "*gsung 'bum*" is translated as "collected *writings*." But this translation does not correctly capture the meaning of "*gsung*", which does not mean "writing," even though *gsung 'bum*s exist in a written or printed form. I have not heard of *orally* transmitted *gsung 'bum.*

16 Schaeffer 1999: 163.

dGe lugs literature written in the past two centuries. *The dGe lugs attitude toward writing appears to vary with distance from the political center*."[17] Can we agree with this last statement? It is widely known that in the history of the dGe lugs pa sect, religious figures—either assistants for Dalai Lamas or leading figures such as Regents—have been fully involved in politics at least since the time of the fifth Dalai Lama. Thus it is difficult to accept Dreyfus' assertion unless more convincing evidence to the contrary is found. Dreyfus' conclusion would also leave us wondering why bKra shis lhun po has not produced as much literature as Bla brang.[18] In addition, Bla brang itself has historically been involved in its own complex nexus of politics. So the "distance from the political center" seems not to be a feasible barometer for explaining differences in literary production. We should examine the divergent emphases on producing literature in different regions in a broader context. In-depth analysis of how written communication brought about *gsung 'bum* culture might yield a fuller picture of whether the act of writing was encouraged or discouraged. To do so, we need to use a methodology appropriate to available source materials.

4. "Big Data," Prosopography, and gSung 'bum Studies

What is a better way to see long-term patterns of literature production? In order to observe "the forest" rather than "the trees," it is necessary to see the history of Tibet in a new way. Researching long-term patterns involves a new research methodology using a large quantity of data from source materials. Chinese studies have recently provided a model for doing just that. As Song Chen has recently described, the method involves taking advantage of the potential of so-called "big data" in different ways.[19] In a more specific research example, Peter Bol undertook a study using data from the project of the Chinese Biographical Database. His use of data from biographies and geostatistical analyses has a lot to suggest for other fields of study such as Tibetan Studies.[20]

The same potential use of "big data" that other fields of humanities have taken advantage of exists within Tibetan Studies as

---

17 Dreyfus 2003: 120–21 (emphasis mine).

18 For evidence for this discrepancy, see Part 4 of this essay. The *gTsang* area has not produced much literature in the dGe lugs pa tradition.

19 Chen 2016.

20 The possibility of using "prosopography" is mainly inspired by Bol 2012: 3–15. Although prosopography appears prominently in the title of the article, Bol does not go into detail regarding the techniques of prosopography in the article itself.

well. We can see it in two ways: First, there exists a huge amount of data relevant to Tibetan Studies. Biographies—including not only longer biographies that are worthy of individual in-depth studies, but the smaller and fragmentary biographies still waiting to be processed and utilised—provide a good example for potential use of "big data."[21] Second, data has become more and more available in digital formats and can thus be handled in a more convenient way. The Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (www.tbrc.org) is currently the largest source for this purpose. The body of its database can be used not only for philological research, but for statistical analysis. Other noteworthy sources are the Treasury of Lives (treasuryoflives.org) and Himalayan Art Resources (www.himalayanart.org). We already have an extensive amount of data with which to do research.

What can we do with such a large body of data? One thing we can do is applying a method called "prosopography." As Verboven and others have pointed out, prosopography originated as a new research method because of the problem of the representativeness, in which researchers focus only on a single or a very small number of unique historical figures. A basic tenet of prosopographical research is that "by subjecting an ideally large number from a pre-defined population to the same questionnaire, the particular characteristics of that population as a whole become visible," and its goal "is not interested in the unique but in the average, the general and the 'commonness' in the life histories of more or less large numbers of individuals."[22]

This research method is well suited to the study of *gsung 'bum*s and their authors. Although some scholars have paid attention to the subject of *gsung 'bum*, rarely is more than a single person's *gsung 'bum* studied. Take Schaeffer's study on 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa's *gsung 'bum*, for example. Although Schaeffer's detailed analysis of each colophon and its historical background provided new insights, a broader intellectual map in which 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa and his works are duly located and evaluated would be more desirable. In

[21] Although extensive and longer biographies have been the principal subjects of study, it is worth considering what we can do with short and fragmentary biographies and their collections as well.

[22] Verboven, Carlier, and Dumolyn 2007: 36–37. As one of reviewers of my essay indicated, it seems dangerous to claim to present "characteristics of the population as a whole" especially in Tibetan Studies that lack such data at present. However, Verboven's suggestion is still worthy of consideration, because we can take it as a methodological tool for studying each group of small population, *not really* for the whole Tibetan population or the whole population of elite Tibetans at a given time.

what follows, I will explore a basic level of such a mapping using prospographical research methods.[23]

5. Patterns of gsung 'bum Productions

As Verboven's manual warns, prosopographical research is labor intensive.[24] What a single individual can do for a short period time is very limited. Notwithstanding, in what follows, I attempt to corroborate what I have suggested in the first part of this essay—that specifically *A mdo ba* scholarship is a significant contributor to the history of dGe lugs pa *gsung 'bum* production.

First I will provide a basic account of the criteria used to collect data and its limitations.

I limited my data set to works produced among the dGge lugs pa, because the dGe lugs has a largest number of *gsung 'bum*s among the major sects of Tibetan Buddhism. Of course, data sets comprised of works produced by other sects will yield different patterns, but the patterns yielded by the largest group of scholars working in A mdo should most represent the features of the cultural activity in the region.

I began collecting data from the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center, initially collecting basic biographical data on 146 dGe lugs pa scholars for whom records of *gsung 'bum* exist in the TBRC database. However, I soon realised that the TBRC database does not represent an exhaustive collection of such sources, and that additional data could be gathered from other sources. One such additional source is *Shes bya'i gter mdzod*, a three-volume catalogue of *gsung 'bum*s preserved in the Library of Cultural Palace of Nationalities in Beijing.[25] This catalogue has 182 entries with a short biography for each entry, but among them only 126 entries are related to dGe lugs pa scholars. A large portion of these 126 entries is duplicated in the TBRC records, but among them there were 20 entries unique to this catalogue. Another important and extensive catalogue is *Po ta la'i gsung 'bum dkar chag*, which has 201 entries, each with a short

---

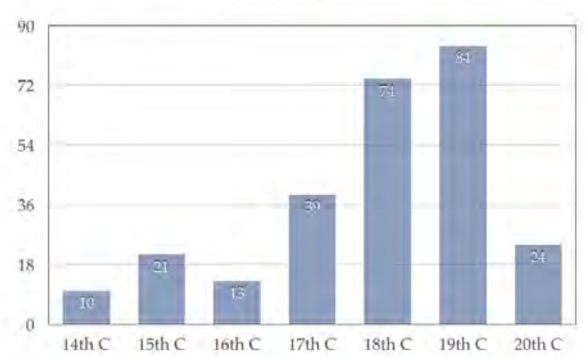
23 Indeed Kurtis Schaeffer has pioneered the use of this kind of "big data" to illustrate patterns of literary production. In his case, however, he goes for a specific genre, i.e., Tibetan auto/biographies, for the analysis of Tibetan literary production. For this, see Schaeffer 2010: 263–306. Interestingly, Schaeffer's study also reveals a pattern of emerging importance for A mdo, which is very similar to those revealed by my analysis of *gsung 'bum* below. I owe this reference to one of the reviewers of the essay.

24 Verboven, Carlier and Dumolyn. 2007: 53.

25 Mi rigs dpe mdzod khang 1984–1997.

biography.[26] This is the largest collection for dGe lugs pa *gsung 'bum*, but 45 entries from the TBRC database do not appear in this catalogue. Comparison of the three catalogues yielded 265 *gsung 'bum*s authored by dGe lugs pa scholars. Fig. 1 roughly illustrates the pattern of *gsung 'bum* authorship in chronological order by century.

The graph indicates that the number of *gsung 'bum*s produced by dGe lugs pa scholars has increased over the centuries and that any supposed dGe lugs pa discouragement of producing "new sayings" have not been successful, if they even really existed. To gain a more complete picture of dGe lugs pa production of *gsung 'bum*s I re-sorted the data used to create Figure 1 by authors' principal seats of activity. The result yielded further meaningful patterns (Fig. 2).[27]



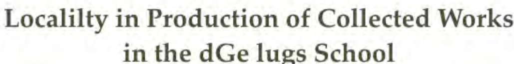
265 works from 14th to 20th centuries

Fig. 1

---

[26] Mi rigs dpe mdzod khang 2013.

[27] I follow mostly TBRC's record of "main seat" for each individual, and in case it is not available from TBRC, I consulted biographies in *Po ta la'i gsung 'bum dkar chag* and *Shes bya'i gter mdzod* for relevant information. I am aware that more analytic elaboration is needed to fully specify the principal seat of activity, but I believe that many of the institutions specified as "main seats" are representative enough of local intellectual activity. In the meantime, as one of reviewers of my essay points out, the regional origin of each *gsung 'bum* author deserves the same attention as the other factors discussed here, because some *gsung 'bum* authors from A mdo or Khams "finished their education in Lhasa and stayed on there" (in reviewer's words). However, such analysis would entail work beyond the limited scope of this paper, which I hope to complete in the near future.



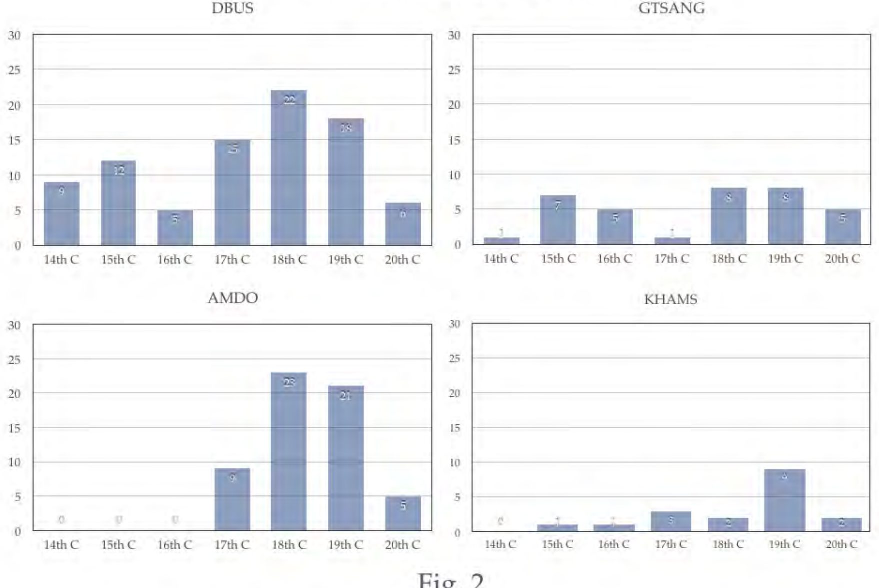


Fig. 2

We can make several interesting observations based on these charts. First, the region of *dBus* led the movement of *gsung 'bum* production, driving the pattern that appeared in Fig. 1. *dBus* has never lost its position as the leader in production of new dGe lugs pa literature. Second, the region of *gTsang* has never been a hotbed of *gsung 'bum* production, despite its distance from the political center. Although the dGe lugs pa victory over the *gTsang* regime in the mid-seventeenth century signaled its political dominance over the region, scholarly activities may have proceeded in a different way. This is worth further study, particularly including an analysis of literary activities of other sects in the region. Finally, our analysis clearly shows that A mdo became a leader in the production of *gsung 'bum* beginning in the eighteenth century, even surpassing the rate of production in the historical center of dGe lugs pa activity, *dBus*. The pattern becomes particularly obvious when the four charts are combined into a stacked bar chart (Fig. 3).

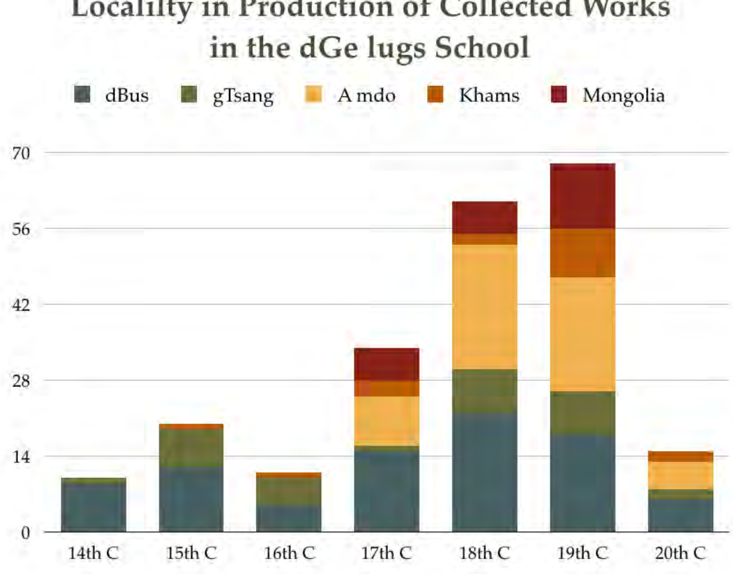


Fig.3

6. Background to the Development

We should consider possible background reasons for this development. Only tentative answers are available at the moment, but it seems obvious that there were two prominent factors: a Manchu factor and a Mongolian factor. The first factor relates to the fact that the Qing dynasty's political dominion over diverse groups of Tibetans and Mongols paved the way for more frequent interaction among these people than existed in previous eras when conflicts among them were commonplace. Consequently, as a hub of this type of interaction, A mdo grew more and more important to cultural development.[28] The second factor relates to the Mongols' active participation in religious professions and patronage activity. Because A mdo was the gateway to Tibetan "high" culture for the Mongolian people, the more Mongolians engaged in cultural activity,

[28] This stabilising effect of Qing dominion over Inner Asia might be similar to "Pax Mongolica" after the conquests of the Mongol Empire. But one key difference between the two is that the former was more about cultural transmission and exchange, whereas the latter seemed to be more about trade relations based on the "Silk Road." Of course the Qing case is much more limited in terms of the extent of territory involved.

the more significant A mdo became.[29] These two factors persisted throughout the Qing period and have been resuscitated in recent decades after a brief cessation. This may be why we see a similar trend even nowadays in the Tibetan intellectual scene. Notwithstanding these two important factors, however, the most significant driving force of this phenomenon has been none other than the intrinsic dynamics of Tibetan intellectual activity itself.

7. Conclusion and Postscript

This essay analyzed the production of *gsung 'bum* among dGe lugs pa scholars to visualise the importance of the region of A mdo to Tibetan literary culture. To that end, I have provided a brief review of relevant accounts regarding A mdo, followed by a description of the importance of *gsung 'bum* among Tibetan intellectual activities. I introduced the recent efforts of research scholars, especially those in Chinese Studies, as a sound potential research methodology in Tibetan Studies. Finally, I attempted to demonstrate the use of this new method, even if only in a rudimentary, entry-level fashion.

It is my hope that this trial will inspire broader interest in "big data" and prosopographical research in Tibetan studies. Given the development of more systematic databases and better analytic criteria, we can more readily examine patterns that are undetectable with other research methodologies. One potential follow-up project would be to analyze the general pattern of arrangement inside *gsung 'bum* using a well-planned categorisation for the genres that appear there. Such a study would likely provide a better picture of the relative complexity of various Tibetan intellectual activities. Although this paper is only a simple, tentative step in that direction,

[29] As shown in Fig. 3, there are Mongolian data not included in locality charts in Fig. 2. My source materials have some data on Mongolian scholars, but I excluded them in the main part of the discussion because they do not affect my argument to a large extent. As a matter of fact, we have several Mongolian catalogues of *gsung 'bum* and some of these show a large number of authors counted as Mongolian scholars. For example Gombojab (1959: 1–49) even has 208 entries for Mongolian *gsung 'bum* authors. Despite its importance, I did not go further into this catalogue because data are very sketchy at best and do not provide enough information compared to the Tibetan catalogues I have used for this essay. Another good example is Chandra's *Eminent Tibetan polymaths of Mongolia* (1961). It provides biographies for each author, but lists only 19 scholars. However, these Mongolian catalogues surely deserve detailed study, the result of which would provide further insight into the pattern of *gsung 'bum* production in areas under the influence of Tibetan Buddhism.

this new methodology promises to be a game-changer once more researchers take it up and interest in it grows.

Bibliography

Ahua Awanghuadan. 2012. "Beijing diqu suocun zangzu lidai gaoseng xianzhe wenji jieti mulu." *Zhongguo zangxue* 102: 81–106.

Bol, Peter. 2012. "GIS, Prosopography and History." *Annals of GIS* 18 (1), 3–15. Accessed March 31, 2016. doi:10.1080/19475683.2011.647077.

Cabezón, José. 2011. "Authorship and Literary Production." In *Changing Minds: Contributions to the Study of Buddhism and Tibet in Honor of Jeffrey Hopkins*, edited by Guy Newland, 233–63. Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications.

Lokesh Chandra. 1961. *Eminent Tibetan polymaths of Mongolia.* New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture.

———. 1963. *Materials for a history of Tibetan literature, Part I.* New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture.

Chen, Song. 2016. "Why Humanists Should Fall in Love with 'Big Data,' and How?" *Dissertation Reviews*, March 15. Accessed April 30, 2016. http://dissertationreviews.org/archives/13643.

Dreyfus, Georges. 2003. *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Grags pa *et al*. 1985. *Bod kyi bstan bcos khag cig gi mtshan byang*. Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Gombojab. 1959. "Mong ulčud-un Töbed Kele-ber Jokiya san Jokiyal-un JüiI." *Studia Mongolica Instituti Linguae et Litterarum Comiteti Scientiarum et Educationos Altae* 28, 1–40.

Eimer, Helmut and David Germano (eds.) 2002. *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism: PIATS 2000 : Tibetan Studies : Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Leiden 2000*. Leiden; Boston: Brill.

Kapstein, Matthew. 2006. *The Tibetans*. Malden MA; Oxford: Blackwell.

Klong rdol bla ma Ngag dbang blo bzang. 1991. *Klong rdol bla ma Ngag dbang blo bzang gi gsung 'bum*. Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe snying spe skrun khang (2 volumes).

dKon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas. 1982. *mDo smad chos 'byung*. Gansu: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Ma Rong. 2014. "Bilingual Education and Language Policy in Tibet." In *Minority Education in China: Balancing Unity and Diversity in an Era of Critical Pluralism*, edited by James Leibold and Chen Yangbin, 83–106. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Mi rigs dpe mdzod khang. 1984–1997. *Shes bya'i gter mdzod*. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang (3 volumes).

Mi rigs dpe mdzod khang. 2013. *Po ta la'i gsung 'bum dkar chag.* Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Nietupski, Paul. 2010. *Labrang Monastery: A Tibetan Buddhist Community on the Inner Asian Borderlands, 1709–1958*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Nor chen Kun dga' bzang po. 2005. *The Works of Ngorchen Kunga Zangpo*. Kathmandu: Sachen International (4 volumes).

Schaeffer, Kurtis. 1999. "Printing the Words of the Master: Tibetan Editorial Practice in the Collected Works of 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje I (1648–1721)." *Acta Orientalia* 60, 159–177.

———. 2010. "Tibetan Biography: Growth and Criticism." In *Edition, éditions: l'écrit au Tibet, évolution et devenir*, edited by Anne Chayet *et al.*, 263–306. München: Indus Verlag.

———. 2011. "New Scholarship in Tibet, 1650–1700." In *Forms of Knowledge in Early Modern Asia: Explorations in the Intellectual History of India and Tibet, 1500–1800*, edited by Sheldon I. Pollock, 291–310. Durham NC: Duke University Press.

van Schaik, Sam. 2011. *Tibet: A History*. London: Yale University Press.

Tuttle, Gray. 2011. “Challenging Central Tibet's Dominance of History: the Oceanic book, a Nineteenth-century Politico-religious Geographic history.” In *Mapping the Modern in Tibet*, edited by Gray Tuttle, 135–72. Andiast, Switzerland: IITBS, International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies GmbH.

———. 2011. “Building up the Dge lugs pa Base in A mdo: The Roles of Lhasa, Beijing and Local Agency.” *Zangxue xuekan* 7, 126–140.

———. *forthcoming*. “Pattern Recognition: Tracking the Spread of the Incarnation Institution through Time and across Tibetan Territory.” In *Reincarnation in Tibetan Buddhism: Birth-Narratives, Institutional Innovation, and Embodiment of Divine Power,* edited by Derek F. Maher and Tsering Wangchuk. Boston: Wisdom.

Upton, Janet. 1999. “The Development of Modern School-based Tibetan Language Education in the PRC.” In *China's National Minority Education: Culture, Schooling, and Development*, edited by Gerard A. Postiglione, 281–323. New York: Falmer Press.

Verboven, Koenraad, Myriam Carlier, and Jan Dumolyn. 2007. “A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography.” Unit for Prosopographical Research. Accessed March 31, 2016. https://biblio.ugent.be/publication/376535.

Yexi Lamu. 2014. “Zangwen guji wenji wenxian ji qi baohu yanjiu xianzhuang zongshu.” *Zhonghua wenhua luntan* 12, 93–97.

Smartphones, Weixin and Beautiful Bodies: The Role of Mobile Technologies for Crafting Desired Selves in Lhasa

Anne Kukuczka[1]

(Freie Universität Berlin)

Choden said: "When we are outside, we need to be beautiful." She hesitantly answered my question as to why Tsering, Drolma and she were refreshing their make-up for the third time since we had left the Barkor (*bar skor*) and arrived at the picnic ground a few hours earlier. After a heavy lunch the four of us were crouched together on comfortable benches in one corner of a large rented tent that belonged to a commercial picnic ground in North Lhasa. Choden, Tsering and Drolma had taken turns in serving their male tea friends (*ja rogs*) who were sitting in the other corner as well as outside in the sun with deep-fried biscuits (*kha zas*), boiled eggs and dried cheese and pouring sweat tea in their tiny glasses. The men were completely immersed in playing majiang and *sho* (dice game) and once in a while called the three to deliver cigarettes between the different game tables.

Despite my persistent inquiries, Choden did not explain to me on this occasion what exactly constituted being beautiful in her view. Yet, watching the three of them provided some clues what kind of beauty they desired: Choden skillfully balanced a little mirror on her knees while slowly applying black eyeliner and mascara to her eyes and lip-gloss to her lips. Tsering was busy coloring her toenails in dark green so they would match her green Tibetan dress (*phyu ba*), jade earrings and apron (*pang den*). Then she carefully checked in the mirror if her face looked still "light and clean" from the foundation she had applied one hour before. Drolma was rearranging the

1 I want to thank all my friends and conversation partners in Lhasa as well as the Foreign Students Department and my teachers at Tibet University, Lhasa. In Berlin, I wish to thank my supervisor Hansjörg Dilger for his advice. Anna Sawerthal provided invaluable help on an earlier draft of this article; Yen-Chi Lu with translations from Chinese. Lastly, I want to thank two anonymous reviewers for their insightful and helpful comments.

Anne Kukuczka, "Smartphones, Weixin and Beautiful Bodies: The Role of Mobile Technologies for Crafting Desired Selves in Lhasa ", *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 37, December 2016, pp. 178–206.

sunglasses on her head as well as her hair which was braided in a "Chinese braid" as she called the single plait braided from the crown of her head to the nape of her neck. The beauty session was followed by another round of taking pictures together with each of their smartphones. Already earlier today Choden had instructed me on how to handle her camera phone while she was leaning against a handrail next to a tree. "You need to hold the phone high" she exclaimed while scrolling through a series of apparently unsatisfactory photos I had taken so far. "I don't look beautiful. My legs are too short", she complained. Then she went on to slide her fingers over the screen to delete the images.[2] (Fieldnotes, 13 June 2015)

1. Introduction

During this picnic day, my three female friends, who had taken a day off from their busy lives as shopkeepers inside the Barkor, put a lot of effort into crafting beautiful selves. However, it was not only the careful attention paid to their appearance and the amount of make-up they had carried along that was noteworthy. Equally astounding was how deliberately and consciously they staged their beautified selves in order to photograph them with smartphones possessing built-in cameras.

Embedded in state-driven processes of economic transformation and infrastructural development, which intensified in the early 2000s, new information and communication technologies were introduced in Tibet at a rapid speed. As a result, the growing availability of mobile phones and the subsequent introduction of smartphones, mobile Internet as well as the free of charge Chinese mobile communication application Weixin [3] profoundly transform the everyday experiences and practices of Tibetans in Lhasa and other parts of Tibet. [4]

---

2 For reasons of confidentiality Tibetan friends and conversation partners are anonymised throughout this paper. Fieldnotes have been edited and Tibetan names are given in a simplified spelling for a better reading flow.

3 Weixin was released in 2011 and renamed WeChat in 2012 for international branding. In Lhasa, it is still widely known by its former name. Hence, I employ the Chinese term.

4 See Iselin 2016 on the role of mobile phones for the emergence of new place-making practices amongst pastoralists in Amdo and Grant 2016 on the performance of Tibetan ethnicity on Weixin. Research on the Internet and Tibetan cyberspace include Rabgey 2008 and Warner 2013.

Mobile technologies are adopted and used in culturally specific and gendered ways.[5] This paper seeks to understand in which ways mobile technologies shape the subjectivities and experiences of Tibetan women in contemporary Lhasa. It explores how the usage of smartphones is intertwined with the performance of body and beauty practices in the everyday lives of urban Tibetan women who are in their 20s to mid-30s. My research on body and beauty practices, on which this paper is based, is informed by an understanding of bodies as socio-cultural and historical phenomena, sites for the social construction and performance of gender and as something people "do."[6] Due to an associated growing industry that mainly targets women and their bodily appareance, beauty, like smartphones and other consumer goods, is increasingly available in Lhasa as a commodity. As a consequence Tibetan women of different age and diverse educational and professional backgrounds engage in new practices to beautify their bodies. In this paper I argue that the integration of smartphones into women's everyday lives opens up new potentials for experiencing and crafting desired gendered selves because smartphones introduce manifold options for consuming and "doing" beauty.

In order to study the complex relationship between mobile technology, beauty and the body, consumption and self, the paper explores three diverse but not unconnected aspects of smartphone usage in Tibetan women's everyday lives. I will first show that smartphones are simultanously material objects of and tools for consumption that are interpreted, customised and used in culturally and context specific ways. Secondly, I will discuss how smartphones shape women's experiences of their bodies through taking, storing and editing photographs and selfies—photographic self-portraits—with built-in cameras and mobile applications (apps). In the last part of the paper, I examine how Tibetan women engage in gendered self-crafting by sharing beautiful selfies and body and beauty related posts on Weixin, currently the most popular smartphone-based social media platform in Lhasa.[7] I also look at the conditions under which self-representation on Weixin takes place. Encouraged by the words

---

5 Hjorth 2014.

6 Koo and Reischer 2004. In this paper gender is understood as both a social and cultural construction and a process that needs to be repeatedly performed and produced (Butler 1990).

7 The platform continuously gains popularity in China and beyond with about 697 million active monthly users in the last quarter of 2015. See: http://www.statista.com/statistics/255778/number-of-active-wechat-messenger-accounts/ (accessed 07.04.2016).

of Judith Okely—"anthropology thrives on the anecdotal"[8]—in this paper I share exemplary vignettes of my fieldwork. In doing so, I aim to weave together conversations and situations I observed and took part in 'in the field' (and after leaving) that relate to individual women's practices and voices.

2. Doing Fieldwork on the Beautiful Body

This paper is based on fieldwork conducted in Lhasa (lHa sa), capital of the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR)[9] over a period of seven-months between October 2014 and August 2015.[10] My research engages with the making of gendered, specifically female, subjectivities in contemporary Lhasa by asking how Tibetan women engage in crafting desired gendered selves through the adoption, rejection, and modification of (new) body and beauty practices. I aim to understand how socioeconomic and sociocultural transformation processes are inscribed on and negotiated via individual female bodies. For this purpose, I spent most of my time socialising with women and exploring selected commercial places where the gendered body is beautified such as nail salons, beauty parlours, a gym and a shopping mall. Besides, I joined friends for activities outside these places including doing circumambulations (*skor ba*), sharing meals, hanging out in shops and going on picnics and pilgrimage.

In addition I carried out exploratory observations in and through Weixin. Retrospectively it was a fortunate coincidence that my mobile phone broke two months into my fieldwork. In one of the countless shops selling smartphones in West Lhasa, Weixin was downloaded by default onto my new iPhone. While the ubiquity of

[8] Her keynote speech 'Emotions in the field—across cultures, shared, repressed or subconscious' was delivered at the workshop 'The Researchers' Affects' at Freie Universität Berlin (03.–04.12.2015).

[9] The TAR is an administrative entity created in 1965 by the People's Republic of China (PRC), which roughly correspondents with the central Tibetan province of *dBus gTsang*. In this paper Tibet is used to refer to the TAR and all areas in China which are predominantly inhabited by Tibetans.

[10] During this time I was enrolled as a student at Tibet University. Given my status I constantly found myself in a negotiation process regarding my rights and duties as an international student and my role(s), responsibilities and positionality while conducting fieldwork. In short, I felt like an unofficial researcher gradually and selectively opening up about my research interests. My assumed and ascribed roles shifted between places and groups of people, over time, but sometimes also within a single day. Central experiences such as choosing a "safe"topic, self-censorship and surveillance are similar to those described by Yeh 2006 and Henrion-Dourcy 2013.

smartphones had struck me upon my arrival in Lhasa, it was only after I registered on Weixin myself that I began to pay more attention to the entanglement between body and beauty practices, mobile technologies and smartphone-based social media in women's everyday lives. Between April 2015 and March 2016 I regularly looked at posts of about 60 female contacts on Weixin's "Friends' circle" (Ch. *pengyou quan*)[11] feature and analysed 80 body and beauty related posts by 20 women in detail. Since many posts contained Chinese, friends assisted me with translations.[12]

The Tibetan women whose subjectivities, experiences and voices are at the centre of this piece have various educational, professional and personal backgrounds. What they share in common is that they are residents of Lhasa aged between 21 and 35, own smartphones, use Weixin and engage to some extend in "body work"—that is the work on the body by oneself or others in order to make it more beautiful.[13] However, while some of them are married and have small children, others are single, live alone or together with their parents. Moreover, one group of young female professionals now employed in the public sector and by goverment-owned enterprises received part of their education in mainland China. Other women I spend time with quit their education before or after secondary school or did not attend school at all. Generally this second group of women is employed in the service sector or works as independent business women and shopkeepers.

3. Developing Lhasa

It was National day that marked the beginning of Golden Week[14] when I arrived in Lhasa after more than two years of absence. In my field diary I wrote:

> Towards our right mountains rise up the sky, on the left I discover *sKyid Chu* river. Somewhere along the 60-km bus ride from the airport to the city I spot a huge billboard displaying an advertisement for a cosmetic surgery hospital in Lhasa [...] As we are approaching the city

[11] In the English version of WeChat this feature is called "Moments".

[12] Besides one-to-one communication and membership in private group chats, I engaged in Weixin through liking and commenting on "Friends' circle" and by sharing photos of my own. While I agree with Miller *et al.* (2016: 4) about the importance of studying various social media platforms together, I look only at Weixin since it figured most prominently in everyday social life. In addition it was the platform I had easiest access to.

[13] Gimlin 2007.

[14] Golden Week is a seven-day semi-annual national holiday in the PRC.

> more and more construction sites appear. Quickly I get tired of counting endless tower blocks grouped in what soon might be expensive new apartment and office complexes.[15]

Discounted holiday rates for breast enlargement, red cheek removal, teeth straightening and other similar procedures offered by the city's first professional cosmetic surgery clinic were highly visible on billboards, street signs, in public buses and taxis throughout the city.[16] So were tri-lingual red banners with the slogan: "Welcome Friends from Home and Abroad to Jointly Compose the New Chapter of The Development of Tibet, China." Chinese national flags decorated almost every building around the Barkor. In the heart of the city the new four-storey shopping mall *Shenli*[17] had opened while stalls from within the Barkor had been relocated to an indoor shopping complex called Barkor supermarket (*bar skor tshong grong*). The air felt less clean. Streets were blocked with cars and minor traffic jams common during afternoons on East Beijing road (*pe cin shar lam*), the main street in the city centre.

The growth of the beauty sector and the introduction of new means of communication in Lhasa over the past two decades have to be seen in the light of broader regional transformation processes operating under the paradigm of development. State-driven development policies with a focus on infrastructure expansion, economic growth and consumption were implemented in Tibet through government plans, strategies and forums since the mid-1990s after market reforms had been introduced a decade earlier. Efforts to develop and integrate Tibet economically and politically further into the PRC were intensified with the launch of the Open Up the West campaign (Ch. *Xibu da kaifa*) in 1999 and subsequent government development initiatives.[18] Rapid urbanisation, waves of construction and demolition, the migration of Han Chinese and a growing availability of consumer goods are major manifestations of

---

15 Fieldnotes, 30.09.2014.

16 *Lhasa Weiduoliya zhengxing meiron yiyuan* (Ch.) belongs to a nationwide brand with chains in several cities. In English it is called "Lhasa Victoria Plastic and Cosmetic Hospital", in Tibetan *lHa sa we tu'o li ya mdzes bzo'i sman khang*.

17 The full name is *Shenli shidai guanchang* (Ch.), but Lhasa's residents call it *Shenli*.

18 The Open Up the West campaign was primarily presented as a strategy to narrow the gap between China's western provinces and the prosperous coastal regions (Helbig 2004). For analyses of state-led development and urbanisation processes in and around Lhasa see Barnett 2006 and Yeh 2007; 2013. On economic development in Tibet see Fischer 2014.

these policies, which shape Lhasa and its residents' lives in various ways that constantly continue to unfold.[19]

3.1 The Rise of New Mobile Technologies

In 2001 few people owned mobile phones in the TAR and rural landline access as well as Internet usage was amongst the lowest in China.[20] Telecommunication infrastructure expansion in the western regions including the TAR was first prioritised in China's ninth Five-year plan (1996–2000). This was the beginning of large investments that considerably modernised and expanded existing networks and communication technologies. By 2014 the TAR had an operating network of optical fiber cable as well as satellite and 3G communication technology.[21] In the same year the number of registered mobile phone subscribers reached almost 95 percent of the total population with 363,000 new subscriptions during that year alone. Smartphones constitued the main form of Internet access.[22]

The degree to which smartphones and mobile Internet are embedded into Lhasa's residents' everyday lives was instantly noticeable in October 2014 from strolling around in the city. It would be exaggerated to state that Tibetan shopkeepers had replaced counting prayer beads and reciting mantras with turning their attention to smartphones.[23] However, visits to friends' shops inside

---

[19] The speed of these transformations accelerates constantly. In March 2016 I learned from posts of Tibetan friends eating chicken legs and French fries on Weixin about the opening of Lhasa's first KFC franchise. Around the same time, online news portals announced the building of a railway from Lhasa to Chengdu and the construction of "the world's highest ski resort" near the city.

[20] According to Harwig 2004, in 2001 around 1.2 percent of the TAR's total population had access to the Internet and two percent owned mobile phones. He notes a rural-urban and coastal-western region digital divide within the PRC. The extremely fast spread of new information and communication technology and infrastructure in all of China was possible due to immense state involvement.

[21] An 2015, Lancan and Wenchang 2005.

[22] These numbers are provided by Xinhua News, a news site run by the PRC's official press agency. In 2014, 2.92 million people in the TAR were registered as mobile phone users and 2.17 million people had access to the Internet: http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2015-03/02/c_134030117.htm (accessed 04.04.16). Already in early 2013 mobile Internet usage had passed the 50 percent mark: http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2014-03/15/c_133187625.htm (accessed 04.04.16).

[23] The distracting potential of smartphones and Weixin in general and for religious practice in particular was a sentiment raised by my friend Tsering, to give one example. While she was an avid user of Weixin, once she undertook to perform 100,000 refuge prayers she imposed a Weixin ban on herself for better

the Barkor and passing by many others on the way revealed the ubiquity of mobile devices as part of daily activities and interactions.

Inside China Mobile shops individuals and small groups of people were regularly standing in messy queues to recharge their phone balances or to register as new customers. In buses and cafes, during lunch and in the shopping mall: everywhere people seemed to be highly engaged with their phones, holding them closely to their ears and listening concentrated to a conversation or alternatively a voice message in Weixin, taking them close to their mouths to record and send of a message, scrolling through their screens or taking and uploading pictures. During afternoons in Tsering's and Drolma's shops, calls by women asking for their Tibetan dresses were received, tailors contacted, appointments for pick ups made or pictures of new merchandise sent to individual customers. During short breaks I often heard them laughing about some content exchanged in various private Weixin group chats, for example with their male friends from the picnic day. Plans for the evening were made with the help of smartphones and Weixin as well.

Certainly, Tibetan women in Lhasa owned smartphones already a few years back; they were not new in 2014. For example, amongst my interviewees who were employed in the public sector some had purchased their first smartphone during their studies in mainland China and others quickly after they had moved to Lhasa and started their jobs. Yet the usage of smartphones had increased in numbers and popularity among women from diverse socio-economic and educational backgrounds. It was not limited anymore to a well educated, travelled and affluent group of Tibetan women that might be described as "cosmopolitan." Advertisements, the rise in budget smartphones and the introduction of a Tibetan font for the iPhone in 2011, as well as the development of the locally manufactured *Luozang* smartphone offering phone settings in the Tibetan language, might have contributed to this trend. 21-year old Lhamo for example bought her first smartphone in early 2014 for 1100 CNY (about 130 Euro), more than a third of her monthly income. Lhamo, who came to Lhasa at the age of six to work as an unpaid nanny in her uncle's house for twelve years, is employed by a small Chinese restaurant. After buying herself basic necessities such as a set of pajamas, toiletries and a second set of clothes she began saving for a smartphone. It is the most expensive item she currently possesses.

---

concentration and focus. During this time, the smartphone gave way to a digital mantra counter wrapped around her forefinger.

3.2 Growing Beautyscapes

Besides new mobile technologies, a highly professional and differentiated beauty industry constitutes a second recent phenomenon in Lhasa. Since the early 2000s department stores, shopping malls, gyms, beauty parlours, cosmetic shops and nail studios have turned into highly visible places in the city.[24] Through products and advertisements they target specifically women and their bodily appearance. In doing so, they encourage the creation of "the beautiful body" through consumption and suggest that beauty is increasingly available as a commodity ready to be purchased. The existence of low and high-end products and services ensures that women of different socio-economic status can participate in new forms of "doing" beauty in Lhasa, albeit to varying degrees. Moreover, the spectrum of circulating international products and services is vast: contact lenses enlarging the eyes and eyelid stickers creating the illusion of a double-eyelid are imported from Japan and South Korea, soaps, hair oil and *mendi* (a plant-based hair colour) cross the border from India or Nepal. Whitening creams, perfumes, facial masks and sun protection products come from Europe and the US. Most products are available as versions "made in China" as well.

One useful way to think about how the entanglement between new mobile technologies and the beauty industry shapes Tibetan women's everyday lives is to conceptualise both as formative for the emergence of complex and highly connected beauyscapes. Here I draw on Appadurai's concept of five scapes.[25] Scapes, according to Appadurai, are dimensions of global cultural flows that are fluid, irregular and highly perspectival. This means they depend on the situatedness of the actors, who both, move through and with them and also to a certain degree imagine them. It is within these scapes and at the disjunctures between them rather than in bound geographic locations that cultural flows occur in increasing speeds and shape people's lives, experiences and imaginations. "Beautyscapes" then expands our focus to not only look at the existence of a beauty industry, which is tangible throughout the city of Lhasa but to also acknowledge online and offline material and immaterial multidirectional transcultural flows connected to beauty and the body. From this perspective Tibetan women's engagement with beauty is not limited to physical locations where consumption or body work takes place. Commodities, practices, images, ideals,

---

[24] This is based on a survey I conducted in 48 beauty related businesses around the Barkor and informal conversations with residents as well as shopkeepers.

[25] These include ethno, techno, ideo, media and finanscapes (Appadurai 1990).

lifestyles, and services that inform women's understandings of their bodies, body work and beauty cultures are all part of beautyscapes that exist partially deterritorialised in transcultural beauty flows.

Scapes do not exist in isolation but in relation to each other. As for beautyscapes it is particularly relevant to note that they are highly connected with cultural flows of information and large complex repertoires of images related to beauty and the body including advertisement. For Appadurai these constitute mediascapes, primarily image-centreed and narrative-based landscapes. Moreover, through smartphones and mobile Internet, two configurations of technology that belong to technoscapes, beautyscapes gain complexity because it is through these technologies that information and images are shared, circulated and accessed. In the next section I show that smartphones in addition to being objects of consumption serve as tools to access and navigate these beautyscapes.

4. Consuming (Through) Smartphones

Globally available consumer goods such as smartphones are not simply adopted by people across the globe; rather they are given diverse meanings when embedded into specific local contexts. The example of the iPhone and its success illustrate this poignantly since in Lhasa both are interpreted in distinctively Tibetan ways that express and stress cultural values and qualities perceived as inherently Tibetan. The great popularity of Apple as a brand is inscribed in the cityscape through the array of computer and mobile phone stores adorned with the Apple logo, even if some of them do not sell any Apple products, or only fake ones. The logo is printed on everyday commodities such as shoes and is available as (gendered) jewelry and accessories including tiny stickers for decorating fingernails. Many shops in the Barkor specialising in Tibetan clothes (*bod chas*) sell two-coloured vests and Tibetan dress with Apple logo patterns. Whereas items displaying an Apple symbol had turned into desirable lifestyle objects, the peak of the fashion hype concerning Tibetan clothes decorated with the symbol had declined towards the end of 2014, according to one friend, Drolma. While she kept a few colourful "Apple vests" in her shop she informed me that those had been especially fashionable the summer a year before. Already by December 2011 securing an iPhone from the US with the help of international students going on their winter holidays was a serious

concern for Kelsang, a TU employee by then in her early 30s.[26] At that time they were still more expensive in China than abroad. In the end, Kelsang managed to get one through another channel. When we met again in autumn 2014, she had switched to a newer model that she considered a bit old by then.

Of course many Tibetan women in Lhasa chose other brands or a no-name smartphone over an iPhone due to price, aesthetic reasons, a lack of knowledge or interest in typing in Tibetan, or a preference for writing in Chinese. However, amongst my conversation partners the iPhone was generally the mobile phone of choice.[27] Tsomo, a 28-year old married police woman and mother of a six-months old baby boy, provided a typical answer for the iPhone's success amongst Tibetans: "Because it has Tibetan language. Others do not have this."[28] Indeed, the iPhone was the first smartphone worldwide to introduce Tibetan *dbu chan* script as a font back in 2011. This fact was raised in many conversations. Besides this technical advantage some interpreted the high sales numbers of iPhones amongst Tibetans as a sign of gratitude towards the company. An understanding of iPhone consumption as a practice of gratitude turns the act of consumption into something meaningful and positive.

Many friends with whom I discussed the topic had heard of the company's founder Steve Jobs. Pe Lha, a 23-year old women working for a government office in the city centre had read his biography. Once she explained to me over lunch that she really liked him, because he was "a person of action/conduct (*bya spyod*)" who proved to people that "if you work hard, you can do something big and important."[29]Another explanation stressed that by developing a great product, Jobs had done a "kind work" (*las ka bzang po*) for Tibetans, and had shared his product with the rest of the world, just as Tibetans make offerings and share with others.[30] Considering that speaking the Tibetan language is central for Tibetan's self-definition[31], the importance of the iPhone's technical support of Tibetan language for its success should not be underestimated. In addition, during conversations I got the impression that through the iPhone some of my conversation partners felt a sense of international

---

26 From my experience cosmetic products and smartphones are highly desired items from abroad. Like other foreign students I was requested to bring or send goods like perfumes, whitening creams or in one case a smartphone to Lhasa.

27 The locally manufactured *Luozang* smartphone is considerably cheaper than an iPhone. Furthermore, it will be interesting to see if the introduction of new Tibetan fonts for Android in early 2016 will effect the iPhone's popularity.

28 Fieldnotes, 07.06.2015.

29 Fieldnotes, 31.07.2015.

30 Fieldnotes, 07.07.2015.

31 Cf. Yeh 2002: 236.

recognition and acknowledgment of Tibetans and Tibet since it was a well-known and globally successful product developed by a foreign brand that introduced the Tibetan script first. Accordingly, its creator's actions are interpreted through qualities and activities much valued by Tibetans including kindness, gratitude, making offerings and possessing (good) conduct.

As commodities, smartphones are also public objects seen by others while in use or when they are placed on the table in a restaurant, café or tea house. They can be beautified through material and immaterial practices. Thus, they turn into aesthetically-pleasing customised lifestyle objects that communicate individual statements via their owners' choices. Mobile shops reserve large sections for smartphone covers and small shops near the Barkor sell them as their main merchandise. I repeatedly encountered women exhibiting an iPhone cover that resembled a transparent and golden Chanel No. 5-perfume bottle. Now in her mid-20s, Tseten had graduated from a university on China's east coast one year earlier. Despite or, rather, because of its high cost, Tseten was very fond of the perfume spending hours comparing prices online. Other female friends enjoyed buying and using the perfume as well. I learned in conversations that, partly because of its price and international associations, Chanel No. 5 is associated with quality and an affluent lifestyle. In contrast, some friends preferred smartphone covers exhibiting butter lamps, folded hands or verses in Tibetan script. Due to her busy job in the Chinese restaurant as described earlier, Lhamo seldom finds time to go on pilgrimage or worship to the Barkor. She decided to customise her smartphone by attaching a small colourful plastic thunderbolt (*rdo rje*) to it, a symbol easily identified by fellow Tibetans as Buddhist.

Smartphones are not only items *of* but also tools *for* consumption. For some Tibetan women with access to a credit card and a good command of written Chinese, surfing online shopping platforms and ordering commodities online is part of their daily lives. Repeatedly I glanced over my friend Tseten's computer screen when she scrolled through fashion sites in her office. The shopping baskets usually filled up quickly, at times holding as many as 15 items out of which she chose one or two for ordering. "It takes about three days to arrive in Lhasa and comes from big cities in China", she explained.[32]

Whereas until recently consuming beauty online was limited to women like Tseten who have access to a computer, the widespread availability of smartphones with mobile Internet extends the circle of those who access and consume beauty flows online. In addition, new

[32] Fieldnotes, 12.04.2015.

deterritorialised spaces for material and immaterial beauty flows are created through smartphones and mobile apps. For example on Weixin cosmetics and accessories are sold extensively via personal profiles and money is easily transferred between members. Drolkar, a woman in her late 20s who attended inland Tibetan boarding classes[33] and returned to Lhasa for a government job four years ago, enjoys reading and watching make-up tutorials shared on Weixin and purchasing selected displayed products later. She also liked to get inspiration from images shared by her female contacts.[34]

Beautyscapes gain complexity through mobile Internet and present women with more consumer choices. In nail salons I regularly observed how customers showed their smartphones to the beauticians in order to provide them with pictures of a particular nail design they wished to be performed on their nails. These designs had previously circulated on Weixin or on online platforms such as Pinterest. Despite a vast display of designs to pick from on the spot, women opted to arrive prepared with a design saved to their phones.

Smartphones are also used to navigate beautyscapes while they simultanously contribute to their complexity in the first place. They can give women a sense of control over the beauty products they consume. During our interview Tseten shared with me that she had been deceived about the quality and prices of particular beauty products and services in mainland China when she was younger. She concluded: "I just want[ed] to be beautiful then they ha[d] the chance to cheat me."[35] A general concern with the quality of products was raised in many conversations. Some friends stated that "Chinese products are fake (*rdzus ma*) and harm (*nod pa*) the skin." Like Tseten, several women I spoke with regularly used the Internet and Weixin to access information about beauty products and practices. Interviewees mentioned that especially before trying out a new skin care product, they read reviews, compare prices and check if ingredients can harm their skin online. Moreover, buying cosmetics from Weixin contacts makes purchases more personal and products sold in this way are generally perceived as trustworthy. These examples illustrate how women creatively use mobile Internet and Weixin to make informed decisions about the beauty products they wish to consume.

---

[33] In 1984 Tibetan Junior High schools (Ch. *Xizang chuji zhongxue*) and Tibetan classes inside Chinese junior secondary schools (Ch. *Xizang ban*) were set up in mainland China to educate a future "elite" of Tibetans (Murukami 2006: 6).

[34] Interview, 01.08.2015.

[35] Interview, 06.07.2015.

5. Experiencing the Self through the Smartphone: Selfie Sessions

> A perky girl in her mid- to late-20s who talks a lot tries on her tailored light yellow and beige Tibetan dress in Tsering's shop. Tomorrow she plans to wear it for a picnic. She steps in the middle of the room and looks at herself in the large mirror placed in a corner. "How does it look? Does it suit me?", she asks. Her male companion, who is standing a bit shy near the entrance door, Tsering and me reply that the dress suits her. She then requests him to take a photo of her with the smartphone. Unhappy with the result, she skillfully snaps a series of selfies. The way she holds the phone in a high angle, poses and smiles comes across as routinised. Looking at her phone's screen, she now seems more convinced of her new look. After choosing a matching apron with the help of Tsering she pays and leaves, but not without suggesting to Tsering that she should start uploading customers' pictures to her Weixin profile in order to boost sales.[36]

Today's smartphones are multi-functional media devices. Due to high-resolution built-in cameras, they offer new options to document visually the everyday and the self during mundane activities as well as on special occasions. Since pictures can be deleted and stored easily, smartphones contribute to the mass production of visual content including images of the self.[37] In addition to taking pictures together with smartphones, as was the case on the picnic day I described at the beginning of this paper, taking selfies—photographic self-portraits—with smartphones was an activity I observed regularly in a wide range of situations. The proliferation of selfie taking amongst women in Lhasa is linked to the purchase of smartphones and as such a fairly new activity. Accordingly, inquiring about a term for selfies in Tibetan language revealed that currently no term seems to exist.[38]

It would be easy to dismiss selfies as trivial. However, my exploratory observations on women's selfie practices imply that the relationship between taking selfies and performing as well as experiencing one's own body is complex. In order to examine this relationship, I suggest that taking selfies with a smartphone is best conceptualised as a cultural practice in which a steadily enhanced

---

[36] Fieldnotes, 26.06.2015. Tsering followed her advice: a week later a selfie taken during the picnic turned up on Weixin in her personal "Friends' circle" next to a mannequin from Tsering's shop dressed in the very same Tibetan dress.

[37] Lee 2005; Hjorth 2014.

[38] Some friends used the phrase *so so par brgyab*. Karma, a tour guide in his late 20s suggested: "I think we have to coin a new term for that. I would say *rang len* or *rang brgyab*." (Chat communication, 09.03.2016).

mobile camera technology enables a new bodily practice.[39] The process of taking and looking at selfies shapes the way women experience their bodies, it informs their ideas about ideal and desired beauty and can lead to wishes for altering own's images or body.

In the fieldwork vignette described above, Tsering's customer opted for a photo to evaluate her appearance despite standing right next to a mirror and receiving feedback from three physically present spectators. In order to look at herself she trusted an image that depicted her in a particular fixed moment in time more than a glance in the mirror. Moreover, it was a selfie and not a picture taken by someone else that finally confirmed to her that she looked good. Through posing in a certain way and taking a series of selfies she created an image of her body that she perceived as pleasing.

Different to pictures taken by others, taking selfies turns the spectator into a creator. In this double role the level of control over one's own image is generally greater than when a photo is taken by someone else.[40] Hence, arguably the control over her own image gave Tsering's customer the possibility to experience herself as beautiful, on this occassion, through taking the best picture possible. When she sent Tsering a selfie taken during the picnic a few days later, her facial expression and the aesthetics of the image were strikingly similar to the one she had performed in the shop. This illustrates that performing and taking selfies is a practice that is repeated and learned over time.

Taking selfies also renders beauty ideals visible. On the first day of Saka Dawa when we were waiting in a vegetarian restaurant for our dinner, Choden was slightly absent. For a period of 20 minutes she was patiently and with utmost attention, working on staging the perfect selfie of her face. Her new sunglasses placed on her head, she posed sitting and standing while changing the position of her smartphone a few times. In my field diary I wrote:

> "The camera doesn't take good pictures. Before, when Anne, me, Nyima and Drolma took a picture all together, my face looked nice. It was round. Now it is thin." Choden makes a supporting gesture by sucking part of her cheeks inside her mouth. "So you want a round face"? I ask. "Yes, it is beautiful." Now Drolma gets into the conversation: "No, a round face is not beautiful. An oval face is beautiful. Round was beautiful before." Choden is not listening to

[39] Lee 2005 writes about new cultural practices of the mobile phone. By extension, I think of taking selfies as one particular cultural practice of the mobile phone. See Tiidenberg and Cruz 2015 for an overview of the growing scholarship on selfies.

[40] Lee 2005: 5; Tiidenberg and Cruz 2015: 13.

> her. She is already deeply immersed into taking another picture of herself.[41]

Neither Drolma nor Choden owned a smartphone in 2011. Back then a friend took our picture with a digital camera and printed it out. This fieldwork vignette illustrates several things. Firstly, taking a selfie is an occasion to perform and negotiate ideal feminine beauty. For Choden this meant to snap a selfie that showed her with a round face. "A face white and radiant like a moon" (*zhal ras dkra gsal zla ba*) is the first line of a short three-line proverb (*g.tam dpe*) invoked during this evening and on other occassions when talking about traditional concepts of ideal Tibetan feminine beauty. The perception of a round moonlike face is under negotiation as Drolma's comment shows. Other conversations confirmed that women in particular did not perceive it synonymous with female Tibetan beauty anymore. I did not ask Drolma why she thought an oval face was more beautiful. Later I learned that having an oval face and a pointed chin are two features prevalent in Chinese selfie culture. As part of the constant cultural flow of images contributing to the beautyscapes that Choden and Drolma navigate, the aesthetics of selfies and the techniques for creating them travel as well. Given the fact that selfies are widely shared on social media and that China in particular has an elaborated visual culture concerning selfies as well as a distinct beauty culture, it needs to be acknowledged that some of these ideas find their way into Tibetan women's beauty ideals and inform their concepts of beautiful selfies and by extension beautiful selves.[42] However, as the differing opinions of Tsering and Drolma on the ideal shape of the face and the way beauty was "done" by them and Tsering on the picnic day show various beauty ideals coexist and are subject to negotiation, creative practice and individual choice.

Secondly, Choden compared her present selfies with a picture from the past. She related to herself and evaluated her looks through images and arrived at the conclusion that her face did not look the way she wanted and how she knew it from an older picture. For a long time she continued to try to take a selfie that would prove that she was still capable of having a round face in her picture. In the end she achieved a satisfying result and when I met her again a few days later, I noted that one selfie from the evening had replaced her phone screen's background picture.

---

41 Fieldnotes, 19.05.2015

42 On China's selfie culture see: http://www.whatsonweibo.com/the-perfect-selfie-china-vs-america/ (accessed 27.07.2016) and Miller *et al.* 2015: 158–159. On current Chinese beauty culture see for example Hua 2013.

Several interviewees stated that their practices of taking pictures had changed after acquiring their first smartphone with a built-in camera. Dechen, a woman in her late-20s who had bought her first smartphone after she started working as a civil servant for the city government four years ago, explained that before she possessed a smartphone she mainly took pictures of landscapes or her surroundings, but not many pictures of herself or other people. Only after aquiring a smartphone she slowly took up shooting selfies "for fun".[43] The majority of women I spoke with, however, did not own a private camera prior to buying a smartphone. In some cases the family possessed one before, but for most women having access to a personal camera was genuinely new. Clearly, having convenient, constant access to pictures of the self, evaluating and comparing them can change the way own relates to one's body image and by extension the self. A statement by Drolkar illustrates this fact poignantly. Asked how using her phone's camera affects the way she thinks about beauty Drolkar replied:

> Much more careful, caring about this. […] When I didn't use the smartphone, I didn't have a camera like that. Maybe I need to [ask]: "Ah, can you take a photo of me?" Or something like that. Then I didn't see myself very often. When I begin to use the smartphone, maybe all the time I can look at myself. Something like that. Then I go into caring [about] myself much more.[44]

Her answer points out that taking a selfie is a new but everyday activity for her. As part of that she learned to see and experience herself through making and checking selfies regularly. Thus, not only did the frequency of looking at her images change, but so did the kind of images she takes as she herself is now their producer. Drolkar reflected that she began to spend more time on her outer appearance after the smartphone enabled her to take selfies. The constant access to photos of herself, she went on to explain, helps her not to become lazy in doing physical exercise or facial spas, which are two activities she associates with taking care of her body. Drolkar's example indicates that selfies not only shape how women experience their body, but that they can also impact how bodies are disciplined. This is not something necessarily perceived as bad; Drolkar evaluated this change as positive.

Whereas, as decribed earlier, Choden corrected her look while taking selfies, some women edit their pictures after they have been taken with special mobile apps. Through these apps users turn into

---

[43] Interview, 02.08.2016.

[44] Fieldnotes, 01.08.2015.

digital producers of their beautiful images. A famous Chinese app tellingly called "Beauty Cam" was in high usage during 2015 amongst Tibetan women in Lhasa. It provides many functions and filters for modifying images. Using a white filter to alter one's skin tone was a favorite feature for several of my interviewees. When I asked 25-year old Lhasa-born Palden, an umarried employee of a large bank about the app's functions she promptly replied: "It makes you beautiful. It makes you white."[45] Similarly, receiving group selfies taken during interviews via Weixin revealed that some interviewees applied white filters and softeners to "beautify" their pictures before sharing them with me. I had the impression that, generally, modifications were primarily focused on the skin colour and that an overall natural look was desired.[46]

The relationship between technology, images and the self is complex and perceived differently by individual women. Attitudes towards the augmentation of facial features varies. Some women, like Tsomo, expressed strong views against these mobile apps, especially when the resulting images were shared on Weixin. When I asked her what kind of pictures she posts on Weixin, she answered:

> Tsomo: I don't put my pictures a lot on Weixin. What I put mostly is places. […] The reason for not putting is that…how to say…putting one's own picture is very strange (*khyad mtshar po*). Many people who put photos use this program, for making themselves beautiful: If the face is not white it makes the face white. If the eyes are not big, it makes the eyes big. […] Many people use this and then they put their photos. Doing like this, I don't like it very much.
> Anne: And what is the reason?
> Tsomo: It is a lie, isn't it? On Weixin a person looks very beautiful in the picture and then if you see this person in real you go: Aargh?[47]

For Tsomo, the existence of apps such as the "Beauty Cam" raise questions over selfies' authenticity. She evaluates edited selfies as "a lie" in whose creation and distribution she does not like to participate. Tse Lha, a 25-year old architect and graduate of a renowned university in Beijing questioned sharing selfies altogether.

---

[45] Interview protocol, 27.07.2015.

[46] There is a much larger question here on the desire for white complexion amongst Tibetan women in Lhasa, but I do not have space to elaborate on this issue in detail. Skin colour is linked to concepts of Tibetanness, such as through women's red cheeks or the idea that Tibetans are traditionally red as opposed to Chinese who are white (cf. Yeh 2002: 237). It is notable that the two reasons most frequently invoked by my Tibetan conversation partners to explain this preference trace it back to the Tibetan proverb mentioned earlier and to a general Asian desire for light skin.

[47] Fieldnotes, 23.07.2015

She mentioned shyness and an understanding of photos as a form of disguise as reasons:

> [I am] a little shy when I show my pictures to others. I don't know. I like to show myself to you. But, I am really uncomfortable to show my pictures to you because [it] is not real. Like [it] is just a moment to depict me. But I am a [person]...who is in motion, who is moving, who is vivid. I don't want to disguise. Like this. I don't like to take pictures. I feel uncomfortable.[48]

Yet many women I spoke with liked to share their pictures and I argue that there exists a sociable aspect to storing selfies on the smartphone. Passing phones around to scroll through photographs together and chat about them was an activity I witnessed and was a part of regularly as when spending time with female friends. It was not uncommon amongst close friends to pick up someone else's phone without asking to skip through pictures. Thus, images, including selfies arguably already have an audience in mind. As Miller *et al.* note: "[…] selfies are mostly used in relation to specific audiences and to maintain social relationships."[49] In Lhasa, the rise of Weixin considerably expands the audience for presenting the self through pictures.

6. Bringing the Self into Circulation: Explorations in Weixin

For many of the Tibetan women I encountered during fieldwork Weixin is one of the first mobile apps on their smartphone. Weixin combines private one-to-one messaging with group communication functions as well as the option of following public official accounts. Many interactions take place between small-scale groups that users are free to create by inviting previously added contacts to personal chat groups. The most social feature of Weixin is a function called "Friends' circle", a personalised thread where users post pictures, texts, songs, articles and videos. This content can be seen, liked and commented on by every contact in a user's contact list. However, reactions to a post are only visible if they have been made by someone who is a mutual contact of the commentator and the original author of the post. Thus, any content by people beyond one's own contact list including friends' friends is hidden. This feature and the option to block individual contacts from participating in one's "Friends' circle" adds to a certain level of privacy. Nevertheless, since

[48] Fieldnotes, 20.07.2015
[49] Miller *et al.* 2016: 158.

shared posts reach the largest possible group of one's contact list, "Friends' circle" constitutes Weixin's most public feature.

The majority of my female Tibetan friends use Chinese language to post and comment on "Friends' Circle." Sometimes Tibetan and Chinese are used together in one post, conveying the same message in both languages. Tibetan seems to be used on its own for shorter phrases and content such as Tibetan food, festivals or pilgrimages.[50] A lot of circulated content is visual or aural, such as photographs, videos, emoticons, stickers, memes, songs and, in private conversations, voice messages. This is significant since it allows less literate women to participate on Weixin as well.

Sharing selfies and body and beauty related visual posts are part of self-crafting that takes place on "Friends' circle." Like other social media platforms Weixin opens up opportunities for gendered self-representation and for making the self socially visible.[51] Whereas my female Weixin contacts bring a great variety of personal visual content into circulation, there exist common themes that I observed regulary. Topics covered through personal photos, which are often arranged in photo albums and supplemented with short captions include preparing and consuming food, family and friends, fashion and shopping, landscapes, visited places, picnics and religious activities like visiting monasteries as well as celebrating festivals. Posts about sitting in popular cafés, eating out at restaurants or visiting nightclubs and *nang ma* are frequently shared as well. Scrolling with Tsomo through her "Friends' circle" showed, for example, that she regularly shares pictures of places she had visited, family celebrations, and her baby boy. For his first birthday several months after our interview took place she posted an album dedicated to the birthday celebration, which took place in a bakery in Lhasa serving special birthday cakes.[52]

One kind of posts that might be specific to the Tibetan context covers what I label here "pilgrimage albums." These combine a display of selfies and sociality with religious activities and because of that allow various readings by different audiences. They display

---

[50] For religious content, specific stickers and memes in Tibetan offering good wishes and prayers are widely circulated, and an emoticon showing hands folded in prayer is found regularly. Switching between Tibetan and Chinese for different content are interesting topic for future research. See Yeshe 2008 for code switching in Lhasa in general.

[51] Cf. Miller *et al*. 2016: 115–116, 155–157.

[52] Interview protocol, 23.07.2015. The content shared on Weixin most probably changes over a women's life course and is directly linked to changing gender expectations. For example by looking mainly at posts by women aged 21 to 35 I got the impression that unmarried woman post more selfies than their married counterparts. This is a preliminary observation requiring further research.

daytrips to pilgrimage sites like monasteries, lakes and mountains. One album by 22-year old Tseyang, who moved to Lhasa recently from eastern Tibet and works in a beauty parlour, is a fairly typical example for this. The album is described with the phrase "Today we went to worship" and shows her visiting Ganden monastery together with a girlfriend. It contains photographs of the monastery and its sourrounding as well as selfies of the two women in which they experiment with different model-like poses in front of a yellow washed monastery wall and a doorframe. Since visiting monasteries is often combined during summer with picnics and can be framed as sightseeing, photo albums by government employees centred around picnics can also contain photos of pilgrimage sites.[53]

Generally, albums display women's engagement in enjoyable social activities carried out during free time together with other people inlcuding not only family and friends but also colleagues (*las rogs*). Selfies picturing same-sex friendships or group pictures of friends are commonly shared as well. Yet, friendships between a woman and a man are depicted rarely and I did not see romantic photographs of couples either. Hence, women share photos that show them as part of broader social worlds and networks while reproducing normative offline behaviour. In addition, a great number of visual posts shows how they spend time in public places linked to the costly consumption of food, entertainment, clothes and cosmetics. These are posts displaying entangled notions of lifestyle, consumption, enjoyment and socio-economic status. Photos are never blurry, which indicates that they are not snapshots but are taken with effort and are carefully selected before they are shared on "Friends' Circle." Importantly, women look neat and beautiful in the photos they display and usually smile. Drolkar, who stated laughingly that she "always" posts pictures of herself told me:

> When I am in a very comfortable place, having a nice dinner or having a very happy party or something, I wanna share about this with my friends […] Sometimes, when I feel myself is: "Wow, today is very beautiful." And when I have a picture, then I put this on WeChat.[54]

Similarly, when I asked Tseten why she posts pictures of herself, she answered: "Sometimes if I see 'Oh this picture is beautiful,' then I will put it [up]. And also sometimes if I have some very special things I want to share." Asked which comments she likes to receive

[53] Goverment employees in Tibet are officially prohibited from practicing religion since 1996. See for example Barnett 2006: 98.

[54] Fieldnotes, 01.08.2015

she said: "Of course the good one! 'Oh so nice, you are so…' maybe someone says 'beautiful.' And maybe someone says: 'Oh you have a very rich life.'" [55] Both, Tseten and Drolkar want to present themselves as happy and beautiful. Content shared by other female contacts suggests that the same is true for many women. While this might seem trivial or not surprising, the conditions under which participation on Weixin in Lhasa takes place need to be acknowledged.

The way Tibetan women use Weixin for self-crafting is subject to limitations and norms which determine what is possible to be written and shared. As a Chinese mobile app Weixin operates within a framework of state surveillance and (self)censorship also found on the Chinese Internet or when using mobile phones.[56] In short, users face constraints due to the possibility that state bodies but also private contacts practice surveillance online. Consequently, I rarely saw political statements on "Friends' circle" amongst my Lhasa based female Tibetan contacts.[57] In addition, Weixin users have neither control over the meanings ascribed to their posts nor over the entire audience their content will be exposed to. Through reposting content travels far beyond its originally intended audience and I observed several times how for example personal photographs shared in chat groups or on "Friends' circle" appeared on someone's elses "Friends' circle" with a changed caption.

By choosing to post on "Friends' circle" women show themselves to their entire contact list, allow their contacts to interact with them and to form opinions about them based on this content. Audiences' reactions are encouraged through the "like" and commenting functions of the app and positive feedback is desired when engaging in self-crafting on "Friends' circle." Thus, it appears crucial to ask who comprises the audience and what the relationship between self and audience is. While these questions require more detailed attention in future research, my impression is that Weixin contacts of Tibetan women in Lhasa largely reflect offline contacts. Therefore one main use of the platform seems to lie in strengthening already existing relationships. Depending on their social lives Tibetan women

---

[55] Interview, 06.07.2015.

[56] In November 2011 a regulation was enforced which requires all landline, Internet and mobile phone users in the TAR to register with their real names: http://english.cntv.cn/20130619/105406.shtml (accessed 27.07.2016). The PRC also has its own distinct social media platforms including QQ and SinaWeibo while blocking Facebook Twitter, Google and YouTube.

[57] This is not to say that sensitive content is not shared via "Friends' circle" amongst Tibetans in Tibet. Grant (2016) for example analyses how Tibetan men in Xining perform Tibetan ethnicity through sharing viral posts.

have diverse Weixin contacts that can include relatives, colleagues, superiors, customers, school and university friends, friends from the gym, tea friends (*ja rogs*) and dharma friends (*chos grogs*) to give a non-exhaustive list. These manifold audiences can be engaged with individually through group chats where group-specific news and content as well as more private views and pictures are exchanged. In contrast, though ambiguous posts challenging gender norms or perceptions of what kind of sensitive content is permissible for circulation might be shared occasionally, the women I befriended on Weixin seem to utilise "Friends' circle" mostly for the normative performance of gendered selves that conform to social expectations prevalent in their everyday lives outside of Weixin.

6.1 Profile Pictures: Anonymous, Beautiful and Tibetan?

Amongst my female Weixin contacts only a small number of women uploads personal pictures or selfies for their profile pictures. Colourful flowers and landscapes, cartoons, Tibetan and Buddhist symbols and references appear to be preferred subjects for profile pictures. Famous female movie stars, singers and models are just as common. In combination with the fact that only few of my contacts use their actual names when they register as users, I read these choices as attempts to create at least some level of anonymity.[58]

Women make direct references to desired feminine beauty in their profile pictures. Pe Lha, whom I got to know in a high-end gym, studies English eagerly in her free time. Her profile pictures, which she swaps once in a while, depict women's torsos with visible abdominals and her background picture shows a blond woman in a bikini performing a yoga posture at the beach. Her personal caption below the picture reads in English: "Sexy Lady, Sexy Life." Pe Lha's pictures express an aspiration for feminine beauty that is created by engaging in body work at the gym. When I once inquired about her selection, she explained to me that the images serve as a motivation and a reminder for her to work out hard in order to achieve a muscular and fit body, like the ones in the photos.[59]

If we assume that profile pictures are not chosen randomly, those displaying female beauty can be read as manifestations of individual women's engagement with traditional concepts of Tibetan beauty and wider transcultural beauty flows. Images of idealised Tibetan

[58] The app allows the labeling of friends with nicknames, which makes recognition easier, especially since some people change their names and pictures frequently or possess more than one account.

[59] Fieldnotes, 08.08.2015.

feminine beauty are popular profile pictures. Cartoons and photos show Tibetan women in Tibetan dresses wearing traditional turquoise, coral and amber jewelry. A variation on the depiction of Tibetan women was a profile picture by Diki, an unmarried woman in her late 20s. The black and white photo displays the back of a woman's neck with a tattoo of the syllable *Om* in the Tibetan script. Long black hair and a mala imply that the woman is Tibetan. Diki was educated for seven years in mainland China and has been working for a high-profile government institution ever since her return to Lhasa six years earlier. She shared with me that due to her position, she restrains from taking part in public activities considered religious. Her profile picture allows different readings: Possibly it is an intended reference to Tibetan Buddhism that is inscribed on the female body, possibly it is a primarily aesthetic statement. Maybe it is both. Other friends chose heavily made-up female Korean and Indian movie stars for their profile pictures. These female stars gained fame in Lhasa through the circulation of Korean films and series on TV and DVDs from India. Female South Korean stars are particularly admired for their light pigmentation and large eyes. These beauty ideals are reproduced when taking selfies as decribed earlier.

6.2 "Living a Happy Life"; "Sweating a Lot": Desired Bodies, Desired Selves

Selfies and body and beauty related posts on "Friends' circle" are a form of gendered self-crafting that can express aspirations and socio-economic status. Sharing visual messages that show carefully crafted selves is furthermore entangled with gender norms, notions of appropriate and desired feminine beauty and consumption practices. 32-year old Pema works in a shop near the Barkor. She is financially independent and lives alone. Her small child stays with her parents in a village near Lhasa. Pema keeps a collection of selfies and pictures of herself that she likes in her smartphone. All of them show her with make-up and accessories such as sunglasses on her head and earrings. Her appearance is neat and arranged. While she wears jeans and T-Shirts in most of them, some show her in Tibetan dress as well. Periodically she posts a selection of these photos along with sayings about friendship and personal growth. Romantic sayings about life, love and friendship are commonly shared by Tibetan women. Many of these statements, which are predominantly composed in Chinese, can be found on websites and are copied from contacts' "Friends' circle." They are creatively reworked by attaching selfies or adding short phrases. Pema for example added her "Good Night" wishes to

several of these posts. Thus, she uses widely circulated and socially approved messages to interact with her contacts and combines these posts with a display of pictures of herself that she regards as beautiful. Another post by Pema concerns body weight, a reoccurring theme addressed by women on "Friends' circle." Here she decided to display an album of nine pictures of herself. The caption reads: "Every year my weight is changing. My old slim self doesn't exist anymore. Is there any method that the glory can return?" This post illustrates how Pema relates critically to her body and compares it to images depicting moments in the past. She expresses an aspiration for a slimmer body and invites others to give advice and to comment on her past images. In a third post she stands in a cosmetic product store examining a perfume. A second picture shows a selfie of her made-up face, she is smiling. Her comment reads: "Although you don't accompany me, I can still live a happy life" followed by a smiling emoticon. The intended recipient of this indirect post is unknown. It is notable through her choice of pictures that she communicates a notion of a happy life associated with consuming beauty products. Moreover this post portrays Pema as an independent woman able to afford desired consumer goods.

Drolkar creates selfies and body and beauty related posts regularly. During her schooltime and university studies in mainland China, she was often unhappy with the way she looked and considered herself "fat" until she began to attend yoga classes. In Lhasa she continues to do yoga twice a week. Additionally, she is a gym member.[60] Within one month, she composed several posts on "Friends' circle" showing her seated on a yoga mat, staying in the warrior position or standing in front of a huge mirror in the studio and taking a selfie. Rather than looking exhausted or sweating in her pictures, she seems perfectly relaxed and beautiful. Thus, Drolkar crafts desired images of the self while simultaneously crafting a desired body. In another post she photographed a small group of women during a yoga class laying on their mats and resting. The caption reads: "Sweating a lot". Here, Drolkar shows how she spends her leisure time engaging in a specific kind of body work. She depicts herself as crafting a desired body through practices available for those with leisure time, the necessary financial means and in some cases knowledge of Chinese, the language of instruction in the gym she visits. In her posts sharing a lifestyle and expressing aspirations for a particular kind of beauty is intertwined with a display of socio-economic status. Accordingly, the gym, spa or nail salon sometimes serve as the sole motive of shared photos. Being present at and

[60] Interview, 01.08.2015.

having access to these places are considered worth circulating in their own right. Not only the final image of a beautiful self is presented but also the process and the places involved in its creation.

Sharing selfies is a dynamic and individual practice loaded with diverse meanings that can also change over time as Palden's decision illustrates. Whereas until one year ago Palden posted selfies, when I met her she did not like to share and receive comments on photos focusing on her physical appearance (*rnam pa*) anymore. Instead, she prefered to share feelings and activities:

> When I want to share my true feelings to the WeChat-friends, I will take pictures. Like we climb the mountain. I think it's very great and I want to share it with my friends. I want to share the positive energy in my WeChat Friend's circle. Now they think: 'Wow.' Like climb mountain or something: 'Wow.' 'You climbed a mountain. Good job.'"[61]

In Palden's case, this was a conscious move influenced by a recent decision to focus on "inside" rather than "outside" change, which she credits partially to a rediscovery of Tibetan Buddhism after returning to Lhasa from a major city on the Chinese east coast three years ago.

7. Conclusion

In this paper I have aimed to offer some preliminary thoughts on the role of new mobile technologies for crafting desired selves and the construction of female subjectivities in contemporary Lhasa. Given its exploratory character, this may have resulted in more questions than answers. I have argued that smartphones introduce new potentials for the daily performance of body and beauty practices, which in turn are crucial for the performance of gendered selves. Mobile technologies contribute to the emergence of increasingly complex beautyscapes, which many Tibetan women in Lhasa navigate on a daily basis. Accordingly, transcultural beauty flows present them with a great number of body and beauty related consumer goods, images and inspirations. Smartphones are used as tools to access and navigate these beautyscapes.

Through built-in cameras, mobile apps and the adoption of a new cultural practice, namely taking selfies, women create images of their beautiful and often thoughtfully beautified selves. Consequently, they become producers and spectators of their own images. Thus, they experience the self in a profoundly new way that alters their

[61] Fielnotes, 27.07.2015

self-perception and can turn into a motivation to work on the body even more. Besides, storing pictures on smartphones and sharing them on Weixin makes images of the self available to the gaze of a broader audience that is often composed of offline contacts. The voices of individual women on sharing selfies illustrates that perceptions of the relationship between self and technology are dynamic and subject to change.

As a social media platform Weixin constitutes a new venue for engaging in gendered self-crafting and for relating to others through images. Gendered self-crafting on "Friends' circle", Weixin's most public feature, takes place under conditions that privilege a depiction of the self as social, happy, and beautiful. Many women opt to present beautiful selves, which they create through an engagement in body work, the consumption of beauty products, the use of phone cameras and mobile apps. These posts display aspirations, desired beauty and socio-economic status. Lastly, I have intended to show that engaging with individual Tibetan women's practices and ideas of the beautiful body in connection with their adaptations of mobile technology is a dynamic field of study that provides a window into women's everyday lives in Lhasa and a starting point to explore their aspirations, desires and feelings.

Bibliography

An, Caidan. 2015. *Tibet Facts and Figures*. Beijing: Beijing Weekly Press.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1990. "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy." *Theory Culture Society* 7, 295–310.

Barnett, Robert. 2006. *Lhasa: Streets with Memories.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity.* New York/London: Routledge.

Fischer, Andrew Martin. 2014. *The Disempowered Development of Tibet in China. A Study in the Economics of Marginalization.* Plymouth: Lexington Books.

Gimlin, Debra. 2007. "What is 'Body Work'? A Review of the Literature." *Sociology Compass* 1, 353–370.

Grant, Andrew. 2016. "'Don't Discriminate Against Minority Nationalities': Practicing Tibetan Ethnicity on Social Media." *Asian Ethnicity*, DOI: 10.1080/14631369.2016.1178062.

Henrion-Dourcy, Isabelle. 2013. "Easier in Exile? Comparative Observations on Doing Research among Tibetans in Lhasa and Dharamsala." In *Red Stamps and Gold Stars. Fieldwork Dilemmas in Upland Socialist Asia*, edited by Sarah Turner, 201–219. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Holbig, Heike. 2004. "The Emergence of the Campaign to Open Up the West : Ideological Formation, Central Decision Making, and the Role of the Provinces." *The China Quarterly* 178: 335–357.

Hua, Wen. 2013. *Buying Beauty. Cosmetic Surgery in China.* Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Iselin, Lilian. 2016. "Teahouses and Telephones. Mobile Communication and Spatial Practices of Tibetan Herders in Southern Amdo." *Inner Asia* 18, 37–57.

Harwit, Eric. 2004. "Spreading Telecommunications to Developing Areas in China: Telephones, the Internet and the Digital Divide." *The China Quarterly* 180, 1010–1030.

Hjorth, Larissa. 2014. "Locating the Social and Mobile: A Case Study of Women's Use of Kakao Social Mobile Media in Seoul." *Asiascape: Digital Asia* 1-2, 39–53.

Koo, Kathryn S. and Erica Reischer. "The Body Beautiful: Symbolism and Agency in the Social World." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33, 297–317.

Lacan and Wang Wenchang. 2005. *Tibetan Economy*. Beijing: China Intercontinental Press.

Lee, Dong-Hoo. 2005. "Women's Creation of Camera Phone Culture." *Fibreculture Journal* 6, Accessed March 20, 2016. http://six.fibreculturejournal.org/fcj-038-womens-creation-of-camera-phone-culture/

Miller, Daniel *et al*. 2016. *How the World Changed Social Media.* UCL Press: London.

Murukami, Daisuke. 2006. *National Imaginings and Ethnic Tourism in Lhasa, Tibet. Postcolonial Identities amongst Contemporary Tibetans.* Kathmandu: Vajra Publications.

Rabgey, Tashi. 2008. "Citizenship as Agency in a Virtual Tibetan Public." In *Tibetan Modernities. Notes from the Field on Cultural and Social Change*, edited by Robert Barnett and Ronald Schwartz, 333–352. Leiden/Boston: Brill.

Tiidenberg, Katrin and Edgar Gomez Cruz. 2015. "Selfies, Image and the Re-making of the Body." *Body & Society*. DOI: 10.1177/1357034X15592465.

Warner, Cameron David. 2013. "Hope and Sorrow: Uncivil Religion, Tibetan Music Videos and Youtube." *Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology* 78(4), 543–568.

Yeh, Emily T. 2002. "Will the Real Tibetans Please Stand Up! Identity Politics in the Tibetan diaspora." In *Tibet, Self, and the Tibetan Diaspora,* edited by P. Christiaan Klieger, 229–254. Leiden/Boston: Brill.

———. 2006. "'An Open Lhasa welcomes you': Disciplining the Researcher in Tibet." In *Doing Fieldwork in China,* edited by Maria Heimer and Stig Thogersen, 96–109. Copenhagen: NIAS Press.

———. 2007. "Tropes of Indolence and the Cultural Politics of Development in Lhasa, Tibet." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 97(3), 593–612.

———. 2013. *Taming Tibet. Landscape Transformation and the Gift of Chinese Development.* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Yeshe, Kalsang. 2008. "A preliminary note on Chinese codeswitching in modern Lhasa Tibetan." In *Tibetan Modernities. Notes from the Field on Cultural and Social Change*, edited by Robert Barnett and Ronald Schwartz, 213–248. Leiden/Boston: Brill.

❖

Translationship Lost in Transmission: Elusive Attributions of Two Tibetan Sūtra Translations

Channa Li[1]

(Leiden University)

To a certain extent, the transmission of Buddhism into Tibet can be understood as the history of the translation of Buddhist texts into Tibetan. The study of early Tibetan translations[2] can thus perform more than a purely philological function. It can also shed light on many unresolved and even unconsidered ideological and historical problems. This paper will illustrate the fruits of one such study. Through an investigation of the source language of certain Tibetan translations, I aim to problematise the oversimplified image of Tibetan translationship[3] and contribute a new perspective to the history of early Tibetan Buddhism. From our historical perspective, we can say that Tibetan Buddhists in later times[4] tended to exaggerate the Indian influence and minimise the

1 For a number of valuable suggestions on this paper I would like to thank Prof. J.A. Silk and my colleague Chen Ruixuan.

2 Here, early Tibetan translations refer to those finished and compiled before the *phyi dar*, the period of second dissemination when Tibetan Buddhism became full-fledged. The Dunhuang Tibetan texts and the imperial-era portion of the Kanjurs proved invaluable resources for this study.

3 For example, a highly partisan attitude is reflected in the famous legend of the bSam yas Debate, first recorded in the 11th-century *dBa' bzhed*, the earliest edition of the *Testament of Ba*. This source was utilised by nearly all later historiographies when recounting the establishment of Buddhism in Tibet. This debate is said to have occurred at bSam yas Temple in the 8th century. The Indian Paṇḍita Kamalaśīla defeated the Chinese Chan monk Moheyan in debate and, as a result, Chinese Chan was banned from Tibet. The historical veracity of this tale is challenged, however, by the content of the Dunhuang manuscripts. There are dozens of Tibetan translations and original writings that demonstrate the presence of Chinese Chan in Tibet from the 8th to the 11th century. That is to say, at least during the timespan of the Dunhuang manuscripts, Chinese Buddhism was an indispensable source for Tibetan Buddhism, despite what the later Tibetan historiographies, which intentionally obscure this influence, would lead us to believe. See Shen 2011, van Schaik 2014, 2015.

4 "Later" here not only means the *phyi dar* period but also the imperial time when Tibetans already conducted the revision and standardisation of Tibetan translations.

Channa Li, "Translationship Lost in Transmission: Elusive Attributions of Two Tibetan Sūtra Translations", *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 37, December 2016, pp. 207–230.

legacies of Buddhism from other regions, among which the most obvious case is Chinese Buddhism. The complex origins of Tibetan Buddhism were elided by later Tibetan historiographies that endeavored to connect it to prestigious Indian lineages.[5] In addition, this early history was also blurred by the practice of standardising Tibetan translations that took place in the imperial era and the compilation of the Tibetan Kanjurs in the *phyi dar*.[6] Although the Kanjurs are the richest available repositories of Tibetan translations assembled during the imperial era, the act of compiling the canons entailed intentional selection and reification, and even deliberate excision and manipulation,[7] which inevitably resulted in a great loss of diversity and interpretive flexibility.

The studies of pre-classical Dunhuang Tibetan manuscripts remind us of how much we might have lost.[8] In contrast to the transmitted texts of histories, which have selectively manipulated the past for various political or religious reasons, these manuscripts preserve contemporary data. Dunhuang Tibetan manuscripts usually provide us with more than one version of translations of a single Buddhist text, some of which can be identified with the version in the Tibetan Canons, but some of which can not.[9] Considering the

---

5 For example, the *bKa' chems ka khol ma* locates India in the cosmic center and describes Tibetan emperors as the descendents of Indian Śākya clan. This interpretation was adopted by many later historiographies such as the *Deb ther dmar po* and the *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*. Also see Davidson 2004.

6 The Tibet Kanjurs cannot be treated as a singular entitiy. They consist mainly of two distinct lineages which diverge in terms of textual organisation and text reading, due to differing histories of transmission and editing. See Harrison 1996; Silk 1996; Eimer 2002, 2012.

7 This process can be observed in the *sBa bzhed zhabs brtags pa* (abbr. as *sBa bzhed*), the supplemental version of the *Testament of Ba*. It recounts how Emperor Khri gTsug lde brtsan (c. 806–838CE), when he realised that Tibetan translations drew upon multiple-language sources, ordered his scribes to 'sanctify' the texts in Sanskrit (*rgya dkar po'i skad*). The *Sba bzhed* (2009: 63) reads: *chos la la rgya nag po'i skad du smra/ chos la la rgya dkar po'i skad du smra/ chos la la bal po dang u rgyan gyi skad du smra bas mes kyi dam pa'i lha chos lugs dang chos skad sna tshogs su 'byung ba ni ma legs te/ sangs rgyas rgya dkar por byon nas/ chos dang po rgya dkar du gsungs pa yin pas/ nga 'ang chos rgya dkar po'i lugs su mgrin gcig tu byed ces bka' stsal nas* (Tong & Huang 1990: 184–5). I translated this passage as: "There are some dharmas in Chinese, some in Sanskrit, and some others in the languages of Nepal and Uddiyana. It is not good that our ancestors' divine dharma exists in different traditions and languages. The Buddha came from India, and the dharma was originally spoken in Sanskrit. I should thus use the same language as the Indian tradition."

8 There are a large number of related studies, a complete list of which is hard, and of course needless, to give here. Just to name a few: Okimoto 1976, 1975–1977; Ueyama 1968, 1974, 1983, 1987; Karmay 1989; Shen 2011; van Schaik 2014, 2015.

9 The works whose Dunhuang versions of translations differ from those in the Kanjurs include the *dGe bsnyen ma gang ga'i mchog gi 'dus pa* (PT 89, translated

substantial number of Chinese Buddhist texts imported into Tibet when the Tibetan Emperor Khri Srong lde btsan (742–c. 800 CE) decided to convert to Buddhism, as described in the *Testament of Ba* and its *Supplement*,[10] the *bKa' chems ka khol ma* and *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* it is plausible that most of the parallel translations from Chinese, if they ever existed, had been lost or replaced during the early transmission. The update and replacement of Tibetan translations can be indeed observed when we compare two imperial catalogs, the earlier *lDan dkar ma* and the later *'Phang thang ma* (both of them only register the titles and some textual information, instead of containing the whole text). The record of text length in the *lDan dkar ma* sometimes differs from the length of the text bearing the same name in the *'Phang thang ma*; and in other cases, a text recorded as a translation from Chinese in the *lDan dkar ma* ends up as a translation from Sanskrit in the *'Phang thang ma*. All these inconsistencies suggest that either some texts in the *lDan dkar ma* might have been replaced by other texts under the same name when the *'Phang thang ma* was compiled, or the editors of the *'Phang thang ma* might have tampered with the textual information.[11]

This kind of replacement, in addition to later textual revisions in the Kanjurs, could result in mistakes about the source, especially when no colophons were preserved. It remains a challenging task to

from Chinese, see T 310–31 《大寶積經恒河上優婆夷會》 by an anonymous translator; the *sNang pa mtha' yas kyi mdo* (PT 758, translated from Chinese, see T 366 《佛說阿彌陀經》) by an anonymous translator; the *Byang chub sems dpa' byams pas zhus pa'i 'dul pa* (PT 89, translated from Chinese, see T 310–42 《大寶積經彌勒菩薩所問會》) by an anonymous translator; and the *'Od dpag med kyi bkod pa* (PT 96, 557, 563, 561, 562, 564, translated from Chinese, see T 310–5 《大寶積經無量壽如來會》). Furthermore, some translated texts from Chinese are only preserved in Dunhuang manuscripts. One example is the *'Phags pa dus dang dus ma yin pa bstan pa zhes bya ba'i mdo* (ITJ 213, Chinese see T 794a&b 《佛說時非時經》) by Chos grub. This text cannot be found in any other sources. See Ueyama 1990 129; Silk and Li, *forthcoming*.

[10] The earliest version of the *Testament of Ba*, bearing the name *dBa' bzhed,* can be dated earlier than the 11th century, due to the discovery of its fragments from the Dunhuang caves. See van Schaik and Iwao 2008: 447, 479. Pasang and Diemberger 2000: xiv (Sørenson's introduction), 8, 11–14. The dating of its supplement version, that is the *sBa bzhed*, has aroused academic debate for a long time. Richardson and Imaeda ascribed it to the late 14th century, and Stein assumed it is posterior to the 11th century. Karmay found its quotation in the 12th century work *Me tog snying po* by Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer (1136–1204). Moreover, its title was mentioned by Sa pan Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1181–1282). See Richardson 1952: 4; Stein 1961: iii; Imaeda 1975: 126; Karmay 2007: 33.

[11] Silk and Li, *forthcoming*. It is possible that both the *lDan dkar ma* and the *'Phang thang ma* were revised by editors in the *phyi dar*. Therefore, there is a chance that more information about the translations from Chinese had already been removed.

identify and correct any such mistakes that might have occurred. This is because, although we may presume that original translations from Chinese should differ from Sanskrit translations in some respects, Tibetan Buddhism *ipso facto* standardised translation lexicons and rules in the imperial period (e.g. with the composition of the *Mahāvyutpatti*) as mentioned above, lessening the likelihood of identifying the original language from a purely terminological approach. Furthermore, it is crucial to acknowledge the possibility that some Tibetan translations asserted to be Sanskrit renderings might not have sprung from a single source but relied on several recensions during the translation. Specifically, even if Tibetan translators did gain access to a Sanskrit text, they might have referred to other available versions, such as pre-existing Tibetan or Chinese translations, without acknowledging them as their sources in the colophon.

Some scholars have already added to our knowledge of early Tibetan translation practices by studying the Tibetan translations from Chinese. In contrast to the obvious domination of the texts translated from Sanskrit in today's Tibetan Canons, Tucci stated that the number of texts translated from Chinese in the early phase of Tibetan Buddhism could be greater than that of translations from Sanskrit.[12] His argument was based on records from *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*. This very text gives an account that a Chinese named Sang shi, an intimate of Khri Srong lde btsan, brought some Chinese Buddhist texts back to Tibet. It further offers a legendary story similar to the tantric Terma tradition: Sang shi concealed these Chinese texts as the time for preaching Buddhism was not ripe in Tibet, and after a few years he unearthed and spread them.[13] It also relates to us that the famous Buddhist sBa gSal snang followed the instructions from Chinese monks before he went to India and Nepal to seek for more Buddhist teachings.[14] Stein made a significant contribution to clarifying two kinds of vocabularies used by early Tibetan translators, that is, the Indian vocabulary and the Chinese vocabulary.[15] Ueyama and Wu respectively made detailed studies on Chos grub, a Dunhuang- based bilingual or even trilingual translator active in the 9th century who was mainly in charge of the Tibetan translations from Chinese.[16] Oetke drew our attention to multiple versions of the Tibetan *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra* (which he termed Tib.

[12] Tucci 1958: 47–49.
[13] See *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1980: ja, 73b–77b. Huang 1989: 55–60. Tucci 1958: 22–24. Jackson 1994: 71ff. Also see *sBa bzhed* 1980: 22.
[14] *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1980: ja, 76a6. Huang 1989: 58.
[15] Stein 2010: 1–96.
[16] Ueyama 1990: 112–169; Wu 1984.

III, IV, V) that were translated or partly translated from Chinese, and showed how Tibetan people understood its Chinese origin.[17] His study was supplemented by Radich's recent research on another Tibetan version of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra* (D 556) that was alleged to have been translated from Sanskrit by its colophon, but in reality was a translation referring to both Chinese and Sanskrit.[18] Focusing on two sūtras that were translated into Tibetan from both Sanskrit and Chinese, Silk and Li attempted to list all extant pre-modern Tibetan sūtra translations from Chinese with reference to records in the *lDan dkar ma*, the *'Phang thang ma*, the *bsTan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od*, the *Bu ston chos 'byung* and several Kanjur Catalogs, and to clarify how Tibetan editors treated the translations from Chinese over a long time (from the imperial era to the time when the great bulk of texts was compiled into Kanjur, c.a. the 15th century) compared with the parallel translations from Sanskrit.[19]

In short, due to the distortion and absence of early records, and because of the present limitations of our knowledge, the intricacies of early Tibetan translation practices are still so elusive that modern scholars sometimes feel helpless in identifying the source language of a certain sūtra without a helpful colophon. The same mystery can confront us in sūtras with attributed translators. Two sūtras, the *Upāyakauśalyasūtra* and the *Maitreyaparipṛcchāsūtra*, both of which are included in the Tibetan and Chinese Ratnakūṭa collections, contain flatly wrong or at least misleading translation attributions. They, therefore, present interesting case studies that can contribute to our understanding of early Tibetan translation practices and their historical implications.

1. *Maitreyaparipṛcchā*

Maitreya is quite popular in Chinese Buddhist circles and scriptures associated with Maitreya have been translated into Chinese from a very early date.[20] The Tibetan Kanjurs attest that Chinese scriptures are one important source of Tibetan Maitreya texts. The *'Phags pa byang chub sems dpa' byams pa dga' ldan gnas su skye ba blangs pa'i mdo* (D 199) was translated from the Chinese T 452 *Foshuo Guan Mile*

---

17 Oetke 1977: 5–20.
18 Radich 2015.
19 Silk and Li, *forthcoming*.
20 See Lee 1983: 15–54.

Shangsheng Doushuaitian Jing 《佛說觀彌勒上升兜率天經》.[21] The *lDan dkar ma* registers a sūtra (No. 265B)[22] entitled *'Phags pa byams pas lung bstan pa* with 110 ślokas as a translation from Chinese. [23]

It appears that no scholar has realised that another Maitreya scripture, the *Maitreyaparipṛcchāsūtra*, has recensions translated from Chinese as well. The circulating version of *Maitreyaparipṛcchā* (D 85, abbr. Maitreya Tib I) can be found in the Tibetan Ratnakūṭa collection credited to Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi, and Ye shes sde. It is similar in content to the palm-leaf Sanskrit fragment IOL San 1492b (Ch. 0079b) found in Dunhuang,[24] although differences between these two texts can easily be observed. Two Chinese recensions are found in the Chinese Tripitaka. The first one, T 349 *Mile Pusa Suowen Benyuan Jing* 《彌勒菩薩所問本願經》(abbr. Maitreya Chin I), is translated by Dharmarakṣa and shares a similar Indic source with Maitreya Tib I. The second Chinese recension, the *Mile Pusa Suowen Hui*《彌勒菩薩所問會》(T 310–42, abbr. Maitreya Chin II), was compiled into the Chinese Ratnakūṭa and ascribed to Bodhiruci.

Recently, a Dunhuang Tibetan manuscript titled *Byang chub sems dpa' byams pas zhus pa* (PT 89, abbr. Maitreya Tib II) was identified by Jonathan Silk as a faithful translation from Maitreya Chin II. In order to make it easier for readers to follow my argument, I divide the five different versions into two lineages:

- *The First lineage: Maitreya Tib I, Sanskrit and Maitreya Chin I*
- *The Second lineage: Maitreya Tib II, translated from Maitreya Chin II*

The comparison and translation of the Maitreya Tib II and Chin II will be published in my forthcoming book co-authored with Jonathan Silk. Due to space limitations, here I will only compare the section where the Tibetan translation appears to deviate from its Chinese counterpart to demonstrate how faithful the Tibetan translation is to the Chinese original source.

---

21 The colophon of the Derge Kanjur version states: *'phags pa byang chub sems dpa' byams pa dga' ldan gnas su skye ba blangs pa'i mdo rdzogs so | | zhu ba'i lo tsā ba bande pab tong dang | bande shes rab seng ges rgya'i dpe las bsgyur | | | |* (tsa, 303a4–6)

22 See Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 146.

23 No extant known text in the Kanjurs carries the same name as No. 265B in the *lDan dkar ma*, but it seems plausible to identify it with D 199, in light of the text's length, but also its content. The title in the *lDan dkar ma* informs us that the text focuses on the prophecy (*lung bstan*) given to Maitreya by the Buddha, and this is also the main concern of D 199. However, considering that most sūtras on Maitreya concern prophecy, this supposition requires more supporting evidence.

24 See La Vallée Poussin 1912: 1077–79. Matsumura 1993: 143–45.

Maitreya Chin II (T 310–42: 628b2–4)	Maitreya Tib II [25] (PT 89: 1v3–4)
佛告彌勒菩薩言："善哉！善哉！彌勒，汝今為欲哀愍一切，利益安樂天人世間，能問如來如是深義， 汝應諦聽，善思念之，吾當為汝分別解說。"	bcom ldan ʼdas gyïs byang chub sems dpa' byams pa la bkaʼ stsal pa | | byams pa khyod lha dang myïr bcas paʼï ʼjïg rten thams cad la snyïng brtse zhïng phan gdags paʼï phyir | de bzhïn gshegs pa la ʼdï lta buʼï don zab mo dag zhus pa legs so legs so | | khyod legs par nyon la | yïd la zungs shïg dang| ngas khyod la rnam par phye ste yang dag par bshad par bya'o | |
The Buddha responded to Bodhisattva Maitreya, saying: "Good! Good! Maitreya, now, in order to show compassion for all, and bring benefits as well as happiness to the world of gods and men, you ask the Tathāgata about such profound meaning. You should attentively listen and well ponder it, and I will explain it in detail for you.	The Buddha responded to Bodhisattva Maitreya: "Maitreya, in order to show compassion and bring benefits to all the worlds with their gods and men, you ask the Tathāgata about such profound meaning. Good! Good! You should attentively listen and imprint it upon mind, and I will differentiate and explain accurately for you."

The first seeming alteration is highlighted above (哀愍一切利益安樂天人世間 ≈ *lha dang myïr bcas paʼï ʼjïg rten thams cad la snyïng brtse zhïng phan gdags pa*). The Chinese sentence here is in clear contravention to the usual Chinese antithetical parallelism. This may have confused the Tibetan translators, leading them to reorganise the order of the Chinese words. It might also be possible that the Tibetan translators knew of the rhetorical device in Chinese called *huwen*互文, wherein a complete sentence is split into two parts whose recombination is necessary to reacquire the complete meaning. If we understand the Chinese text as utilising such a *huwen* device, its meaning would become "to commiserate with, benefit and delight all the worlds with their gods and men" (*哀愍利益安樂一切天人世間) and the Tibetan translation is more than precise in understanding its original.

At the end of the chart, another misunderstanding can easily be discerned. *Fenbie jieshuo*分別解說is translated into Tibetan verbatim as *rnam par phye ste yang dag par bshad par bya*. In reality, *fenbie jieshuo*

[25] I preserve the difference between the *gi gu* ("i") and reverse *gi gu* ("ï") when transcribing the manuscript.

should be a rendering from the Sanskrit *vyākaraṇa,* meaning "detailed explanation." But here the Tibetan translator took *fenbie* and *jieshuo* for two separate verbs.

The translation from Sanskrit was canonised while the Chinese translation ceased to circulate in Tibetan society, which reminds us of my earlier hypothesis of the replacement of scriptures translated from Chinese in the *lDan dkar ma* with translations from Sanskrit in the *'Phang thang ma*. Tibetan Buddhists might have favored the versions from Sanskrit when translations from both Sanskrit and Chinese were available, and thus those from Chinese were replaced or excised and eventually disappeared.

Maitreya Tib I might be assumed to have a Sanskrit source, considering the participation of Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi and Ye shes sde. However, careful investigation reveals a more complex situation. Although the main part of Maitreya Tib I should be based on a Sanskrit text similar to the extant fragment IOL San 1492b, philological examination shows that Maitreya Tib I is not a pure translation from Sanskrit and that it relied on Chinese parallels during translation.

The first evidence to support this assertion appears in the opening scene where the name of the sermon's location is mentioned. In Maitreya Tib I, the sermon is placed in *yul barga*[26] *na chu srin byis pa gsod lta bu'i ri 'jigs su rung ba'i nags ri dags kyi nags na* (104b3–4), translated as "in the place of Barga/Barge, in the Deer Grove among the horrible forests in the mountain (physically) resembling the Śimśumāra, a child-killing water-monster."[27] It is difficult to identify what the name "*barga/barge*" indicates, as it can neither be connected to a regular Sanskrit word nor does it recur in the Kanjurs as far as I can tell from an electronic search. However, when we check the Chinese translation *piqi* 披祇 in the difficult sentence 披祇國妙華山中恐懼樹間鹿所聚處 from Maitreya Chin I, the knot can be untied. *Piqi* 披祇 is definitely an erratum of *baqi* 拔祇,[28] transliterated from the Sanskrit toponym. The Tibetan *barga* should, in turn, be transliterated from the Chinese *baqi* 拔祇, which can be supported by Medieval Chinese phonology. *Ba* 拔 is reconstructed as "bat,"[29] with an entering tone (入聲, the tone whose syllables end in -p, -t, -k) and *qi* 祇 is reconstructed as "gjei"[30] in early Middle Chinese. The entering tone of "-t"

[26] Derge Kanjur: *ba rga*; Narthang & Stog Kanjur: *barge*; Peking Kanjur: *ba rgo*; Shel dkar & Gondhla Kanjur: *pa rge*; Urga Kanjur: *parga*; Phug brag Kanjur: *ma rga.*

[27] "śimśu(ṃ)māra," "child-killing," the Gangetic porpoise, *Delphinus Gangeticus*. See *Monier Williams Dictionary* s.v.

[28] I find that it was independently noted by Elsa Legittimo 2008 [2010]: 271, n. 49.

[29] Pulleyblank 1991: 27; Schuessler 2009: 237; Guo 1986: 5.

[30] Pulleyblank 1991: 246; Schuessler 2009: 121; Guo 1986: 73.

weakened after the 8th century, as can be attested by Dunhuang manuscripts where the "-t" entering tone can be represented by the "-r" entering tone. For example, the Tibetan manuscript ITJ 724: 2 transcribes 阿彌陀佛 (Amitābha) as *a mye ta pur*, and we can clearly see the "-t" entering tone in 佛 (**bhut*) was replaced by the "-r" ending tone in *pur*.[31]

The Indic origin of Chinese *baqi* 拔祇 is somewhat unclear. Usually, *baqi* 拔祇 is linked to the Sanskrit toponym *Vṛji*,[32] one of the sixteen major states at the time of Śākyamuni, but the term also appears in the *Zengyi Ahan Jing*《增一阿含經》attested as *Bhagga* in Pali. The *Zengyi Ahan Jing* narrates one sermon in 拔祇國尸牧摩羅山鬼林鹿園,[33] and the Pali parallel in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* is *bhaggesu (viharati) susumāragire bhesakaḷāvane migadāye* (*Saṃyutta Nikāya* 22.1). This should be the Indic source of Chinese *拔祇國妙華山中恐懼樹間鹿所聚處.[34] The problem confronting us is whether Tibetan *Barge/Barga* was translated from the Chinese *baqi* 拔祇 or from an Indic word similar to *Bhagga*. The attested Sanskrit parallel for the Pāli *Bhagga* is *Bhārga.* The difficulty of establishing a direct connection between the Tibetan *Barge/Barga* and the Sanskrit *Bhārga* is that the Tibetan does not contain the aspirate. If we carefully examine the Tibetan transliteration of Sanskrit, it can be perceived that Tibetans usually distinguished the aspirated "bh" from unaspirated "b."[35] Therefore, unless more convincing contradictory evidence is uncovered, it is likely that the Tibetan *Barge/Barga* came from the Chinese *baqi*拔祇.

The second piece of evidence connects Maitreya Tib I to the other Chinese recension, that is, to the Maitreya Chin II. In the paragraph on the teaching of the "ten dharmas" to attain Buddhahood, the occurrence of the rare Tibetan expression "*thabs kyis 'gro ba'i ting nge 'dzin dang ldan pa yin*" seems to be a translation of the counterpart in Maitreya Chin II.

> Maitreya Chin II (T 310–42: 628c19–29): "一者，善能成就金剛三昧；二者，成就處非處相應三昧；<u>三者，成就方便行三昧</u>；四者，成就遍照明三昧；五者，成就普光明三昧；六者，成就普遍照明三昧；七者，成

---

[31] Silk, *forthcoming*.

[32] T 1 *Chang Ahan Jing*《長阿含經》: 34b20–21.

[33] T 125: 573a1–2.

[34] *Miaohua Shan*妙華山 might be hypothetically restored as **sukusumagiri*, which could be an error for the Prākrit *Suṃsumāragiri*. *Kongjushu jian*恐懼樹間 and *Lu suo ju chu*鹿所聚處 were translated from *bhesakaḷāvana* and *migadāya* respectively.

[35] Transliterations of Sanskrit titles in the Kanjurs seldom confuse the "b" and "bh." Dunhuang Tibetan manuscripts (such as PT 396) usually differentiate the two phonemes.

就寶月三昧；八者，成就月燈三昧；九者，成就出離三昧；十者，成就勝幢臂印三昧，是名為十。彌勒菩薩成就如是法已，離諸惡道及惡知識，速能證得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。"

Maitreya Tib I (D 85: 107b7–108a4): *rdo rje lta bu'i ting nge 'dzin dang ldan pa yin | | gnas dang gnas ma yin pa la mngon par brtson pa'i ting nge 'dzin dang ldan pa yin |* ***<u>thabs kyis 'gro ba'i ting nge 'dzin dang ldan pa yin</u>*** *| rnam par snang byed kyi ting nge 'dzin dang ldan pa yin | | kun nas snang ba'i ting nge 'dzin dang ldan pa yin | kun du gsal ba'i ting nge 'dzin dang ldan pa yin | | rin chen zla ba'i ting nge 'dzin dang ldan pa yin | zla ba sgron ma'i ting nge 'dzin dang ldan pa yin | nyon mongs pa med pa'i ting nge 'dzin dang ldan pa yin | | rgyal mtshan gyi rtse mo'i dpung rgyan gyi ting nge 'dzin dang ldan pa yin te | byams pa byang chub sems dpa' chos bcu po de dag dang ldan na ngan song thams cad spong zhing sdig pa'i grogs po'i lag tu mi 'gro la myur du bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub mngon par rdzogs par 'tshang rgya'o | |*

The unusual Tibetan expression could be understood as a literal translation of the Chinese phrase 成就方便行三昧, where *thabs kyis* corresponds to *fangbian*方便 and *'gro ba* to *xing* 行.[36] *Xing* 行 was misunderstood as "to go"(*'gro ba*) rather than "to practice."

Our third clue can be found in the section that describes the Brahman youth Bhadraśuddha's first beholding of the Buddha Jyotivikrīḍitābhijña. The relevant passages are cited in the chart below.

Maitreya Chin I (T 349: 188a1–2)	<u>從園觀出</u>，遙見如來經行，身色光明，無央數變。
Maitreya Chin II (T 310–42: 629b2–7)	<u>從園苑出</u>，見彼如來，端正殊妙，諸根寂靜，得奢摩他，如清淨池、無諸垢穢，三十二相、八十種好而自莊嚴，如娑羅樹、其花開敷，如須彌山、出過一切，面貌熙怡、如月盛滿，威光赫奕、如日顯曜，形量周圓、如尼俱陀樹。
Maitreya Tib I (D 85: 109a5–109b1)	<u>de skyed mos tshal du 'gro ste | grong bar du phyin pa dang</u> | de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas snang bas rnam par rol pa'i mngon par shes pa mdzes pa | dad par bya ba | dbang po zhi ba | thugs zhi ba | dul ba dang zhi gnas kyi mchog brnyes pa | dul ba dang zhi gnas kyi dam pa brnyes pa | dbang po bsrungs pa | glang po che dbang po thul ba lta bu | mtsho ltar dang zhing rnyog pa med la gsal ba | skyes bu chen po'i mtshan sum cu rtsa gnyis po dag gis sku legs par brgyan pa |

[36] For the complete passage, see Silk and Li, *forthcoming*.

<table>
<tr><td></td><td>dpe byad bzang po brgyad cu po dag gis sku rnam par spras pa | shing sā la'i rgyal po me tog shin tu rgyas pa 'dra ba | ri'i rgyal po ri rab ltar mngon par 'phags pa | zhal zla ba'i dkyil 'khor ltar zhi ba | nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor ltar lham me lhan ne lhang nge ba | shing nya gro dha ltar chu zheng gab pa 'od 'bar ba'i sku dpal chen pos 'bar ba mthong ngo | |</td></tr>
<tr><td>IOL San 1492b (Ch. 0079b): r5–6.</td><td>atha so 'ntarāpaṇamadhyagato 'drākṣīt taṃ jyotivikrīḍitābhijñaṃ tathāgatam arhaṇtaṃ saṃmyaksaṃbuddhaṃ śāntendriyaṃ śāntamānasam uttamadamaśamathaparamapāramiprāptaṃ paramadamaśamathaparamapāramiprāptaṃ nāgaṃ jitendriyaṃ hradam ivācchaṃ viprasannam anāvilaṃ suvarṇayūpam ivābhyudgataṃ śriyāt rājamānaṃ tapamānaṃ virocamānaṃ dvātṛṃśadbhir mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇais samanvāgatam</td></tr>
</table>

The underlined Tibetan sentence can be understood as "when coming towards the garden, he entered a village," using the terminative case "du" to indicate the goal of the journey.[37] Using similar redundant locution to describe locations is not common in Tibetan sūtras, and I can not find other cases in the Kanjurs. Therefore, I hypothesise that the Tibetan translators must have had both Chinese and Indic sources at hand during translation. They combined elements from both Chinese and Sanskrit in their translation and modified the Chinese part in order to achieve semantic coherence. In both Chinese versions, Bhadraśuddha's beholding occurred when he came out of the garden (Maitreya Chin I 從園觀出/ Maitreya Chin II 從園苑出), while the Sanskrit fragment informs us that the beholding took place when Badraśuddha was "in a village/marketplace" (*antarāpaṇamadhyagata*).[38] If both Chinese versions portray the situation in the same way, the Tibetan translators may have inferred that the Indic source of the Chinese translations should contain the part "went out of the garden" and thus supplemented this section accordingly.[39]

---

[37] Hill 2011: 33.

[38] The Tibetan *grong bar du phyin pa* is translated word for word from *antarāpaṇamadhyagata*, although the translation is not completely correct. The Sanskrit compound here functions as a locative in meaning, and *gata* has lost its original sense of an action, and now only indicates Badraśuddha's destination.

[39] Still, it is possible that Tibetan translators possessed another Sanskrit text that was different from both the extant Sanskrit text and the Chinese texts.

The Chinese recensions may have served as reference materials during the translation of Maitreya Tib I. It is possible that the Tibetan translators obtained an illegible, corrupted, or incomplete Sanskrit text and thus Ye shes sde's group had to look to the Chinese recensions for supplementary or double-checking purposes. In this case, Ye shes sde's translation group, instead of relying solely on an Indic source, performed a hybrid translation partly reliant on Chinese sources.

In conclusion, the analysis of the source language of Maitreya Tib I reveals that the texts described by the Kanjur colophons as translations from Sanskrit may not originate from Sanskrit alone. It would be naive to assume that Ye shes sde's translation group relied solely on Sanskrit sources and completely ignored any Chinese parallels. As the following section will continue to demonstrate, Ye shes sde's group made multiple hybrid translations, not only by combining Sanskrit and Chinese sources but also by revising pre-existing Tibetan translations to create new renderings. The reason that the Chinese sources were not mentioned in the colophon may be the same as why Maitreya Tib II was excluded from the Tibetan Canons. It was more common for the Tibetan translation putatively originating in Sanskrit to be preserved as the 'classical' version. The preference for translations from Sanskrit can also be understood as a strategy to raise the prestige of Tibetan Buddhism, as Tibetans styled themselves the direct successors of Indian Buddhism.

2. *Upāyakauśalyasūtra*

The doctrine of "skill in means" (Skt. *upāyakauśalya,* Tib. *thabs la mkhas pa*) is crucial to Mahāyāna salvific ideology. It arises from the idea that wisdom is embodied in one's behavior towards ordinary beings rather than the mere grasping of abstract doctrinal conceptions, and pays specific attention to soteriological functions of Buddhism.[40] The Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, having realised that most common people were "cloaked" in "habitual tendencies" (Skt. *vāsanā*, Tib. *bag chags*), would sometimes utilise seemingly deceptive methods to illustrate profound teachings in order to liberate ordinary beings from saṃsāra. The famous "burning house" parable in the Lotus Sūtra is a good example.

The *Upāyakauśalyasūtra* is an early Mahāyāna sūtra that exemplifies this concept through the Buddha's answer to questions posed by Bodhisattva Jñānottara. In this text, the Buddha expounds

[40] Silk 2007; Schroeder 2004: 3; Pye 1978.

on the meanings and implications of "skill in means," and attempts to dispel misinterpretations of Buddhahood.[41] In practical terms, this sūtra was intended to help maintain the Bodhisattva ethic, and to rally Buddhist communities away from a crisis of values by revealing the Bodhisattva's noble intentions behind seemingly improper behaviors.

The Sanskrit version of this text survives only in four short segments in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (abbr. Śik). The sūtra was also preserved in three Chinese (T 310–18, T 345, and T 346) and two Tibetan (D 82 and D 261) translations.[42] The earliest Chinese translation *Huishang pusa wen Dashanquan Jing*《慧上菩薩問大善權經》(T 345, abbr. Upāya Chin I) was made by Dharmarakṣa in 285CE.[43] The second, T 310–38 the *Dasheng Fangbian Hui*《大乘方便會》(abbr. Upāya Chin II) was translated by Nandi in the Eastern *Jin* Dynasty (317–420CE) and included in the Chinese Ratnakūṭa. The last recension is T 346 the *Foshuo Dafangguang Shanqiaofangbian Jing*《佛說大方廣善巧方便經》 (abbr. Upāya Chin III). It was rendered by Dānapāla around the end of the 10th century, much later than the other two Chinese versions. The original sources of the three Chinese versions are different: apart from containing divergent names of personages/ places and disparities in episode ordering, each of the three Chinese versions contains certain narratives that are not shared by the other two.

The Tibetan translation D 261 (abbr. Upāya Tib I) is titled *Thabs mkhas pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*. Its colophon contains no record of its translators,[44] but Tatz in his English translation ascribed it to the translator Chos grub, and asserted that it was translated from Upāya Chin I. Tatz referred to the *Derge Kanjur Catalog* (*dkar chag*) for support; however, this catalog clearly indicates that the translator's colophon of this text has been lost (*'gyur byang med pa rnams bzhugs so* | | 132a5).[45]

---

41 Tatz 1994.

42 It is possible that a third Tibetan *Upāyakauśalyasūtra* existed but has been lost.The section of "Mahāyāna sūtras with less than ten *bam pos*" (*Theg pa chen po'i mdo sde sna tshogs la bam po bcu man chad*) of the *lDan dkar ma* registers one text named *Thabs la mkhas pa theg pa chen po* (No. 173) with the length of 300 ślokas (one bam po). The same title associated with the same one-*bam po* length can also be found in the *'Phang thang ma* (No. 152) and in Bu ston's *Chos 'byung* (No. 343). It is shorter than Upāya Tib II (two bam po). See Kawagoe 2005: 13; Nishoka 1980: 75.

43 See T 2034 *Lidai Sanbao Ji*《歷代三寶紀》Vol.6, 62c4; Tsukamoto 1985: 208.

44 The colophon contains no mention of translationship: *thabs mkhas pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so* | | | | *shlo ka drug brgya ste bam po gnyis* | | | |

45 Tatz 1994: 17. It might be possible that Tatz confused this sūtra with another sūtra of a similar title, i.e. D 353 *Thabs la mkhas pa chen po sangs rgyas kyi drin lan bsab pa'i mdo*, Chin.《大方便佛報恩經》. In the *Derge Kanjur Catalog* (136a6–7), the

The Tibetan D 82 (abbr. Upāya Tib II), collected into the Tibetan Ratnakūṭa, is titled *Sangs rgyas thams cad kyi gsang chen thabs la mkhas pa byang chub sems dpa' ye shes dam pas zhus pa'i le'u zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*. According to its colophon, it was translated and refined by Dānaśīla, Karmavarma and Ye shes sde based on the "new language."[46] It is more than twice as long as the first Tibetan version, and Tatz claimed that Tib II is of later origin because it displayed the textual expansion characteristic of later works.[47] Although Upāya Chin II and Tibetan D 82 both exist in the Ratnakūṭa collection, they differ significantly from each other.

Philologically speaking, we can hardly find any convincing evidence that Upāya Tib I was translated from Chinese. The gaps between the above Tibetan versions and Chinese versions are quite large in textual comparison (which, unfortunately, cannot be reproduced here due to space limitations).

Compared to the Chinese parallels, both Tibetan versions are closer to the extant counterparts in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya.* One supporting clue can be found in the sermon where the Bodhisattva says he would choose to create a store of merit for a being even if this act would constitute a transgression and make himself suffer in hell.[48] The parallels from the above versions are cited below:

Skt. Śik: *yathārūpayāpattyāpannayā kalpaśatasahasraṃ niraye* ***pacyeta*** (such a sin as would cause him to be cooked in hell for a hundred thousand ages; Bendall 1902: 167. l.12.)[49]

Tib. Śik:[50] *ltung ba ji lta bu byung ba bskal pa brgya stong du sems can dmyal bar* ***'tsho bar*** *'gyur ba* (such a sin as causes him to persist in the hells for hundreds and thousands of eons; 93b5)

Upāya Tib I: *de lta bu'i ltung ba byung bas bskal pa brgya stong du sems can dmyal bar* ***btso bar*** *gyur kyang* (such a sin would cause him to be cooked in hell for a hundred thousand eons.)

Thabs la mkhas pa chen po sangs rgyas kyi drin lan bsab pa'i mdo is recorded as a translation from Chinese; Chos grub is mentioned in the next line as the translator of the *Legs nyes kyi rgyu 'bras bstan pa zhes bya ba'i mdo*.

46 *rgya gar gyi mkhan po dā na shī la dang karma warma dang | zhu chen gyi lotstsha ba ban de ye shes sdes bsgyur cing zhus te skad gsar chad kyis kyang bcos nas gtan la phab pa | sho lo ka stong nyis brgya sum cu mchis ||* (70b6–7)

47 Tatz 1994: 17.

48 Upāya Tib I 287b6–7; Upāya Tib II 37a1–3; Tatz 1994: 33.

49 The full sentence is as follows: *yadi bodhisatva ekasya satvasya kuśalamūlaṃ saṃjanayettathārūpāṃ cāpattimāpadyeta yathārūpayāpattyāpannayā kalpaśatasahasraṃ niraye pacyeta | utsoḍhavyameva bhagavan bodhisatvenāpattimāpattuṃ tacca nairayikaṃ duṣkhaṃ , na tveva tasyaikasya satvasya kuśalaṃ parityaktumiti | |*

50 Derge Tanjur No. 3940, mdo 'grel (dbu ma), khi, 3a–194b.

Upāya Tib II: *nongs pa ji lta bu byung bas bskal pa 'bum gyi bar du sems can dmyal ba chen por* ***sreg par*** *'gyur yang* (such an offense would cause him to be burnt in hell for a hundred thousand eons)

Upāya Chin I: 若似犯罪,若實犯罪,於百千劫墮大地獄.

Upāya Chin II: 從其所生,輒當獲之信於善權,墮大地獄至于百劫.

Upāya Chin III: 若如所起罪垢心者,當於百千劫中受地獄苦.

The two Upāya Tib texts are very close to the Sanskrit parallel. Upāya Tib I is almost identical to the Tibetan Śik except for one word *btso ba* "cook" (√ *pac*).[51] It is possible that *'tsho ba* and *btso ba* are a resultative and causative pair.[52]Another possibility is that *'tsho ba* might be an undocumented form or a transcription error for *btso* (the future stem), or *'tshod* (the present stem for *btso*).[53] Whereas the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions explicitly describe the suffering in hell as "being cooked," the Chinese translation never mentions it. The gap between the Tibetan and the Chinese leaves us with little grounds for agreeing with Tatz's assertion that Upāya Tib I is translated from Chinese.

As for the chronology of Upāya Tib I and II, I suppose that Upāya Tib I is of earlier origin. The two share the same sentence structures, but use interchangeable vocabularies. It seems plausible that one version was revised based on the other. The term *btso ba* "cook" in Upāya Tib I is a translation from Sanskrit (√ *pac*) but Upāya Tib II uses the term *sreg pa* "to burn." My supposition is that the editors of Upāya Tib II, in order to create a seemingly different text, substituted *sreg pa* for *btso ba*. The same occurs with Tib II's term *nongs pa* "faults" which is the synonym for Tib I's *ltung ba* "backsliding" (Skt. *āpatti*). My hypothesis can explain why Upāya Tib II usually utilises imprecise terms. Therefore, it is possible that Tib II is a revision based on Tib I, a contention for which I will provide additional evidence below.

Generally speaking, two recensions of the Tibetan *Upāyakauśalyasūtra* resemble each other, and in some places even track each other word for word. Below, in order to illustrate the affinity between the two Tibetan versions, I compare two paragraphs from each. The first correspondent synonyms are written in **bold** and the second group of synonyms are written in ***italic bold***; the following groups of synonyms alternate between **bold** and ***italic***

[51] "Cooking" is a root metaphor in Vedic sacrificial cosmos, as argued by Malamoud (1996: 23–53). This ritual metaphor was widely accepted by Buddhist literature. See Gummer 2014.

[52] Many thanks to my peer reviewer for reminding me of this possibility and Nathan Hill's suggestion on it.

[53] Hill 2010: 242.

bold. Lines where the contents diverge are underlined; sentences without any marks are where the two texts are virtually identical.

Paragraph A (284b5–7; 32a7–b3)

<table>
<tr><th>Upāya Tib I</th><th>Upāya Tib II</th></tr>
<tr><td>rigs kyi bu gzhan yang byang chub sems dpa' thabs mkhas pa ni **nam zhig** ***shes rab rmongs pa can du red*** na yang de ni bdag la **yi mi gsod** kyi ***gzengs bstod par byed do*** | |</td><td>rigs kyi bu gzhan yang byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pa'i thabs la mkhas pa ni **gang gi tshe** ***blo rtul bar gyur*** na yang de bdag nyid khyad du **gsod par mi byed** cing | ***zhum par mi byed pa***</td></tr>
<tr><td>**chung ngu** na rtsa ba bzhi pa'i tshigs su bcad pa gcig kha ton du 'don na yang</td><td>de **tha na** tshig bzhi pa'i tshigs su bcad pa gcig tsam la yang 'jug par byed cing de 'di ltar so sor rtog par yang byed de |</td></tr>
<tr><td>rtsa ba bzhi pa'i tshigs su bcad pa gcig gi don gang yin pa gsung rab tu gtogs pa thams cad kyi don kyang de yin no | zhes de de ltar slob cing</td><td>tshig bzhi pa'i tshigs su bcad pa gcig po 'di'i don gang yin pa de ni gsung rab tu gtogs pa thams cad kyi don yin no zhes so sor rtog par byed do | |</td></tr>
<tr><td>des tshigs su bcad pa de kha ton du byas nas</td><td>des de ltar tshig bzhi pa'i tshigs su bcad pa gcig kha ton du bslabs nas zhum pa med pa'i sems kyis snying rje chen po bskyed de | rnyed pa dang | bkur sti dang | grags pa 'dod pa med pas grong dang | grong khyer dang | grong rdal dang | yul 'khor dang | rgyal po'i pho brang 'khor dag tu skye bo mang po la tshig bzhi pa'i tshigs su bcad pa de rgya cher yang dag par ston par byed cing 'di ltar smon lam 'debs par yang byed de</td></tr>
<tr><td>sems can ***gang ji snyed*** dag gis bdag gi rtsa ba bzhi pa'i tshigs su bcad pa 'di thos pa de thams cad sangs rgyas kyi spobs pa thob par shog cig | ces de ltar ma zhum pa'i sems kyis smon lam 'debs te |</td><td>| sems can ***gang su*** dag gis bdag gi tshig bzhi pa'i tshigs su bcad pa 'di thos par gyur pa de dag thams cad bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub tu nges par gyur cig ces smon lam 'debs par yang byed do | |</td></tr>
<tr><td>de dge ba'i rtsa ba des sems can thams cad kyi thos pa mtha' med pa dpe med pa zil gyis gnon cing sangs rgyas kyi spobs pa yang **len par byed do** | |</td><td>de dge ba'i rtsa ba thabs la mkhas pas yongs su zin pa des sems can thams cad kun dga' bo ltar mang du thos par 'gyur zhing sangs rgyas kyi spobs pa nyid kyang **'thob par** 'gyur te | rigs kyi bu de yang byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po'i thabs la mkhas pa yin no | |</td></tr>
</table>

Paragraph B (284b7–285a1; 32b5–7)

<table>
<tr><td>rigs kyi bu gzhan yang byang chub sems dpa’ thabs mkhas pa ni nam zhig gal te</td><td>rigs kyi bu gzhan yang byang chub sems dpa’ sems dpa’ chen po’i thabs la mkhas pa ni gal te brgya la</td></tr>
<tr><td>brgya la dbul por gyur na | de’i tshe na de chung ngu na gzhan gyi las kyang byas nas zas gzar bu gang thogs te sems ma zhum pas dge ’dun nam gang zag la sbyin par byed do | |</td><td>brgya lam na dbul por gyur na yang des tha na gzhan gyi las kyang byas te | kha zas nal ze gang tsam yang blangs nas zhum pa med pa’i sems kyis dge ’dun nam | gang zag la ’bul bar yang byed do | |</td></tr>
<tr><td>byin nas kyang ’di ltar</td><td>phul nas kyang de ’di ltar so sor rtog</td></tr>
<tr><td>slob ste | bcom ldan ’das kyis sems che ba’i phyir</td><td>par byed de | bcom ldan ’das kyis sems rgya chen pos byin na sbyin pa</td></tr>
<tr><td>sbyin pa che bar ’gyur ro zhes gsungs kyis bdag gi</td><td>yang rgya chen por ’gyur ro zhes gsungs pas na ’di ltar bdag gi sbyin</td></tr>
<tr><td>sbyin pa chung ngu</td><td>par bya ba'i chos ’di ni chud mod kyi</td></tr>
<tr><td>zin kyang thams cad mkhyen pa nyid kyi sems ni dpag tu med pa'o snyam nas</td><td>| thams cad mkhyen pa nyid kyi sems kyis byin pas dpag tu med par ’gyur ro snyam du so sor rtog par byed do | |</td></tr>
</table>

On the basis of this type of evidence, we must conclude that it is almost impossible that these two translations were performed independently. The differences in vocabulary highlighted above can best be explained by the proposition that the translators of the later version deliberately altered the terms from the earlier one through synonyms, perhaps in order to generate the appearance of a new and original translation. As shown above, it is more likely that Upāya Tib II was revised based on the Upāya Tib I. The later text, when translated from its own source, kept the basic sentence structure of the preexisting one, but altered many terms in order to exhibit difference, or, in other cases, to supplement, correct, or improve the earlier version based on its own source text.

A similar case of a hybrid translation can also be found in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra*. This sūtra survives in three complete Tibetan versions in the Kanjurs: the first, D 557, is the shortest and was translated from Sanskrit; the second, D 556, is longer and was ascribed to Jinamitra, Śīlendrabodhi and Ye shes sde in its colophon; and the third, D 555, was translated from the Chinese version of Yijing. Several scholars have already noticed that D 556, ascribed to Ye shes sde, was a revision rather than a wholly new translation, as a large portion of its content is identical to D 557. Recently, Michael Radich has discovered that the “trikāya” section in D 556 was

translated from Chinese rather than from Sanskrit.[54] Thus, in contrast to the conventional wisdom that Ye shes sde's translation group worked directly from Sanskrit texts, it can be proven that they performed hybrid translations, combining Sanskrit and Chinese sources as demonstrated by the *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra*, or even revising preexisting texts to make a new translation, as in the case of the Upāya Tib II.

The above cases shed some light on the problem of oversimplified conceptions of early Tibetan translation practice. They demonstrate that early Tibetan translators, specially Ye shes sde's group, sometimes did not render directly from a Sanskrit original. Translations alleged to be from Sanskrit may be hybrids drawing on several source materials. Although later-period Tibetans ascribed more authority and prestige to Indic texts, early Tibetan translators would rely on the parallel Chinese source even if they had access to a Sanskrit source. The difficulty of obtaining a complete Indic text and the need to refer to Chinese recensions to obtain a more complete contextual understanding likely explains these practices.

3. Conclusion

Notwithstanding the long-standing Tibetan tradition of colophons, the true circumstances of early translationship have been lost during transmission. This is not only because of the lack of precise information in colophons/catalogs due to textual replacement after repetitive translations of the same text. It can also be attributed to intentional textual manipulation stemming from political or religious preferences.

The case studies of the above two sūtras offer a hypothesis about the *modus operandi* in early Tibetan translation which challenges the alleged translationship recorded in Tibetan colophons. The Tibetan Buddhists translated Buddhist texts not only from Sanskrit but also from Chinese and other languages. It was common for a single Buddhist text to be translated multiple times from both Sanskrit and Chinese. Although the translations with Chinese origin have been marginalised in later Tibetan history, there is ample evidence from imperial catalogs, old Dunhuang manuscripts, and fragmentary information scattered in some Tibetan historiographies, to support the popularity of the practice of translating from Chinese Buddhist texts in early Tibetan Buddhism. In most cases the translation from Chinese was earlier than the parallel rendering from Sanskrit. The

---

[54] Radich 2015.

Tibetan translation team who were responsible for Sanskrit translation would refer to the accessible Chinese parallels or other pre-existing Tibetan translations during translation. The common statement of "translating from Sanskrit (*rgya las bsgyur*)" in Tibetan colophons should be revisited because it might mean that a Sanskrit text acted as the main source instead of the exclusive source.

The theory that all translations by Ye shes sde's group were rendered solely from Sanskrit should be discarded since it is quite clear that Ye shes sde used Chinese texts as a reference. From the historical perspective, Tibetan Buddhists in the *phyi dar* tended to exaggerate the Indian legacies while minimising the influence from China. In order to make use of Buddhism to build their own identity, Tibetans preferred to regard themselves as the direct successors of Indian Buddhism. Further surveys of early Tibetan translation will uncover more intricacies of the dynamic development of Tibetan religion and history.

Bibliography and Abbreviations

sBa bzhed: 1982. *sBa gsal snang gi bzhed pa*. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

sBa bzhed phyogs bsgrigs: 2009. *sBa bzhed phyogs bsgrigs.* Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Bendall, C., ed. 1902. *Śikṣāsamuccaya: A Compendium of Buddhistic Teaching*. St. Petersburg: Russian Academy of Sciences.

D = Derge Kanjur; the classical Tibetan texts cited without comment are all taken from the Derge edition. All the Derge texts mentioned here were obtained from TBRC.

Davidson, Ronald M. 2004. "The Kingly Cosmogonic Narrative and Tibetan Histories: Indian Origins, Tibetan Space, and the *bKa' 'chems ka khol ma* Synthesis." *Lungta* 16, 64–83.

Eimer, Helmut. 2002. "On the Structure of the Tibetan Kanjur." In *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism: PIATS 2000,* edited by Helmut Eimer and David Germano, 57–72. Leiden: Brill.

———. 2012. *A Catalogue of the Kanjur Fragment from Bathang Kept in the Newark Museum*. Wien: Universität Wien.

Gummer, Natalie D. 2014. "Sacrificial Sūtras: Mahāyāna Literature and the South Asian Ritual Cosmos." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 82(4), 1091–1126.

Guo, Xiliang. 1986. 漢字古音手册 *[Manual on Chinese Ancient Phonology]*. Beijing: Peking University Press.

Harrison, Paul. 1996. "A Brief History of the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur." In *Tibetan Literature. Studies in Genre*, edited by Jose I. Cabecon and Roger R. Jackson, 70–94. Ithaka: Snow Lion.

Herrmann-Pfandt, Adelheid. 2008. *Die Lhan kar ma: ein früher Katalog der ins Tibetische übersetzten buddhistischen Texte*. Wien: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Hill, Nathan W. 2010. *A Lexicon of Tibetan Verb Stems as Reported by the Grammatical Tradition*. München: Kommission für Zentral- und Ostasiatische Studien, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

———. 2011. "The Allative, Locative, and Terminative Cases (la-don) in the Old Tibetan Annals." In *New Studies of the Old Tibetan Documents*, edited by Yoshiro Imaeda, et. al., 3–38. Tokyo: ILCAA.

Imaeda, Yoshiro. 1975. "Documents Tibétain de Touen-houang concernant le Concile du Tibet." *Journal Asiatique*, 125–146.

IOL San = Sanskrit manuscripts in the India Office Library discovered by Aurel Stein.

ITJ = Tibetan manuscripts in the India Office Library found at Dunhuang and collected by Aurel Stein.

Karmay, Samten Gyaltsen. 1989. *The Great Perfection (rdzogs chen): A Philosophical and Meditative Teaching in Tibetan Buddhism*. Leiden: Brill.

———. 2007. *The Great Perfection: A Philosophical and Meditative Teaching of Tibetan Buddhism*. Leiden: Brill.

Kawagoe, Eishin. 2005. *Dkar chag 'Phang thang ma*. Sendai-shi: Tohoku Indo-Chibetto Kenkyukai.

Lee, Yu-Min. 1983. "The Maitreya Cult and its Art in Early China."

Ph.D. thesis 8400244, The Ohio State University.

Legittimo, Elsa I. 2010. “Reopening the Maitreya-files–Two Almost Identical Early Maitreya Sūtra Translations in the Chinese Canon.” *JIABS* 31(1–2), 251–293.

Malamoud, Charles. 1996. *Cooking the World: Ritual and Thought in Ancient India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Matsumura, Hisashi. 1993. “Marginalia to the Sanskrit Fragments of Some Buddhist Texts.” *Central Asiatic Journal* 37, 120–149.

Nishioka, Soshū. 1980. “Index to the Catalogue Section of Bu-ston’s *History of Buddhism* I.” *Annual Report of Institute for the Study of Cultural Exchange*. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Cultural Exchange.

Nobel, Johannes. 1944. *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra: Das Goldglanz-Sūtra: Die tibetischen Übersetzungen, mit einer Tafel*. Leiden: Brill.

———. 1958. *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra. I-Tsing’s chinesische Version und ihre tibetische Übersetzung*. Leiden: Brill.

Okimoto, Katsumi 沖本克己. 1976. “チベット譯《二入四行論》について” [The Tibetan Translation of *Erh-ju-ssu-hsing-lun*]. *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 24(2), 999–99.

———. 1975-7. “bSam yas の宗論(一),(二),(三)” [Bsam yas no Shūron 1–3]. *Japanese Association for Tibetan Studies* 21, 5–8; 22, 4–8; 23, 5–8.

Oetke, Claus. 1977. *Die aus dem Chinesischen übersetzten tibetischen Versionen des Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra*. Wiesbaden: Steiner.

PT = (Dunhuang manuscript) Pelliot tibétain

Pasang Wangdu and Hildegard Diemberger. 2000. *dBa’ bzhed: the Royal Narrative Concerning the Bringing of the Buddha’s Doctrine to Tibet*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Pulleyblank, Edwin G. 1991. *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese and Early Mandarin*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Pye, Michael. 1978. *Skilful Means: A Concept in Mahayana Buddhism*. London: Duckworth.

Radich, Michael. 2015. "Tibetan Evidence for the Sources of Chapters of the Synoptic *Suvarṇa-prabhāsottama-sūtra* T 664 Ascribed to Paramārtha." *Buddhist Studies Review* 32(2), 245–70.

Richardson, Hugh. 1952. *Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa and the Mu Tsung/Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan Treaty of A.D. 821–822 from the Inscription at Lhasa*. London: Royal Asiatic Society.

van Schaik, Sam. 2014. *The Tibetan Chan Manuscripts: A Complete Descriptive Catalogue of Tibetan Chan Texts in the Dunhuang Manuscript Collections*. Bloomington: The Sinor Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies.

———. 2015. *Tibetan Zen: Discovering a Lost Tradition*. Boston: Snow Lion.

van Schaik, Sam and Kazushi Iwao. 2008. "Fragments of the 'Testament of Ba' from Dunhuang." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 128(3), 477–487.

Schroeder, John W. 2001. *Skillful Means: The Heart of Buddhist Compassion*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Schuessler, Axel. 2009. *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese: A Companion to Grammata Serica Recensa*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Silk, Jonathan A. 1996. "Notes on the History of the Yongle Kanjur." In *Suhṛllekhāḥ: Festgabe für Helmut Eimer (Indica et Tibetica 28)*, 153–200. Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica.

———. 2007. Mahayana. In *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. Accessed March 31, 2016. http://www.britannica.com/topic/Mahayana.

———. *forthcoming*. The Ten Virtues of Loudly Invoking the Name of Amitābha.

Silk, Jonathan and Channa Li. *forthcoming*. *Tibetan Translations of Chinese Sutras*.

Simonsson, Nils. 1957. *Indo-tibetische Studien.* Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksell.

Shen, Weirong. 2011. "Reviews of the Latest Studies on Dunhuang Tibetan Buddhist Literature, Tabo Monastery Manuscripts and rNal 'byor chen por bsgom pa'i don." In *Studies of Dunhuang Literature, Archaeology and Art*, 339–53. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.

Stein, Rolf A. 1961. *Une chronique ancienne des bSam-yas: sBa-bzhed*. Paris: Institut des hautes études chinoises.

Stein, Rolf A. and Arthur P. McKeown. 2010. *Rolf Stein's Tibetica antiqua with additional materials*. Leiden: Brill.

T = Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō

Tatz, Mark. 1994. *The Skill in Means: Upāyakauśalya Sūtra*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Tong Jinhua and Huang Bufan. 1990. *Baxie (sBa bzhed): Its Translation and Annotation with the Original Text*. Khren tu'u: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Tsukamoto, Zenryu. 1985. *A History of Early Chinese Buddhism: From its Introduction to the Death of Hui-Yüan*. Tokyo: Kodansha International.

Ueyama, Daishun上山大峻. 1968. "チベット譯<楞伽師資記>ついて" [Chibettoyaku 'Ryōga shishi ki' ni tsuite]. 佛教文献の研究: 佐藤教授停年記念 [*Bukkyū bunken no kenkyū: Satō kyōjū teinen kinen*] 25–26, 191–209.

———. 1974, 1983, 1987. "敦煌出土チベット文禪資料の研究" [A Study on the Manuscripts of Dhyāna Found in Tun-huang I, II, III]. *Bulletin of Buddhist Cultural Institute Ryukoku University* 13, 1–11; 22, 19–60; 26, 37–51.

———. 1990. 敦煌仏教の研究 [*Studies on Dunhuang Buddhism*]. Kyoto: hōzōkan.

de la Vallee Poussin, L. 1911. "Documents Sanscrits de la Seconde Collection M. A. Stein (Continued from the July Journal, p. 777)." *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1063–1079.

Wu, Qiyu. 1984. 大蕃国大德·三蔵法師·法成伝考 [*Research on the Tibetan Bhadanta, Tripitaka Master Chos grub*], 383–414. Tokyo: Daitō.

Buddhicizing the Warrior-King Gesar in the *dMyal gling rDzogs pa Chen po*

Natasha L. Mikles

(University of Virginia)

That hell has a certain allure is undeniable. From the gory maps of Dante's *Inferno* to contemporary television and film featuring devils and demons, hell occupies a unique conceptual space at the intersection of anxiety and amusement, of dread and diversion, of panic and pastime. Edward Ingebretsen has traced the development of the genre of horror as entertainment in American culture to the fascination—one might even say erotic obsession—with hell of America's first settlers, the Puritans.[1] However, the attraction of hell extends across cultures, and many of the most popular myths and legends of Buddhism prominently feature the torturous tribulations of the netherworld. My own experience living in Tibetan communities has shown that Buddhists are quite similar to the Western population: while a small portion of the audience viewing a hell image will become respectful and contemplative in response to the distressing vision before them, a much larger portion will find entertainment in the picture—pointing in barely-contained, gleeful horror to the mashed torsos, stretched limbs, and little dangling eyeballs.

My interest in hell lies not in exploring the strange feature of a human nature so enthralled by that which is meant to disgust, but rather to begin investigating how the apparent psychological power and allure of hell has been harnessed by Tibetan Buddhist thinkers to produce doctrinal change. Specifically, detailed descriptions of hell and the characters one meets there are an important component in transforming the eastern Tibetan epic hero King Gesar of Gling into an explicitly Buddhist teacher and deity. When King Gesar descends to hell to save his mother in the popular *dMyal gling rdzogs pa chen po*, it decisively buddhicizes the warrior-king by means of situating him in a recognisably Buddhist narrative context. However, Gesar's netherworld encounter with King Yama also humbles the violent warrior-king while simultaneously ensuring he is subordinate to the

[1] See, further, Ingebretsen 1996.

Natasha L. Mikles, "Buddhicizing the Warrior-King Gesar in the *dMyal gling rdzogs pa chen po*", *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 37, December 2016, pp. 231–246.

Buddhist institution and is dependent on them to fulfil his salvific role.

1. Buddhist, Pre-Buddhist, and the Problem of Second-Order Categories

Many scholars have argued that religions and religious thinking are inherently fluid and dynamic. Thomas Tweed has maintained that an academic picture of religion that more closely mirrors reality is one which discusses religions not as discrete categories or units, but instead as "cultural flows."[2] Indeed, one could argue that the boundaries between "Buddhist" and "non-Buddhist" in Tibet are so porous as to make the process of "buddhicizing" an untenable object of study. To consider the *dMyal gling* as a force in "buddhicizing" King Gesar there is an apparent assumption of certain divisions between religion and culture and a risk of essentialising the nature of "religion" and "Buddhism" in a way that distorts lived Tibetan realities instead of elucidating them.

This issue is compounded by a lack of knowledge about the exact nature and boundaries of "pre-Buddhist" religion in Tibet. While Bon practitioners claim to continue the tradition of pre-Buddhist Tibetan religion, David Snellgrove and others have challenged some of these historical claims concerning Bon's authentically pre-Buddhist nature—though acknowledging that Bon is more than a mere mimicry of Buddhist thought and practice.[3] Considering the unique aspects of Tibetan Buddhism, Réne de Nebesky-Wojkowitz and John Bellezza both use their contemporary research on spirit mediums to argue for the practice's centrality in "pre-Buddhist" religious practices.[4] Despite the encyclopedic nature of their work, however, using contemporary Buddhist practice to hypothesise about the nature of religious thinking in Tibet before Buddhism's arrival is a dangerous game that produces more speculations than certainties. Indeed, the project does more to reveal the malleable and transforming nature of the category of "Buddhism" than to demonstrate those religious practices in which Tibetans engaged before Buddhism's arrival on the plateau.

The risk in using terms like "Buddhist," "non-Buddhist," and "buddhicizing" lies in misunderstanding the nature and purpose of these categories. These are not empirical realities, but rather heuristic, second-order categories created by scholars as the basis of a comparison. As J.Z. Smith explains, creating comparisons using

---

2 Tweed 2008.
3 Snellgrove 1967.
4 Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1993; Bellezza 2005.

second-order categories like this has the potential to reveal something new which would have otherwise remained hidden.[5] Examining how the figure of King Gesar moved from being a "non-Buddhist" warrior-king to a "Buddhist" savior in hell seeks to use these categories as a framework to enhance our understanding of the nature of violence in Tibet, Tibetans' self-perception of non-tantric Buddhism in Tibet, and the multivariate roles popular literature plays in Tibetan society.

2. *An Introduction to the* dMyal gling rdzogs pa chen po

The story of King Gesar's descent to hell to save his mother is almost certainly a relatively recent innovation. Matthew Kapstein argues the text's origins lie in nineteenth-century or twentieth-century Khams due to the extent of the region's already-documented Gesar-related activity during that century.[6] Beyond the well-known composition of tantric Gesar rituals by 'Ju Mi pham rgya mtsho (1846–1912)[7] and 'Gyur med thub bstan 'jams dbyangs grags pa's (1883–1945) edition of the epic's first three episodes,[8] the region also witnessed the commencement of Dzogs chen monastery's Gesar operas by the Fifth Dzogs chen rin po che Thub bstan chos kyi rdo rje (1872–1935)[9] and the era saw the construction of numerous temples devoted to the warrior-king. The *dMyal gling's* nineteenth-century or twentieth-century origin is also supported by its first blockprint edition, which was created at Wa ra monastery (Wa ra dgon pa) and sponsored by the early twentieth-century monastic retreatant Dam chos bstan pa. Although few copies of the Wa ra blockprint remain today,[10] handwritten reproductions frequently circulated among Tibetan

---

5 Smith 1982.

6 Kapstein 2007a.

7 Forgues 2011.

8 Despite only containing the first three episodes and its authorship by a man other than 'Ju Mi pham, the text is frequently called the "Mi pham Gesar" after the designation of the late Robin Kornman. Robin Kornman's English translation of these has recently been completed by Sangye Khandro and Lama Chonam (Kornman, Sangye Khandro and Lama Chonam 2013). The composition and publication of this text has been discussed by Solomon George FitzHerbert in his dissertation, "The Birth of Gesar: Narrative Diversity and Social Resonance in the Tibetan Epic Tradition," 2007.

9 A plaque to commemorate this event was recently installed on the road between the monastery and the *bshad grwa.* The area, however, gets little foot traffic and the broader significance of this plaque is unknown.

10 A notable exception is the nearly complete copy held at the Nationalities University in Beijing, China.

communities in the 1960s and 1970s.[11] These hand-copied manuscripts of the Wa ra blockprint became the foundation for the majority of subsequent publications.

Beyond its relatively recent origin, the *dMyal gling* is unique among Gesar episodes on two accounts: first, while most episodes of the Gesar epic are initially oral narratives which are sometimes written down at a later point, the *dMyal gling* is entirely a literary text. It is possible that the *dMyal gling* gained a secondary orality and gave rise to differing versions of the narrative where King Gesar descends to hell not to save his mother, but rather to save his female confidante or his wife. However, a narrative of Gesar's journey to hell may also have circulated as an oral story performed by bards prior to the *dMyal gling rdzogs pa chen po's* publication. Oral stories leave few traces, and it is likely, therefore, that we will never know which came first—the oral or the published. In terms of contemporary published versions, however, the *dMyal gling rdzogs pa chen po* is by far the most popular: of the ten recent publications of the *dMyal gling* produced since the 1970s, eight are the *dMyal gling rdzogs pa chen po*.

The second unique feature of the *dMyal gling* in relation to other episodes of the Gesar epic is the text's status as a self-proclaimed treasure (*gter ma*). The purported author is 'Dan bla ma Chos kyi dbang phyug, whose title likely indicates that he is a *bla ma* serving King Gesar's most-trusted warrior—the archer 'Dan ma. 'Dan ma, however, is also a locale north of sDe dge associated with the Gling tshang kingdom and many epic traditions in the Gling tshang area claim that 'Dan ma's name reflects his home in that region.[12] It is likely, therefore, that the title "'Dan bla ma" denotes both the author's allegiance to the archer 'Dan ma, as well as his association with the physical region bearing the same name. Bla ma Chos kyi dbang phyug actually makes an appearance in the later chapters of the text itself, leading several funerary rituals for King Gesar's warriors. After hiding the *dMyal gling* in the Red Water Lake (*dMar chu'i rdzing bu*) in Northern Golok, it was recovered by the Gling tshang gter ston Drag rtsal rdo rje. No explicit explanation is offered within the text for Chos kyi dbang phyug taking on the role of a treasure concealer usually reserved for Padmasambhava or his consort, but the text's colophon features traditionally Buddhist statements about the benefits of reading, copying, or reproducing the text. Interviews with contemporary practitioners of Gesar *tantra*s

[11] Thub bstan phun tshogs (Professor at the Southwest University for Nationalities), personal interview by the author, Chengdu, China, June 5, 2015.

[12] FitzHerbert 2007.

reveal that both men are believed to have been rNying ma *bla ma*s,[13] though no further information can be found on their specific identities at this time. No biographies or *rnam thar* exist for Drag rtsal rdo rje, and it seems that excepting his revelation of the *dMyal gling* he had relatively little impact as a treasure recoverer (*gter ston*) or as a religious practitioner.

The specifically Buddhist features of the *dMyal gling* extend beyond its status as a *gter ma* to the narrative itself, which has two distinct parts revealing the nature of King Gesar as both a Buddhist teacher and a Buddhist Savior. The first half of the *dMyal gling* tells of King Gesar traveling to the Copper-Coloured Mountain and receiving initiations not only from Padmasambhava, but also from every buddha of the five families. He then returns to Gling, where he calls together peoples from every land—including those which he has conquered—and gives specific teachings to each delegation, ending with a proclamatory song encouraging devoted practice and commitment to Buddhism. The titles of the teachings Gesar gives his guests read like a primer of important rDzogs chen practices and rituals—beginning with ordinary preliminaries on the nature of the transient world and the importance of a human life, through the *mKha' 'gro snying thig*, the *Bla ma yang thig*, and others.

Despite the intriguing nature of this section and its role in situating the *dMyal gling* within contemporaneous Ris med discourses more broadly, the rest of this paper will focus on the second half of the *dMyal gling.* In this section, King Gesar takes the form of a different Buddhist archetype—a savior for all suffering beings in hell (*dmyal ba*). After giving teachings to the assembled multitudes, Gesar journeys to India for an intensive meditation retreat, during which time his mother dies. Despite the many rituals sponsored by his wife 'Brug mo and all the Gling pas, the *bla ma*s of Gling divine that his mother has been reborn in hell. They dispatch a messenger to notify the king, who does his own divination to confirm that his mother has been reborn in the deepest, most tortuous hell—the Avīci hell or "No Waves" hell, named thus because torture continues without interruption. He then descends to hell to challenge the Lord of the Underworld—King Yama, though he is most frequently called the Dharma King (*chos rgyal*) in this text—and demand that he release his suffering mother. What follows is a significant encounter between Yama and Gesar that reveals important distinctions and debates about the role of violence in religious practice and life; it ultimately subjugates the warrior-king to

[13] Bkra shis 'od dkar (Caretaker and lead practitioner at Gesar Temple in Asu Village), personal Interview by the author, Asu, Sichuan, China, July 24, 2015.

the Buddhist institution, while still allowing him to leave hell triumphant with his mother freed and reborn in a Pure Land.

3. Buddhicizing a Warrior-King

As explained above, we see in the *dMyal gling* two distinct methods of buddhicizing the epic hero King Gesar of Gling—one by giving him initiations from Padmasambhava and portraying him as a Buddhist teacher par excellence, the other by means of inserting him into the narrative role of a Buddhist savior. As has been noted by Matthew Kapstein, the narrative of Buddhist savior in hell is not particularly novel.[14] The *dMyal gling* is likely building on popular mythology surrounding the Buddhist disciple Maudgalyāyana—known in China as Mu-Lian, where the tale is most popular—who is also said to have descended to hell to save his mother. When talking about heroes saving mothers in hell, it seems inconceivable that the authors of the *dMyal gling* were ignorant of the Chinese tale. Beginning from the ninth century onwards, several translations of the Mu-Lian story existed in Tibet in various forms of completeness.[15] The influence of the Mu-Lian narrative is apparent in the stories of other indigenous Tibetan narratives of saviors in hell—including the Bon hero lHa bu padma 'phrul and Gu ru chos dbang (1212–1270), whose own narrative of saving his mother in hell only arose centuries after his death.[16] The story of lHa bu padma 'phrul in particular demonstrates a clear mimicry of the Mu-Lian narrative, down to the mother's rebirth as a dog and the inclusion of specific ritual practices to ensure relatives are never reborn in hell.[17]

While the *dMyal gling* inserts King Gesar into this established narrative role of a Buddhist savior in hell, it is important to note that there are few clear signs of direct influence between Mu-Lian's descent to hell and the *dMyal gling*. In its fullest iteration, the story of Mu-Lian features not a simple salvation, but multiple trips to hell and rebirths, as Mu-Lian gains assistance from the Śā kyamuni Buddha and leads his mother through successive rebirths as a hungry ghost, a black dog, and a human.[18] Furthermore, the Mu-Lian story traditionally features calls to perform specific ritual practices—namely making offerings to the Buddhist monastic assembly during

[14] Kapstein 2007a.
[15] Berounsky 2012: 86–99.
[16] Cuevas 2008: 118.
[17] Berounsky 2012: 100–15.
[18] An excellent translation of the full tale can be found in Victor Mair 2007: 87–121.

the Ghost Festival—to ensure one's relatives are spared from hell.[19] The *dMyal gling* features no such call to ritual practice, nor is the threat that one's parents could end up like Gesar's mother 'Gogs mo relevant, for reasons that will be discussed below. Despite this lack of clear influence, the Mu-Lian story and the narratives to which it gave rise are important for demonstrating the prevalence and continued attraction of the Buddhist imagery of the hell saviour. When King Gesar was re-contextualised as a Buddhist saviour in hell, therefore, it represented a critical move to buddhicize him and augment his role as a Buddhist teacher.

However, while the *dMyal gling*'s hell episode buddhicizes King Gesar by means of outfitting him in this traditional narrative role, certain unavoidable problems begin to arise—namely that King Gesar does not fit the ideal model of a Buddhist savior quite so well. Unlike Maudgalyāyana and Gu ru chos dbang, King Gesar was not already a Buddhist figure turned into a popular hero by his adventures in hell; rather, he was a folk hero who became a Buddhist hero. This reversal means that King Gesar carries a significant amount of narrative "baggage" featuring traits generally celebrated in eastern Tibetan cultures of masculinity,[20] but rather distasteful to the religious identity and teachings of many prevalent forms of lay Buddhism in nineteenth-century Khams—a certain love of arms and armory, a penchant for incredible feats of violence, and a kingly habit of brutally conquering surrounding lands. While these certainly fit a tantric metaphor, the hell episode of the *dMyal gling* seems to be intended for an educated, but largely non-ordained, lay audience, making King Gesar's traditional penchant for violence and death rather problematic.

As a historical phenomenon, the implicit tension between the Gesar epic and Tibetan Buddhist ethical ideals has been remarked upon by Georges Dreyfus and Robin Kornman.[21] While conducting field research in Yul shul during the summer of 2015, this dispute was still conspicuously present. While some monasteries associated with the bKa' brgyud and rNying ma orders in eastern Tibet have incorporated King Gesar into the pantheon of divine Buddhist figures, many other religious leaders expressed suspicion of the epic hero. In an interview with mKhan po Thub bstan rong rgyu of Ba' thang bsam grub gling monastery, the *mkhan po* explained that it was inappropriate for devout Buddhists to read the Gesar epic because it would make them too easily provoked and too wild, leading to acts

[19] Teiser 1988: 196–212.
[20] Tsomu 2015; Barstow *forthcoming*.
[21] Dreyfus 1994; Kornman 1995.

of violence in emulation of King Gesar.[22] An interview with Tibetan doctor Mon pa don sgrub echoed this sentiment, though he limited the prohibition on reading Gesar only to monks.[23] A ba 'jam zong, an elder of Rong bu village, told me that if the Gesar epic becomes too popular, it will lead to the end of Buddhism in Tibet.[24] What is evident in these interviews and in the historical evidence presented by Dreyfus and others is that many Tibetans perceive an opposition between the violent figure of King Gesar and the practice of Buddhism. In making King Gesar a Buddhist savior, therefore, the authors of the *dMyal gling* must in some way "tame" King Gesar—take the bite out of his bark, dull the sword in his scabbard, and soften the tip of his arrow.

4. Subordinating King Gesar to the Buddhist Institution

To accomplish the goal of taming King Gesar within his role as a Buddhist savior, the *dMyal gling rdzogs pa chen po* engineers an encounter between King Gesar and Yama in hell that clearly subjugates the epic hero to the Buddhist institution as represented by the King of the Underworld. While Gesar has come to hell as a recognisably Buddhist saviour, his encounter with King Yama ensures that he is also clearly made subject to the Buddhist laws of cause and effect and its resultant punishment for wanton bloodshed and murder. The foundation of his power as a Buddhist saviour is revealed to be entirely dependent on the Buddhist institution: King Yama must provide Gesar the tantric ritual necessary to free suffering beings in hell.

Upon finding out his mother has been condemned to hell, King Gesar flies upon his magical horse to King Yama's throne, draws a thousand golden arrows, places them in his bow which can bend the world, and demands King Yama tell him where his mother is located. What follows is a lengthy encounter in which King Gesar not only fails to even ruffle King Yama, but is also defeated in battle by King Yama and his servants. In his interrogation, Gesar demands to know why his mother has been placed in hell, despite the fact that she is virtuous; King Yama explains that his mother's painful rebirth is punishment for Gesar's own sins of violence.

---

22 Thub bstan rong rgyu (Religious teacher at 'Ba' thang bsam grub gling), personal interview by the author, Jyekundo, Yushu, July 27, 2015.

23 Mon pa don sgrub (Tibetan medical doctor in Zhiduo), personal interview by the author, Zhiduo, Yul shu, July 26, 2015.

24 A ba 'jam zong (Village Elder), personal interview by the author, Hua Shou Village, Yushu Prefecture, July 28, 2015.

Yama then enters into a vitriolic critique of Gesar based on the laws of karma, explaining that he is a "butcher who kills in the morning, but acts like a *bla ma* in the afternoon,"[25] and that Gesar's heroic companions "kill as meaninglessly as making water."[26] Following these attacks directed at the actions of King Gesar as a warrior, King Yama criticises his role as a ruler. Yama mockingly asks Gesar if it is suitable or good Buddhist rulership to crush neighbouring nations in order to receive tribute. Enraged by Yama's mockery, King Gesar runs to attack, but Yama's servants emanate a mandala of wrathful buddhas in defence. When Gesar tries to behead one of the emanated buddhas, his own head is lobed off instead and he is defeated.[27] Upon arising, Yama and Gesar sing several songs to each other—a common trope in the oral versions of the epic that is mimicked in this literary edition—each trying to convince the other of their viewpoint on the role of violence in religious practice. During this interlude, Gesar makes one last effort to convince Yama of the ethical correctness of his actions, claiming that his warfare has ultimately spiritual aims: "When I fight, I fight with the enemy of afflictive emotions; I uproot the blood line of the five toxic emotions."[28] Yama remains unconvinced, however, and Gesar prepares to leave in defeat.

This narrative interlude reveals a critique of King Gesar grounded in a non-tantric, traditional Buddhist perspective that links his bloodshed and martial prowess with the suffering of his mother in hell. Despite his role as a Buddhist teacher earlier in the text, King Gesar fundamentally misunderstands the equivalency of self and other—as demonstrated by his attack on the emanated buddhas that results only in injury to himself. The Buddhist critique of King Gesar is reinforced throughout the encounter by phrases asserting the primacy of karma which pepper Yama's speech: in one example, Yama proclaims, "It is not I, the Dharma King, who places one in hell…it is the result of calculations of cause and effect."[29] Not only is this critique of Gesar's violent nature on the basis of karmic consequence entirely unprecedented in Gesar literature, but it also condemns King Gesar for the very things for which he is celebrated in other Gesar narratives. It is not merely King Gesar's mother who is in hell; all the demon kings whom Gesar had killed in other episodes of the epic surround her. In order to save his mother 'Gogs mo, therefore, King Gesar must save the demon kings he had fought so

---

[25] Chos kyi dbang phyug 1984: 160.
[26] *Ibid*.
[27] *Ibid*.: 162.
[28] *Ibid*.: 173.
[29] *Ibid*.: 160.

hard to destroy.

Although Yama presents a Buddhist denunciation of King Gesar, it is important to note that the interlude between the two men does not seek to actively undermine the larger vision of Gesar as a Buddhist figure developed in the first part of the *dMyal gling rdzogs pa chen po*—where Gesar receives initiations from Padmasambhava and gives Buddhist teachings—or in his incarnation as a Buddhist saviour in hell. Before criticising King Gesar for his years of bloodshed, Yama also praises him for planting Buddhism and promoting Śākyamuni's words in the lands under his jurisdiction. Yama even acknowledges that King Gesar is an emanation of Mañjuśrī. This identification is an interesting break with the rest of other buddhicised Gesar literature where King Gesar is almost always painted as an emanation of Avalokiteśvara rather than Mañjuśrī.[30] Yama's identification of King Gesar as an emanation of Mañjuśrī emphasises that despite his misunderstanding of karma and inappropriate violent actions, King Gesar is still essentially a Buddhist figure. While King Gesar's descent to hell to save his mother establishes him as a Buddhist saviour, his encounter with King Yama provides a unique condemnation which demonstrates that Gesar is himself still subject to the Buddhist institution, cosmology, and the laws of karma.

As a defeated King Gesar prepares to leave his mother in hell and return to Gling, Yama calls on him to remain and reveals a second strategy for subordinating King Gesar to the Buddhist institution—King Yama himself acts as a Buddhist teacher to provide King Gesar with the ability to free suffering beings of hell. Before offering Gesar instruction in the transference ritual to remove beings from hell, Yama's role as an important and powerful person within Buddhist cosmology is first reaffirmed. Yama asserts his own spiritual attainment to Gesar, stating: "I encircle the transient world. [My] exalted mind meditates without distraction on the emptiness of the self-luminous mind."[31] He then exhorts King Gesar to fulfill his duty as a Buddhist saviour and lead his mother from hell.

To aid in his quest, Yama as Buddhist teacher explains the ritual of *'pho ba* transference which Gesar can perform to free the suffering beings in hell. As mentioned previously, these suffering beings include not only his own mother, but also the demon kings who terrorised the land prior to Gesar's conquest. Once receiving the ritual, King Gesar "loosens the armor from his body, removes the pennant from his helmet, and tosses the weapons from his waist."[32]

---

30 This shift is a major focus of my current research. Mikles *in progress*.

31 Chos kyi dbang phyug 1984: 186.

32 *Ibid.*: 194.

Free from these emblems of his martial prowess, Gesar descends deep into hell to search for his mother. Like many other forms of Tibetan hell literature, Gesar tours the hell realms accompanied by King Yama's Tiger-headed servant, stopping at each level to hear of the sins that land one there and using the transference ritual taught to him by King Yama to free the suffering beings. On account of King Gesar's actions, the hell realm is ultimately transformed from a place of torment into a "courtyard of flowers" and a "place of delights," though we can presume this change is not permanent.

5. Gesar's Mother in Hell

By means of his journey to hell to save his mother, the demon kings he previously destroyed, and all suffering hell-beings, King Gesar is made into a Buddhist saviour. However, to address the violent nature of King Gesar at odds with traditional Buddhist ethics, the text portrays him as a saviour clearly subject to the Buddhist institution and the laws of cause and effect as evidenced both by Yama's chastisement of the epic hero and Yama's role in providing Gesar with salvific power. This emphasis on King Gesar's confrontation with karma presents an unresolved question—why do King Gesar's sins have an effect on the spiritual status of his mother at all? Throughout traditional Indian Buddhist doctrine, karma generally belongs to an individual alone. While the Buddha is said to have ascended to the Heaven of the Thirty-Three to preach the dharma to his mother and ensure her salvation, *her* favourable rebirth was not directly caused by *his* merits—except perhaps for the merit of birthing a Buddha. Indeed, Yama's songs seem to support the individual nature of karma, as he tells Gesar, "If you have dharma, I am the one who will lead you to the heavenly realm. If you do not have dharma, I am the one who will posit you in hell. I am the one who honestly differentiates good and bad karma."[33]

It is possible that this non-traditional twist of doctrine is evidence of Chinese influence on the *dMyal gling*—mirroring many forms of Chinese Buddhism, Gesar's mother's salvation is tied up with his own. As noted earlier in the discussion of the popular Chinese tale of Mu-Lian, several influential Chinese Buddhist texts argue that children are uniquely responsible for parental salvation and provide the Buddhist rituals necessary to ensure their redemption.[34] We know that some versions of these texts were translated into Tibetan as early

---

[33] *Ibid.*: 163.
[34] Teiser 1988 and 2003.

as the ninth century, though their readership seems to have been extremely limited.[35] Indeed, Matthew Kapstein notes that Tibetans seems to have intentionally avoided Chinese apocryphal texts,[36] and the Ghost Festival—where individuals make offerings at both the Buddhist monastery and local grave sites in order to benefit their ancestors—was simply never as popular in Tibet as it was in China. Beyond that, with little to no explicit evidence, it is difficult, some might even say dangerous,[37] to rely solely on this amorphous force called "influence" as an explanation for the text's unique narrative.

A more appropriate explanation for Gesar's mother's suffering also did not arise from field research in Yul shul. When asked about why Gesar's mother was in hell, my informants consistently provided different reasons than the text itself did. The most popular reason was that—despite being a devout Buddhist—Gesar's mother fell to hell because she had taken pleasure in Gesar's conquests of foreign lands and rejoiced in the many deaths they caused. Such a sentiment or rationale is not mentioned a single time within the *dMyal gling rdzogs pa chen po.* Despite my efforts to confirm with my informants that we were discussing the published *dMyal gling rdzogs pa chen po* of Wa ra monastery, however, it is possible that this reasoning reflects interpretations found in alternate renditions of the *dMyal gling* as either sung by Gesar bards or published in contemporary paperback editions. Whatever the reason for this change, the explanation popularly offered, either intentionally or unintentionally, contradicts the text's own reasoning and does little to illuminate why Gesar's mother is in hell.

I suggest that two mutually reinforcing concerns are at work ensuring that the violent actions of King Gesar cause his mother's rebirth in hell. As discussed above, making King Gesar a Buddhist savior in hell effectively draws him more completely into a Buddhist narrative framework. It also forces a confrontation with Gesar's violent nature in other epic episodes that feature him destroying demonic kings. To bring Gesar into a Buddhist context defined by non-tantric forms of morality, he must be chastised and reformed from his violent nature. However, if he is to remain a Buddhist savior within a traditional narrative setting, he cannot be sent to hell himself. Thus, sending his mother to hell in atonement for his sins is the most logical choice within the narrative.

The second motive concerns preserving the *dMyal gling*'s inter-textuality with other episodes of the Gesar epic. Descending to hell to save one's mother is the act of a Buddhist savior par excellence,

---

[35] Berounsky 2012; Kapstein 2007b.
[36] Kapstein 2007b: 211–12.
[37] Lincoln 2012.

and King Gesar is closely imitating many Buddhist heroes such as Maudgalyāyana and Gu ru chos dbang, as discussed above. However, unlike the mothers of those heroes, King Gesar's mother is a virtuous Buddhist in all other episodes of the epic. If the creators of the *dMyal gling* wanted to create a story of Gesar saving his mother in hell which still had the authority of the larger canon of the Gesar epic, his mother could not be sinful—thus her punishment for Gesar's actions.

Further evidence supporting the author's concern for preserving the *dMyal gling's* intertextuality comes from the format of the text itself. Despite the *dMyal gling's* literary origins, it is carefully arranged to appear as if it were an oral episode—it is a prosimetric text and the song sections of the text rely particularly heavily on traditional features of eastern Tibetan oral poetics and metaphorical language. In this way, the buddhicization of King Gesar by means of the hell episode of the *dMyal gling*—as well as the earlier section where he takes on the mantle of Buddhist teacher—is made largely seamless with the rest of the canon and ensures that King Gesar's new identity as a Buddhist savior subjugated under the Buddhist laws of karma fully shares in the authority of the rest of the oral epic's canon.

6. Concluding Thoughts

Among the various episodes of the Gesar epic, the *dMyal gling* is entirely unique. Although containing little of the bloodshed and bravery that makes the other episodes of the Gesar epic so exciting, it simultaneously elevates King Gesar to a Buddhist teacher and saviour while also effectively subordinating his power to the Buddhist institution and cosmological universe. In this new role, Gesar is empowered as a Buddhist deity in a devotional rNying ma rDzogs chen context that prizes a non-tantric Buddhist moral framework, and we can see the effects of this promotion today at the numerous Gesar temples and religious sites across both Khams and A mdo. While few copies of the important first edition blockprint of the *dMyal gling rdzogs pa chen po* from Wa ra monastery remain, that blockprint became the wellspring for numerous handwritten copies produced for those desperate to acquire religious materials during the repressive and tumultuous time of the Cultural Revolution. The majority of contemporary publications of the *dMyal gling rdzogs pa chen po* originated from these individual, hand-written copies. In this way, the story of the *dMyal gling's* preservation and continued importance speak not only to the endurance of King Gesar as both an

epic hero and a religious figure, but also to the incredible tenacity of the Tibetan people to preserve their literature in the face of assault.

Bibliography

Barstow, Geoff. *Forthcoming*. *Food of Sinful Demons: Meat, Vegetarianism, and the Limits of Buddhism in Tibet.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Bellezza, John. 2005. *Spirit Mediums, Sacred Mountains, and Related Bon Textual Traditions in Upper Tibet.* Leiden: Brill Publishing.

Berounsky, Daniel. 2012. *The Tibetan Version of the Scripture on the Ten Kings: The Quest for Chinese Influence on the Tibetan Perceptions of the Afterlife.* Prague: Triton Publishing.

Chos kyi dbang phyug. 1984. *Gling rje Ge sar gyi rnam thar las dmyal gling rdzogs pa chen po tos pa rang grol ngan song chos kyi bskul glu zhes bya ba bzhugs so.* Edited by Lopon Pemala. Thimpu, Bhutan: Druk Sherig Press.

Cuevas, Bryan. 2008. *Travels in the Netherworld: Buddhist Popular Narratives of Death and the Afterlife in Tibet.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dreyfus, Georges. 1994. "Proto-nationalism in Tibet." In *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Sixth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, edited by Per Kvaerne, 205–18. Oslo: Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.

FitzHerbert, Solomon George. 2007. "The Birth of Gesar: Narrative Diversity and Social Resonance in the Tibetan Epic Tradition." DPhil diss., University of Oxford.

Forgues, Gregory. 2011. "Materials for the Study of Gesar Practices." Masters thesis, Universität Wien.

Kapstein, Matthew. 2007a. "Mulian in the Land of Snows and King Gesar in Hell: A Chinese Tale of Parental Death in its Tibetan Transformations." In *The Buddhist Dead: Practices, Discourses, Representations*, edited by Bryan Cuevas and Jacqueline Stone, 345–77. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

———. 2007b. "The Tibetan Yulenpen Jing." In *Contributions to the Cultural History of Early Tibet*, edited by Matthew Kapstein and Brandon Dotson, 211–39. Leiden: Brill Publishing.

Kornman, Robin. 1995. "A Comparative Study of Buddhist Versions of the Epic of Gesar of Ling (volumes I and II)." PhD diss., Princeton University.

Kornman, Robin, Sangye Khandro and Lama Chonam. 2013. *The Epic of Gesar of Ling: Gesar's Magical Birth, Early Years and Coronation as King.* Boston: Shambhala Publishing.

Ingebretsen, Edward J. 1996. *Maps of Heaven, Maps of Hell: Religious Terror as Memory from the Puritans to Stephen King.* New York: Routledge Publishing.

Lincoln, Bruce. 2012. *Gods and Demons; Priests and Scholars.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mair, Victor. 2007. *Tun-huang Popular Narratives.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mikles, Natasha L. *in progress*. "The Taming of the King: Nyingma Ethical Revitalization Movements and the Gesar Epic in Early Modern Tibet." PhD Diss., University of Virginia.

Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Réne de. 1993. *Oracles and Demons of Tibet: the Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protector Deities.* Varanasi: Book Faith India.

Smith, Jonathan Z. 1982. "In Comparison a Magic Dwells." In *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown*, 19–35. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Snellgrove, David. 1967. *The Nine Ways of Bon.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Teiser, Stephen. 1988. *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

———. 2003. *The Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval China.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Tsomu, Yudru. 2015. *The Rise of Gönpo Namgyel in Kham*. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books.

Tweed, Thomas. 2008. *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion.* Cambridge: Boston University Press.

Sketches of Contemporary Tibetan History in *The Tibet Mirror* (1949–1963)

Natalia Moskaleva[1]

(Saint-Petersburg State University)

In September 1950 *The Singapore Free Press* featured an article entitled "A Lone Battle with Mao" about a lonely Tibetan fighter standing against the Chinese communist regime and its advancement in Tibet.[2] It was Dorje Tharchin (rDo rje mthar phyin, 1890–1976), a prominent Tibetan public figure and a political activist, an advocate for the modernisation of Tibet and Tibetan independence. In his attempts to introduce Tibetans to the latest developments in the modern world beyond the Tibetan borders Dorje Tharchin launched one of the earliest Tibetan periodicals issued by a Tibetan editor.[3]

Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long (literally "The Mirror of News from Various Countries" or, as it was called by its editor, *The Tibet Mirror)* was published from 1925 to 1963 in Kalimpong, India and presented a rather non-conventional look at the described news. Dorje Tharchin exerted every effort in his practically unprofitable, but enthusiasm-charged undertaking of the newspaper issuing and its distribution among representatives of the Tibetan society. The range of topics for news coverage was extensively diverse and the editor surely could not have kept silent about major events in Tibet, especially after the official establishment of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese communists' announcement of their high-priority goal of Tibet's liberation in 1949.

This article aims to explore some of the facts and peculiar details of Tibetan history as they were depicted by Dorje Tharchin in his periodical *The Tibet Mirror*. At present publications of *The Tibet Mirror*

1 The author acknowledges Saint-Petersburg State University for a research grant 2.38.293.2014 "Modernizing the Tibetan Literary Tradition" that supported the discourse analysis of *The Tibet Mirror*. The historical aspect of the study was conducted with support of the Russian Foundation for Humanities grant No 14-31-01021 "Contemporary History of Tibet Based on the Materials of the First Tibetan Newspaper *The Tibet Mirror* (1949–1963)".

2 Engelhardt 2012: 210.

3 For more details on some early Tibetan newspapers, see Erhard 2015.

Natalia Moskaleva, "Sketches of Contemporary Tibetan History in *The Tibet Mirror* (1949–1963)", *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 37, December 2016, pp. 247–261.

remain largely unexplored by Tibetologists throughout the world, therefore, considering the stance of Dorje Tharchin who long before the 1950s warned his compatriots against—what he considered—the Communist threat, it seems particularly interesting to see what kind of topics he chose to cover and observe his interpretation of historical events in Tibet. The study is conducted on the basis of a number of selected original materials from *The Tibet Mirror* issues dated from 1949 (the year of the communists' rise to power in China) to 1963 (the last year of publication of *The Tibet Mirror*) and presents a discourse analysis of *The Tibet Mirror* articles. All issues of *The Tibet Mirror* for this study have been retrieved from the Columbia University online archive.[4]

1. The Tibet Mirror *and Its Editor*

The Tibet Mirror is one of the few early periodicals in the Tibetan language that had been continuously published in Kalimpong, India over 38 years by the Tibetan Christian and public leader Dorje Tharchin, who attempted to change the conventional Tibetan world outlook within Tibet and at the same time to preserve Tibetan culture in the culturally-mixed Indian border region. With the help of his newspaper Dorje Tharchin not only supplied international and local news for Tibetan-speaking residents of the Kalimpong area, but also offered a major media channel connecting Tibet and the rest of the world at that time.

Apart from subscribers from the above-mentioned Indian border territories and Tibet proper, the range of *The Tibet Mirror* distribution spread as far as along areas of the Mongolian trade route in Amdo and along the East Tibet-Assam border in Sadiya.[5] Dorje Tharchin started his publishing enterprise with 50 copies of *The Tibet Mirror* in 1925. Later the number of printed copies would rise significantly, at times estimated at around 500 copies.

Due to financial difficulties the newspaper designed to be published monthly failed to do so. Inefficient postal services and non-existent money transfer services often made it impossible for Dorje Tharchin to receive subscription fees.

The Tibet Mirror featured different kinds of materials to meet the needs of its readers: political news, reports on the latest technological innovations (e.g. airplanes, airships, automobiles, etc.), stories about

---

4 "Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long", Columbia University Libraries Digital Collections, accessed May 1, 2016, http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/digital/collections/cul/texts/ldpd_6981643_000/

5 Fader 2004: 282.

famous people (e.g. Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, etc.), short pieces of didactic narratives, articles about foreign travellers to Tibet, maps, etc. A lot of materials were supplemented with pictures and photographs. Besides its informative function, the newspaper also provided practical data for Tibetan businessmen and offered some educational and entertainment materials (riddles, cartoons), advertisements and articles devoted to religious topics (both Christian and Buddhist).

British officials in India and Chinese authorities showed interest in *The Tibet Mirror* and either side attempted to exert its influence over Tharchin's publication business, with the former having a certain success in that and, in fact, occasionally providing some financial support to the edition of the periodical.[6] However, as for the latter, due to the fact that the newspaper editor Dorje Tharchin was a zealous anti-communist activist, Chinese representatives did not manage to establish any kind of cooperation with him.[7]

Dorje Tharchin was, indeed, a rather extraordinary person: a devout Christian by faith and a sincere lover of the Tibetan language and literature, an Indian citizen, but born in the Kinnaur district of Himachal Pradesh, therefore, a Tibetan by origin and a dedicated fighter for Tibet's independence.[8] Tharchin had an opportunity to meet and work with a number of his eminent contemporaries: the Scottish missionaries John Graham and Robert Knox, the British Political Officers in Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet Charles Bell and Basil Gould, the Indian Government Official in Tibet Hugh Richardson and the British Trade Agent in Tibet David Mackdonald, the Italian Tibetologist Giuseppe Tucci, the British writer and mountaineer Marco Pallis, the Tibetan scholar and poet Gendun Chopel (dGe 'dun chos 'phel), the Mongolian scholar Geshe Chodrag (Chos grags), the Tibetan officials Changlochen Sonam Gyelpo (lCang lo can bSod nams rgyal po) and Rabga Pomdatsang (Rab dga' sPom mda' tshang).[9]

As early as in the 1930s, Dorje Tharchin condemned Chinese military operations in Eastern Tibet and later, in the 1950s, strongly protested against the occupation of Chamdo by the Chinese army.[10] Tharchin continuously addressed the Tibetan government and the Tibetan aristocracy with warnings about the approaching Chinese military attacks, but nobody took heed. Tibetan political activists and scholars had regular secret meetings at Tharchin's place where they

6 Engelhardt 2011: 241.
7 For details, see Norbu 1998: 12.
8 Norbu 2002: XI.
9 Tsering 1998: 9.
10 Fader 2009: 316.

discussed the future of Tibet.[11]

Obviously, Tharchin's political views could not have avoided affecting the articles he published: these propaganda materials set a type of political discourse that started to unfold in *The Tibet Mirror* after the Chinese Communist Party had declared the goal of Tibet's liberation in 1949.

2. Historical Sketches in Terms of Discourse Analysis

The present paper focuses on the analysis of discourse-charged publications in *The Tibet Mirror*, i.e. discursive sketches of Tibetan history depicted by Dorje Tharchin. Tracking unusual interpretations of the historical facts and elements of Tharchin's anti-communist (or rather pro-Tibetan) discourse in *The Tibet Mirror* was seen as the primary task of this research. Therefore, there is a need to start with a brief introduction of the methodology used for enabling the process of identification of discourse-charged materials within the general corpus of *The Tibet Mirror* issues.

In order to find publications related to the anti-communist discourse in *The Tibet Mirror*, attention was paid to specific headlines of the articles (e.g. Tibetan News, Chinese News, as well as Indian News, Nepalese News and other news that could be related to Tibetan-Chinese relations). Articles without headlines were examined with the help of two lists of key words:

1. A list of thematically organised 'ideal' words that could help identifying the necessary discursive topics (e.g. *place names*: Tibet, China, the People's Republic of China (PRC), Mongolia, Taiwan, Lhasa, Beijing, Chamdo, Mussoorie; *officials*: Mao Zedong, the Dalai Lama, the Panchen Lama; *political structures and positions*: a state, a government, the United Nations (UN), a Chinese or Tibetan representative, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), communists, a chairman, the Kuomintang; *military affairs*: the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the Tibetan Volunteer Army for Defence of Religion, a commander-in-chief, soldiers, a guerrilla army, a military attack, a conflict, an aggression, to keep in custody; '*peaceful reconciliation'*: the Seventeen Point Agreement for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet, a petition, a development plan; and some other words that could be related to the political sphere, e.g. propaganda, independence, freedom, rights, etc.)

[11] Samphel 2004: 173.

2. A list of similar discourse-charged 'real' Tibetan words that was compiled during the actual analysis of the newspaper issues.

During the analysis both lists were supplemented with additional new key words.

The time frame for the research was set from 1949 to 1963: referring to a milestone event in the modern Tibetan history—October 1, 1949—the establishment of the People's Republic of China, and November 1, 1963—the publication date of the last issue of *The Tibet Mirror* respectively.

The target publications of *The Tibet Mirror* were analysed according to the M.A.K. Halliday's model that studies discourse in three topics: field of discourse, tenor of discourse and mode of discourse.[12]

2-1. Tenor of Discourse in The Tibet Mirror

The tenor of discourse specifies participants of the discourse, their status and relationships, i.e. in the present case the author of the discourse and his recipients. Obviously, the main participant of *The Tibet Mirror* discourse is the owner and the chief editor of the newspaper Dorje Tharchin. As it was mentioned before, Tharchin was a quite peculiar Tibetan born in India and residing in Kalimpong, but at the same time held in esteem and enjoying certain influence among Tibetans.

Tharchin gathered news from different sources (i.e. foreign newspapers, radio, official statements of the state leaders or other government officials, correspondence, etc.). Thus, on the one hand, he was the subject (the author) of the discourse in *The Tibet Mirror*, but, on the other hand, he was in a way the object (the recipient) of the global mass media political discourse of the anti-communist coalition.

It is fair to say that in *The Tibet Mirror* Tharchin not only condemned the Chinese communists and published anti-communist propaganda materials, but at the same time he did not fail to criticise the Tibetan government for its narrow-mindedness and dim-sighted politics and also spoke with great regret about the Indian government's refusal to provide military aid to Tibet in its conflict with the PRC. Besides, in some cases Tharchin was rather moderate in expressing his understandable pro-Tibetan feelings and published

[12] Halliday 1989: 12.

relatively good news from Tibet regarding the Chinese communists' policies there. For instance, he reports on the construction of a new airport[13] or a highway[14] in Tibet. Or, for example, in a short piece of news about the Chinese communists in 1951 he remarks: "It is said that Chinese soldiers are very well-disciplined and do not attack or rob other people."[15]

For discourse analysis it is important to understand who is in charge of selecting topics of publications and who decides when the topic is to be changed[16], i.e. in the case of *The Tibet Mirror* what kind of topics Tharchin chose for his publications and how he as the chief editor of the newspaper selected them. The latter, in its turn, stipulates the need to distinguish whether the material was written by Tharchin himself or it was borrowed from some other media source, translated into Tibetan and paraphrased by Tharchin.

As for *The Tibet Mirror* publications, Tharchin rarely indicated the exact source of his news, often restricting this information to: "there is news that …",[17] "as it was said …",[18] "there are rumours that …",[19] "one newspaper states that …",[20] "as all learned men know, …",[21] "these are the news in short…".[22] Only sometimes he gave an additional information on the geographical location of a source or (even less often) the name of a source: "as it is reported from New Delhi…",[23] "as it is known from Mussoorie…",[24] "News from Lhasa published in Kathmandu: …",[25] "a rough translation from an English newspaper in Kolkata…",[26] "according to the Kolkata newspaper *Statesman*, …",[27] "from a Washington newspaper …",[28] "from a Hong

---

13 *Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XIX, no. 7, Oct. 1, 1951: 5.
14 *Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XIX, no. 1–2, Dec. 1950–Jan. 1951: 4.
15 *Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XIX, no. 7, Oct. 1, 1951: 5.
16 van Dijik 1993: 256.
17 *gnas tshul thos* (*Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XXV, no. 11, Apr. 1959: 4).
18 *brjod gsal ltar na* (*ibid.*: 3).
19 *phan tshun nas go thos su* (*Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XIX, no. 7, Oct. 1, 1951: 5).
20 *gsar 'gyur zhig nang gsal (Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XXVI, no. 1 Jun. 1959: 5).
21 *mkyen ldan tshang mas dgongs mnga' ltar (ibid.*: Suppl. 1).
22 *gnas tshul mdor bsdus* (*Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XXV, no. 11, Apr. 1959: 5).
23 *ne'u di li nas gsar gsal du* (*Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XXVI, no. 1, Jun. 1959: 7).
24 *ma su ri nas gsar gsal du (ibid.*: 6).
25 *ka ṭa man ḍu nas lha sa'i gnas tshul du* (*ibid.:* 3).
26 *ka ta'i in ji'i gsar shog tu bkod 'dug pa las rags bsgyur mdor bsdus* (*Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XXV, no. 9–10, Feb.–Mar. 1959: 6).
27 *ka ta'i gsar shog si ṭe ṭa man nang gsal ltar na (Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XXV, no. 11, Apr. 1959: 3).

Kong newspaper …",[29] "from a Kolkata newspaper in English …",[30] "from a New Delhi newspaper …",[31] "the official Chinese statement: …",[32] "the Chinese radio reports that …".[33]

It is a fact that mass media (an example of which is *The Tibet Mirror*) often unavoidably loses in the attempt to present an independent piece of information. Even if it is not a partisan article, the author still renders information within a generally accepted media frame. In the case of *The Tibet Mirror*, owing to the fact that at those times Tibetans did not have a variety of opportunities to acquire information about the world beyond the Tibetan borders and some of the notions and concepts described by Dorje Tharchin in his articles were virtually non-existent in the Tibetan language, the editor of the newspaper partly defined the perception frames of his Tibetan readers on his own. Dorje Tharchin enjoyed a practically unlimited potential for the news selection and interpretation. He could select any kinds of news and present them in the way that was appropriate according to his perspective. Therefore, while studying the ideological aspect of *The Tibet Mirror* publications, one should keep in mind that Tharchin was the chief, if not one and only, interpreter of the published news and, as mentioned earlier, he was far from friendly towards Chinese communists.

Nevertheless, Tharchin was not the exclusive tenor of the discourse. Among other passive or silent participants of the discourse were the recipients of the news, which are, first of all, a rather news-inexperienced and news-hungry Tibetan audience reading the materials presented in *The Tibet Mirror* as well as some foreign readers, including Tharchin's adversary in this discourse—the Chinese communist government.

2-2. Field of Discourse in The Tibet Mirror

The field of discourse could be defined as the nature of the social action that is occurring and the activities in which the participants are engaged. The field of discourse in *The Tibet Mirror* is presented by Dorje Tharchin's news coverage and has a form of discourse-charged publications on Tibetan-Chinese relations, the establishment of the

---

28 *wa shing ṭon gyi gsar gsal ltar na (ibid.).*
29 *hong kong gsar gsal ltar* (*ibid.*: 4).
30 *ka ta'i dbyin yig gsar shog ltar na* (*ibid.*).
31 *ni'u dil li'i gsar gsal ltar na* (*ibid.*: 5).
32 *rgya dmar gyi khyab bsgrags (Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XXVI, no. 1, Jun. 1959: Suppl. 2).
33 *rgya dmar gyi rlung 'phrin nang* […] *gnas tshul mang po zhig shod kyi 'dug (ibid.).*

new communist government in Tibet and other significant factors and momentous events in contemporary Tibetan history, such as Tibet's "liberation march" of the People's Liberation Army, power shifts within the Tibetan government, signing of the Seventeen Point Agreement, political and economic reorganisations in Tibet, Tibetan-Chinese tensions and the rising guerrilla movement in Kham, the Tibetan uprising in March 1959 and the political crackdown of the protesters, the Dalai Lama's flight to India, etc. This kind of political, economic and social action had to be reflected in *The Tibet Mirror* and constitutes the field of discourse.

Discourse materials found in *The Tibet Mirror* issues could be divided into three groups: articles in Tibetan, articles in English and visual materials (e.g. cartoons, maps, photographs). Among some topics covered by Tharchin in the examined newspaper issues are the Dalai Lama's activities and the politics of the new communist government in Tibet, new appointments to posts in the Tibetan government and the recent economic development of Tibet, civil strife in China and confrontation between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party, Chinese military operations in the Tibetan region and the counter attacks of the Tibetan population. Tharchin published materials about the destruction of Tibetan monasteries and the persecution of Tibetan monks, news on the Dalai Lama's life in exile in India and his official statements, reports describing Tibetan uprisings and the braveness and success of the Tibetan Volunteer Army for Defence of Religion. Besides, pages of *The Tibet Mirror* featured copies of Tibetan petitions against the Chinese communist authorities in Tibet, numerous appeals by Tibetans to the United Nations and Tharchin's own appeals to help Tibetan refugees, as well as a recurring publication of the Seventeen Point Agreement.

Tharchin held his discourse in a broader geographical context: apart from news on Tibet and China, he also published potentially discourse-charged news of some other countries. It was with this purpose that he published materials where he gave examples of the countries that became independent; for example, a report on Outer Mongolia which used to be part of the Qing Empire like Tibet, but managed to gain independence with the help of the Soviet Russia,[34] or an article about an application of the Nepalese government to be admitted to the United Nations (UN) with a detailed description of the reasons for Nepal to be admitted to the UN.[35] Probably, within the same discourse strategy Tharchin repeatedly published at the front pages of *The Tibet Mirror* visual and textual materials on Indian

---

[34] *Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XIX, no. 6, Sep. 1, 1951: 6.

[35] *Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XVIII, no. 10, Sep. 1, 1950: 5.

independence.[36]

Tharchin's publications from the late 1950s are more intriguing since the discourse becomes sharper and more emotional there. For example, in *The Tibet Mirror* no. 11 v. XXV (April 1959) Tharchin is happily talking about the "fantastic plan" (*srid byus ngo mtshar che ba*) of the Dalai Lama that helped him break through the "iron boundaries of oppression of the red Communists" (*rgya dmar gung phran gyi btsan dbang lcags ri*) and a warm welcoming ceremony conducted in his honour in India.[37] He openly condemns the Chinese communist ideology and is enthusiastic about the news that Tibet could get help from the Kuomintang party and gain independence.[38] He reports on the failure of a Chinese program of the communist re-education of the Tibetan population,[39] fierce battles of Tibetans with the communist "bandit" army (*gung bran jag dmag*)[40] and the destruction of Ganden and Sera monasteries during the Chinese military incursions.[41] Tharchin praises one of the Tibetan heroes that led an uprising against the Chinese communist regime[42] and warns other countries of the Chinese communist "epidemic" (*gung phran tang gi rims nad*) that already seized the larger part of Tibet and which needs to be exterminated or it is going to spread throughout the whole world.[43] He publishes materials about Tibetan monks and lay people sacrificing their lives in order to save their country[44] and Tibetans praying for their rescue from the communist "bullying" (*dbang gnon*) and "oppression" (*btsan gnon*).[45]

The field of discourse in *The Tibet Mirror* includes many traditional cultural markers and Tibetan images that are frequently being brutally violated by the new communist authorities. For example, Chinese soldiers making fortifications and placing their weaponry on the rooftops of sacred Buddhist temples, which goes "against the will of Tibetans and against local traditions,"[46] communist troops firing at

---

36 E.g. *Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XVIII, no. 10, Sep. 1, 1950: 1 and *Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XXII, no. 5, Sep. 1, 1954: 1.
37 *Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XXV, no. 11, Apr. 1959: 1.
38 *Ibid*.
39 *Ibid*.: 4.
40 *Ibid*.: 3.
41 *Ibid*.: 5.
42 *Ibid*.: 4.
43 *Ibid*.: 1.
44 *Ibid*.
45 *Ibid*.: 4.
46 *nang mi so so'i chos khang thod du bod mi'i blo mos yul srol dang 'gal bzhi mi sin gan sogs bzhag sa'i 'dzing rags bzos* (*Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XXV, no. 9–10, Feb.–Mar. 1959: 7).

monasteries and destroying sacred objects,[47] Chinese trying to seduce a respected tulku lama by sending a new Chinese girl to sleep with him every night[48] or Chinese communists falsely accusing the Dalai Lama for the Tibetan uprising and insulting the Buddha[49].

During the analysis of *The Tibet Mirror* issues special attention was also paid to the Kuomintang topic reiteration. It seems interesting that Tharchin regularly published news on the Kuomintang and treated the CCP's main adversary party more favourably in his publications. Tharchin called the Kuomintang the "real" Chinese government (*rgya nag gi gzhung ngo ma*) and made wishful remarks that soon they would get back to power in China and grant independence to Tibet.[50]

2-3. Mode of Discourse in The Tibet Mirror

The mode of discourse describes the language used by the participants and what they expect the language to do for them (whether it is expository, didactic or persuasive). As far as the third aspect of discourse analysis is concerned, the mode of discourse in *The Tibet Mirror* is manifested in the general voice tone and the language employed by Dorje Tharchin in his publications. In general, a political discourse designer can use certain linguistic constructions or apply different types of lexical manipulation playing with the connotations of words and concepts, for instance, notions of 'a state' and 'a country' or 'a war' and 'a counterterrorist operation'.

It was particularly interesting to find in *The Tibet Mirror* an example of a spelling game with Mao Zedong's name. In the earlier issues[51] Tharchin spells his name using a combination of syllables *dMa' Tshe thung*, standing for 'low/inferior', 'life' and 'short' respectively, what could be interpreted as 'the inferior [one] who has a short life', while in the later publications[52] Mao Zedong's name is spelled with a different combination of syllables *Ma'o Tshe* (or *rTse*) *tung* that does not carry any derogative connotation.

---

[47] *dgon par me sgyogs shugs chen 'phen nas rten gsum chos chas kyis mtshan pas nang pa'i chos kyi glegs bam mang po gtor rlags* (*Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XXV, no. 11, Apr. 1959: 5).

[48] *Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XXVI, no. 1, Jun. 1959: Suppl. 3.

[49] *gong sa mchog la ngo rgol gnang mi red ces brnyas 'dogs mang po dang / sangs rgyas la'ang smad ra mang po btang* (*ibid.*: 2).

[50] *Ibid.*: Suppl. 2.

[51] E.g. *Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XVIII, no. 1, Oct. 1, 1949: 3 and *Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XVIII, no. 5, Feb.–Mar. 1950: 7.

[52] E.g. *Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XIX no. 6, Sep. 1, 1951: 7 and *Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XIX, no. 7, Oct. 1, 1951: 5.

Dorje Tharchin's attitude towards certain events and people is expressed through his lexical choices and the usage of honorific forms of Tibetan words. It was noticed that Tharchin talked with utmost respect about the Dalai Lama and his family in *The Tibet Mirror* publications and always used the exceptional honorific language for that (honorific and higher honorific forms). Moreover, the editor frequently used different metaphorical epithets for the Dalai Lama, e.g. "omniscient" (*gong sa thams cad mkhyen pa*),[53] "precious" (*gong sa yid bzhin nor bu mchog*),[54] "great omnipotent" (*gong sa thams cad mkhyen gzigs chen po*)[55], etc. Tharchin's deep respect for the Dalai Lama is also reflected in the number of pictures of the Dalai Lama published in *The Tibet Mirror*.

Another marker of Tharchin's attitude towards the described object is the employment of the Tibetan honorific particle *mchog* used after proper names and titles. In the analysed issues of *The Tibet Mirror* Tharchin never used *mchog* after Mao Zedong's name. Besides, apparently Tharchin deliberately skipped *mchog* after, for example, the name of the Chinese military commander Zhang Jingwu in a report on his visit to India.[56] On the other hand, some of the Tibetan and Indian names were usually accompanied by this honorific particle, for example, *mchog* was used for "the government of Sikkim",[57] "the son of a Sikkim official",[58] "the regent",[59] "Panchen Erdeni"[60] and even for "the Chairman of the Chinese Kuomintang government Chiang Kai-shek".[61]

Tharchin's rhetoric in the earlier publications seems to be relatively mild and subtle. In v. XVIII (1949) and v. XIX (1951) he is carefully presenting the Tibetan and Chinese news and is rather moderate in his expressions. However, in v. XXV (1959) his rhetoric is more vivid, while the language used by him is more vitriolic and metaphorical. The reports are often accompanied by his critical, ironic or derogatory comments. Writing about the Chinese communists in the late 1950s, Tharchin uses the term "evil" for the communist ideology (*lta spyod ngan pa*).[62] He calls the communist regime "an epidemic" (*rims nad*) that commits "crimes" (*nyes skyon*) and condemns their "oppression" (*btsan dbang*) of Tibet, reporting,

---

53 *Ibid.*: 6.
54 *Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XXVI, no. 1, Jun. 1959: 8.
55 *Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XIX, no. 6, Sep. 1, 1951: 4.
56 *Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XIX, no. 5, Aug. 1, 1951: 5.
57 *Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XXVI, no. 1, Jun. 1959: Suppl. 1.
58 *Ibid.*
59 *Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XIX, no. 1–2, Dec. 1950–Jan. 1951: 5.
60 *Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XXVI, no. 1, Jun. 1959: Suppl. 4.
61 *Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XXV, no. 11, Apr. 1959: 3.
62 *Ibid.*: 4.

for instance, the arrest of Tibetan tulkus, which was a "wrong and graceless" act to do (*shin tu ma 'os pa'i las ngan pa*).[63] Apart from that, Tharchin is ironically writing about different independent countries enjoying their freedom and talking a lot about helping Tibet (*'dzam gling rang dbang la dga' ba tshang mas kyang bod kyi ched du grogs ram kyi bka' mol mang po brjod mus kyang*). But he uses a metaphorical comparison and concludes his article: "If a sick person who is still alive is not getting his medical treatment in time, what would be the use of regrets after he dies" (*nad pa ma 'chi gong sman thabs ma byas na shi ba'i rjes su 'gyod pas ci la phan*).[64]

Tharchin's discursive irony could also be found in his explanation of the Tibetan term 'liberation' *bcings bkrol* in one of the articles in the v. XIX no. 7 issue.[65] He explains that *bcings* is the past tense form of the verb *'ching* 'to tie', which could mean, for instance, when somebody possessing the power ties the limbs of somebody powerless with a rope or shackles. Or, when a cruel hunter is hunting down and encaging the animals that carelessly lived in wilderness before and which now have to live begging for food from the hunter. Or, when the aggressive countries that have political power, money and military might, subjugate other weak but independent countries. As for the second syllable *bkrol*, he continues that it is the past tense form of the verb *'grol* 'to untie/to loosen', which should signify the action when somebody possessing the power and righteous intentions protects and helps those that were tied or caught with a lasso or subjugated with the military and peaceful strategies, as in the above-mentioned examples [with the verb *'ching* 'to tie'], and now they can live where they like, carelessly and independently.

Provocative rebellious songs and poetical pieces in *The Tibet Mirror* constitute another important part of Tharchin's mode of discourse. For example, the "Liberation Song" (*bcings bkrol glu gzhas*) in v. XIX no. 8 of *The Tibet Mirror* reads:

> Stand up, the oppressed Tibetan brothers! Strive for the national uprising! Sacrifice your life for the liberation of the Tibetan people from suffering! Stand up, all the oppressed compatriots! Fight for independence and happiness! Stand up! Stand up! Stand up! Tibetan brothers, stand up! Stand up! Stand up!
>
> *longs shog btsan dbang 'og gi /bod rigs spun zla rnams/ rang rigs sger lang byed phyir/ brtson 'grus lhod med gyis/ bod rigs sdug las 'grol phyir/ rang srog blos btang byed dgos/ btsan dbang drag shugs 'og gi /spun zla thams cad*

---

[63] *Ibid.*: 1.
[64] *Ibid.*
[65] *Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XIX, no. 7, Oct. 1, 1951: 2.

> *longs shog /rang dbang bde skyid thob phyir/ rdog rtsa gcig tu 'dzings/ longs shog_longs shog_longs shog /bod rigs spun zla rnams/ longs shog_longs shog_longs shog /*[66]

Another fascinating example in *The Tibet Mirror* is an ironical song titled "New Song about People's Liberation" (*mi dmangs bcings bkrol gyi glu gzhas gsar pa*) published in the same newspaper issue:

> Tibetan young men, we will give you wages and food. It is time to show your minerals! Return to the family! Return, return! Tibetan young girls, we will make friends with you. It is time to increase population. Return to the family! Return to the family! Tibetan people, we will liberate you. It is time to make use of your national wealth. Return to the family, return! Return! Return! Tibetan farmers, we will increase your well-being. It is time to eat your crops. Return to the family! Return to the family! Tibetan slaves, we will liberate you. It is time to become public servants. Return to the family, return, return! Return to the family! Tibetan aristocracy, we will offer you *tog go*[67]. It is time to do detailed calculations. Return to the family! Return to the family! Tibetan lamas and monks, we will bring offerings to you. It is time to look for food for practicing. Return to the family! Return to the family! Tibetan people, we will let you act according to your own will. It is time to make use of public property together. Return to the family! Return! Return! Return!

> *bod ljongs kyi gzhon pa tsho/ nga tshos gla lto sprad chog /khyod tsho'i sa gter ston ran/ khyim tshang nang la log shog /log shog log shog /bod kyi gzhon na ma tsho/ nga tshos mthun grogs byed chog_khyod tshos mi 'bor spel ran/ khyim tshang nang la log shog /XXX/ bod ljongs kyi mi dmangs tsho/ nga tshos bcings bkrol byas chog /khyod tsho'i spyi nor spyad ran/ khyim tshang nang log log shog /log shog XX /bod ljongs kyi zhing pa tsho/ nga tshos bde skyid spel chog /khyod tsho'i lo tog za ran/ khyim tshang nang la X /XXX bod ljongs kyi bran 'khol tsho/_nga tshos bcings bkrol btang cho /khyod tshos spyi g.yog rgyugs ran/ khyim tshang nang la log log shog /XXX/ bod ljongs kyi sde dpon tsho/ nga tshos tog go phul chog /khyod tshos zhib rtsis rgyag ran/ khyim tshang X /XXX/ bod ljongs kyi bla grwa tsho/ nga tshos bsnyen bkur zhus chog /khyed tshos chos rgyags 'tshol ran/ khyim tshang nang X /XXX bod ljongs kyi mi rigs tsho/ nga tshos rang 'dod byen chog /spyi rdzas mnyam du spyod ran/ khyim tshang nang la log shog /log shog_log shog_log shog /*[68]

These and many other examples found in the analysed issues of *The Tibet Mirror* give an idea of the variety of materials on Tibet

---

[66] *Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XIX, no. 8, Nov. 1, 1951: 5.

[67] It was impossible to determine the meaning of the Tibetan term *tog go.*

[68] *Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* v. XIX, no. 8, Nov. 1, 1951: 4.

published by Dorje Tharchin in his newspaper. Most of the Tibetan stories in *The Tibet Mirror* could be characterised as emotionally charged and expressive, some of them are short and simple, some of them are longer and more elaborate, but a lot of them do not indicate the exact source of information and lack a more consistent or more detailed description. Regardless of the fact that these stories vary in topics, genre and style, news on the events happening in Tibet under the Chinese communist rule are rich with Tharchin's artistic expressions and almost always unavoidably grasp the reader's attention. Sketches of contemporary Tibetan history found in *The Tibet Mirror* publications often resemble a virtual battlefield where Tharchin exerts his best efforts to fight for Tibet's independence and to give voice to the Tibetan stories he encountered.

Dorje Tharchin's devotion to the cause of creating and running a newspaper in the Tibetan language during 38 financially challenging years could be hardly underestimated. *The Tibet Mirror* presents an interesting source of alternative materials for a study of modern Tibetan history and formation of one of the first original pro-Tibetan discourses. As a source *The Tibet Mirror* has its limitations in terms of the particular anti-communist or rather pro-Tibetan views of its editor, which should be kept in mind during the analysis process. However, *The Tibet Mirror* surely has its advantages as well, the most noteworthy of which is the first hand news that Dorje Tharchin was able to collect from the Tibetan refugees passing Kalimpong as a transit point on their way to exile, especially after the 1959 Tibetan Uprising.

Bibliography

Engelhardt, Isrun. 2011. "Reflections on the Tibet Mirror: News of the World 1937–1946." In *Mapping the Modern in Tibet*, edited by Gray Tuttle, 205–64. Andiast: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies (IITBS).

———. 2012. "Tharchin's One Man War with Mao." In *Studies on the History and Literature of Tibet and the Himalaya*, edited by Roberto Vitali, 183–212. Kathmandu: Vajra Publications.

Erhard, Franz Xaver. 2015. "Tibetan Mass Media: a Preliminary Survey of Tibetan Language Newspapers." In *The Illuminating Mirror*, edited by Olaf Czaja and Guntram Hazod, 155–171. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

Fader, H. Louis. 2004. *Called from Obscurity: the Life and Times of a True Son of Tibet, God's Humble Servant from Poo Gergan Dorje Tharchin.* Volume II. Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press.

———. 2009. *Called from Obscurity: the Life and Times of a True Son of Tibet, God's Humble Servant from Poo Gergan Dorje Tharchin.* Volume III. Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press.

Halliday, Michael A.K. 1989. *Language, Context and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective.* Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.

Norbu, Dawa. 2002. Introduction. In *Called from Obscurity: the Life and Times of a True Son of Tibet, God's Humble Servant from Poo Gergan Dorje Tharchin* Volume I, by Fader H. Louis, XI–XII. Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press.

———. 1998. "Pioneer and Patriot. An Extract from an Interview with Rev. G. Tharchin." *Lungta* 11, 11–12.

Samphel, Thubten. 2004. "Virtual Tibet: The Media." In *Exile as Challenge: The Tibetan Diaspora*, edited by Dagmar Bernstorff and Hubertus von Welck, 167–186. New Delhi: Orient Longman Private Limited.

Tsering, Tashi. 1998. "The Life of Reverend G. Tharchin, Missionary and Pioneer." *Lungta* 11, 9–10.

van Dijik, Teun A. 1993. "Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis." *Discourse & Society* 4(2), 249–283.

Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long. Kālimpong: edited by Dorje Tharchin, 1925–<1963>. Electronic reproduction. v. II: no. 5 (1927), v. V: no. 1 (1930)–v. XXVIII (1963). New York, N.Y.: Columbia University Libraries, 2009. Accessed May 1, 2016. http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/digital/collections/cul/texts/ldpd_6981643_000/

❖

Old Tibetan Scapulimancy

Ai Nishida

(Kobe City University of Foreign Studies)

Scapulimancy, a divination method that uses animals' shoulder blades, may be among the most ancient methods of fortune telling. It persisted in Mongolia, Siberia, Yun nan, and many other places until very recently, and possibly until today.[1] In Tibet, we find a literary record of this divination method attributed to Sum pa mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor (1704–1788),[2] in which several shoulder blades are explained with illustrations and each blade is divided into several symbolic parts corresponding to the person whom the omen concerns. By consulting the pattern of cracks, caused by heating, on an appropriate part of the blade, the auspicious or inauspicious omen concerning health, travel, business etc. is deduced. Although the pioneering studies state that scapulimancy is one of the oldest divination methods among Tibetans, as well as among "many other, especially nomadic, peoples of Central Asia and North America,"[3] detailed examples from the time of ancient Tibet have so far not been presented.

In this article, I shall discuss Tibetan scapulimacy using a collection of ancient materials excavated from Central Asia. This collection comprises two main categories of objects: one is an inscribed bone and the other are related woodslips from eastern Turkestan.

---

1 Details about scaplimancy in general have already been published elsewhere, for example, Bawden's work on scapulimancy practice in Mongolia (Bawden 1958), and Flad's work in ancient China (Flad 2008); here I limit myself to discussing Tibetan scapulimancy exclusively.

2 *O'u rod phyogs su dar ba'i lug gi sog pa la blta ba'i mo phyva: sgyu ma'i lung ston* (Sum pa mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor 1975). Note that since Sum pa mkhan po, an important Buddhist master and the great author of a history of Buddhism, lived in the eighteenth century, this literary record dates from nearly 1000 years after the Central Asian materials that I discuss below.

3 Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1993: 455–56. He also states that scapulimancy had been "practiced by Bon sorcerers already in ancient times." Ekvall reports that scapulimancy practice is often performed by hunters during the butchering season in late fall (Ekvall 1964: 263–64). Waddell states it is one of the simple divination methods practiced by the poorer class who cannot afford the expense of spiritual horoscopes (Waddell 1895: 464–65).

Ai Nishida, "Old Tibetan Scapulimancy", *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 37, December 2016, pp. 262–277.

A single shoulder blade with an inscription in Tibetan script, which I discuss below, was found along with numerous broken blades presumably used in divination practices. After investigating the shoulder blade in question at an exhibition held in Japan in 2002, I revised Wang and Chen's transliteration and translation of its inscription.[4] Here, for the interest of readers, I permit myself first to recall briefly what I have clarified in my previous work and explain the general outline of scapulimancy practices in early Tibet by providing some new sources. Then I focus on presenting more concrete information, such as for what purpose and by whom this divination method was performed.[5]

1. Oracle Bones

The single oracle bone with an inscription in Tibetan script,[6] 73 RMF 25:16, lies among many other uninscribed oracle bones that were excavated by the archeological survey of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Museum in 1973. The inscribed bone is 17.5 cm long and 2.3–10.7 cm wide. It is most likely the shoulder blade of a sheep. Five lines of Tibetan text are inscribed along the length of the bone's ridged side. On restoration, it remains basically intact, though with a chip just to the right of its centre.[7] Considering its origin, that

---

4 See Wang and Chen 1986: 73 and no. 437; Takeuchi and Nishida 2004.

5 I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Prof. Tsuguhito Takeuchi for generously giving me the information on woodslips that I shall discuss below. They will be included in his forthcoming catalogue of the Old Tibetan woodslips from eastern Turkestan kept at the British Library. I should also note that this paper stems from a preliminary study on the Old Tibetan oracle bone co-authored by Prof. Takeuchi and myself (Takeuchi and Nishida 2004).

6 According to the field report of archeological investigation carried out along the Qinghai-Tibet railway in Tibet Autonomous Region, two oracle shoulder blades were excavated from the site called "site of sacrifice offering of Chaxiutang" in Lho ma township in Naqu (Nag chu) country of Tibet. These shoulder blades were unearthed together with a number of skulls of yaks, horses, and dogs which are considered to be used for the rites (to suppress the demons?). Tibetan texts are found on some of these skulls. Likewise, it is reported that Tibetan text was written in black ink on both sides of one of these shoulder blades (See the Bureau of Cultural Relics of Tibet Autonomous Region *et al.* 2005 and Huowei 2007). Unfortunately, details for these Tibetan texts are still unknown.

7 A black and white photograph, plate 11 in Wang and Chen 1986, represents the condition before restoration and plate 294 in 新疆古代民族文物 *Cultural Relics of Ancient Xinjiang* (新疆維吾爾自治区社会科学院考古研究所 The Archaeology Institute of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Academy of Social Sciences ed. 1985) and plate 151 in シルクロード 絹と黄金の道 特別展図録 *Catalogue of the Brocade and Gold from the Silk road* (Tokyo National Museum, NHK and NHK promotions eds. 2002: 159) give its restored form.

is Mīrān site I, a Tibetan imperial military fort,[8] we can be sure that these oracle bones date from the time of Tibet's occupation of Mīrān, namely the late-8th to the mid-9th century.

Unfortunately, details on Tibetan scapulimancy procedure during the imperial period do not exist. However, generally speaking, the procedure is roughly identical throughout the world. Auspicious or inauspicious omens are usually judged by the appearance of cracks on the bone, more precisely by the cracks' lengths, shapes, and positions resulting from heating the bone after shaving off all of the flesh. In order to create these cracks, in some cases the bone is directly placed into a fire and in other cases burning material such as charcoal, grass, or a wooden or iron stick is placed on it. For instance, oracle bones from the Wuwei ruins in China show several scorch marks at their centre, attributed to the placement of a heated stick onto bones.[9] It is worth mentioning that an Old Tibetan oracle bone with no inscription, presented together with 73 RMF 25:16 in Wang and Chen's publication, shows similar burning traces at its centre.[10] We can presume that the centre part of 73 RMF 25:16 was broken during the heating process.

In what follows, I first present a transliteration and then an annotated translation of 73 RMF 25:16. I basically follow the transliteration system of the Old Tibetan Documents Online (OTDO), but employ the following *signes critiques* found in Takeuchi 1995 as appropriate.[11]

Transliteration

]*abc*	Beginning of line lost through damage.
abc[	End of line lost through damage.
[*abc*]	Suggested reading of difficult to read text.
***	Blank spaces left by copyists.

Translation

[abc]	Supplements by the translator.
[…]	Illegible or missing.
(abc)	Translator's note.

---

8 More precisely, it is said to be brought from the northern chamber of this fort; unfortunately it does not bear a detailed site number corresponding to Stein's. See Wang and Chen 1986: 5 for an account of the discovery of the Tibetan woodslips from Mīrān site I; see also Stein 1921.

9 The Wuwei ruins can be dated to the Neolithic era, see 甘肅省博物館 The Kansu Provincial Museum 1960: 53–71, 143–48.

10 Wang and Chen 1986: plate 11.

11 See Imaeda *et al*. 2007: xxxi–xxxiii; Takeuchi 1995: 137–38.

73 RMF 25:16

1. *$ /:/ sogspa 'dI la mo bzang na nI lha sgo n*[*i*] *phye*
2. *shIg 'dre sgo nI* [---][12] *bgyId pa'I*
3. **** tshe la ni mo* [*bzang bar*]
4. *shogs shI mo ngan na nI sogspa khyod pa*
5. *na ni mre ni srog*

1–2. On this shoulder blade, if the divination (/prognostication) appears good, [you] should open a gate of *lha.*[13]
2–4. As for a gate of *'dre*, [you] should make the divination (/prognostication) good,[14]
while you are making (/doing) […]
4–5. If the divination (/prognostication) appears bad, you should burn [this] shoulder blade.[15]

I take this description to be a request or a petition to a divinity *lha*, asking it to open a gate of *lha*, or completely burn up this shoulder blade, probably as a divine sign of inauspiciousness; hence the entity being supplicated is considered a divinity *lha* who possibly takes credit for this scapulimancy.

According to the studies of ancient Chinese hieroglyphic characters left on bones and tortoise carapaces, most of which are dated to the Yin dynasty, the following five main contents were generally engraved: the date and the name of executor or petitioner; questions addressed to a divine entity; the interpretation of cracks by the king (answers to the questions); justice of the prognostication (justice of the king's interpretation); and the month and place where the divination was practiced. They can be summed up as a report recording the entire divination procedure. Unlike ancient Chinese examples, the Tibetan inscriptions relate a mere petition or a request addressed to a certain divinity, *lha*, instead of substantial information such as names or dates; rather they seem to limit themselves to enhancing the divination effect.

---

12 [---]: *sogspa*?

13 *phye*: I regard this as an imperative form of transitive verb *'byed pa*.

14 *shogs shI*: *shogs*, an imperative form of *'ong ba*, suggests the possibility of *shI* being the imperative particle *shig*. Therefore it can literally be understood as "come out!" but in this context I interpret it as "make!"

15 *mre*: This is supposed to be a variant spelling of *me* (fire) with *r* (locative). *srog*: Although *srog* usually means "life," this is not satisfactory here, and thus I regard it as a variant spelling or a misspelling of the imperative form of verb *sreg pa*, "to burn, to destroy with fire," which can be supposed by the fact that imperative forms often include the vowel *o*.

2. Woodslips

I have hitherto found seven woodslips relating to scapulimancy. Five of these record questions toward a certain divinity, while the other two record answers, as well as questions. Let us now look at the examples of the former group.

Text 1: IOL Tib N 58 (M.I.i.14)[16]

[transliteration]
A1.] *g.yang la ma snyin bzhin bzangs gchig gis gsol*
A2.] [*lag dgra*] *la zhal bzhen* [*ta*]*m ma bzhen* / [*sog*]
B1.]*n la* / *khyi lo'i ston nob cu ngu lo g.yang* [*'babs*]
B2.] *myi 'bab* /

[translation]
A1. To [the divinity] *g.yang*, a person such as Ma snyin bzhin bzangs makes a petition;
A2. [Shall we] lift [our] faces against the *lag dgra* or not?[17]
B1–2. To [the cracks] of the shoulder blade, [I ask,] will the blessing of the year (/harvest)[18] of Little Nob (= Mīrān) come down [to us] in the autumn of the Dog year or not?

Text 2: IOL Tib N 137 (M.I.iii.7)[19]

[transliteration]
A1.] [*dang*?] [*rtse*] *sman dang g.yang la lu*[
A2.] *dgra la zhal bzhen taM ma bzhen* / [
A3. *mkhar nob chu ngu* [*yul*] [*risu*] / *slad nang* [
B1. *myi mchi* / *lo g.yang 'babs saM myi* [
B2.]*chi 'aM myi mchi* /// ***

[16] Transliterations given here are basically adopted from Thomas's readings and my own investigations of the digitised images of woodslips on the International Dunhuang Project website (http://idp.bl.uk/). I am also grateful for Prof. Takeuchi's helpful information on these woodslips, but all errors naturally are my own responsibility.

[17] I have no appropriate interpretation for either *lag dgra* or *zhal bzhen* yet, and follow Thomas's rendering which however is still not satisfactory.

[18] *lo g.yang*: I follow Thomas's rendering "year (sc. harvest)-blessing" (Thomas 1951: 399–400).

[19] Thomas 1951: 399, no. 99; Wang and Chen 1986: no. 441.

[translation]
A1. To […] and [the divinity] *rtse sman* and *g.yang*, [a person such as Lug bzhin? makes a petition;][20]
A2. [Shall we] lift [our] faces against the [*lag*] *dgra* or not?
A3. […] later, to the boundary of the city[21] of Little Nob (=Mīrān) fort […] or not?
B1–2. Will the blessing of the year (/harvest) come down [to us or not?] […] exist or not?

Text 3: IOL Tib N 161 (M.I.iv.3)[22]

[transliteration]
A1.] *sman la / bshan lug bzhin*
A2.] [*g*]*is gsol te / lag dgra la zhal*
A3.] [*zhe*]*n / sogs g.yon dang /*
B1.] *nob chu ngu na phyi dgra mchi* [*'am*]
B2.] / *** *dang dgra*
B3.]*n* [*sa myi rmin*?] [

[translation]
A1–2. To [the divinity] […] *sman*, [a person such as] Bshan lug bzhin makes a petition;
A2. [Shall we lift our] faces against the *lag dgra* [or not?]
A3. [To the cracks on] the left side of the shoulder blade, [I ask,] and […]
B1–3. In Little Nob (=Mīrān) is there a foreign enemy or [not?] […] and enemy […]

Text 4: IOL Tib N 266 (M.I.iv.138)[23]

[transliteration]
A1. *$ // nob cu ngu 'i rtse bla dang rtse sman la // yos bu lo'I*
A2. *spyid sla ra ba la // sku bla'i bres / snying bzhIn bzangs*
B1.] *gsol te / lag dgra dang / sogs mcin la*
B2. *sman bris pa'i gnyer 'sus //* ***

[translation]
A1–B1. To [the divinity] *rtse bla* and *rtse sman* of Little Nob (=Mīrān), in the first spring month of the Hare year, [a person such as Ma] snying bzhIn bzangs offers *bres* (=rice or fruit?) of (/for) *sku bla* and makes a petition;[24]

---

[20] In the following text the petitioner appears as Bshan lug bzhin. See Text 3.
[21] *yul ris*: country boundary (Thomas 1951: 399–400).
[22] Thomas 1951: 400–401, no. 102; Wang and Chen 1986: no. 442.
[23] Thomas 1951: 152, no. 45; Wang and Chen 1986: no. 427.

B1–2. [As to the question relating to] the *lag dgra*, [we] welcome the cracks drawn by [the divinity] *sman* at the centre of the shoulder blade.[25]

Text 5: IOL Tib N 744 (M.I.xv.0016)[26]

[transliteration]
A1. *$ // yul sman la ma snying bzhin bzangs gchig*
A2. *gis gsol ste lag dgra la zhal bzhen taM m*[*a*]
A3. *bzhen sogs* [*chin*? *la*? *yo*]*s bu*
B1. *lo 'i ston / dkar gnag* [*gi rgyan*?]
B2. *'congs sam* [*myi*] [

[translation]
A1–2. To [the divinity] *yul sman*, a person such as Ma snying bzhin bzangs makes a petition;
A2–3. [Shall we] lift [our] faces against *lag dgra* or not?
A3–B2. To [the cracks at] the centre of the shoulder blade, [I ask,] in the autumn of the Hare year, [will we] have any kinds of wheat ears or not?[27]

The conventional descriptions of this group may be summarised as petitioners making petitions, asking several questions addressed to a single divinity or several divinities, for which it was often necessary to consult the cracks on certain areas of the shoulder blade. Their stereotyped expressions are schematised as follows:

(1) divinity *la* petitioner *gsol te*

---

24 *bres*: Although *sku bla'i bres* can be regarded as in apposition to the subsequent *snying bzhIn bzangs*, yet I prefer to translate it as "[Ma] snying bzhIn bzangs offers *bres* of (/for) *sku bla*" by taking *bres* as an offering object. *bres* usually means "manger" or "spread" in Old Tibetan but it doesn't seem to fit the context here, rather it might be interpreted as the misspelling for *'bras* (=rice?) or *'bras bu* (=fruit). Among the various objects being dedicated to *sku bla*, probably in the course of the ceremony of *sku bla*, *'bras* is enumerated as well as wheat (*khar* and *gnag*) (M.I.xxxiii.2; see Thomas 1951: 386, no. 79). Likewise some fruits and vegetables (=*'bras bu*) such as a kind of persimmon (*sta dka' =star ka*) and radishes (*lha phug =la phug*) appear as offerings to entertain *sku bla* (M.I.ix.4, see Thomas 1951: 387, no. 81; Wang and Chen 1986, no. 426).

25 *sogs mcin* (*/mchin*): *mchin* means "midriff" or "liver" and here I regard it as designating the centre ridge part of the shoulder blade.
lag dgra dang: I interpret it as *lag dgra la* instead of *dang*, since *dang* (=and) does not seem to be intelligible here.

26 Thomas 1951: 399, no. 98; Wang and Chen 1986: no. 438.

27 *dkar gnag* [*gi rgyan*?]: According to Thomas, *dkar* and *gnag* are used for the distinction between different kinds of wheat. *rgyan* refers "ornament, decoration," and here it is likely to mean "ears" of wheat (Thomas 1951: 325–26).

(2) a certain area of the shoulder blade *la* questions (*mchi am myi mchi*)

I would like to make some comments on each category found in these stereotyped expressions, such as divinities, petitioners, areas of the shoulder blade, and questions.

Divinity

Thomas postulated that *rtse bla dang rtse sman* was a title of a person, translating it as "head-lama (?) and head physician" to whom applications for a medical prescription are made.[28] However, *g.yang, rtse sman, rtse bla,* and *yul sman* can be identified with entities to whom several questions are directed here and should be considered as the localised divinities in the Mīrān region, as Stein has rightly suggested.[29] I agree with Stein's statement that *sman* is a popular deity or spirit in Old Tibetan divination texts. Among the dice divination texts, we actually find several types of *sman*: *mtsho sman, gnam sman, g.yu sman, brag sman, byang sman, klu sman, mu sman, se sman, sman be kog, sman bkra gnyan, sman cung ngun, sman rgod da chen, sman rgod shele,* and *sman rgod spangs she le*. They seem to function as key terms that trigger divination results (auspicious or inauspicious). In other words, the results of divination are adjudged and assured by their existence. In the woodslips found in eastern Turkestan, these divinities are consistently mentioned in connection with scapulimancy or other rituals. In contrast, the *sku bla* found in Text 4 does not appear to be a divinity to whom questions are addressed. The term *sku bla*, as studied in detail by Ariane Macdonald-Spanien,[30] probably refers to divinities derived from the ancestors of kings or rulers, who protect their descendants and are often in rapport with the sacred mountains.[31] Yet it is worth noting that in the Mīrān region, scapulimancy was performed with the help of local divinities,

[28] Thomas 1951: 152, no. 45.

[29] Stein 1983: 201.

[30] Macdonald-Spanien 1971: 272–81 and 295–309.

[31] Ishikawa suggests that the *sku bla* found among the Mīrān woodslips could originally have been a Chinese local divinity or divinities in Mīrān, maintained from the period of Chinese control. After Tibetan control, Chinese local divinities in Mīrān were incorporated into the Tibetan *sku bla* cult but, if his suggestion is correct, *sku bla* in Mīrān was originally unrelated to Tibetan ancestors (Ishikawa 2008: 176–177). However, I think that *sku bla* needs to be discussed separately from local divinities, and I would suggest that *sku bla* in Mīrān was rooted not in a Chinese divinity but in a Tibetan one, even if local divinities in Mīrān reflect or coincide with those existing during the Chinese period.

such as *g.yang*, *rtse sman*, *rtse bla,* and *yul sman*, rather than *sku bla*, ancestor deities.

Petitioner

Into the category of petitioners fall two confusing names: Ma snying bzhin bzangs and Bshan lug bzhin. These are quite strange names and are probably not intended as personal names. Instead, I assume them to be the kind of names that suggest epithetical or anonymous traits, designating figures engaged in this specific task.[32] The bearers of these names repeatedly play the role of making a petition toward local divinities in the course of performing scapulimancy, and are sometimes associated with such honorific modifiers as *sman gyi mnga thang* or *lha'i mnga' tang*, which I prefer to regard as "an expert in taking charge of *sman* or *lha*" or "a representative of *sman* or *lha*, who is a divinely authorised person."[33] These two facts suggest that they have a close connection with local divinities and, furthermore, that these roles are possibly vocational for them.

Nevertheless, three other woodslips describe the absence of these figures in a kind of rituals relating to the supplication of such local divinities as *rtse bla*, *rtse sman*, *g.yang*, *yul lha yul bdag* (or *yul lha* and

[32] Thomas interpreted these words as adjective expressions and rendered them as "one kind as a mother's heart" and "one mild as a sheep" (Thomas 1951: 398, no. 97 and 399, nos. 98 and 99).

[33] In IOL Tib N 17 (=M.I.0018), Ma snying bzhin [bzangs] is called *yu sman gyi mnga thang*. He/she is enumerated together with several objects such as flour, oil, *gchengs*?, *sug rgod* (a wild wood?) with silken tie, *gzha* (flesh?), barley, and *co ga* beverage (probably for libation). They can be specified as the objects offered to the divinity *yu sman*, probably dedicated by Ma snying bzhin [bzangs]. For this interpretation, I supplemented the text with an added *gis gsol* after *bzhin gcig*, as presented in the above mentioned scapulimancy woodslips IOL Tib N 58 etc. The text is as follows:

> *$ /:/ yu sman gyi mnga thang ma snying bzhin gcig / phye* [*do*] *mar sran*[*g*] *phyed / gchengs* (*/gtshang*) *rdzu'u gang / sug rgod dar sni chan gci*[*g*] *gzha nas khy*[*o*]*r gang / cog skyem rdzu'u gang 'bring sky*[*o*]*g lnga*.
> (Thomas 1951: 398, no. 97; Wang and Chen 1986, no. 432)

A similar content recurs in IOL Tib N 1095 (=M.I.lviii.007), though the person called "an expert on *lha*" (*lha'i mnga' tang*) here is not Ma snying bzhin bzangs but Ra skyes bzhin bzangs. Nonetheless, almost the same offering objects seen in IOL Tib N 17 are enumerated again: beverage, *co ga* beverage, flour, oil, wood and an arrow with a silken string. The text is as follows:

> *$ / /* [*je'u?*] *lha 'i mnga' tang ra skyes bzhin bzangs gcig / skyem*[*s*] *rdze 'u gang co ga skyems rdze 'u gang phye bre gang mar srang gci*[*g*] *shing ris gcig mda' dar sna can gcig*.
> (Thomas 1951: 441–42; Wang and Chen 1986, no. 425)

yul bdag), and *sman*.[34] These are considered to be tablets of appointment, assigning appropriate figures to certain ritual officiants, namely *zhal ta pa*, *sku gshen*, *lha bon pa*,[35] *mgon pa*, and *sug gzung*, most of which are still unfamiliar to us. As van Schaik shows, two figures appointed to *zhal ta pa* and *sku gshen* (*blon* Mang gzigs and *blon* Mdo bzang) are "identified with the official rank of *blon*" and "seem to have been active in the region, as we see the same names in other manuscripts from Mīrān and Mazār Tāgh."[36] Unlike in these tablets for appointments, within the records of actual events of scapulimancy or offering rituals the petitioners or caretakers of divinities consistently have ambiguous names. What has yet to be answered clearly is who they were and what these odd names meant. I would like to limit myself to speculating that these names are used for showing modesty and humility, or rather merely as the conventional phrases expressing humility and lowliness, with respect to the great local divinities under whom (or in devotion to whom) scapulimancy and rituals were carried out.

Areas of the Shoulder Blade and Questions

After the initial routine phrase, the area of the shoulder blade is specified: "on the left side of the blade" (*sog g.yon la*) or "at the centre of the blade" (*sog mchin la*). As appears always to be the case with scapulimancy practices in general, in early Tibet it seems that each question required a consultation of the corresponding cracks made on a certain area of the shoulder blade.

As shown in all five texts above, among those questions usually bearing the alternative form *mchi am myi mchi*, "*lag dgra la zhal bzhen tam ma bzhen*" is the most popular matter of concern, yet its meaning still remains obscure. The harvest (*lo g.yang* in text 1, 2 and *dkar gang gi rgyan* in text 5) and a foreign enemy (*phyi dgra* in text 3) are proposed as the items of concern. Both of these topics are supposed to be official and formal matter of concern relating to the

[34] IOL Tib N 210 (=M.I.iv.60); IOL Tib N 255 (=M.I.iv.121); IOL Tib N 873 (=M.I.xxvii.15). Note that two of these are four-sided sticks with one end sharpened to a point. See van Schaik 2013: 245–46.

[35] According to Prof. Takeuchi's investigation into the original woodslips, the text should be read as *lha bon pa*, rather than *lha bon po* (="Divine Bon man") as presented by Thomas (Thomas 1951: 394, no. 92).

[36] Van Schaik 2013: 247–48, and n. 44. He notes that the fact that two figures have the title *blon* in their names "suggests that the roles of *zhal ta pa* and *sku gshen* … need not have been vocational, but rather roles that could be adopted when appropriate in order to carry out specific rituals," while supposing that they might be the patrons of rituals, rather than the officiants.

administration of Mīrān, rather than private topics of individual concern.

I shall now briefly introduce two woodslips of the other group, which include the answers to the preceding questions.

Text 6: IOL Tib N 189 (M.I.iv.35)[37]

[transliteration]
A1. *$ //sogs pa g.yas la // gshIn dra ma brtsan*
A2. *gchags dang bral lam ma bral // gdon gchags*
B1. *tsha che /*

[translation]
A1. To [the cracks on] the right side of the shoulder blade, [I ask,]
A1–A2. were [the signs of] a cluster of the dead[38] parted from the cracks[39] of the demon (*brtsan*) or not?
A2–B1. On the cracks of the demon (*gdon*), great heat.

Text 7: IOL Tib N 225 (M.I.iv.79)[40]

[transliteration]
A1. *$ //sogs pa g.yas la //*(text shaved away)
A2. *na chu srid yod dam myed sha cad 'ong 'am my*[*i*] *'*[*o*]*ng*
B1. *mchin pa la srId pya // srid mchis bzang / so*(*/po*) *phyogs*
B2. *nas* [*r*]*mang srI dang /* [*snyun*?] *srin gi ngo che /*

[translation]
A1. To [the cracks on] the right side of the shoulder blade, [I ask,]
A2. […] is there water extension (/flow)[41] or not? Is the

[37] Thomas 1951: 400, no. 101; Wang and Chen 1986: no. 440.

[38] *gshIn dra ma*: Thomas regards *gshIn dra* as "the noose of death"(*gshin dra ba*) or "ghost"(*gshin 'dre*) and *ma* as the negative applied to the adjective *brtsan*. However, Uray (1962) demonstrated, through the analysis of *dra ma drangs* in the Old Tibetan (whence dictionaries give the following interpretations; (1) "grate, net, net-work," (2) "experienced, learned"), that *dra ma* can be used to refer to an "army or troop sent on an enterprise or campaign, expeditionary army." Here I adopt Uray's statement and read *gshIn dra ma* as "a group of the dead, a cluster of the dead."

[39] *gchags*: Thomas renders this as "attached, possession"(*chags pa*). Yet, because *gchags* is supposed to be the derivative form of *gcog pa*, "to break, to crack," here I regard it as denoting the cracks produced on the shoulder blade.

[40] Thomas 1951: 400, no. 100; Wang and Chen 1986: no. 439.

[41] *chu srid*: This could be regarded as having the same meaning as *chab srid* "rule, territory, power," but here it would be more reasonable to take it as "the

shortage (/exhaustion) of flesh coming or not?

B1. [Consulting the cracks] at the centre [of the shoulder blade], as for the prognostication of the extension,[42] there exists the [water] extension and good.

B1–2. From the boundary (/ edge),[43] signs of the evil spirits (*srI*) of the horse (/the dead)[44] and the evil spirits (*srin*) of disease are great.

Names of either the divinity or the petitioner are absent from these two woodslips. Questions are listed after the area of the shoulder blade, "on the right side of the shoulder blade" (*sogs pa g.yas la*) or "at the centre" (*mchin la*). Each question is much more ambiguous than those of the above mentioned five texts, but they can be summarised as relating to water (*chu srid*), flesh (*sha cad*), and the dead (*gshIn dra ma*). While the answer in text 6 is devoid of any explanation, simply stating "on the cracks of the demon (*gdon*), great heat," text 7 displays more comprehensive answers: "there exists the [water] extension and good (*srId mchis bzang*)," which should undoubtedly be auspicious, and "signs of evil spirits are great ([*r*]*mang srI dang* / [*snyun*?] *srin gi ngo che*)," which is inauspicious. In any case, the main purpose of these two woodslips seems to record the answers along with their corresponding questions; thus other information such as the divinity and petitioner are left out. This clearly points to demons and evil spirits as exerting great influence on the divination results, namely on the daily life at Mīrān. According to this view, these woodslips have a different significance from the other five.

---

extension or the flow of water," fitting with the following question related to *sha cad*, "the shortage or exhaustion of flesh."

42 *srId*: Although I have read *srId* before as "the extension of the cracks which spread from the heating point of the shoulder blade" (Takeuchi and Nishida 2004: 11), here I am inclined to modify the reading to "[water] extension," which is more likely to accord with the previously asked question.

43 *so*(/*po*) *phyogs*: This may refer to the edge of the shoulder blade, namely "[consulting on the cracks on] the edge [of the shoulder blade]."

44 *rmang sri*: While I have translated this before as "a demon of horse" (Takeuchi and Nishida 2004: 11), I would like to present another possibility here as "evil spirits of the dead" by providing an example from the dice divination texts (Pt. 1046B: ll. 14–16, and IOL Tib J 740: ll. 151–53):

> *rmang ba las phan bar 'ong ngo dbul ba las phyug por 'ong ngo // nyon mos* (/*nyong mongspa*) *shing sdug bsngal ba las ni skyid par 'ongste mo bzang rab bo //* .

According to this example, *rmang ba* (=*rmong ba*) may designate "the state of unconsciousness" or "the state of death," in contrast to *phan ba* "to make a person revive." The latter, *phan ba*, occurs in Old Tibetan funeral rituals (see Imaeda 1981). This assumption is consistent with the meaning given for *rmang ba* (= *rmong ba*) "to be obscured, obscurity."

3. Conclusion

Woodslips from the Tibetan imperial military fort at Mīrān show that scapulimancy was performed with the help of local divinities such as *rtse bla*, *rtse sman*, *g.yang*, and *yul sman*. The person who takes charge of these divinities addresses several questions related to enemies, harvest, water, food, and the dead. All of these are considered to be significant for the maintenance of the daily life at Mīrān, a military settlement, rather than being mere personal matters. Presumably, a few specific people fulfilled the roles of asking the local divinities about daily life matters through scapulimancy, as well as propitiating them by offering various objects. What is striking here is the anonymity implied by their names, such as Ma snying bzhin bzangs, Bshan lug bzhin, and possibly Ra skyes bzhin bzangs. What do their anonymous names mean? Did they belong to the non-Tibetan ethnic groups or were they required to remain anonymous or under a pseudonym in the presence of the local divinities? To answer these questions, we must collect many more examples of names of specialists engaged in ritual directed toward the local divinities, as well as identify personal names among the non-Tibetan ethnic groups. Thus, for the time being, their identities remain an unsolved problem.

Based on the above evidence, I consider scapulimancy procedure in early Tibet to be as follows: first, questions were addressed to certain local divinities by a petitioner who probably served as their caretaker. These questions were simultaneously recorded on a woodslip (such as Texts 1 to 5). After producing cracks on a sheep's shoulder blade using a heated stick, answers were brought forth by interpreting the cracks on the shoulder blade's designated area. They were likewise written down on a woodslip (such as Texts 6 and 7), together with the corresponding questions. Usually, nothing was recorded on the shoulder blade itself, except for words that strengthened or enhanced the divination's effect.

Bibliography

Bawden, Charles. 1958. "On the Practice of Scapulimancy among the Mongols." *Central Asiatic Journal* IV(1), 1–44.

西藏自治区文物局, 四川大学考古系, 陕西省考古研究处 [=Bureau of Cultural Relics of Tibet Autonomous Region, Department of Archeology of Sichuan University and Institute of Archeology of

Shanxi Province] eds. 2005. 『青藏铁路西藏段田野考古报告』 [=*Field Report of Archeological Discovery of the Qinghai-Tibet Railway in Tibet*]. Beijing: 科学出版社 Kexue chubanshe.

Ekvall, Robert B. 1964. *Religious Observances in Tibet*. Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press.

Flad, Rowan. 2008. "Divination and Power: A Multiregional View of the Development of Oracle Bone Divination in Early China. *Current Anthropology* 49(3), 403–37.

Huo Wei (霍巍). 2007. "试论吐蕃时期原始巫术中的天灵盖镇压习俗－青藏高原新出考古材料的再解读" [=The custom of using skulls to suppress evil spirits in primitive witchcraft of the Tubo kingdom —futher interpretation of newly excavated archeological materials on the Qinghai-Tibet plateau]. 『中国藏学』[=*China Tibetology*] 2007(1), 20–27.

Imaeda, Yoshiro. 1981. *Histoire du cycle de la naissance et de la mort: Etude d'un texte tibétain de Touen-houang*. Genève/Paris: Librarie Droz.

Imaeda, Yoshiro *et al.*, eds. 2007. *Tibetan Documents from Dunhuang Kept at The Bibliothèque Nationale de France and The British Library*. Tokyo: Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

Ishikawa, Iwao (石川巌). 2008. "古代チベットにおける古代ボン教とその変容" [=Ancient Bon religion and its transformation in ancient Tibet]. 『東北アジア研究』別冊1号 [=*Shimane journal of North east Asian research* special issue vol. 1], 173–85.

Macdonald-Spanien, Ariane. 1971. "Une lecture des Pelliot tibétaine 1286, 1287, 1038; 1047 et 1290, Essai sur le formation et l'emploi des mythes politiques dans la religion royale de Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po." In *Etudes tibétaines dédiées à la memoire de Marcelle Lalou*, edited by Ariane Macdonald-Spanien, 190–391. Paris: A. Maisoneuve.

Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Réne de. 1956. *Oracles and Demons of Tibet, The Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities*. The Hague: Mouton.

Van Schaik, Sam. 2013. "The Naming of Tibetan Religion: *Bon* and *Chos* in the Tibetan Imperial Period." *Journal of the International Association for Bon Research* 1, 227–57.

Stein, M. Aurel. 1921. *Serindia: Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China*. Oxford: Clarendon press.

Stein, Rolf A. 1983. "Tibetica Antiqua I: Les deux vocabulaires des traductions indo-tibétaines et sino-tibétaines dans les manuscrits Touen-Houang." *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* LXXII, 149–275.

Sum pa mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor. 1975. "O'u rod phyogs su dar ba'i lug gi sog pa la blta ba'i mo phyva: sgyu ma'i lung ston." In *The Collected Works of Sum pa mkhan po ye shes dpal 'byor gyi gsung 'bum*, edited by Lokesh Chandra, vol. 7, 717–23. New Delhi: International Academy of Tibetan Literature.

Takeuchi, Tsuguhito. 1995. *Old Tibetan Contracts from Central Asia*. Tokyo: 大蔵出版 Daizo shuppan.

Takeuchi, Tsuguhito and Nishida, Ai (武内紹人・西田愛). 2004. "チベット語の羊骨占い文書" [=An oracle bone with a Tibetan inscription]. 『神戸市外国語大学 外国学研究 58』[=*Annals of Foreign Studies* 58], 1–16.

新疆维吾尔自治区社会科学院考古研究所 [=The Archaeology Institute of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Academy of Social Sciences] ed. 1985.『新疆古代民族文物』[=*Cultural Relics of the Ancient Xinjian*]. Beijing:文物出版社 Wenwu chupanshe.

甘肃省博物館 [=The Kansu Provincial Museum] ed. 1960. "甘肃武威皇娘娘台遗址发掘报告" [=Excavations of a Neolithic Site an Huang Niang Niang Tai, Wuwei country, Kansu]『考古学报』[=*The Chinese Journal of Archaeology*] 1960(2), 53–71, 143–48.

東京国立博物館, NHK, NHKプロモーション [=Tokyo National Museum, NHK and NHK Promotions] eds. 2002.『シルクロード 絹と黄金の道 特別展図録』[=*Catalogue of the Brocades and Gold from the Silk Road*]. Tokyo: NHK, NHK Promotions.

Thomas, Frederic William. 1951. *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan* vol. 2. London: Loyal Asiatic Society.

Uray, Géza. 1962 “On Tibetan DRA-MA DRANGS.” *Acta Orientalia Hungaricae* XIV, 219–30.

Waddell, L. Austine. 1895. *Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*. London: W. H. Allen & Co.

Wang Yao and Chen Jian (王堯・陈践). 1986.『吐蕃簡牍综录』[=*A Collection of Tibetan Woodslips*]. Beijing: 文物出版社 Wenwu chubanshe.

❖

A Study on *nang zan*: On the Reality of the "Servant Worker" in Traditional Tibetan Society

Kensaku Okawa

(Nihon University)

Although various sholars such as Goldstein,[1] French,[2] Fjeld,[3] and Bischoff[4] have written about *mi ser* or commoners in pre-1959 Central Tibet, many uninvestigated topics concerning Tibetan social history remain. One such topic is the *nang zan*,[5] or the servant worker in Central Tibet. The aim of this article is to shed new light on the category of people called *nang zan*, a word often translated and interpreted as "house slave" (Ch. *jia nu*) in the historiographies on traditional Tibet published in contemporary China.

1. Introduction

Previous studies on Tibetan social stratification can generally be classified into two main groups: studies by scholars in the West and studies by those in China. Interestingly, there is a clear contrast between these two groups regarding the existence of *nang zan*. While the numerous studies on the traditional Tibetan social system conducted by Western scholars make little reference to *nang zan*, Chinese studies[6] mention *nang zan* as one of the most basic categories of social stratification.

In Chinese historiographies on traditional Tibetan society, *mi ser* or commoners (referring to non-aristocrat lay people)[7] are divided into three categories: *khral pa* (taxpayer), *dud chung* (small

1 Goldstein 1968, 1971abc, 1986.
2 French 2002.
3 Fjeld 2005.
4 Bischoff 2013.
5 This word is also spelled as *nang bzan* or *nang gzan*.
6 All translations from Chinese sources in this article are my own.
7 The definition of *mi ser* had been a point of contention between Goldstein 1988, 1989 and Miller 1987; 1988.

Kensaku Okawa, "A Study on *nang zan:* On the Reality of the 'Servant Worker' in Traditional Tibetan Society", *Revue d'Études Tibétaines*, no. 37, December 2016, pp. 278–292.

householder), and *nang zan*.[8] In contrast, Western understanding of Tibetan commoners produces a twofold model.[9] According to this, Tibetan *mi ser* comprised *khral pa* and *dud chung*. Therefore, the main point of difference between the two was regarding the existence (or absence) of *nang zan* as a distinct social class. What does this imply? In this article, I make use of the six-volume *Research on Tibetan Society and History* (Ch. *Zangzu Shehui Lishi Diaocha*, hereafter ZSLD) as a source. This is a corpus of reports by Chinese ethnographers based on their fieldwork in Central Tibet in the 1950s. Since most of the research and studies in these volumes were done prior to 1959 and the abolition of the Dalai Lama government by the Chinese Communist Party's "democratic reform" (Ch. *minzhu gaige*), traditional Tibetan society had not yet become a thing of the past for the researchers. In that sense, ZSLD consists not of historiographies of a past period, but ethnographies of an existing society. Therefore, the reports tend to be milder compared to the present-day more aggressive and dogmatic Chinese writings on old Tibet. Most importantly, these reports include many descriptions of the social conditions of *nang zan* that are different from the depictions in the present-day official Chinese discourses.

2. Representations of nang zan

ZSLD reports reveal interesting differences from today's Chinese scholarship on old Tibet,[10] especially regarding *nang zan*. Modern-day studies in China portray traditional Tibetan society as a backward, dark, and cruel feudal serfdom. *Nang zan* is described as the lowest social class and as a symbol of the oppressed people in old Tibet. For example, according to *The Historical Status of Tibet* (Ch. *Xizang Lishi Diwei Bian*),[11] an influential Chinese official publication on Tibetan history,[12] *nang zan* was represented as follows:

> *Nang zan* literally means a people "who are fed in the house," indicating house slaves in a landlord's manor. [...] They were completely under the control of their lords and were treated as if they were "livestock that speak the human language," [...] *nang zan*'s children all became *nang zan*. They were born into slavery and lived

---

8 For detailed explanations about *khral pa* and *dud chung*, see Goldstein 1968; 1971abc. In this article, I will concentrate on *nang zan*.

9 Okawa 2014.

10 Heberer (2001) discussed this Chinese image of old Tibet as a "hell on earth."

11 Wang et al. 2003.

12 Jiang Zeming once gave this book's short English version to Bill Clinton as a gift (Wang et al. 2003: 2).

> in poor and miserable conditions. Their existence represented the residual traces of slavery of the former Tibetan feudal serfdom.[13]

This is one of the most typical representations of *nang zan*. According to the official Chinese understanding, *nang zan* inherit their social class since their children too "became *nang zan*." They comprised the third and lowest group within the threefold model of Tibetan commoners.[14] This kind of writing is found elsewhere, too, in studies published in China on the old Tibetan society. For example, a passage on *nang zan* in a historical study of the Phala estate (*Pha lha gzhis ka*)[15] by present-day Chinese ethnographers mentions the following:

> For the eyes of the landlords, the only difference between *nang zan* and livestock lies in the fact that *nang zan* could speak the human language. The landlords were concerned only with how long they could continue to exploit the *nang zan*. Violence was used against the *nang zan* to make them work hard and obey the landlords.[16]

We thus find similarities in the various descriptions of *nang zan* in present-day Chinese discourse. They were regarded as the most oppressed and poorest social class. This is not surprising given the fact that the Chinese Communist Party always depicted the traditional Tibetan society as a "dark, backward, cruel feudal serfdom." However, in a few cases, we do find a different representation, even within academic publications in China. For example, in ZSLD mentioned above, we can note a difference in the representation of *nang zan*:

> Case 1: *Nang zan* in Gyama (*rGya ma*) estate
> In this Gyama estate, *nang zan* are envied by *dud chung* (small householders) in most cases. They are relatively well off and have no

---

[13] Wang et al. 2003 : 457.

[14] In contrast, the twofold model or Western understanding does not suppose the possibility of *nang zan* comprising an independent social stratum. Take the Goldstein-Miller debate I mentioned above as an example. In the debate, Goldstein cited the case of "servant serf Nyima" to support his insistence that freedom of the *mi ser* was limited (Goldstein 1988). According to the "human lease" document that Goldstein cited, Nyima was actually a *nang zan*. However, no emphasis was placed on that point in the debate. Nyima was only mentioned as a *mi ser* or "servant type" *mi ser*.

[15] This estate's manor house has now been reconstructed as a Patriotic Education Base (Ch. *Aiguo zhuyi jiaoyu jidi*) and opened to the public like a museum. The exhibitions, including figures that describe scenes of landlords abusing their serfs, are in line with the party's official propaganda that stresses the cruelty of traditional Tibet.

[16] Xu and Zheng 2005: 76.

responsibility and do not have to work hard.[17]

This is inconsistent with today's Chinese writings about the traditional Tibetan society in general and on *nang zan* in particular, where *nang zan* is the third and lowest class of Tibetan commoners. *Dud chung* or small householders form the second stratum, and they are considered higher than *nang zan* in status. However, in the ZSLD based on fieldwork done by Chinese ethnographers, this order was turned upside down.

This can be explained by the nature of the reports. The quote above is based on field research conducted by a Chinese research team in 1958, a year before "democratic reforms" were implemented in central Tibet, under a Dalai Lama government that still functioned under the Chinese Communist Party's official recognition. ZSLD is therefore characterised as an ethnography that depicts a society that existed while the research was conducted and not a historiography that describes a past. As is clearly stated in the Seventeen Point Agreement concluded in 1951, the Dalai Lama's governance of central Tibet was approved by the Chinese government until the day Tibetan leaders and people voluntarily wanted to reform its social system.[18] This meant that the traditional Tibetan social system, described as "a dark, cruel, and backward feudal serfdom," in present day China, continued under the official approval of the Chinese government, at least until 1959 when the Tibetan uprising (or the Tibetan riot, according to Chinese phraseology) happened and "democratic reforms" had to be enforced. Therefore, in the 1950s, the Chinese government did not have a strong motivation to condemn the old Tibetan society (it was not an "old" society at that time) as a backward society. To clarify further, the Chinese government had strong intentions to introduce reforms in Tibetan society even in the 1950s. However, technically speaking, it was inconsistent with the Seventeen Point Agreement, the official recognition that allowed the social system of the Dalai Lama government to be continued. This dilemma was clearly articulated in the speech by Mao Zedong in 1954 when the Chinese Communist Party tried to establish a new constitution. If the new constitution had been established, elections would have had to be conducted for the People's Government in Tibet. This would change the *status quo* of the Dalai Lama government resulting in a clear violation of the Seventeen Point

[17] ZSLD, vol. 1: 148.

[18] "The Central government will not change the current political system of the Tibetan government" (Article 4). "The Central government will not impose any reforms in Tibet" (Article 11).

Agreement.[19]

Since this was the situation in Tibet in the 1950s, the underlying tone of the ZSLD is different from that of present-day Chinese representation of Tibet. The reports were more objective than later studies in China, and the six volumes comprising 2,000 pages include descriptions of over 30 estates and villages in central Tibet. A careful reading of these reveals important information about traditional Tibetan society. In the following part, using ZSLD as a corpus, I will reconstruct the reality of *nang zan* in traditional Tibetan society.

3. Case Studies: Realities of nang zan

I begin by examining the conditions of *nang zan* in the aristocratic estate (*sger gzhis*) of the Dosur family (*mDo zur*). Dosur estate was in Lhatse district near the public road connecting Shigatse and Dingri:

> Case 2: *Nang zan* Tsamchö from Dosur estate
> Tsamchö (*bTsams bcod*) is a female servant in the manor belonging to the Dosur family. Her husband Norbu (*Nor bu*) also worked in the same house as a servant and a needle worker. When there was no work in the manor, both went to do needle work for other villagers in the estate. Since they are born to *khral pa* (taxpayers) of this estate and have a child of their own; their parents always offer to help them when there is a need. Except for Norbu's hand-operated sewing machine, they do not own any land or animal. However, their incomes are relatively high because of their skill in needlework. In this estate, needle workers are also called *nang zan*. However, they are also in some ways considered as employed laborers.[20]

First, an interesting point in this case is that Tsamchö and her husband are both *nang zan*, but they are children of *khral pa* or taxpayer families. This contradicts the basic premise of the threefold model or the Chinese understanding of Tibetan commoners' social stratification. As shown above, there existed three strata according to official Chinese understanding (*khral pa, dud chung*, and *nang zan*), which constituted mutually independent and inherited social classes. However, this was not the case according to the Chinese ethnographers dispatched to Tibet by the Chinese government in the 1950s. In this case, the children of a *khral pa* family could became *nang zan*.

---

19 "Im afraid that the Dalai will possibly reject this. He will reject this based on the Seventeen Point Agreement that we concluded with him. What can we possibly do?" (Mao 2008: 105).

20 ZSLD, vol. 6: 221.

The second point is that the couple, Tsamchö and Norbu, possessed the right to go and seek work outside the manor as paid employees. This is inconsistent with the official representation of *nang zan* as house slaves.

Although the ZSLD were official reports, the descriptions in it are so observation-based that they sometimes bring out interesting inconsistencies within the framework of the official representation of old Tibet. As already mentioned, these writings and the research are from the 1950s when the Dalai Lama government still existed under the Chinese Communist Party's official approval. Not that the misrepresented and bold Marxist understanding of Tibetan society was nonexistent then, but it was not expressed with impunity as it is done today. The last part of the quote above, where the ethnographer has added the note that the usage of the term *nang zan* in this estate somehow differed from the general usage of the word, proves this fact. The threefold model was formulated in 1957 by Li Youyi, the team leader of this research project and a leading Tibetologist in China. The ethnographers conducting research on Dosur estate were aware of Li's theory and found a discrepancy between the reality they perceived in the field and Li's premise about *nang zan*. Many such cases can be found in the ZSLD:

> Case 3: Lhunpo (*lHung po*) estate in Medro Konkar (*Mal dro gung dkar*) district[21]
> *Nang zan* originally means house slave. However, here in Lungpo estate, they are heterogeneous in their family origin. Most of *nang zan* here are not house slaves but paid workers. There are nine *nang zan* within this estate. They are descendants of soldiers of the Tibetan army, or of *khral pa*, *dud chung*, or nomads. Only one among the nine was born to *nang zan*.[22]

This also indicates that *nang zan* was not an inherited status. *Nang zan* in this estate include *khral pa* and *dud chung*. This fact clearly contradicts the threefold model. The ethnographers of the ZSLD were in a dilemma when they found that many facts were inconsistent with their guidance framework. However, they wrote down all the troublesome facts and did not discard them. This makes the data of XLSD valuable for its facts.

These facts indicate the possibility of *nang zan* and *khral pa*, or *nang zan* and *dud chung* being interchangeable. The same idea is

---

21 Lungpo estate is a government estate (*gzhung gzhis*) located near Lhasa. Note that this village complex was called "estate" (*gzhis ka*). Goldstein once insisted that a government village could not be called an "estate" (Goldstein 1968: 142, n. 2). However, according to ZSLD, this was not the case.

22 ZSLD, vol. 1: 172.

mentioned in an article written by Liu Zhong, a leading researcher of the ZSLD team.[23] "*Nang zan* hold a relatively special status in Tibetan serfdom. They do housework and other chores in landlords' manors and hence include *khral pa* and *dud chung*."[24] Since this article was originally published in 1959, the facts remain untouched. We find similar supporting evidence from other sources published in China. The following extract is from an official report on Tibetan old society:

> Case 4: Photang (*Pho drang*) estate in Lhoka (*lHo kha*) region
> There exist six *nang zan* working for the landlord. These are sent by *khral pa* families on the estate. The cook remains the same, while the other five are assigned different jobs such as putting out the horses or cattle to graze; drawing water from the river; carrying letters to nearby villages; or clearing up the manor house.[25]

In this case, providing *nang zan*, or people who worked for the landlord, became a kind of tax obligation for the *khral pa* or taxpayer families. *khral pa* families occupied the highest and wealthiest strata in both the twofold and threefold models of Tibetan commoners. Since their tax was levied based on the household and not as per the individual,[26] the usual strategy they adopted was to maximise the number of family members preparing for corvée labor. In this estate, providing *nang zan* for the landlord's house was one such obligation. If a family had enough labor resources within, family members could be sent as *nang zan*. If not, they had to employ a freelance laborer[27] and send him or her to the manor house. Therefore, *khral pa* families were usually relatively large, resembling a small company managed by a family leader and it included many non-family members such as their own servant workers. There is more evidence of this in the following passage in ZSLD:

> Case 5: Gyama estate in Medro Konkar district
> *Nang zan* means house slave. However, in reality, there is a huge internal diversity among them. *Nang zan* not only existed in the landlord's manor, but also in wealthy *khral pa* houses, or even in ordinary *khral pa* houses.[28]

---

[23] Liu uses the pseudonym Ye Lu in this article.
[24] Ye and He 2001: 100.
[25] Xizang Fengjian Nongnu Zhidu Shehui Keti Zu 1992: 27.
[26] Goldstein 1971b.
[27] Usually *di bogs dud chung* ("human lease small householder") or *nud gnam* ("smoke householder or outsider laborer") were in charge of this work.
[28] ZSLD, vol. 1: 144.

The Chinese ethnographers conducting this research certainly based their work on the premise that *nang zan* are house slaves in a manor house. However, they admitted that there were facts that contradicted this premise. The following example shows a case where servants are not called *nang zan* (Ch. *lang sheng*) but "servants" (Ch. *yong ren*). However, they might be *nang zan*. *Nang zan* were also called *g.yog po* in some areas.[29] Although *g.yog po* means "servant" in most cases, in some areas in traditional Tibet, this word indicates a certain type of laborer who lived with and worked for his or her master's house without monetary salary. They were instead paid in barley, 1.5 *khal* or 21 kilograms a month. This amount of barley was just the same as that given to *nang zan* in Central Tibet. Therefore, *g.yog po* can be a variant of *nang zan*, and not a general word for servant in this case. Note that the extract in case 6 is not a literal translation but my own reconstruction:

> Case 6: Servants in Taxpayer Tago (*bKra sgo* ?) family in the Dunkar (*Dung dkar*) region
> The Tago family is very large and wealthy with 25 servants in the house. These servants cannot leave the house without their master's permission. If they wanted to leave and look for another job in another place, they had to pay an annual fee to the family as the price of freedom. Some of them are those who have run away from their original land and come to this village and have become Tago's servants on a contract base. Others are Tago's servants by birth. Their parents were Tago's servants and hence they automatically took on the same profession. They helped in farming, cooking, fetching water, shepherding, milking, and other activities.[30]

This *khral pa* family is relatively large and wealthy. It is also interesting to note that the servants in this house could free themselves by paying an annual fee to the family. This practice reminds us of *mi bogs* or "human lease," which is discussed by Goldstein.[31] According to Goldstein, *mi bogs* is a contract held between lords and *mi ser*. However, in this case, the contract was practiced among *mi ser*. Tago is a *khral pa* or a taxpayer, not an aristocrat. Although it is not clear from the description of the ZSLD whether this practice of human lease was also called *mi bogs*, this case widens our understanding of the mobility of *mi ser* in traditional

---

[29] Interview with Losang Namgyal (*Blo bzang rnam rgyal*), 2006/08/25, Lhasa. He was a minor aristocrat and had worked in his father's estate as a labor manager. He had also served in the Dalai Lama government and managed a craftsmen's guild group in Lhasa in the 1950s.

[30] ZSLD, vol. 1: 35.

[31] Goldstein 1971c.

Tibet. It is clear that *nang zan* existed not only in landlord's houses, but also in other *mi ser* or commoners' houses.[32] Moreover, we also find *nang zan* without lords or masters to whom they belong. See the following extract as an example:

> Case 7: *Nang zan* in Lhungpo estate
> Having safely escaped from their original place and become *nang zan*, a serf could go anywhere he or she liked and expect to be treated well. According to the estate's landlord, the reason why these outsider *nang zan* must be treated well is clear. Since they are not the landlord's own serfs, if he does not treat them well, it is hard for him to retain them on his estate […] If a *nang zan* wanted to become a *nang khral pa,*[33] or even a *khral pa*, it was possible when a vacancy for the position arose or when the landlord agreed to it.[34]

We now understand that *nang zan* did not always live in their masters' houses. Some were freelance laborers on contract. Since traditional Tibet had a small population scattered over a vast land, there was always a lack of labor resources[35] and this resulted in landlords devoting most of their energies to retaining as many *mi ser* as possible on their estate. For example, the Dalai Lama government, the largest landlord in the traditional society, attempted to invite runaway *mi ser* onto government land and give them the status of government taxpayers. Therefore, runaway *mi ser* found it relatively easy to get a new job. These wandering runaway *mi ser* would be of *nang zan* origin. In addition, since the status of *nang zan* was interchangeable and varies depending on the situation, it is clear that *nang zan* were not a monolithic stratum in society and it is hard to simply interpret them as "house slaves" or the third and the lowest class in the threefold model. However, we do find some commonalities in the characteristics of the labor of *nang zan.*

There are at least two kinds of *nang zan*. The first type represents

---

32 This is why the author is reluctant to use "serf" as a fixed translation for *mi ser*. It sounds strange that a "serf" employs another "serf" as their servants or that a "serf" pays an annual fee to their master "serf" to buy their physical freedom.

33 In my previous article (Okawa 2014), I translated this term "inner taxpayer." Note that this category did not appear in previous Western studies on Tibetan social history. Actually, this category is not compatible with either the threefold or the twofold models that classify Tibetan commoners based on their inherited status, which I consider to be a status-centered perspective. The term *nang khral pa* belongs to another taxonomy of human classification that existed in traditional Tibetan society. I reconstructed and named this folk taxonomy as "land-centered perspective." See Okawa 2014 for further discussion of the question of the human classification of Tibetan commoners in general and *nang khral pa* in particular.

34 ZSLD, vol. 1: 174.

35 Goldstein 1968.

those who worked as servants in their master's house. Labor management was the most typical work done by these types of *nang zan*. The other *nang zan* are those who worked as simple physical laborers. The following case shows an example of the first type of *nang zan:*

> Case 8: Labor Manager (*las dpon*) in Gyama estate
> *Las dpon* means "labor manager." *Las dpon* were selected from *khral pa* or even from *dud chung*. The people in this estate recognise *las dpon* as *nang zan*. However, *las dpon* and slave-like *nang zan* are completely different from each other.[36]

In short, *las dpon* were selected from *khral pa* and *dud chung* and recognised by locals as *nang zan*. They were in charge of allotting labor in the estate fields. This clearly indicates that the Chinese threefold model is not valid. Now, we can properly understand the mysterious description mentioned before. Case 1 showed that *nang zan* were relatively well off, had no need to work hard, and were envied by *dud chung*.[37] This description certainly contradicts the Chinese threefold model. Therefore, the *nang zan* in Case 1 was a labor manager of the type of *nang zan*.

Nang zan were not necessarily born with such a status, unlike the *khral pa* and *dud chung*. The term *nang zan* rather indicates people who do a certain kind of labor. *Nang zan* represents people who work as a subordinate and perform minor works in an organisation. For example, in the Dalai Lama's government, there existed *nang zan* who were lower officials. It is well known that the bureaucracy of the Tibetan government consisted of aristocratic lay officials and monk officials. However, this does not mean that all lay officials in the government were from the aristocracy. There were many *mi ser* or "commoner" status low-ranking officials. In his dissertation, Goldstein makes a fleeting mention of such *nang zan* who worked as low-ranking government officials:

> Case 9: *Nang zan* officials in Gyantse (*rGyal rtse*) district
> The most important administrators under the District Commissioners were four secretaries called Ledrung (*las drung*) […] It will suffice to mention here that government officials were dichotomised into shung-shab (*gzhung zhabs*) or government officials and an incomparably lower category of employees called nan-sen (*nang zan*) or government clerks. Their positions were hereditary […] they had considerable potential influence over district affairs.[38]

---

36 ZSLD, vol. 1: 119.
37 ZSLD, vol. 1: 148.
38 Goldstein 1968: 27.

The point to note here is that these *nang zan* inherited the position of working as government clerks. This is somehow exceptional. What they inherited was not the status of *nang zan* itself, but the right to become government clerks in this district. In this sense, *nang zan* does not indicate a social class but the position of a clerk. In any case, it is surprising that "house slaves" worked in the government body as powerful local officials. Here is a retrospective autobiography of an older generation who were *nang zan* in traditional Tibetan society:

> Case 10: Losang Tendzin (*Blo bzang bstan 'dzin*), manager *nang zan* in the Tibetan government
> Losang Tendzin was born in 1906 in a *mi ser* farmer's home in aristocrat *lHa sding*'s estate in the Medro Konkar region. When he was six years old, he started to learn reading and writing from his father. He moved to Lhasa when he was eight years old and went on to study at *Kho bo'i khang gsar*, a famous private school. When he became fourteen, he started to work in his master *lHa sding*'s house in Lhasa as a servant. He also studied Tibetan grammar in the *sman rtsis khang*. When he turned eighteen, he knew that the *bla phyag las khungs* (treasury office in charge of finance and treasury of the Potala palace) was accepting applications for the post of four new official *zha'u li*[39] and he applied for the job. He successfully passed the selection test and became *phyag mdzod nang zan* (*nang zan* belonged to *bla phyag las khungs*).[40]

This record shows that the practice of job-hunting for *nang zan* prevailed in those times. From these cases, we now understand that *nang zan* were so diverse that the term includes powerful local officials, estate labor managers and poor physical laborers. Moreover, the word *nang zan* does not indicate a status inherited by birth but doing a certain kind of work. All this leads us to conclude that the threefold model is not valid and is mistaken in its categorisation of traditional Tibetan society.

4. Conclusion

Nang zan is a diverse and heterogeneous category. The last task here is to show the logic behind this diversity. Why was this single term applied to such a variety of people?

Although diverse, as in most cases I referred to, *nang zan* share some common characteristics. First, they were all *mi ser*, not

39 This word has its origins in the Chinese word *Xuli* meaning a low-ranking official.

40 Blo bzang bstan 'dzin 2004; reconstructed by the author.

aristocrats or monks. This means that all of them were subordinate and had a master to whom they belonged (except in the case of runaway *mi ser*). Second, and more important, most *nang zan* did not occupy any arable fields. Although some *nang zan* served as physical laborers in their masters' fields, they did not occupy that land. In traditional Tibetan society, most *mi ser* would have had a right to inherit their parents' land and use it as a resource for their living.[41] Although landlords retained a partial right to confiscate their *mi ser*'s land, rarely was this right used without serious reason. However, *nang zan* did not possess this right of inheritance.[42] They made their living based on crop yields such as barley or other food grains given by their masters who were lay aristocratic landlords, monasteries, wealthy peasants, or the Tibetan government. This commonality is shared by powerful government official *nang zan* and poor slave-like *nang zan*. In this sense, they did not work in a primary industry.

They were landless people and this is an important characteristic given the fact that traditional Tibet was characterised as a primary industry society. *Nang zan* literally means "those who are fed in a house." They were outsiders in this agricultural and pastoral society. This anomalous character made their existence exceptional in traditional Tibetan society. They were not, as the Chinese threefold model proposes, inheritors of this status of commoners; nor were they the lowest and most oppressed people. Of course, many such poor *nang zan* did exist in reality, but it would be misleading to consider it as an independent status. The term *nang zan* rather indicates a special group of people defined not only by their inherited status but also by the characteristics of the job they performed.

Another common characteristic I found among all the *nang zan* I referred to is that they were all "minor workers" in the given organisations. In the governmental body, aristocratic and monk officials were the main forces and *nang zan* only served as lower and minor workers. In the local estate context, aristocrats or monastic landlords were the main holders of power and *nang zan* only served as managers. No matter how powerful they were, they remained minor workers. In the manor house or local peasants' fields, *nang zan*

---

[41] Goldstein insisted that only *khral pa* had a right to inherit their parents' land and *dud chung* had no right of inheritance (Goldstein 1971b). However, it is clearly not the case according to ZSLD. It provides descriptions of *dud chung*'s inheritance of land at e.g. ZSLD, vol. 1: 121.

[42] The government clerks in case 9, as reported by Goldstein, differ slightly in this regard. They inherit their father's clerk status along with the salary given in the form of produce by the local government. However, this would mean interpreting that the clerk's position is inherited along with the lands attached to that position. Further investigation is needed for the government clerk *nang zan*.

worked as physical laborers who had no power. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that *nang zan* were minor workers in the given organisation. This is why I chose the word "servant worker" in the title of this article. This would include both powerful and also lower local officials, government clerks, craftsmen, estate stewards, and simple physical workers. This understanding is, in most cases, closer to the reality and the native's point of view in traditional Tibetan society.

Bibliography

Bischoff, Jeannine. 2013. "Right There but Still Unnoticed: Information on dGa' ldan pho brang *Mi ser* from Archival Material Published in German(y)." In *Tibetans who Escaped the Historian's Net: Studies in the Social History of Tibetan Societies*, edited by Charles Ramble, Peter Schwieger, and Alice Travers, 9–25. Kathmandu: Vadjra Publications.

Blo bzang bstan 'dzin. 2004. *Phran dge slong blo bzang bstan 'dzin ran nyid kyi lo rgyus dang 'brel ba'i sphyi tshogs kyin don dngos 'ga' zhig*. Pe cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Fjeld, Heidi. 2005. *Commoners and Nobles: Hereditary Divisions in Tibet*. Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies.

French, Rebecca R. 2002. *The Golden Yoke: The Legal Cosmology of Buddhist Tibet*. Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications.

Goldstein, Melvyn C. 1968. *An Anthropological Study of Tibetan Political System*. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Washington.

———. 1971. "Taxation and the Structure of a Tibetan Village." *Central Asiatic Journal* 15(1), 1–27.

———. 1971b. "Stratification, Polyandry, and Family Structure in Central Tibet." *Southeastern Journal of Anthropology* 27(1), 64–74.

———. 1971c. "Serfdom and Mobility: An Examination of the Institute of 'Human Lease' in Traditional Tibetan Society." *Journal of Asian Studies* 30(3), 521–534.

———. 1986. "Reexamining Choice, Dependency and Command in the Tibetan Social System: 'Tax Appendage' and Other Landless

Serfs." *The Tibet Journal* 11(4), 79–112.

———. 1988. "On the Nature of Tibetan Peasantry: A Rejoinder." The Tibet Journal 13(1), 61–65

———. 1989. "Freedom, Servitude, and the 'Servant Serf' Nyima: A Re-rejoinder to Miller." *The Tibet Journal* 14(2), 56–60.

Heberer, Thomas. 2001. "Old Tibet a Hell on Earth? The Myth of Tibet and Tibetans in Chinese Art and Propaganda." In *Imagining Tibet: Perceptions, Projections, and Fantasies*, edited by Thierry Dodin and Heinz Räther, 111–150. Boston: Wisdom Publications.

Mao Zedong. 2008. "Xizang Zizhi Jiguan de Juti Xingshi you Xizang Daduoshu Renmin de Yiyuan Jueding (1954/3/23)." In *Mao Zedong Xizang Gongzuo Wenxian* ["Autonomy in Tibet might be decided on the will of majority people of Tibet" In *Selected Documents of Mao Zedong's Tibet Policy*], edited by Zhonggon Zhongyang Wenxian Yanjiushi, Zhonggon Xizang Zizhiqu Weiyuanhui, and Zhongguo Zangxue Yanjiu Zhongxin, 105–106. Beijing: Zhongyang Wenxian Chubanshe and Zhongguo Zanxue Chubanshe.

Miller Beatrice. 1987. "A Response to Goldstein's 'Reexamining Choice, dependency and command in the Tibetan social system.'" *The Tibet Journal* 12(2), 65–67.

———. 1988. "Last Rejoinder to Goldstein on Tibetan social system." *The Tibet Journal* 13(3), 64–66.

Okawa, Kensaku. 2014. "Land-centered Perspective: A New Way of Looking at Tibetan Traditional Society." In *Current Issues and Progress in Tibetan Studies: Proceedins of the Third International Seminar of Young Tibetologists*, edited by Tsuguhito Takeuchi, Kazushi Iwao, Ai Nishida, Seiji Kumagai, and Meishi Yamamoto, 391–405. Kobe: Kobe City University of Foreign Studies.

Wang Gui, Xirao Nima, and Tang Jiawei, eds. 2003. *Xizang Lishi Diwei Bian* [*The Historical Status of Tibet*]. Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe.

Xizang Fengjian Nongnu Zhidu Shehui Keti Zu. 1992. *Xizang Shannan Jiqiao he Naidong Qiongjie Shehui Lishi Diaocha Ziliao* [*The Report of the Research on Lhoka local government, Nedong district, and Chonggye district*]. Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue Yanjiu Zhongxin.

Xu Ping and Zheng Dui. 2005. *Xizang Nongmin de Shenghuo: Pala cun Ban ge Shiji de Bianqian* [*The Life of Tibetan Peasants: Fifty years' Change in Phala village*]. Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue Yanjiu Zhongxin.

Ye Lu and He Shi. 2001. "Xizang Fenjian Nongnu Zhidu Chubu Fenxi." In *Xizang Fenjian Nongnu Zhidu Yanjiu Wenxian* ["A Preliminary Study on Tibetan Feudal Serfdom." In *Selected Works on the Study of Tibetan Feudal Serfdom*], edited by Wu Congzhong. Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue Yanjiu Zhongxin.

ZSLD. 1987–1988. *Zangzu Shehui Lishi Diaocha* [*Research on Tibetan Society and History*], Six Volumes. Lhasa: Xizang Renmin Chubanshe.

❖

Are We Legend?
Reconsidering Clan in Tibet

Jonathan Samuels

(University of Heidelberg)

1. Introduction

Tibetan Studies is relatively familiar with the theme of clan. The so-called "Tibetan ancestral clans" regularly feature in works of Tibetan historiography, and have been the subject of several studies.[1] Dynastic records and genealogies, often labelled "clan histories," have been examined, and attempts have been made to identify ancient Tibetan clan territories.[2] Various ethnographic and anthropological studies have also dealt both with the concept of clan membership amongst contemporary populations and a supposed Tibetan principle of descent, according to which the "bone"-substance (*rus pa*), the metonym for clan, is transmitted from father to progeny.[3]

Can it be said, however, that we have a coherent picture of clan in Tibet, particularly from a historical perspective? The present article has two aims. Firstly, by probing the current state of our understanding, it draws attention to key unanswered questions pertaining to clans and descent, and attempts to sharpen the discussion surrounding them. Secondly, exploring new avenues of research, it considers the extent to which we may distinguish between idealised representation and social reality within relevant sections of traditional hagiographical literature.

2. Current Understanding: Anthropological Studies and their Relevance

Current understanding of Tibetan clans and descent rules has been informed by several anthropological studies,[4] including those of

---

1 Stein 1961; Karmay [1986] 1998; Vitali 2003.
2 Dotson 2012.
3 Oppitz 1973; Aziz 1974; Levine 1984.
4 The "current understanding" referred to here is that prevalent amongst members of the Tibetan Studies community; I address the way that evidence from

Jonathan Samuels, "Are We Legend? Reconsidering Clan in Tibet," *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 37, December 2016, pp. 293–314.

Nancy Levine on the Nyinba people, Michael Oppitz on the Sherpa, and Barbara Aziz on ethnic Tibetans from Dingri. [5] The anthropological training and rigorous fieldwork conducted by those involved ensured that they used the term "clan" in a very specific fashion (discussed below). Problems of access greatly hindered fieldwork-based studies in Tibet itself. However, the subjects of these studies were apparently ethnic Tibetans, so findings about them seemed relevant to populations in Tibet.

Amongst Tibetan ethnic groups in Nepal where clan membership is a significant feature of the society, that membership relies upon a system of descent according to which the father's strong "bone"-substance contrasts with the mother's weak "flesh" or "blood"-substance. This seemed to provide proof that the Tibetan principles of descent, so often cited in discussions about Tibetan culture, were built upon such a distinction. Decades ago, however, Melvyn Goldstein and Aziz reported that amongst contemporary Tibetan populations hailing from central Tibet, these distinctions seemed to be of negligible importance.[6] Divergent understandings in notions of descent between populations inside and outside Tibet would seem to be linked to variations in social structure. C*lan-based* systems, we note, are relatively common amongst societies residing in the borderlands or outskirts of traditional Tibet, including not only the highlands of Nepal, but also Arunachal Pradesh in India, and Yunnan in China. Conversely, vague assertions aside, there seem to be *no* attested or well-documented cases of contemporary ethnic Tibetans within traditional Tibetan lands who organise themselves into clans. What might account for this distinction? And why are Tibetans in Tibet apparently so resolutely non-clan? Such questions have not been seriously addressed.

When groups, such as those in Nepal, with the aforementioned concepts of descent, organise themselves into clans, and employ clan names and related terminology of apparent Tibetan origin, it seems reasonable to believe that they follow a Tibetan model. Investigation reveals, however, that some of those most devoted to this supposed Tibetan model, such as the Tamang, cannot in any straightforward sense be regarded as people of Tibetan origin.[7] If a "clan-isation" of

anthropological studies seems to have been interpreted in that community. No attempt is made to represent current anthropological thinking, more generally, on the topics of clan membership, descent, and the models for conceiving of them.

[5] Levine 1988; Oppitz 1973; Aziz 1974 and 1978.

[6] Goldstein 1971; Aziz 1974.

[7] Politics in Nepal complicate judgements of what counts as a Tibetan ethnic group. Claims to Tibetan origins do not sit well with campaigns to gain official recognition as a *janajati* ("indigenous ethnicity/nationality"). Despite this, if we

such peoples has occurred as part of a process of their Tibetanisation, it calls for us to re-evaluate our understanding of the latter phenomenon, and expand it beyond the limited domain of religion. It might seem logical to assume that Tibetan ethnicities such as the Sherpa, Nyinba, and Hyolmo (Yolmo), who probably migrated to Nepal from Tibet within the last five to six centuries, are likely sources for the introduction of Tibetanised concepts of descent and clan affiliation. There is, however, no clear understanding of how the migratory experience may have shaped the cultures of such peoples. As such, simply to assume that the clan-based systems they follow reflect what used to flourish in Tibet seems unwise. In summary, there are huge unanswered questions about the borders of identity and the processes of acculturation amongst the various ethnic groups. Until a framework is developed for understanding the evolution of social structure in the region, historical extrapolations about Tibet based on contemporary societies in Nepal and elsewhere seem problematic.

3. Current Understanding: Historical Studies and their Relevance

The relevance of certain Tibetan historical sources here seems incontestable, particularly when they proclaim themselves (or have been interpreted) as dealing specifically with clan. The frequency with which Tibetan historians through the ages have referred to the four or six Tibetan ancestral clans (the supposed 'original' Tibetans) indicates a long-held belief that Tibetan society grew from clan roots. But what evidence is there linking these legendary pre-historical groups with verifiable entities from the historical era? David Sneath sees parallels between Tibet and Inner Asia, where he argues that the image of societies organised into clans and tribes represents a myth, constructed largely during the colonial era.[8]

Legends about the Tibetan ancestral clans have been subject to some degree of historical analysis.[9] One aspect of Sneath's assertion about Inner Asia is found not to be applicable to Tibet. Far from a colonial-era invention, the *vision* of a clan-based society is seen to

view Tibetan origin in terms of some degree of self-identification, credible accounts of migration, and supporting linguistic evidence, then the Hyolmo (Yolmo), for instance, certainly deserve to be regarded as a group of Tibetan origin. It is often claimed that the Tamang are also of Tibetan origin. But Tamang relations with Tibet are more complex. As I argue in my DPhil thesis (Samuels 2014), it seems unlikely that Tamang ancestral roots are Tibetan.

8 Sneath 2007: 93–119.

9 Stein 1961.

have been a stock feature of Tibetan histories at least as far back as the twelfth century. Literary representation of these clans reaches its apex in the works entitled *rus mdzod* (literally: "clan repositories"), perhaps the best known of which, the *mGo log rus mdzod*, seems to be of relatively recent origin.[10] Its compilers are vague about source materials.[11] The historical credibility of the *rus mdzod* texts (which undoubtedly contain some valuable information) seems somewhat compromised by their obsessive schematising. Despite building upon much earlier literary traditions, schematic representation reaches a crescendo in the *mGo log rus mdzod*, where distinctions between the clans are often reduced to symbols (their respective totems) or various elements (earth, water, etc.) with which each was supposedly associated.

Whatever challenges such indigenous sources present, a more fundamental problem is the understanding of clan amongst historians. Roberto Vitali's 2004 study claims to trace the "History of the rGya Clan," between the seventh to thirteenth centuries. The rGya, we are told, occasionally disappear from history, only to resurface at a later date.[12] The study may chart the progress of the name rGya through history. Whether or not this can be interpreted as the continuum of a clan is, however, harder to judge: the author neither clarifies what he means by "clan," nor considers the possibility that the name rGya may have applied to different entities through time. In other studies, it is commonplace to describe, seemingly at random, the same group as "clan," "lineage," "dynasty," or "(ruling) family," as though these were interchangeable synonyms—their authors apparently unaware that they might connote different things. Equally, little attention is paid to nuances or possible historical variations in Tibetan terminology related to social organisation. This potentially obscures significant historical evidence.

In line with other Tibetan historical works, a large portion of any *rus mdzod* is devoted to genealogy. These are always hereditary lines of *authority*, with claims to ownership, custodianship, or rights to ministry (religious or secular). In support of such hereditary lines of authority, the *rus mdzod* claim that each can be traced back to one of the ancestral clans. The authors seek to portray a continuum, whereas

---

[10] The work, also known as: *Bod mi bu gdong drug gi rus mdzod me tog skyed tshal*, was compiled by Gyi lung bkra shis rgya mtsho and Thugs mchog rdo rje (1991).

[11] The colophon cites: "the *bKa' 'gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur*, ancient texts, records, clan repositories, reliable narratives, songs, and oral traditions of the elders", *bka' bstan dpe rnying yig tshang rus mdzod dang / sgrung glu gna' mi'i ngag rgyun dag khul rnams* (Gyi lung bkra shis rgya mtsho and Thugs mchod rdo rje 1991: 123).

[12] Vitali 2004: 10.

in fact they make a fundamental shift from the nebulous concept of a supposedly corporate body (i.e., an ancestral clan) to the detailed genealogy of a narrow hereditary succession. The general vagueness with which most historians approach the concept of clan contributes to their failure to notice this shift. A key question is whether the *rus mdzod* are simply manipulating the vision of the ancestral clans in support of hereditary authority or describing the historical erosion of corporate units that split into more narrowly defined lines.

Investigation of the past is not helped by current Tibetan understandings of the term "clan" (*rus*). Names such as lDong (the name of one of the ancestral clans) are not uncommon in contemporary Amdo, and modern works such as *Bod kyi gdung rus zhib 'jug* describe these as "clan names" (*rus ming*).[13] Despite the clan associations of such names, however, they do not currently seem to indicate membership of groups that can in any meaningful sense be called "clans". All group names (whether family, clan, or other) are *rus ming* in the aforementioned work. The revival in the use of *rus ming* that the authors call for,[14] represents their evoking some vague image of the past, where all Tibetans had names that indicated belonging to a social group, unlike today, where many only use given names. As with descent, we encounter a major gulf between rhetoric and actuality, and a need to clarify what clan is (or what it might have been, if it ever existed).

Clans seem integral to historians' views of early Tibet: Sam van Schaik portrays the Tibetan pre-state era as one dominated by "clan struggles."[15] Similarly, the role of rivalries between the sBa and other clans in the eighth-century debates about religion at bSam yas Monastery are standard in modern discussions of Tibetan history.[16] Clan here seems reduced to a form of chauvinism; one that manifests only in situations of strife. It is difficult not to conclude that the loose and indiscriminate usage of terminology encourages a falling back upon "tribal" stereotypes and clichés, none of which bring us closer to the phenomenon that is supposed to have spawned all of this enmity.

4. Clan: Towards Clearer Definition

In the anthropological studies, such as those cited above, "clan" refers specifically to "a group or category of people who claim to

[13] lDong ka tshang dge shis chos grags et al. 2001.
[14] *Ibid.*: 1.
[15] Van Schaik 2011: 2–4.
[16] See, for example, Ruegg 2013: 112.

share descent from a common ancestor."[17] The form of descent in question here is *unilineal*: it is traced exclusively either through male ancestors of the father's line (patrilineal descent) or through female ancestors of the mother's line (matrilineal descent). Lineages also rely upon unilineal descent. The difference between lineages and clans is that with the former, the genealogical links to an apical ancestor are known, whereas with the latter, they are not.[18] A clan, however, may encompass numerous lineages.

The one-sided reckoning of the unilineal descent system that is usually associated with clans obviously contrasts with the dominant form of descent in Europe and North America, where, despite the tradition of inheriting the father's name, systems are predominantly *bilateral*: a person's descent is traced equally through his/her mother and father.

In addition to ancestry, differences in the systems are marked in notions of relatedness. In a bilateral system, an individual is related equally to those on the mother's and father's side (for instance, cousins). Typically, consanguineal relatives (i.e. relatives by birth) are limited in number to those with whom one shares known genealogical ties. In contrast, according to the unilineal system of reckoning, links stretch over numerous generations, through a series of often untraceable genealogical ties—with the shared clan name as the main 'proof' of common ancestry. Hence the clan that an individual belongs to may form a large group or category, and those that might officially be counted as the individual's consanguineal relatives may run to hundreds or even thousands.[19]

Distinctions between the two descent systems also express themselves in practices of marriage. In a bilateral system (such as in the modern Western world), an individual's kin (consanguineal relations) are limited to a small group (aunts, uncles, etc.) beyond the nuclear family. The rule of exogamy (as it relates to the requirement that the individual marries someone who is not his/her kin) places far fewer restrictions upon potential marriage partners: the field is generally more open. In the unilineal system, where according to Claude Lévi-Strauss, "true consanguinity, […] is often impossible to establish,"[20] restrictions on marriage are more of a "purely social phenomenon by which two unrelated individuals are classed as 'brothers' or 'sisters' or 'children',"[21] and the rule of exogamy becomes merged with the prohibition on incest. In societies where

---

17 Parkin and Stone 2004: 456.
18 *Ibid.*: 458, and Keesing 1975: 148.
19 This is certainly true of the Tamangs, for instance (as discussed in Samuels 2014).
20 Lévi-Strauss 1969: 29.
21 *Ibid*.

descent is traced unilineally, marriage is often treated as a form of exchange between substantial groups or categories of people (such as clans).

The term "clan" may, generally speaking, refer to a centralised corporate group, owning territories, and sometimes linked with particular forms of political or administrative structure; yet equally it may refer to a descent category, comprised of individuals living in a dispersed fashion.[22] Whilst there must be numerous cases where clans (either as groups or categories) have become embroiled in disputes, conflict can hardly be seen as the defining feature of clans. As these are largely exogamous groups, there is a reproductive imperative that they cooperate with one another, not least to facilitate the exchange of marriage partners. In societies where clan membership is a significant feature, there is often a strong emphasis upon egalitarianism and coalition building.[23] The discussion of such topics may be common fare in anthropological literature. Yet it seems a world away from academic understandings of historical Tibet, where society appears to be dominated by organised religion, political institutions, and social stratification. Here, a large part of the logic of the society and relations within it is to be discovered in its concepts of descent, kinship, and marriage relations.

The relevance of this social vision of clans to Tibet can only be tested when indigenous historical sources are questioned with greater rigour. Stricter adherence to anthropological nomenclature is not a case of imposing alien models and technical vocabulary, but a way of injecting more preciseness into analysis of indigenous terms and concepts, to understand them and their evolution over time. Unless we exercise greater rigour (including making basic distinctions between families, lineages, and clans), a whole dimension of Tibet's past will remain closed to us.

---

22 Roger Keesing (1975: 29), for instance, distinguishes between *descent groups* and *descent categories*.

23 Some form of egalitarianism is relatively common in small-scale societies. There is much discussion in anthropological literature of the way that hierarchical inequalities are introduced and institutionalised in societies where egalitarian principles once prevailed. As Polly Wiessner (2002: 234) argues, however, egalitarianism is "not the tabula rasa of human affairs." Egalitarian structures and ideologies can be complex, and have arisen to reduce the transaction costs of exchange in those small-scale societies. Further investigation is required to determine how much of this is relevant to the historical evolution of Tibetan society. It should be acknowledged that in the Tibetan context it has been more common to associate clans with vertical relationships, and at least one anthropologist contends that the link between clan and hierarchical division goes back to the dawn of Tibetan society (see below).

5. Questions about Unilineal Descent

Aziz, who remarks upon an "almost total absence of patrilineal or any other type of descent system" amongst the Dingri population,[24] seems to be the first to clearly articulate doubts about unilineality in Tibet. Contradicting the assertions of earlier writers, such as Rolf Stein, she concludes that lineal descent is "in the case of Tibetan material, largely a notion of its writers." [25] Seeing herself as "unburdened of the hoary notion that Tibetans were organized into patriclans and lineages,"[26] Aziz suggests an alternative model for Tibetan society in which the residence has played a crucial role. Aziz does not overtly evoke Lévi-Strauss's concept of the "house society" (*sociétés à maison*), but in dismissing unilineal descent and stressing the importance of the residence, she clearly moves towards it as the more appropriate model for understanding Tibetan society. [27] Bilateral descent is typical in household societies, and the system that Aziz describes is essentially bilateral. Aziz's findings are regularly cited by others, including Geoffrey Samuel and Sneath,[28] who are sceptical about a widespread system of unilineal descent in historical Tibet. Although Aziz projects unilineal descent as largely a work of Tibetan literary fiction, she still has to account for the fact that the Tibetan ethnicities in Nepal follow the system. She concludes that the "process of migration" must have fundamentally altered the social structure of these groups.[29]

Aziz, Samuel (and others) rely almost exclusively upon data from the twentieth century, and presume that synchronic studies can serve as the basis for inferences and generalisations about the distant past. Their conclusions might be correct, but assume an extraordinarily static model of Tibetan social structure through the centuries. Furthermore, neither Aziz nor Samuel entertains the idea that an alternative explanation could account for the aforementioned discrepancy between the rhetoric and practice surrounding descent, and the fact that clan systems are absent from Tibet, but present in its

[24] Aziz 1974: 26.
[25] Aziz 1974: 24–25.
[26] Aziz 1978: 5.
[27] Although mentioned in earlier lectures, Lévi-Strauss first proposes his concept of a "house society" in *The Way of the Masks* (1982), as a means of explaining certain societies that did not seem to fit with traditional kinship theory. It has been described as: "a society consisting of corporate domestic estates that transmit their titles, properties, and prerogatives to their members over the generations" (Parkin and Stone (eds) 2004: 457–58). I thank one of my anonymous reviewers for comments on this section of the current article.
[28] Samuel 1993: 126–30; Sneath 2007: 113.
[29] Aziz 1974: 35.

borderlands. This alternative explanation is that such differences might be the result of historical shifts *within* Tibet. Historians of Tibet have not generally shown great interest in the area of social organisation, but they would presumably seek to defend their position regarding the historical reality of Tibetan clans. The only obvious way to reconcile this with the present-day absence of clans (certainly from Tibet's central regions) is to infer that, at some stage in history, a shift from the unilineal to bilateral descent occurred. The general decline of unilineal descent is a well-documented phenomenon in academic literature: factors commonly cited for it include the growth of the state, increased social stratification, and the influence of organised religion. All of these are apposite to the history of Tibet.

As noted above, much Tibetan historical literature (even writings purportedly dealing with clan) preoccupies itself with hereditary lines of succession associated with power and prestige. This literary representation, which some might interpret as supporting Aziz's conclusion about a restricted role for lineal descent in Tibet, has contributed to the popular idea that clans were inextricably linked with elites and social stratification. It has even been proposed that early Tibetan society was comprised of a four-fold division of vocational clans, hierarchically divided, much like the *varṇa* model of ancient India.[30] However, historical materials have not been used to seriously test this linkage, and the divide between social reality and literary projection in these materials has not been examined.

6. Old Sources, New Questions: Distinguishing between Idealisation and Social Organisation

The obvious biases of Tibetan historical literature present particular challenges when investigating the norms and practices of "worldly" society. The tendency of Tibetan authors towards idealisation is perhaps nowhere more evident than in the genre of hagiography,[31] with its extraordinary depictions of exceptional individuals. For Aziz, what such works say about descent is unreliable.[32] A greater willingness to interrogate the sources, however, would surely help us to draw out from them at least some information regarding descent systems and other aspects of mundane historical reality. To demonstrate this point, I shall turn to a short segment appearing in

---

30 Allen 1980.

31 By "hagiography," I refer both to biographical writings (*rnam thar*, *mdzad rnam*, *rtogs brjod*, etc.) and autobiographical works (such as *rang rnam*).

32 Aziz 1978: 121, n. 6.

the introductory section of a large number of hagiographical writings,[33] describing the origins of the central figure.[34]

The tradition of providing details of the protagonist's social background at the onset of the narrative, with reference to three specific terms, can be traced back at least as far as the eleventh century (see below). Increasingly, from perhaps the fourteenth century, *rigs rus cho 'brang* seems to establish itself as the most common subheading for the organisation and presentation of these details. The three terms (i.e. *rigs*, *rus*, and *cho 'brang*) that are fused together to create this subheading all ostensibly relate, in some way, to descent. But other information is also regularly given in the section; especially details of the protagonist's birthplace, which is often formulaically portrayed as a land of plenty, eulogised for its fertility, wonderful livestock, good-hearted inhabitants, and strong religious traditions.

Generally speaking, the sense that the aforementioned terms refer to three distinct concepts (requiring that authors supply three separate pieces of information) appears to decrease over time. By the eighteenth century, authors rarely treat them as separate terms, and give few indications that they appreciate their erstwhile significance. By that stage the discrepancy between the purported and actual content of these sections is considerable, and they are sometimes devoted almost solely to discussion of the main figure's illustrious forebears.

Authors through the ages seldom neglected the opportunity to advertise a subject's eminent ancestry. Whether or not the information provided is of a genealogical nature (describing specific

---

33 The confines of space permit me to offer only a few observations about hagiographical literature. Although modest in number, the works cited here span the many centuries during which mature hagiographical writings about indigenous historical figures have been produced—ranging from an eleventh-century biography of the translator Rin chen bzang po (958–1055), to a late eighteenth or early nineteenth-century biography of Klong chen rab 'byams pa (1308–1364). The writings cited are from a variety of religious schools, including the rNying ma, dGe lugs, and Shangs pa bKa' brgyud. These works are only a portion of those consulted, but contain the best examples I am aware of to illustrate some of the points made here. My research in this area is ongoing. As such, some of the conclusions, particularly related to periodisation, are provisional. But unless otherwise stated, the passages and the works that they are drawn from should be understood as entirely representative of numerous others in the tradition, in terms of style, presentation, and detail.

34 The details in some works are sparse, and very occasionally, entirely absent. An author's lack of access to relevant historical information is at least one likely reason for omissions. In some cases, however, sensitivities regarding the central figure's parentage or even the ideological convictions of the author may have played a role. These issues must be explored elsewhere.

lineages or lines of succession), the overwhelming sense is that the discussion of ancestry is there to support the notion that the protagonist's path to greatness was predetermined. Significant forebears were not necessarily religious figures. Descent from those of high status and "worldly" achievement (political or even military) were treated by many as guarantors of eventual spiritual pre-eminence. By contrast, humble origins were rarely celebrated. Claims that a protagonist's "descent" (*rigs rus cho 'brang*) was "superior" (*che ba*), "distinctive" (*khyad par can*), or "good" (*bzang po*) seem to be based almost solely on the author's ability to cite noble predecessors.

There are both variations in usage and also elisions of the three descent-related terms. Despite this, some tentative generalisations about the concepts and information associated with each can be made.

Rigs

Authors of hagiography use *rigs* primarily to convey the idea that the central figure's father belonged to a narrow social group, membership of which was defined by shared vocation and common ancestry, traceable over many generations. The implication is that the protagonist is in some way the beneficiary of his ancestry's legacy. The origins section in the biography of Chos rje Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (1372–1437?) has a typical description:

> His father was of the (sMug po) sDong clan, one of the four great original clans […]. He belonged to the "royal grouping" (*rgyal rigs*). This was in the lineage of Chi hu du dBen sha,[35] who ruled the "kingdom" (*rgyal phran*) of sTag mgo Nor bu gsum pa during the time of Kublai Khan. His successors were almost all Dharma-kings.[36]

---

35 I thank one of my anonymous reviewers for pointing out that *chi hu du dben sha* is almost certainly a rendering of *chi fu tu yüan shuai* ("chief military commander"), a title from the Yuan dynasty.

36 *gdung ni rus chen sde bzhi'i nang nas che bar grags pa smug po sdong* […] *rigs ni rgyal rigs te / de yang chi hu du dben sha zhes bya ba / se chen gan gyi rgyal phran stag mgo nor bu gsum pa la dbang byed pa'i rigs rgyud yin la / de dag kyang phal cher chos kyi rgyal po sha stag tu byung bar snang ngo*. From the biography of Chos rje Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan, in Nam mkha' bsam grub rgyal mtshan et al. (1996: 437–38). The dates of Nam mkha' bsam grub rgyal mtshan and other anonymous compilers of this historical anthology of biographies of figures from the Shangs pa bKa' brgyud tradition (who lived between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries) are unknown.

The Tibetanness of the father's patrilineal group is 'verified' by claiming its roots are traceable to the sMug po branch of the sDong ancestral clan.[37] The author also proposes that the protagonist's patrilineal ancestors were of the "royal grouping". Here *rigs* is unquestionably intended to suggest the idea of a distinct "class." In such descriptions a "lordly class" (*rje rigs*) also often features, and there are tangential references to a "commoner class" (*dmangs rigs*). The suggestion is evidently that society is divided along hierarchical lines, with partitions that bear a striking resemblance to the *varṇa* ("caste") model of Indic literature. Is this evidence of an ancient Tibetan four-fold social division? Firstly, judging by the frequency with which Tibetan authors mention this division, even when conjuring up images of non-human social structure (amongst *n gas*, spirits, etc.), it must be viewed as a form of literary default. Secondly, passages such as the above do not describe clan-based vocational divisions stretching back into time immemorial. Instead, we hear of a specific "lineage" (*rgyud pa*). The 'sovereign' status of members of this lineage probably derived solely from their claim to be able to trace their ancestry back to a local ruler, upon whom a military rank was bestowed during the Yuan dynasty, just a few generations before the birth of the biography's central figure.[38]

The possibility that the progenitor of the lineage claimed a noble pedigree even prior to his official recognition by the Mongols cannot be entirely ruled out. This description is, however, consistent with the way that lineages are regularly depicted in Tibetan literature. The lineage *begins* with some notable figure, religious or secular. Genealogical detail prior to this figure seems largely irrelevant. The author here endeavours, in the vaguest of fashions, to link an apparently historical lineage with the vision of a four-fold social divide in Tibet. Suspiciously, however, the central figures of such biographies seem, almost to a man, to belong to one of the noble classes. The attempts to insert specific lineages into this four-fold structure are so riddled with inconsistency, anachronism, and historical distortion (including occasional claims that wholly indigenous groups belong to the Brahmin class!) that it is difficult not to conclude that they have more to do with literary creativeness (or

---

[37] sDong is a common variation in the spelling of lDong.

[38] The term *sTag mgo* (literally: "tiger's head") *might* refer to the "tiger-head button," an imperial reward mentioned by Luciano Petech (1990: 121). Yet, as it appears to be attached to the name of this supposed kingdom, it seems more likely to be a variation on *rTa mgo* ("horse's head"), the name of an administrative division created for the Mongol census of Central Tibet (1268–1269). This was comprised of a meagre fifty "households" (*hor dud*). For further discussion of these divisions, see Petech 1990: 46–49.

even conventions) than social reality.

The ancestors of the protagonists are not always said to belong to one of the four-fold divisions. There is an alternative set of more Tibetan-sounding *rigs*, including a *bon*, *sngags pa* (*māntrika*), yogi, and even a scholarly class. In the minds of authors of hagiography, it seems, these *rigs* represent designated or prescribed classes to which their subjects must have belonged, and all of them are associated with religious or secular authority. Patently, authors attempted to ennoble the origins of their subjects. References to humble origins are conspicuous by their absence on the father's side, although mothers are occasionally said to be of the "common class" (*phal ba'i rigs*)—a term that seems to include farmers, nomads, traders, etc. (i.e. the majority of the population).

The manipulation of ancestry here seems blatant. Where references to the descent group of the subject's mother appear, it is not the sign of ambilineality, the practice in some societies where an individual may choose to belong either to his/her father's or mother's lineage. These are instead selective choices made by *authors*, favouring notable figures from the secular and religious domains, who may have been linked with the subject by distant (usually unspecified) ties of descent. These were then used to construct fictional classes, populated entirely by noteworthy personages sharing a religious or worldly calling.

Further illustrating the extent of the idealisation with which *rigs* is associated, the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682) glosses the term in the origins section of his autobiography thus:

> As for *rigs*, [someone who is] knowledgeable and smart, courageous and daring, true to his word, of broad vision, straightforward, amiable and so forth, and whose conduct is worthy is one who holds the *rigs*.[39]

Here *rigs* is totally dissociated from concepts of descent. Combining native views on admirable character traits with the religious concept of being a "lineage-holder" (Sanskrit: *kaulika*), it represents more of a personal ideal to which individuals might aspire.

Descriptions of *rigs* in hagiography can yield credible detail about a group's social background: a family's traditions or affiliations, for instance, when they are said to be a *bon rigs*, or genealogies relating to specific lineages (*rgyud pa*). But such information must be extracted

[39] *rigs ni mkhas mdzangs dpa' zhing rtul phod pa bka' btsan la dkyel che ba gzhung bzang la 'grogs bde ba sogs ya rabs kyi spyod tshul ni rigs dang ldan pa.* From the autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989–1991: 21).

carefully, and with the awareness that *rigs* serves as an umbrella term. This term encompasses distinct elements relevant to social organisation (including lineage and household), but conflates these with indigenous and imported notions of class and privilege—major portions of which seem to be fictionalised.

The fact that *rigs* was also used to render a number of discrete Sanskrit terms—*varṇa* ("caste"), *gotra* ("clan") and *j ti* ("lineage")—strengthens the impression of its vagueness, and should certainly lead us to conclude that, as far as terminology denoting specific concepts of descent go, *rigs* is an impostor in the ranks.

Rus

In contrast to the chaotic muddle of concepts represented by *rigs*, *rus* (*pa*) is generally used in a singular fashion to denote an apparently indigenous concept of "clan."[40] The term *rus* is not totally immune to hyperbole, although its honorific equivalent (*gdung*) is more commonly exploited to convey the 'superiority' of dynastic lines (royal and religious).[41] The Fifth Dalai Lama, following his embellished description of *rigs*, says of *rus*: "*rus* is what passes through the lineage of a father whose line is not tarnished."[42] These words exemplify the distinction between the ways that *rigs* and *rus* are reported. Whilst *rigs* serves as the basis for bloated claims related to hierarchical distinctions, details of *rus* tend to be sober. Sections on *rus* regularly make reference to indigenous concepts—such as, in the present case, assertions about the process of patrilineal transmission and the need for lineal integrity (i.e. that there be no gaps or questions about the father's ancestral line).[43] Mostly, however, the *rus* 'sub-section' consists simply of a name, presented in a procedural manner, like an item on a register. That is, *rus* is associated less with exaggerated claims, and more with routine information. Moreover, even though the names of the ancestral clans do often occur, the

---

[40] More generally in Tibetan literature, Tibetan translators and authors have, for centuries, displayed a marked preference for limiting *rus* to the domain of discussions about *Tibetan* concepts of descent.

[41] The same *rus* substance passes from father to offspring whether the descent group described is a clan or lineage. Historically, however, *rus* primarily seems to refer to larger sets of people (either corporate groups or descent categories), whereas *gdung* is generally favoured for the more exclusive lineage.

[42] *rus ni rigs ma nyams pa'i pha de'i brgyud las byung ba*. (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989–1991: 21).

[43] In addition to proclaiming the superiority of the central figure's descent group, authors were also keen to project them as "pure" (*gtsang ma*) or "complete and perfect" (*phun sum tshogs pa*), implying that genealogies could be substantiated.

central figure's *rus* is frequently one that is relatively anonymous or totally unknown in historical terms.

The usage of "clan-names" (*rus ming* or *rus mying*) appears to have been standard during the imperial era. Authors of hagiography generally seem both able and compelled to provide a *rus ming* for their protagonists well into the thirteenth or fourteenth century. A name alone does not, of course, yield information about the specific form or relative significance of the entity to which it was applied. Also, as unilineal descent encompasses both clans and lineages, we cannot be certain that these names were attached to larger corporate groups. We can, however, potentially learn something about historical and regional patterns from the usage of such names. Furthermore, the style of their reporting in hagiography suggests that authors viewed them not as vertical badges of distinction (by means of which a subject's superior social origins could be conveyed) but as horizontal badges of social inclusion. This contrasts with contemporary practice in much of Tibet, where group names are regularly associated with claims to social distinction (linked to property and heritage), but is more consistent with the way that they are employed amongst the aforementioned societies in contemporary Nepal and elsewhere, where the group (i.e. clan-) name is simply a social requirement.

Cho 'brang

Although there are questions about how this term is employed in other forms of literature, its usage in hagiography seems largely to conform to the way that it is glossed in contemporary lexicons, where it is said to denote relations on the mother's side.[44] But if the mother's descent group is included alongside the fathers' in the *rigs rus cho 'brang* rubric, as though they were an equally essential component of descent, is this compatible with a patrilineal system? Might it even offer evidence of bilateral descent? It is perhaps prior to the eighteenth century that authors seem more inclined to restrict *cho 'brang* to the mother's group. Information about the respective descent groups of the father and mother often seems superficially similar: both may include accounts of illustrious forebears and praises of the virtuousness of each parent.

Despite this presentational parity, there are marked contrasts in the quality of the information provided about the two groups. Even

[44] For example *ma'i rigs* ("the mother's side") in *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* (Krang dbyi sun et al. 1993: 823).

in a society following a patrilineal descent system, sufficient genealogical information about the mother's descent group must be retained to guard against incestuous unions. Knowledge of that group, however, is necessarily subsidiary to that of the patriline. Seeming to support this, origins sections often include absolutely no information about the mother's descent group. Where the mother is mentioned, her personal name is regularly unaccompanied by any group name or affiliation. The disparity is further emphasised by the fact, mentioned above, that whilst it seems acceptable for the mother to be of lowly stock, the same is not true for the father. These facts seem consistent with a patrilineal descent system. If some works give the impression of a degree of parity between the two descent groups, the most likely explanation is not that this reflects a bilateral descent system, but that some authors have chosen to downplay the divide. The possibility that a religiously-inspired literary aesthetic, inclined towards symmetrical representations of male and female constituents, might have influenced reporting here is another factor that should be considered.

The way that *cho 'brang* is explained in some hagiographies offers a particularly Tibetan perspective on the mother's descent group. The Fifth Dalai Lama, and a number of subsequent authors, such as Glag bla chos 'grub (1862–1944), in the hagiography of Klong chen rab 'byams pa, gloss the two syllables of the term separately. Both of these authors link *'brang* with the verb "follow" (*'brang ba*), suggesting that it refers to the "traceability" of three separate descent lines (i.e. *rigs*, *rus*, and *cho*).[45] The Fifth Dalai Lama also seemingly left open the possibility that *'brang* could be related to a place of residence (a *'brang sa*).[46] Thus far, this is the sole hint of a *possible* house society dimension to the terminology generally used in hagiography to define a group's origins. Both authors are in complete agreement regarding *cho*. The Fifth Dalai Lama says: "*cho* refers to the *zhang po* being of a verifiable source."[47] Glag bla chos 'grub, using almost exactly the same wording, offers the further clarification that *cho* refers to a clan (*rus*).[48] Hence both assert that *cho* refers to the mother's descent group. Much earlier, in the eleventh-century biography of Lo ts ba Rin chen bzang po, composed by his student Khyi thang dpal ye shes (dates uncertain), in place of the term *cho 'brang* in the three-fold rubric describing the central figure's origins,

---

45 *'brang ba ni bshad ma thag pa rigs rus ma nyams pa de dag gi rjes su 'brang nas*. (Glag bla chos 'grub 1996: 16–17).

46 *'brang ba ni bshad ma thag pa gsum po dang ldan pa'i spyod pa'i 'brang sa 'dzin pa.* (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 21).

47 *cho ni zhang po khungs dang ldan pa*. (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1989: 21).

48 *cho ni zhang po'i khungs te yul gyi rus ni*. (Glag bla chos 'grub 1996: 16–17).

we find the term *zhang po*.[49] Whilst *zhang* is more generally associated with the "wife-givers," *zhang po* specifically denotes the maternal uncle/wife's-brother. As I have elaborated elsewhere, this kinship figure was the focus of a peculiarly Tibetan form of an apparently ancient cult.[50] Only traces of it remain in Tibet, but it persists amongst the societies of Himalayan peoples, such as the Tamang, who follow a patrilineal clan system.

7. Tentative Realities: Legends within a Real Landscape

As stated above, at any given point in history, the usage of a name, such as lDong, cannot alone be seen as a guarantee of the existence of clans. Quite apart from the possibility that some group may have 'groundlessly' (in terms of descent) appropriated the name, according to the rules of unilineal descent, lineages (functioning either within or exclusive of clans) could claim equal right to its use. Occasionally, however, the origins section of a hagiographical work will include an invaluable passage, such as the following:

> His clan was Mal. There were about a thousand of them, sharing the clan and *chos* traditions of this Lord. They were related through genealogical lines that were unbroken for seven generations […].[51]

Given that the subject of this passage is Tsong kha pa (1357–1419), one of the most eulogised of Tibetan religious figures, it is remarkable for both its content and unostentatious style.[52] Free from the usual inflated claims of descent from one of the ancestral clans or of belonging to some re-imagined Indic social class, the only possible hint of idealisation here relates to the supposed rule that descent be both known and verifiable over seven generations. The credibility of the information seems enhanced by the fact that other historical references to the Mal are difficult to find. The special significance of the passage lies in its unambiguous assertion that the Mal constituted

---

49 Images of a handwritten manuscript version of this work, catalogued under the title *Lo tsā ba Rin chen bzang po'i rnam thar*, are available on TBRC (www.tbrc.org); Resource Code W4CZ1547. The *rigs rus zhang po* subheading appears on folio 2a.

50 Samuels 2013.

51 *'di'i gdung rus mal yin la / rje nyid dang gdung chos gcig pa tsam du gtogs pa la mi ngo stong phrag longs pa yod cing / bdun rgyud ma chad pa'i gnyen dang snag gi gnyen mtshams kyang shin tu rgyas pa zhig ste.* (mKhas grub dge legs dpal bzang 1982: 5–6).

52 This biography of Tsong kha pa (Blo bzang grags pa), 'founder' of the dGe lugs tradition, was composed by mKhas grub dge legs dpal bzang (1385–1438), one of his chief disciples, who is notorious for his immodest style of expression.

a distinct group, one that on sheer numerical scale demands to be regarded as distinct from a lineage. Some might question whether the author's assertion that the Mal formed a "clan" (*gdung rus*) constitutes substantive historical evidence of large corporate groups or descent categories of consanguineal relatives. However, that really would be to miss the point. Unilineal descent, particularly on a clan level, as alluded to by Lévi-Strauss,[53] is not to be judged in terms of genealogical verifiability; it is about groups or categories of people who organise themselves around the often vague concept or belief that they share descent. The question is whether there have been large groups who have organised themselves and their traditions around such a belief. The passage's suggestion that clan affiliation obliges its members to follow the same *chos* (religious) traditions seems to offer further support for the position that in historical Tibet there indeed have been such groups.[54]

8. Conclusion

There is an impression that the topic of clan has been reasonably well covered in Tibetan Studies. This impression, I have argued, is false. Scrutiny reveals that there is no coherent picture, and that there is a major divide between the way that historians and anthropologists approach and understand the topic of clan. The criticisms here are, to some extent, the common ones about the gulf between un-anthropologised historians and a-historical anthropologists. In an attempt to bridge the gulf, and to encourage more dialogue between the two camps, I have attempted to move the topic of clan outside of the hazy domain it currently occupies for most historians, by explaining how in anthropology it refers to a specific way in which groups or categories of people organise and conceive of themselves, around a distinctive form of descent. I have also demonstrated that a more anthropologically-informed interrogation of Tibetan historical literature helps us both to recognise some of its distortions as well as gather potentially significant information from it. The contribution of historians to discussions about Tibetan social organisation is sorely lacking. In its absence, historical generalisations, made by certain anthropologists who presume that the past can simply be reconstructed by extrapolating from the present, go untested, and are consequently greatly devalued. The historical existence of some form

[53] Lévi-Strauss 1969: 29; see also above.

[54] The same phrase "those of the same clan and *chos*-traditions" (*gdung chos gcig pa*) is found in a number of texts.

of residence-based or house society in Tibet must be acknowledged. But to dismiss clan and unilineal descent in Tibet as literary fictions or the stuff of legend is simply not an option.

Bibliography

Allen, Nicholas. 1980. "Quadripartition of Society in Early Tibetan Sources."*Journal Asiatique* 266, 341–60.

Aziz, Barbara. 1974. "Some Notions about Descent and Residence in Tibetan Society." In *Contributions to the Anthropology of Nepal, Proceedings of a Symposium Held at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, June/July 1973*, edited by C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, 23–29. Warminster: Aris and Philips Ltd.

———. 1978. *Tibetan Frontier Families: Reflections of Three Generations from D'ing-ri.* New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.

Dotson, Brandon. 2012. "At the Behest of the Mountain: Gods, Clans and Political Topography in Post-imperial Tibet." In *Old Tibetan Studies. Proceedings of the Tenth Seminar of the IATS, 2003*. Vol. 14, edited by Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, 159–204. Leiden: Brill.

lDong ka tshang dge shis chos grags et al. 2001. *Bod kyi gdung rus zhib 'jug*. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Glag bla chos 'grub and Chos grags bzang po. 1996. *rGyal ba klong chen pa'i rnam thar*. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Goldstein, Melvyn. 1971. "Stratification, Polyandry and Family Structure in Central Tibet." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 27(1), 65–74.

Gyi lung bkra shis rgya mtsho and Thugs mchod rdo rje. 1991. *Bod mi bu gdong drug gi rus mdzod me tog skyed tshal* (*mGo log rus mdzod*). Xinig: mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Karmay, Samten. [1986] 1998. "The Appearance of the Little Black-headed Man." In *The Arrow and the Spindle: Studies in History, Myths, Rituals and Beliefs in Tibet*, 245–81. Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point.

Keesing, Roger. 1975. *Kin Groups and Social Structures*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Khyi thang dpal ye shes. *Lo tsā ba Rin chen bzang po'i rnam thar*. Handwritten manuscript (no publishing details available). TBRC (www.tbrc.org); Resource Code W4CZ1547.
Krang dbyi sun et al. 1993. *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen-mo.* Beijing: Mi-rigs dpe-sprun-khang.

mKhas grub dge legs dpal bzang. 1982. *rJe btsun tsong kha pa chen po'i rmad du byung ba'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i 'jug ngog*. Xining: mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Levine, Nancy. 1984. "The Theory of Rü Kinship, Descent and Status in a Tibetan Society." In *Asian Highland Societies in Anthropological Perspective*, edited by C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, 52–78. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.

———. 1988. *The Dynamics of Polyandry*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. [1949] 1969. *The Elementary Structures of Kinship.* (Translated from the French by James Harle Bell and John Richard von Sturmer). Boston: Beacon Press.

———. 1982. *The Way of the Masks*. (Translated from the French by Sylvia Modelski). Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Nam mkha' bsam grub rgyal mtshan et al. 1996. *Shangs pa bka' brgyud pa'i bla rabs kyi rnam thar.* (Gangs can rigs mdzod 28). Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying pa dpe skrun khang.

Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (Fifth Dalai Lama). 1989–1991. *Za hor gyi ban de ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i 'di snang 'khrul ba'i rtsed rtogs brjod kyi tshul du bkod pa du ka l 'i gos bzang*. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang.

Oppitz, Michael. 1973. "Myths and Facts: Reconsidering some Data concerning the Clan History of the Sherpa". In *Contributions to the Anthropology of Nepal,* edited by C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, 232–42. Warminster: Aris and Philips Ltd.

Parkin, Robert and Linda Stone, (eds). 2004. *Kinship and Family: An Anthropological Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Petech, Luciano. 1990. *Central Tibet and the Mongols. The Yüan–Sa-skya Period of Tibetan History* (Serie Orientale Roma LXV). Rome: Roma Instituto per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.

Ruegg, David S. 2013. "On the Tibetan Historiography and Doxography of the 'Great Debate of Samyé'." In *The Tibetan History Reader*, edited by Gray Tuttle and Kurtis R. Schaeffer, 108–22. New York Chichester: Columbia University Press.

Samuel, Geoffrey. 1993. *Civilized Shamans; Buddhism in Tibetan Societies.* Kantipath, Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point.

Samuels, Jonathan. 2013. "An Avuncular Profile: An Examination of the Maternal Uncle (*Azhang*) and his Significance in Traditional Tibetan Culture." *Journal of Research Institute, Kobe City University of Foreign Studies* 51, 435–64.

———. 2014. "Tamang Clan Culture and its Relevance to the Archaic Culture of Tibet." DPhil thesis, University of Oxford.

Van Schaik, Sam. 2011. *Tibet: A History.* London and New York: Yale University Press.

Sneath, David. 2007. *The Headless State: Aristocratic Society, Kinship Society, and Misrepresentations of Nomadic Inner Asia.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Stein, Rolf A. 1961. *Les tribus anciennes des marches sino-tibétaines; legends, classifications et histories.* Paris: Presses universitaires de France.

Vitali, Roberto. 2003. "Tribes which Populated the Tibetan Plateau, as Treated in the Texts Collectively Called the *Khungs chen po bzhi*." *Cosmogony and the Origins, Lungta* 16, 37–63.

———. 2004. "Glimpses of the History of the Rgya Clan with Reference to Nyang Stod, Lho Mon and Nearby Lands (7th–13th Century)." In *The Spider and the Piglet: Proceedings of the First Seminar on Bhutan Studies*, edited by Karma Ura and Sonam Kinga, 6–20. Thimpu: Centre for Bhutan Studies.

Wiessner, Polly. 2002. "The Vines of Complexity: Egalitarian Structures and the Institutionalization of Inequality among the Enga." *Current Anthropology* 43(2), 233–69.

Foreign News in Early Tibetan-Language Newspapers: Covering Adolf Hitler in the Melong

Anna Sawerthal[1]

(Heidelberg University)

In June 1950, the Tibetan language newspaper Melong[2] published an article with the headline: "Hitler in a Tibetan Monastery." The short piece states that Hitler lives in a Tibetan monastery together with many of his followers. Somebody is quoted to say that "the fight will not diminish" and "even if we die, others will come instead of us." Indeed, "in the whole world, the wheel of rebellion is turning and one day [... we] will be absolutely victorious."[3] How did such a piece of "information" reach the editorial office of the Melong, up in the Himalayas? Where does the information have its origin, how was it rendered into Tibetan? And what does it tell us about global information flows?

The original German text was published in a Nazi magazine from Frankfurt in May 1950 as an alleged interview with Martin Bormann, Hitler's personal secretary and later head of the Nazi Party Chancellery. The original text "In der ganzen Welt gärt und revoltiert es [...]"[4] is rendered into Tibetan as "in the whole world, the wheel of rebellion is turning."[5] The Tibetan version stresses the word "wheel" which is a prominent symbol of Tibetan Buddhist philosophy and cosmology. In this way, adaptions and appropriations into local contexts take place on a small scale of single words.

Through the newspaper Melong, published from the Indian border town Kalimpong, Tibet was connected to a global network of information, which in turn was dominated by stakeholders of the

---

1 I want to thank Isrun Engelhardt and the anonymous reviewer for their useful comments. I would also like to thank Daniel Tharchin for agreeing to the reproduction of pages of the Melong.

2 The full title of the newspaper is Y*ul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long*, i.e. Mirror of News of Various Regions [of the World]. It was published from 1925 until 1963.

3 Melong 18-7-3: *nga tsho'i 'thab pa de ma 'chi bar du bshol gyi min gal srid nga tsho 'das kyang nga tsho'i tshab tu gzhan yong gi red/[...] 'dzam gling yongs su ngo log gi 'khor lo 'khor mus su 'dug cing nyin gcig [...] rnam par rgyal bar 'gyur zhes pa [...].*

4 *Tempo der Welt* 1950: 12.

5 Melong 18-7-3: *'dzam gling yongs su ngo log gi 'khor lo 'khor mus su 'dug*.

Anna Sawerthal, "Foreign News in Early Tibetan-Language Newspapers: Covering Adolf Hitler in the Melong", *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 37, December 2016, pp. 315–334.

British Empire. The first Tibetan-language newspapers were actually published by German Moravian missionaries (1904, Ladakh) and Chinese Imperial ambans (1907, Lhasa),[6] however the editors of these publications came from a background *other than* that of a Tibetan cultural sphere. They transported religious or political ideas of a specific organization by means of a newspaper.

The Melong emancipated from primarily political or proselytizing goals. Its chief editor Babu Tharchin remained in office over all its 38-year publishing history.[7] Born as an Indian citizen in Khunu (Kinnaur), at the border of India and Tibet, he deliberately positioned himself as *somebody part of* a Tibetan cultural sphere. More than simply transporting political or religious ideas by means of a newspaper, Tharchin saw value in the existence of a newspaper itself, for the modernization of a Tibetan (public) community.[8]

On a conceptual level, the article on Hitler presents the merging of two myths: the mystification of Adolf Hitler on one hand, produced by supporters of the Nazi regime in Europe, and the mystification of Tibet as an untouched paradise, high up on the "roof of the world" where ancient wisdom is said to be stored that illuminates the path to a higher spiritual realm. These myths about Tibet were mainly produced by Westerners; the article in the Melong can be seen as the result of the combination of both of these myths,[9] each amplifying the other. The article made it in parts into the Kolkata-based newspaper *Amrita Bazar Patrika*,[10] then the Melong. The mystification is here readapted to a Tibetan context by means of the newspaper.

The present study focuses on the latter aspect: a newspaper provided unprecedented communicative and community-building opportunities for Tibet, in many cases copying foreign formats, ideas and concepts. But news items were not simply copy-pasted. The news were selected, they were translated into Tibetan language and reinterpreted in order to meet tastes of a Tibetan-speaking readership. As we will see, the Tibetan readers of the paper feature just as prominently as the sources of many news items. This paper thus investigates how foreign news was transformed and reinvented by placing them into locally relevant contexts.

It will be discussed how the appropriation of (a predominantly European) "foreign" to a (Tibetan) "self" can be observed. Rather

---

[6] On the history of Tibetan newspapers, see e.g. Bray 1988, Erhard 2015, Sawerthal 2011, Shakya 2004, Walravens 2010, or Zheng 2000.

[7] For a detailed biography of Tharchin, see Fader 2004–2009.

[8] This is evident through editorial texts in the newspaper Melong and through letters the editor exchanged with a variety of individuals all over the world.

[9] For further details, see e.g. Engelhardt 2008b, or Brauen 2000.

[10] See Puck 1950: 4.

than studying a phenomenon within an established frame of reference along the lines of a "nation" or "one culture," this paper sheds light on cross-boundary processes. The Melong transported and constructed division as well as convergence, and both of these can be observed on every level of textual analysis, from a sample unit as small as a word to as big as the whole product newspaper.

The foreign news section is particularly suitable for this type of analysis, even more so the presentation of Adolf Hitler, because Hitler and the events of the war are well known to the readership and justifiably remain of value to public and scholarly discussion until today. It needs to be emphasized, though, that the research interests here concern how the presentation of Hitler in a Tibetan-language newspaper speaks to us about the self-understanding of this very newspaper and its role in the process of cultural transfer.

The study is based on articles (re)presenting Adolf Hitler and the Second World War in (mainly) Europe as published between 1933 and 1950. [11] Before turning to the textual analysis, relevant information is provided on the production of foreign news, the makers of the newspaper, the readership of the Melong, and how to delineate foreign news in the Melong.

1. Production of a Global Product

Given the nature of the editorial office and printing house of the Melong, no network of correspondents in distant places such as the US or Europe was established. The speedy flow of information from Europe to India through telegraphy, air mail, or phone was mainly controlled by the British government or British-owned companies.[12] A telegraphic line into Tibet was set up by the British government in the early 20th century.[13] Among the main sources for the Melong were English-language newspapers produced in India such as the *Statesman*, or the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (both Kolkata). By the time the Melong was founded, the newspaper landscape in India was diverse: On one hand there was a wide corpus of English-language newspapers loyal to the British government, on the other hand a growing anti-colonial, nationalistic press in Indic languages.[14] The press was handled by a policy of "control versus encouragement," as

[11] Almost a hundred articles have been read of mainly the Melong, but also other Tibetan-language newspapers. 35 articles focusing on Adolf Hitler were then chosen for detailed analysis.

[12] See e.g. Wenzlhuemer 2013, Kaul 2006.

[13] On the establishment of the telegraphic line to Lhasa, see e.g. King 1924.

[14] On the press history in India, see e.g. Kaul 2006, Schneider 2005, or Stark 2007.

Stark has called it, "in which surveillance and patronage were carefully weighed against each other."[15]

The Melong was part of this "control vs. encouragement" policies of the British government, in that the British supported the Melong between 1942 and 1948, i.e. a crucial time span for the study of the Second World War.[16] Before, the Melong was funded through the Scottish Mission in Kalimpong; the Tibetan government as well sent irregular donations all through the years. It is important to mention that the Melong operated as a successful business only when the British government provided subsidies and infrastructural support. This in turn substantially influenced the newspaper's contents: the pages of the Melong were filled with British war material.[17]

While the distribution network of the Melong spread all over the globe, with subscribers as far away as the US and Europe, the huge bulk of readers were located around Kalimpong and in Central Tibet (mainly Lhasa and along the trade route), i.e. often beyond the direct sphere of British control. Tibetan government officials, traders and intellectuals were subscribers, in average the Melong counted 500 subscribers. It can be assumed, that many more people received its contents, as it was read out aloud to, by the majority, illiterate people living in Tibet.

Babu Tharchin was the main editor of the newspaper and was skilful in negotiating between the predominantly British senders of foreign news and the predominantly Tibetan receivers. He was loyal to the British-Indian government and systematically passed on information to the British government.[18] On the other hand he held

---

[15] Stark 2007: 83, 236.

[16] While the Scottish Mission remained in charge of paying the worker's wages (including Tharchin's), the British Government paid Tharchin monthly remuneration, as well. Importantly, they paid for ink and paper of the production of 500 issues per month, and bought them off for distribution in Tibet and Northern India. In 1947, they made it mandatory for everybody applying for a trade permit between Tibet and India to subscribe to the Melong. In a last deed of support, the Political Officer of Sikkim Arthur Hopkinson organized a free-of-interest-loan for a new type press, a press house and land for Tharchin in 1948.
Information detailing the practicalities of British financial support of the Melong can be found in various documents archived within the "Tharchin Collection" of Columbia University Libraries. Some of it has been published by Fader 2002–2009 and Sawerthal 2011: 82–86. I am preparing a detailed financial history for my dissertation.

[17] Apart from the obvious visual effects (the Melong contained an abundance of war propaganda-photos Tharchin received from the Government's Information and Broadcasting Department). See here also Engelhardt 2011: 238–245 who provides further background information on British media policies effecting the production of the Melong.

[18] As early as 1928, he sold information on Tibetan affairs to Arthur Hopkinson (documented through correspondence between Tharchin and Charles Bell). From

close connections with different dignitaries of local surroundings and in Tibet. Tharchin received news from British newspapers, from traders and travellers coming from Tibet and China, as well as from his informant's network. While it is impossible to trace the individual authorship of each article, it is clear that Tharchin—as long as he was in Kalimpong—was the main driving force of the Melong from beginning to end.

2. What is Foreign News in the Melong?

In European newspapers of the early 20th century, different departments had been established and manifested as different sections (such as Local News, Foreign News, Entertainment, Sports, etc).[19] The section of foreign news was usually divided along the paradigm of nation states. The office of the Melong, however, consisted of one room in which most of the editing, type-setting, paper cutting, and printing was done. There were no single news desks separating different departments. Accordingly, there was no clear division into "local" or "foreign" news. Despite all this, there are ways to approach a possible division of contents. In an editorial note published in the summer of 1933, a rough division of content is put forth which included the following categories: 1) Market prices, 2) Trade, 3) Virtues, 4) Religion, 5) News about today's world (*deng 'dzam gling gi gsar gnas*),[20] 6) Technology, 7) Tales and Stories, 8) Poems, 9) Medicine, 10) Situation of commoners (*'bangs ser*), and 11) Entertainment and Sports.[21] Foreign news items fell into the fifth category, which encompassed various types of news and quantitatively made up the most extensive section. While the editor apparently did not feel the need for a further division, there was a (even if blurred) boundary between contents "on our country" and the content about "foreign countries." The positioning of articles or specific headlines provides a further measurement for the distinction between different countries, but these were not used consistently.

Foreign news items sometimes appeared under the Tibetan headline *phyi rgyal*, a term equivalent to "foreign." In the Melong, it

1943 or 1944 on, Tharchin's British informant-number probably was ATS23, as reported by Hisao Kimura. For details, see Fader 2009: 327ff.

[19] See e.g. Esser 1998 on the division of editorial labor in Great Britain and Germany, or Bösch 2005 for Germany.

[20] This category was heralded in an element which existed already in the Melong's precursor, the aforementioned Ladakh Agbar, where *yul so so'i gnas tshul* ("news about various regions") represented one category. See also Walravens 2010.

[21] Melong 7-7, 8-3. For details of the mentioned categories, see Sawerthal 2011.

often refers to European countries and more specifically to Great Britain. This type of usage of the term points towards the perception of the global dominance of the British Empire.[22] The heavy funding policies of the British government during the war years are further reflected in the content structures as well as in overt anti-German/pro-British propaganda.

3. *Locating Deviation*

A comparison of the Melong to another newspaper published in Tibetan language at that time, the *La dwags pho nya* ("Ladakh Messenger") which was mainly produced by a British Moravian missionary,[23] sheds light on what level the editors actually intervened in the production of foreign news. In both issues of November 1938, Hitler's annexation of parts of Czechoslovakia is covered. Both newspapers feature the same map, and the accompanying articles present the same content elements. Yet, there is a divergence in the moulding of respective content elements. In the Melong, reports on the aggression of Hitler-Germany in Czechoslovakia are given with some kind of understanding for their "cause" or at least without any direct criticism of it.[24] The *La dwags pho nya*, portrays Hitler entirely as a threat.[25] A divergence in interpretation of this news item is thus not observed on a visual but on a textual level.

The same is true for localizing mechanisms. As in every other newspaper office, foreign news was interpreted in a local context. In the report on the closing ceremony of the Olympic Games in Berlin, for example, the second half of the article stresses the fact that the next Games will be held in Tokyo.[26] The report on the "Anschluss" of Austria by Nazi Germany in March 1938 features a half-page illustration of Hitler in front of a map of Europe (figure 1). In contrast to the visual focus on Europe, more than half of the accompanying

---

[22] The usage of *phyi rgyal* can be compared to today's usage of the term "America," which often is used to refer to the United States but which actually denotes the whole continents of both North and South America.

[23] While the main editor Walter Asboe collaborated with local converts (such as Jospeh Gergan, Senge Namgyal, Dawa Dechen, or Zodpa), whose contributions are documented via signed articles in the newspaper's precursor *Kye lang ag bar* (also edited by Asboe), the main editing, especially of foreign news, was done by Asboe. Every issue of the *La dwags pho nya* prominently read on the cover "Edited & Published by Rev. Walter Asboe."

[24] Melong 10-3-1.

[25] Ladakh Phonya No. 23, November 1938.

[26] Melong 8-7-5.

text deals with Hitler's take on the "East" (*shar phyogs*).[27] Thus, illustrations are copied mostly unaltered from British sources while proximate places feature prominently on a textual level.

Figure 1: Melong 9-10-10, April 1938.

[27] Melong 9-10-10.

4. The Need for New Words

New developments and new realities require the coinage of new words. Sometimes English words or foreign names were simply transcribed into the Tibetan script, reflecting the influence of the British press. Examples are the words "tank" (*kreng ke*)[28] or "Nazi" (*nā dzi*)[29]. At other times we find actual translations into Tibetan: Communism is called *dmar lugs,*[30] which literally means the "red tradition." The word for the Allies is *mthun phyogs rgyal khab*,[31] which means "harmonious nations" or "allied nations." The "League of Nations" is the *'dzam gling lhan rgyas*,[32] i.e. the "world council."

A hybrid of loan word and translation can be found, for example, in "square miles": The word is rendered into *me lī gru bzhi*,[33] the first part *me lī* is the transliteration of English "miles" into Tibetan script, and *gru bzhi* is the Tibetan word for "square." In certain cases, words existent in Tibetan were coined with a new meaning. Within Tibetan Buddhist cosmology there are celestial beings called *mkha' 'gro*. They are said to have supernatural powers such as flying through air. In the Melong, the term is used in a modern sense, namely for "pilot."[34]

Such transcription or translation often happened randomly. The name Hitler is transcribed in a variety of ways throughout the whole run of the paper, and different spellings of his name can be found even within one article.[35] Earlier, the paper imitates the contemporary British journalistic usage, "Herr Hitler" (*har hiṭ lar*),[36] later on often drops "Herr" (*har*) altogether. Many times other titles drawn from Tibetan political contexts are used in connection with his name. A recurring example is *spyi khyab,* which literally means "all-pervasive" and is used for top-leaders. The Tibetan term *dpon po*[37] or "ruler" is also used, just as *khri pa*, literally "throne holder," a term usually reserved for monastery abbots.[38]

The inconsistencies involved in these practices also reflect changing perceptions of Hitler. They changed over the course of

---

28 Melong 10-12-10.
29 Melong 7-5-5.
30 Melong 9-10-10.
31 Melong 15-3-1.
32 Melong 7-3-6.
33 Melong 10-5-4.
34 Melong 7-8-8.
35 E.g. Melong 13-8-9.
36 E.g. Melong 7-1-4. Note that also a letter written by Reting Rinpoche addressed to Adolf Hitler and given to Ernst Schäfer in March 1939 features the term *har he ti lar*, i.e. "Herr Hitler," see Engelhardt 2008a.
37 Melong 7-3-6.
38 Melong 8-7-4.

time, partly reflecting British propaganda during the war years, partly in response to actual events. In 1934, Hitler is referred to as "the developer of the German nation" (*'jar man rgyal khab yar ldan gong 'phel byed po*),[39] in 1936 as "the throne holder of the general German public" (*'jar man dmangs spyi'i khri pa*),[40] and in 1940 as "the murderer of the happiness of the world" (*'dzam gling bde skyid kyi gshed ma*) and the "enemy of the Buddhist teaching" (*bstan bgra*).[41]

5. Embedding the Foreign Stylistically

Just as in the example of the "pilot" (*mkha 'gro*), different world views and different ideas about the make-up of reality are combined. This merging happens not only on the level of individual words but also on broader levels of language usage. On a stylistic level, imagery of the Tibetan mountainous landscape or cosmology is juxtaposed with foreign news items. When Hitler was defeated and lost the war, it is reported how in the beginning of the war he took over neighbouring countries "like a summer river" (*dbyar gyi chu bo ltar*),[42] but after his quick rise he fell into a "low ravine" (*dma'i ba'i g.yang rong*).[43] Stalingrad is described as the "hot hells" (*tsha dmyal*),[44] one of the existential realms in the ever-recurring cycle of death and rebirth. In February 1945, the expected upcoming defeat of Nazi Germany is reported with descriptions of both the American army advancing into Germany from the West and the Russian army from the East. The Russian army swells "like a summer flood" (*dbyar gyi chu rud*), and the text concludes that the Germans are trapped within a "fire-lasso of the Allies" (*mthun phyogs me dpung zhags thag*).[45] This poetic usage of language certainly made the articles easier to understand for a Tibetan-speaking audience. Words were newly coined or used to embed foreign news within a Tibetan mindscape.

But much more so, whole sets of stylistic elements and genres deriving from Tibetan literature[46] were appropriated for the news-production. Directly following the article on the upcoming defeat of Nazi Germany in Europe in February 1945 the newspaper features a

---

39 Melong 7-12-3.
40 Melong 8-7-4.
41 Melong 10-12-10.
42 Melong 15-1-3.
43 Melong 13-8-9.
44 Melong 11-3-7.
45 Melong 13-6-12.
46 For an introduction to the difficulties of categorizing Tibetan literature into different "genres" and problems associated with the general definition of "Tibetan literature," see Cabezón/Jackson 1996: 11–37.

lung bstan, i.e. a prophecy. The concept of prophecy is taken to frame a statement by Goebbels on the future of the world:

> Future Prophecy: The German Dr. Goebbels [said]: "Even though recently the Great War is being decided, in 1948 there will be a world war again." That is the prophecy.[47]

According to Mullard, *lung bstan* are highly cryptic texts and are "regarded as direct and truthful renditions of prophecy."[48] The use of *lung bstan* in connection with the defeat of Germany resonates with its use in other Tibetan texts, such as those of the vast corpus of *gter ma* literature: As Gayley explains, prophecies "portray the terton's [i.e. the treasure revealer's] own era as a time of dire straits and rampant corruption. [...] A profusion of bad omens is typically also given."[49] The prophecy attempts to prove that the text's contents derive from more authoritative sources.[50] The *lung bstan* here functions as a legitimating device of the news item and underscores its truthfulness.

Another rhetorical device used are verses of the rich body of life-advices, encompassing formats which have been described as *bslab bya* ("advice," "what is to be taught"), *legs bshad* ("good sayings," aphorisms), or more generally *gtam dpe* ("speech example").[51] These types of "proverbs" (in its broadest sense) which often overlap with other formats of figurative speech can be found both in literary texts as well as in oral language. According to Sørensen and Erhard, *gtam dpe* are "cherished both by the illiterate person as well as by men of letters and learning, irrespective of social setting and background."[52] In the Melong, these verses are used to render foreign news understandable to a wider audience.

In one article of October 1943, a verse of the famous composition *Chu shing bstan bcos* ("A Treatise on Water and Wood")[53] is applied to the advance of the Allies in Germany:

> Great deeds are accomplished step by step. One does not arrive at completion by proceeding impatiently. A great stream, though calm, goes far. But a wave, even if intense, does not grow large.

---

47 Melong 13-6-12: *ma 'ong lung bstan: 'jar man sgrag krar go sbal gyis da lam gyi dmag chen thag tshod rung slar yang phyi lo 1948 pa'i nang 'dzam gling dmag 'phrug 'byung yong zhes lung bstan 'dug/*.

48 Mullard 2011: 28.

49 Gayley 2003: 5f.

50 See Gyatso 1996: 159.

51 All of the mentioned appear as free-standing content elements, as well.

52 Sørensen & Erhard 2013: 282.

53 This work is by Gung thang dKon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me, 1762–1823.

> Likewise, the allied nations achieve [their deeds] step by step and are like a great river that calmly goes a long way. Hence, slowly and steadily, they certainly will defeat their opponents.[54]

In this description, the Allies are a steady stream, whereas Nazi Germany is just an ephemeral big wave that will be washed away by the stream. The usage of the verse underscores a certain instructive function of the newspaper. The close connection between written and oral genres can be observed in a variation on the aforementioned verse of November 1946. This report on the Nuremberg trials gives a summary of Nazi Germany and Hitler, providing an obvious reference to the verse of the *Chu shing bstan bcos*, but with colloquial variants: "A great deed is achieved gradually. By being diligent for a long time, a great idea is achieved."[55]

An example of the usage of an aphorism of Sakya Paṇḍita's famous *Sa skya legs bshad* in juxtaposition to modern forms can be observed on a cover in winter 1939, marking the end of British appeasement politics at the outbreak of World War II. While Hitler is playing with fire, a British soldier approaches Hitler with a gun. The accompanying text says: "Even the ones good by nature get angry, if you bully them all the time. Sandalwood is cool, but if you rub it, it burns ablaze!"[56] The British are thus equated with the valuable sandalwood, an image derived from Sanskrit literature that is widely used within Tibetan literature and folk culture. Thus, the British are presented as inherently good but willing to fight back if bullied. Both the picture and the aphorism aim to make the news item easily understood. It is the textual aphorism which is particularly familiar to the audience, not the copied image.

Also a verse by Nāgārjuna from his popular work *Shes rab sdong bu*, i.e. Tree of Wisdom, is used in the same context. In 1939, the Melong reported on the war in Ethiopia, i.e. Abyssinia, where Italian forces had invaded and forced the king of Abyssinia to flee. Reflecting widespread international critique, the article accuses the League of Nations of not even trying to make nations enforce international treaties. In order to communicate this criticism, the

---

[54] Melong 12-3-10; Verse 11 of the *Chu shing bstan bcos*: *bya ba chen po yun gyis bsgrubs// ngang thung 'bad pas mthar mi phyin// klung chen dal yang ring 'gro la// rba rlabs drag kyang cher mi 'gro// zhes pa ltar mthun phyogs rgyal khab rnams nas yun gyis bsgrubs pa dang // chu bo chen po dal gyis ring du 'gro ba dang mtshungs gshis/ dal yun dang bcas dgra sde rnams las rnam par rgyal bar 'gyur nges/.*

[55] Melong 15-1-3: *bya ba chen po ngang gis bsgrubs//yun ring 'bad pas don chen bsgrubs/.*

[56] Melong 10-11-1: Verse 6 of the 6th chapter of the *Sa skya legs bshad: rang bzhin bzang po rnams la yang / /rgyun du brnyas na khro bar byed/ /tsan dan bsil ba yin mod kyang / /r[g]tsub par gyur na 'par bar byed/.*

following verse is juxtaposed: "To a fire which burns the forest, the wind comes to help. [But] when this [wind] destroys a butter lamp, the weak [butter lamp] lacks support. [One can] also [say]: Even though a great fire is kindled by wind, this [wind] extinguishes the butter lamp."[57]

The critique is that strong and powerful nations (the wind) only help other strong and powerful nations (the fire). But if a weak and small nation, like a butter lamp, needs help, the powerful nations do not come to help. On the contrary, they wipe out the small nation. After providing explanation, the author ponders on the state of small nations, subtly extending his thoughts to the situation of Tibet: "Looking at this, would it not be good if also the weak nations would look for ways to become powerful? In today's times, 'powerful' means that a nation has as much army, weaponry machines and chemical weapons as possible."[58] Not only Ethiopia, but also Tibet is like a butter lamp in the contemporary world, small, weak, and under constant threat of extinction.

The employment of various types of stylistic means should not necessarily be conceptualized as an active act of text composition, but as a passive move for Tibetan-speaking authors. It is not necessarily the foreign news item that is to be made understood, but rather the meaning which is attributed to it by the author. In the previous example in which Tibet was equated to a butter lamp, the author admonishes the Tibetan government to wake up from their politics of isolation, their resistance to catch up technologically with the rest of the world, and to acknowledge the threats that are continuously tightening up around the Tibetan plateau. This leads us to the final level of analysis, the appropriation and usage of ideas.

6. Importing Ideas, Reinventing Meanings

In the 1940s, Tibet was neither a political entity formally recognized by a global community nor an entity clearly demarcated from the imagination of the people living in or ruling over Tibet.[59] The call for

---

[57] Melong 10-5-4: Verse 41 of *Shes rab sdong bu*: *nags sreg pa yi me la ni//rlung gis grogs su 'gyur ba yin//de nyid mar me 'jig byed pas//nyams chung ba la bshes yod min//yang na me chen rlung gis sbar mod kyi//de yis mar me chung ngu gsod/.*

[58] Melong 10-5-4: *der bltas rgyal khab stobs chung rnams nas kyang da lta nas stobs ldan yong ba'i thabs shes gnang na mi legs sam/ deng gi dus su stobs ldan zhes pa ni rgyal khab su la dmag dpung dang dmag gi mkho byed 'phrul 'khor dug rdzas gang mang yod pa de la stobs ldan zhes pa'o/.*

[59] Much work has been done on the question of Tibet's political status and the demarcation of its borders, both historically and contemporarily. As a starting point, see McGranahan 2010: 37ff.

such a "strong nation" incorporated the very constitution of such a clearly demarcated entity. The author's choice to report extensively on the case of Ethiopia reveals his efforts to make the importance of a "strong nation" understood to the readers, especially those within the Tibetan government.

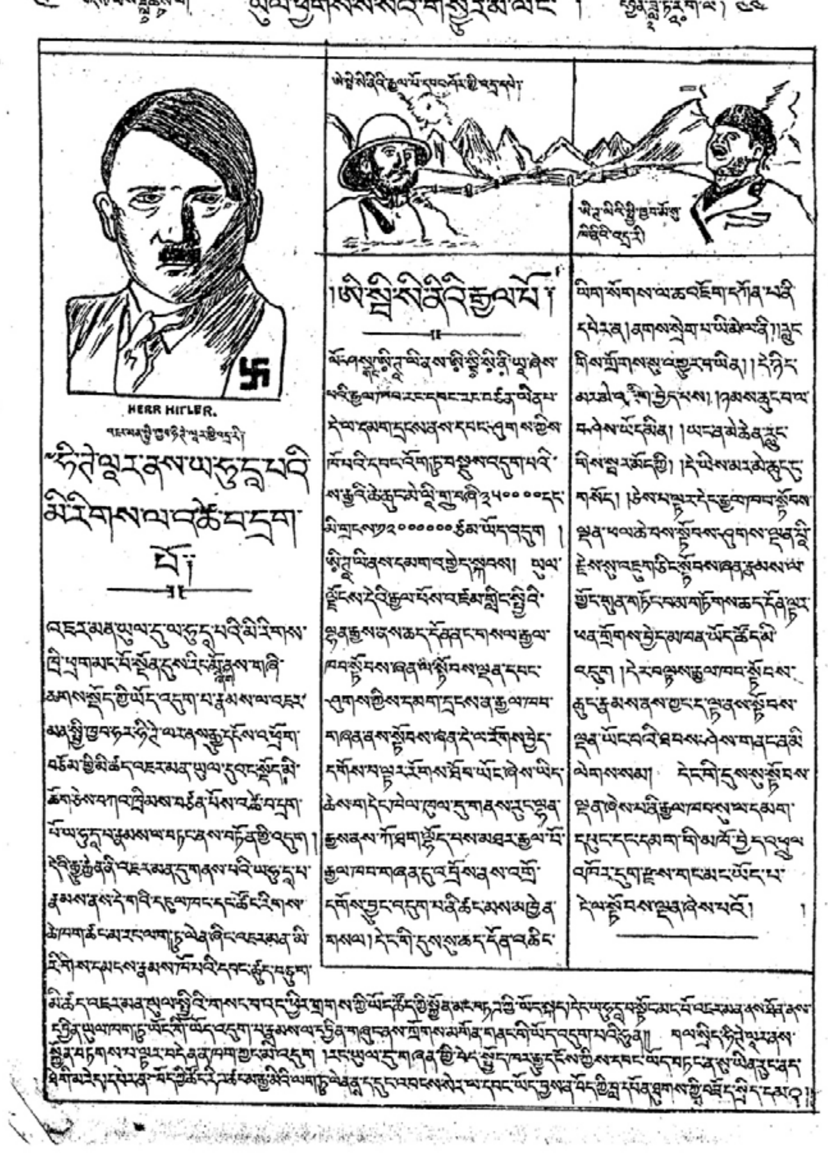

HERR HITLER.

Figure 2: Melong 10-5-4, February 1939.

Directly adjacent to the article on Ethiopia in February 1939, the Melong featured an article on "Hitler as a threat to Jews"[60] (figure 2). This article describes how tens of thousands of Jews have lived peacefully in Germany for a very long time, but now Hitler plunders not only their possessions, it is stated, but he has now introduced new laws to expel them from the country. It quotes Hitler as stating that he expelled Jews because they hold power over the banks and the German people, and they would divulge internal secrets of Germany to outsiders. The article further mentions that the British government provides help and support to Jewish refugees.

As in many other cases, the end of the article extends this European news item to a Tibetan context:

> In case the charges as claimed by Hitler are true, then he is not to be blamed. No one could stand falling prey to the wealth of others, while these exploit one's own country. For example: If the whole Tibetan trade was in the hands of the Chinese/Indians (?),[61] and more so, [they] had power over all the common people (*'bangs ser)*, then could the Tibetan Lamas and leaders bear this in their heart?[62]

By naively reiterating anti-Semitic sentiments, the article addresses two points: Firstly, the article contains a subtle call for an independent Tibetan nation state ruled by ethnic Tibetans. Secondly, within the idea of this strong nation, the author shows consideration for the "common people," even under the general outline "high lamas" versus "subordinates" which reflected a traditional social hierarchy in Tibet at that time.

In an earlier issue printed in the summer 1933, this issue of social hierarchy receives even more prominent treatment. Hitler is described as an advocate of the "common people" of the German nation:

> [Hitler] gives to the commoners (*'bangs ser)* and helps and supports the poor. He always thinks about how to eliminate their suffering [...]. Like this, the common German people (*'bangs ser)* should be able to make progress, and their own country should be independent, happy, and wealthy.[63]

---

60 Melong 10-5-4.

61 The word *rgya mi* could refer to either "Chinese" or "Indian," as it is used for either of them in the Melong.

62 Melong 10-5-4: *gal srid hi ṭe lār nas skyon btags pa ltar bden na khag kyang mi 'dug /rang yul du gzhan gyi bed spyod khar rgyu dngos kyis dbang yod btang na su yin rung nad theg gi ma red/ dper na: bod kyi tshong rigs tshang ma rgya mi'i lag tu len nas da dung 'bangs ser la dbang yod byas na bod kyi bla dpon thugs kyis bzod srid dam?/.*

63 Melong 7-8-8: *khong gis 'bangs ser dbul zhing 'phongs pa rnams la grogs mgon gnang ste de dag gi sdug bsngal med par bya ba'i phyir dus rgyun du thugs bsam bzhes* [...]

It is stressed that "Herr Hitler" would stand in the middle of the people, amidst farmers and normal office workers, holding speeches. The author ends this article by saying: "Likewise, the governor generals of all the nations are indeed also trying to bring happiness to the common people (*'bangs ser)*."[64] This is a clear message to the author's "own" (Tibetan) government.

The exotic "other" Hitler is used to criticize "the self," the imagined Tibetan nation with its great divide between elites and workers or farmers. A call for the establishment of a nation state and a call for modernization resonate strongly throughout these articles. In an article of June 1938, which describes warfare then and now, the author attests that while the Tibetan army is rather strong, it cannot compete with other nations. Again evoking the example of Ethiopia, the author warns of threats by both the Chinese government and the Japanese from Kham in East Tibet, stating that modern equipment is of highest importance for a Tibetan army.[65]

So far, foreign news items were mainly used to critique the own central Tibetan government or the own envisioned "nation." But with 1945, at the end of the Second World War and the occasion of the demise of power of the British Empire in India, things became quite different. As is well known, by May 1945 the war in Europe was over and Hitler had committed suicide. In the Melong's coverage of these events the end of the war and the defeat of Germany are turned into a moral lesson on karma.

The article juxtaposes Hitler and the Ethiopian case: "Even if for some time [one] is put under the power of somebody else, in the end the fruits of karma will ripen."[66] Furthermore, Hitler's suicide is used to give a moral lesson concerning *nga rgyal* (arrogance or pride), which is one of the key obstacles to the Buddhist path to enlightenment. In this statement, Hitler is accused of possessing the arrogance of wanting to take over the whole world and thus produced a lot of suffering for others. It is therefore logical that Hitler did not win the war, because nobody can counteract one's karma. The worldly consequences of his misbehaviour are that his own home country lost its independence.

Following the karmic explanation of events, the author then moves this analysis to a more general level. Through the case of

---

bzhin du 'jar mān 'bangs ser yar ldan 'phel rgyas 'byung ba dang / rang yul rang btsan bde skyid stobs 'byor 'byung [...]/.

64 Melong 7-8-8: *'di mtshungs rgyal khab tshang ma'i spyi rdzong dpon khag nas kyang rang yul 'bangs ser bde la 'god thabs* [*g*]*nang gi yod shag*/.

65 See Melong 10-1-14.

66 Melong 13-8-9: *gnas skabs gzhan la dbang yod btang gyur kyang / phugs su las 'bras smin pa*[*'i dpe la ltos*]/.

Hitler's defeat, it is shown how globally people should not have the arrogant desire to take over the world: "Arrogant people who want power over the world should look at the degeneration of the German Governor-General Hitler."[67]

This degeneration is depicted in a cartoon on the next two pages.[68] After a retrospect on Hitler's rise and defeat, the message "The Allies will win!" follows Hitler through his daily life, accompanied by the British victory-sign "V." Hitler does not want to accept it and runs away from it. In the end, he hangs himself on a V.[69] Again, while the illustrations deliver a political message that stresses the British victory the accompanying verses draw a much broader conclusion:

> Look at how Hitler was defeated even though he had great success.
> Look how the thorn bush which torments others, once established, becomes [the one] tormenting yourself.
> Even if your own nation has defeated others and started sending troops, you will yourself be defeated [in the end]. Look at this example![70]

The political and moral criticism here concerns not only Nazi Germany, but is directed against any form of imperialism. In a subsequent report on the Nuremberg trials in November 1946, this general criticism is explicitly connected to the law of karma. "The ripening [of karma] of putting [others] under one's own power, falls on top of oneself [...]."[71]

While British presence was of advantage to the Melong, the rise of nationalism and the rebellion against colonial powers did not leave the editorial office unaffected. In the 1930s, an openly positive or at least a rather vague opinion can be observed with respect to Hitler in the Melong. This was utilized to suggest the Tibetan government to become a stronger nation that would take good care of its common people. But in later articles Hitler is portrayed in a solely negative light —as a reaction to actual events, further expedited through the financial backing of the British government. Hitler's negative perception later on was used to provide moral advice to readers by reframing it in the context of the theory of karma and the flaws of

---

[67] Melong 13-8-9: *'dzam gling dbang 'dod nga rgyal chen po yis// 'jar spyi hi ṭe lar phung ba'i dpe ltos/.*

[68] A depiction of the cartoon can be found in Engelhardt 2011: 233.

[69] Melong 13-8-10, 11.

[70] Melong 13-8-10, 11: *hi ṭe lar rgyal kha che rung 'phams la ltos/ /gzhan la zug pa'i tsher shing btsugs pa des/ /rang nyid la ni zug par gyur la ltos/ /rang rgyal gzhan 'pham dpung 'jug 'tsams byas kyang/ /rang nyid 'pham par gyur pa'i dpe la ltos/.*

[71] Melong 15-1-3: *gzhan la dbang yod byas pa'i rnam smin de//rang nyid steng du bab pa 'di la ltos/.*

arrogance.

While early reports on Hitler usually worked within the framework of "use the other to criticize the self," by 1945 and 1946 the "self" was used to criticize the "other." The British victory is not so much celebrated as a victory of "the British" but more generally as the victory of good over bad morals. The laws of karma work and these laws had been used in Tibet for hundreds of years. Much more, the defeat of Nazi-Germany, which wanted to take over the world, is used to draw broader conclusions against imperialism.

7. Conclusion

Produced on the margins of the Tibetan cultural sphere but also on the margins of the British Empire, the Melong gave Tibetans the opportunity to absorb events which occurred in foreign countries. It connected Tibet to a global network of communications and provided a medium which—at least in theory—also crossed social boundaries. Through a close reading of articles about Adolf Hitler, it became evident how prominently the receiving agents, i.e. the Tibetan readers, feature particularly on a textual level in a product such as the newspaper, perceived on first sight as "European."

The way in which a figure like Adolf Hitler is portrayed for a Tibetan readership sometimes resonates with a Eurocentric view, copying news contents and connected systems provided by dominant agents such as the Western categorization of the world along the lines of nation states. More often than not, though, the portrayal deviates from expectations associated with a Eurocentric worldview. The editing and printing of foreign news involved a creative process in which a variety of stakeholders were involved—a multi-dimensional process of appropriation, indeed channelled through British information flows, but nevertheless adopted for a Tibetan-speaking audience by an agent who knew well both worlds.

In summary, the editor communicated much more than foreign news items. He attempted to communicate to the readers the very meaning he himself attributed to this news. Foreign news was often presented as kinds of morality tales, beyond political meanings encoded in the events happening in Europe. For Tibetan readers they were presented as models on how to live a morally adequate life. For the Tibetan government they were presented in order to show how to modernize their "state." The producer thus often deviated from pre-formulated forms in a variety of ways, catering to a communicative sphere at times disconnected from Eurocentric patterns of meaning.

Bibliography

Asboe, Walter, ed. 1938. *La dwags pho nya*. 23. Leh.

Bösch, Frank. 2005. "Die Zeitungsredaktion." In *Orte der Moderne: Erfahrungswelten des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Alexa Geisthövel and Habbo Knoch, 71–80. Frankfurt am Main: Campus.

Brauen, Martin. 2000. *Traumwelt Tibet: Westliche Trugbilder*. Bern: Haupt.

Bray, John. 1988. "A.H. Francke's La Dvags Kyi Akhbar: The First Tibetan Newspaper." *The Tibet Journal* 13 (3), 58–63.

Cabezón, José and Roger Jackson (eds). 1996 *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*. *Studies in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism.* Ithaca: Snow Lion.

Engelhardt, Isrun. 2011. "Reflections on the Tibet Mirror: News of the World 1937–1946." In *Mapping the Modern in Tibet*, edited by Gray Tuttle, 205–64. Halle (Saale): International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies (IITBS).

———. 2008a. "Mishandled Mail: The Strange Case of the Reting Regent's Letters to Hitler." *Zentralasiatische Studien*, 48, 77–107.

———. 2008b. "Nazis of Tibet: A Twentieth Century Myth." In *Images of Tibet in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, edited by Monica Esposito, 63–96. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO), coll. Études thématiques 22 (1).

Erhard, Franz Xaver. 2015. "Tibetan Mass Media: A Preliminary Survey of Tibetan Language Newspapers. In *The Illumniating Mirror. Tibetan Studies in Honour of Per K. Sørensen on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, edited by Czaja, Olaf and Guntram Hazod, 155–171. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

Esser, Frank. 1998. "Editorial Structures and Work Principles in British and German Newsrooms." *European Journal of Communication* 13 (3), 375–405.

Fader, H. Louis. 2002–2009. *Called from Obscurity: The Life and Times of a True Son of Tibet, God's Humble Servant from Poo, Gergan Dorje Tharchin: With Particular Attention Given to His Good Friend and*

Illustrious Co-Laborer in the Gospel, Sadhu Sundar Singh of India. 3 Vols. Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press.

Gayley, Holly. 2003. "Introduction." In *The Life and Revelations of Pema Lingpa*, edited by Sarah Harding, 1–28. Ithaca: Snow Lion.

Gyatso, Janet. 1996. "Drawn from the Tibetan Treasury: The *gTer ma* Literature." In *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, edited by Jose Cabezón and Roger Jackson, 147–69. Ithaca: Snow Lion.

Kaul, Chandrika, ed. 2006. *Media and the British Empire*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

King, W.H. 1924. "Telegraph in Lhasa." *The Geographical Journal* 63 (6), 527–31.

McGranahan, Carole. 2010. *Arrested Histories: Tibet, the CIA, and Memories of a Forgotten War*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Melong = *Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long*, 2009. Kalimpong: G. Tharchin,1925–1963, Electronic reproduction. New York: Columbia University Libraries, 2009. Accessed April 26, 16. http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/digital/collections/cul/texts/ldpd_6981643_000/. Single issues of the Melong are cited as "Volume-Issue-Page."

Mullard, Saul. 2011. *Opening the Hidden Land: State Formation and the Construction of Sikkimese History*. Leiden: Brill.

Puck. 1950. "Between You & Me & —." In *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, May 11th, 1950, 4.

Sawerthal, Anna. 2011. "The Melong: An Example of the Formation of a Tibetan Language Press." MA diss., University of Vienna.

Schneider, Nadja-Christina. 2005. "Die "revolutionäre" Expansion des indischen Zeitungssektors." *Südasien-Information* 9.

Shakya, Tsering. 2004. "The Emergence of Modern Tibetan Literature – Gsar Rtsom." PhD thesis, SOAS.

Sørensen, Per K. and Franz Xaver Erhard. 2013. "An Inquiry into the Nature of Tibetan Proverbs." *Proverbium: Yearbook of International Proverb Scholarship* 30, 281–310.

Stark, Ulrike. 2007. *An Empire of Books: The Naval Kishore Press and the Diffusion of the Printed Word in Colonial India.* Ranikhet: Permanent Black.

Tempo der Welt. 1950. "Juli 1949: Ich sprach mit Martin Bormann. Ein Tatsachenbericht." *Tempo der Welt* May 1950, 12–14.

Walravens, Hartmut, ed. 2010. *The First Tibetan Serial: August Hermann Francke's La-dvags-kyi-ag-bar (1904–1907); Facsimile of a Unique Set in the Archives of the Evangelische Brüderunitaẗ, Herrnhut.* Berlin: Staatsbibliothek.

Wenzlhuemer, Roland. 2013. *Connecting the Nineteenth-Century World: The Telegraph and Globalization.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zheng, Wenlei, ed. 2000. *Precious Deposits: Qing Dynasty and the Republic of China.* Vol. 5. Beijing: Morning Glory Publ.

❖

sGam po pa's Doctrinal System: A Programmatic Way to Buddhahood for Beings of Varying Capacity, Both Gradual and Sudden?

Rolf Scheuermann

(Friedrich-Alexander University Erlangen-Nürnberg)[1]

Introduction

The Tibetan master sGam po pa bSod nams Rin chen (1079–1153) was an influential figure and important systematiser during the second spread of Buddhism in Tibet and is considered to be the founding father of the different Dwags po bKa' brgyud traditions. This paper aims at presenting the overall gradual (*rim gyis*) character of his doctrinal system, exemplified with the help of commentaries on the *Four Dharmas of sGam po pa* (*Dwags po chos bzhi*) preserved in the different versions within the so-called *Collected Works of sGam po pa* (*Dwags po'i bka' 'bum*).[2] It will further show that sGam po pa's gradual approach is not necessarily at odds with a sudden or instantaneous (*cig car*) approach, and will present how sGam po pa manages to reconcile these two on a practical level so that they form a whole by integrating them into a system for beings of varying capacity.

1 This work was supported by the International Consortium for Research in the Humanities "Fate, Freedom and Prognostication. Strategies for Coping with the Future in East Asia and Europe" at Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, funded by the German Federal Ministry of Research and Education (BMBF), and is largely based on part I, chapter 1.3.3 (The Four Dharmas of Sgam po pa—A Systematic Way to Buddhahood, Both Gradual and Sudden?) of my unpublished doctoral dissertation "When Sūtra Meets Tantra—Sgam po pa's Four Dharma Doctrine as an Example for his Synthesis of the Bka' gdams- and Mahāmudrā-Systems" at the University of Vienna, funded by the Austrian Science fund (FWF). I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Brandon Dotson for his valuable corrections and suggestions.

2 For an overview and discussion of the different editions of the *Collected Works of sGam po pa*, see Kragh 2015: 156–199.

Rolf Scheuermann, "sGam po pa's Doctrinal System: A Systematic Way to Buddhahood for Beings of Varying Capacity, Both Gradual and Sudden?", *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, 37, December 2016, pp. 335–351.

1. sGam po pa's Gradual Doctrinal System

Present-day Tibetan Buddhist traditions commonly agree that a practitioner reaches the goal of Buddhist soteriology, Buddhahood, at some point in the future through a primarily gradual process of development. This can be achieved by following the path of the *sūtra*s, the Pāramitānaya, or of the *tantra*s, the Mantranaya. While the non-tantric approach is generally considered to span over very long periods of time involving many lifetimes of training, that is, up to three eons, it is argued in the context of the Buddhist *tantra*s, that one might be able to achieve this goal within a few lifetimes or even a single lifetime. Even though the tantric approach can therefore be considered very rapid, this does not imply that a practitioner leaps over certain phases of development during his or her religious career, but that the specific methods of the *tantra*s, if practiced in union with higher knowledge, allow for an accelerated development. Hence, the *tantra*s still involve a gradual process composed of several methods that need to be mastered in succession.

sGam po pa is also well-known for teaching such a gradual approach, as witnessed in his influential magnum opus, the *Dwags po thar rgyan*, commonly known in English as *Jewel Ornament of Liberation*.[3] Out of the twenty-one chapters that make up this work, sixteen chapters are dedicated to explanations on the instructions of the spiritual teacher,[4] that is, the path. The *Jewel Ornament of Liberation* employs a gradual soteriology involving different methods that are to be practiced one after the other in order to attain Buddhahood. Its fourth chapter on impermanence thus begins with a short introduction on the whole section that makes up the instructions of the spiritual teacher, which discusses four obstacles to attaining Buddhahood (*sangs rgyas mi thob pa'i gegs bzhi*) and their respective remedies (see Table 1). These are then explained in detail throughout chapters four to nineteen.[5]

---

3 The Tibetan full title of this work is *Dam chos yid bzhin gyi nor bu thar pa rin po che'i rgyan*. See *Dwags po'i bka' 'bum*, L 0595/1, 562b1–L 0596/1, 206a7. Cf. *Dwags po lha rje'i bka' 'bum*, vol. 11, 273.1–505.5. For an English translation, see Guenther 1959.

4 These are chapters four to nineteen of the *Dwags po'i thar rgyan*. *Dwags po'i bka' 'bum*, L 0595/1, 580a7–L 0596/1, 157a6. Cf. *Dwags po lha rje'i bka' 'bum*, vol. 11, 301.6–489.4.

5 For a short presentation of these four obstacles, see Scheuermann 2013: 469–470.

Obstacles	Remedies
1. attachment to the sphere of this life's activities (*tshe 'di'i spyod yul la chags pa*)	meditating on impermanence (*mi rtag pa sgom pa*)
2. attachment to well-being within (saṃsāric) existence (*srid pa'i bde ba la chags pa*)	meditating on the shortcomings of cyclic existence as well as [of] cause and effect (*'khor ba'i nyes dmigs las 'bras dang bcas pa sgom*)
3. attachment to the well-being of the peace (of *nirvāṇa*) (*zhi ba'i bde ba la chags pa*)	meditating on loving kindness and compassion (*byams pa dang snying rje sgom pa*)
4. not knowing the means for attaining awakening (*sangs rgyas sgrub pa'i thabs mi shes pa*)	generating the *dharma*s of supreme *bodhicitta* (*byang chub mchog tu sems bskyed pa chos rnams*)

Table 1: The Four Obstacles to Attaining Buddhahood in the *Dwags po thar rgyan*

sGam po pa's famous *Four Dharmas of sGam po pa* is a short instruction made up of four slogans said to summarize his doctrinal system. Tradition therefore considers it to be a concise summary of presentations found in longer works such as the *Jewel Ornament of Liberation*. The *Collected Works of sGam po pa* contain six short passages that comment on the four *dharma*s. None of them are actual compositions of sGam po pa, but are teachings attributed to him that were recorded by disciples. However, the wordings of the four slogans that make up the *Four Dharmas of sGam po pa* are consistent throughout. Here is a short translation of the formulations as we find them in the *Chos bzhi mdor bsdus pa legs* or *Excellent Synopsis of the Four Dharmas*:[6]

[6] *Chos bzhi mdor bsdus pa legs*, L 0595/1, 401a6: *chos chos su 'gro ba/ chos lam du 'gro ba/ lam 'khrul pa sel ba/ 'khrul pa ye shes su 'char ba zhig* [text: *cig*] *dgos gsung/ /*.

[sGam po pa] says that one needs:
[1.] A *dharma* that turns toward the *dharma*,
[2.] A *dharma* that turns toward the path,
[3.] A path that dispels delusions,
[4.] And delusions that appear as wisdom.

Particularly the explanations on the third *dharma*, the "path that dispels delusions" are of interest here, since they usually explain the function of the methods, that is, how the path dispels the delusions. It should also be mentioned that the fourth *dharma* is also equated with a sudden or instantaneous path in the commentary on the *Four Dharmas of sGam po pa* by La yag pa Byang chub dngos grub (12th cent.),[7] a direct disciple of both sGam po pa and his nephew, sGam po Tshul khrims snying po (1116–1169). While the formulation of the fourth *dharma*, "delusions that appear as wisdom" (*'khrul pa ye shes su 'char ba*), invites such an interpretation, it is generally presented as an explanation of the result throughout the commentaries found in the *Collected Works of sGam po pa*.

A detailed presentation of the third *dharma* is found in the *Chos bzhi mdor bsdus pa legs*:

> First, one dispels the delusion of attachment to this life by meditating on impermanence. One dispels the delusion of bad views by meditating on *karman* and effect. One dispels the delusion of clinging to cyclic existence by meditating on the shortcomings of cyclic existence. One dispels the delusion of the Hīnayāna by meditating on loving kindness and compassion. One dispels the delusion of clinging to things by meditating that [they] resemble dream illusions.[8]

In this passage, five delusions, which are to be dispelled along the path, are juxtaposed with their respective remedies. Following a systematic pattern, the five pairs are arranged in a sequence from coarse to subtle, which is expressed by the sentence immediately following the above quotation: "In general, it is said that by means of ever higher [practices] one dispels the ever deeper delusions."[9] If the five delusions of the *Chos bzhi mdor bsdus pa legs* are juxtaposed with the

---

7 *mNyam med dwags po'i chos bzhir grags pa'i gzhung gi 'grel pa snying po gsal ba'i rgyan*, 15–181.

8 *Chos bzhi mdor bsdus pa legs*, L 0595/1, 402b6–403a1: *dang po mi rtag pa bsgoms pas tshe 'di la zhen pa'i 'khrul pa sel/ las bras bsgoms pas/ lta ba ngan pa'i 'khrul pa sel/ 'khor ba'i nyes dmigs bsgoms pas/ 'khor ba la chags pa'i 'khrul pa sel/ byams snying rje bsgoms pas/ theg dman gyi 'khrul pa sel/ rmi lam sgyu ma lta bur bsgoms pas/ dngos por 'dzin pa'i 'khrul pa sel/.*

9 *Chos bzhi mdor bsdus pa legs*, L 0595/1, 403a1: *lar na gong ma gong mas/ 'og ma 'og ma'i 'khrul pa sel gsung/.*

four obstacles to attaining Buddhahood in the *Jewel Ornament of Liberation* introduced earlier, the correspondence becomes apparent (see Table 2). The only major deviation is the addition of bad views in the five delusions, but the subject is also treated in the *Jewel Ornament of Liberation* in the sixth chapter dealing with the law of *karman*.[10]

Four Obstacles to Attaining Awakening	Five Delusions
1. attachment to the sphere of this life's activities	1. attachment to this life
	2. bad views
2. attachment to well-being within (saṃsāric) existence	3. clinging to cyclic existence
3. attachment to the well-being of the peace [of *nirvāṇa*]	4. delusion of the Hīnayāna (~ clinging to one's own benefit)
4. not knowing the means for attaining awakening	5. clinging to things

Table 2: The Four Obstacles to Attaining Buddhahood and the Five Delusions

In both cases, sGam po pa seems to suggest that it requires the practice of a sequence of several methods not a single one so that a Buddhist practitioner can progress toward Buddhahood. Even though not mentioned explicitly, order and content of the methods and remedies are in harmony with the doctrine of the three types of beings (*skyes bu gsum*) as set forth by Atiśa Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna (982–1054) in the *Bodhipathapradīpa* and its auto-commentary, the *Bodhimārgapradīpa-pañjikā*. The three types of beings are:[11]

1. beings of lesser capacity (*skyes bu chung ba*),
2. beings of middling capacity (*skyes bu 'bring ba*), and
3. beings of greater capacity (*skyes bu chen po*).

Beings of lesser capacity are said to strive for personal pleasures within cyclic existences by paying attention to abstaining from negative deeds and focusing on good deeds. This corresponds to the

[10] *Dwags po thar rgyan*, L 0595/1, 606b5–618a1.
[11] See Eimer 1978: 104–107.

practices of meditating on impermanence and meditating on *karman* and effect, which is labelled as a mundane path. Beings of middling capacity, who are said to strive for their individual liberation, can build upon this basis. Their approach is said to consist of meditating on the defects of cyclic existence, which is defined as the path of the Hīnayāna or the lesser vehicle of Buddhism with a focus on one's own liberation. The approaches of lesser and middling beings taken together correspond to the content of the first *dharma* of the *Four Dharmas of sGam po pa*, "a *dharma* that turns toward the *dharma*" or "a *dharma* that becomes the *dharma*."[12]

The remaining two practices, developing loving kindness and compassion, and meditating that things resemble dream illusions, are then what sums up the path for beings of greater capacity, the Mahāyāna or great vehicle. This is said to correspond to the second *dharma* of the *Four Dharmas of sGam po pa*, "a *dharma* that turns toward the path" or "a *dharma* that turns into the path [to complete Buddhahood]."[13] Depending on whether an explanation of the Buddhist *tantra*s follows or not, beings of greater capacity are then also further differentiated into different degrees within this category in other works that also belong to the genre of the stages of the path (*lam rim*) literature.

2. sGam po pa and the White Panacea

sGam po pa's doctrinal system as described above is hardly compatible with an instantaneous or sudden approach, involving a mono-causal method considered sufficient to attain Buddhahood. Yet, the term *White Panacea* (*dkar po chig thub*) [also translated as *Self-Sufficient White Remedy*][14] occurs in a few of sGam po pa's writings in relation to Mahāmudrā. Sa skya Paṇḍita (1182–1251) seems to have understood that the term refers to a mono-causal method that allows an individual to instantly attain Buddhahood. Consequently, he strongly criticised such a doctrine and suspected the influence of earlier Sino-Tibetan "instantaneist" (*cig car ba*) traditions advocating a sudden path to Buddhahood. David Jackson identified three main

[12] Cf. the explanations on the first *dharma* in *Chos bzhi mdor bsdus pa legs*, L 0595/1, 401a6–401b5.
[13] Cf. the explanations on the first *dharma* in *Chos bzhi mdor bsdus pa legs*, L 0595/1, 401b5–6.
[14] Cf. Jackson 1994.

criticisms raised by Sa skya Paṇḍita with respect to sGam po pa's presentation of Mahāmudrā:

1. That a single method or factor (even insight into Emptiness presented as the Great Seal) could suffice soteriologically
2. That the Gnosis (*ye shes*: *jñāna*) of the Great Seal could arise through an exclusively non-conceptual meditative method
3. That the Great Seal could ever be taught outside of the Mantrayāna.[15]

Klaus-Dieter Mathes has already shown that "both Sahajavajra's *Tattvadaśakaṭīkā* and Jñānakīrti's *Tattvāvatāra* contain not-specifically-Tantric *mahāmudrā* teachings."[16] He has also demonstrated that a predecessor for a **sūtra-mahāmudrā* approach based on the *Ratnagotravibhāga Mahāyāna Uttaratantra* was "included in the teachings of the early Bka' gdams pa,"[17] and argued on the basis of Maitrīpa's *Apratiṣṭhānavāda* that "the practice of *mahāmudrā* does not need to be Tantric, but can be performed by not abiding in any extreme of reification or denial."[18] The discussion in this section therefore centres chiefly on Sa skya Paṇḍita's criticism of sGam po pa's presentation of a *White Panacea* as a single means of attaining awakening.

The following excerpt from the *rJe phag mo gru pa'i zhus lan* or *Exchanges with Phag mo gru pa* (here in David Jackson's translation), a work considered to be a record of an exchange between sGam po pa and his disciple Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po (1110–1170), gives us an idea of how the term has been used by the early Dwags po bKa' brgyud tradition:

> Accordingly, when it has arisen, since this has become a *Self-sufficient White* [*Remedy*], i.e. full liberation through knowing one thing, Buddha[hood] is acquired in oneself. Since by that, the fetter that binds one to cyclic existence has been loosed of itself, one's own mind achieves the level of great bliss.[19]

---

15 Jackson 1994: 72. For the discussion on the controversy surrounding the *White Panacea* or *Self-Sufficient White Remedy* and its relation to the famous bSam yas debate, see also Jackson 1982, van der Kuijp 1986, Broido 1987 and Jackson 1990.

16 Mathes 2006: 224.

17 Mathes 2015: 310.

18 Mathes 2007: 562.

19 Jackson 1994: 151. *rJe phag mo gru pa'i zhus lan*, L 0594/1, 482b4–5: *de skyes pa'i dus na/ dkar po cig thub cig shes kun grol du song bas/ sangs rgyas rang la rnyed/ des 'khor bar 'dzin pa'i sgrog rang gdal du 'gro bas/ rang sems bde ba chen po'i sa non bya ba yin gsung/*.

La yag pa Byang chub dngos grub's root verses of his commentary on the *Four Dharmas of sGam po pa*, which according to its colophon recount sGam po pa's instructions on the subject, also contain a passage on the *White Panacea*:

> Ultimate reality is not the object of sophists, [and it is] inexpressible. Being like the sky, [it is] primordially pure. Wisdom which is free from birth and cessation is free from elaborations. If it is seen by itself in the way of non-seeing (*mthong med tshul du*), just like darkness [ceasing] through the dawning of the light, what is to be given up ceases, and all qualities occur. [Being like] a *White Panacea*, the Victorious Ones cannot enumerate the benefits of this approach. [20]

In these two examples, as well as elsewhere in the *Collected Works of sGam po pa*,[21] the term *White Panacea* is not used to describe a soteriologically self-sufficient factor or method, that is, a *Self-Sufficient White Remedy*, but rather seems to be applied as a general metaphor for Mahāmudrā. Accordingly, a short passage of the s*Nying po don gyi gdam pa phyag rgya chen po'i 'bum tig* in the *Collected Works of sGam po pa* informs us that "[sGam po pa] gave [his nephew Shes rab byang chub] the pith instructions [for realising] Mahāmudrā, the *White Panacea*."[22] Like a *White Panacea* that cures all diseases once and for all, the realization of Mahāmudrā is understood to remove all obscurations so that no further remedy needs to be administered. This had already been observed by Michael Broido:

> The colloquial use for *dkar-po chig-thub* is of a medical plant, perhaps ginseng. Now the point of the analogy between ginseng and *mahāmudrā* is not merely that just as ginseng cures all diseases, *mahāmudrā* cures all defects of the personality. When the bKa'-

---

[20] *mNyam med dwags po'i chos bzhir grags pa'i gzhung*, 7.2–3: *don dam rtog ge'i yul min tshig bral/ /nam mkha' 'dra zhing gzod nas dag pa/ /skye 'gag med pa'i ye shes spros bral/ /mthong med tshul du rang gis mthong na/ /snang ba shar bas mun pa bzhin du/ /spang bya 'gag cing yon tan kun 'byung/ /tshul 'di'i phan yon rgyal ba rnams kyis/ /bgrang bar mi spyod dkar po chig thub//.*

[21] The term *dkar po chig thub* or *White Panacea* occurs in several passages within the *Collected Works of sGam po pa*: *rJe phag mo gru pa'i zhus lan*, L 0594/1, 482b5; *Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhu lan*, L 0594/1, 377a2–3; *Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhu lan*, L 0594/1, 380b7 [For translations of the first three passages along with their Tibetan texts, see Jackson 1994: 149–153.]; *sNying po don gyi gdam pa phyag rgya chen po'i 'bum tig*, L 0595/1, 128b6; *sNying po don gyi gdam pa phyag rgya chen po'i 'bum tig*, L 0595/1, fol.142b3; *gNas lugs gnyis kyi man ngag dang go cha gnyis kyi man ngag*, L 0595/1, 365b1.

[22] *sNying po don gyi gdam pa phyag rgya chen po'i 'bum tig*, L 0595/1, fol.128b6: *phyag rgya chen po dkar po gcig thub man ngag gnang*. For a summary of the entire section, see Kragh 2015: 447–448.

> brgyud-pas use the word on their own account, as does Zhang Tshal-pa (1123–1193) in his important *mahāmudrā* work *Phyag-chen lam-mchog mthar-thug*, the idea is rather that once the disease, whatever it was, has been cured by means of ginseng, there is no need to take any further medicine to cure it, and similarly once *mahāmudrā* has been attained there is no need to do anything further in order to remove defilements.[23]

That the *White Panacea* is a metaphor for the realisation of Mahāmudrā is also maintained by Samten Karmay who further notes that "the conception of *chig thub* already occurs in songs of Mi-la ras-pa: 'As I know one, I am learned in all', (*gcig shes kun la mkhas pa yin/*)."[24] The statement attributed to Mi la ras pa corresponds to the part of the above quotation from the *rJe phag mo gru pa'i zhus lan*, which was rendered by David Jackson as "full liberation through knowing one thing" (*cig shes kun grol*).

Moreover, that this realisation of Mahāmudrā, which is likened to a *White Panacea*, is not used to express a single cause for achieving Buddhahood becomes evident from a short passage of the *sNying po don gyi gdam pa phyag rgya chen po'i 'bum tig*, where the *White Panacea* occurs in the framework of a generation stage practice involving a sequence of different methods. The following sentence concludes a section outlining the achievements that can be obtained with respect to body, speech and mind through meditating on a tutelary deity:

> Concerning the mind: if one has realized the natural state due to being endowed with *dharmadhātu* pride, it is called a *White Panacea*, and all three [types of] obscurations have been purified. [25]

3. sGam po pa's Doctrinal System, Both Gradual and Sudden?

As we have seen earlier, sGam po pa's doctrinal system—at least as presented in the *Four Dharmas of sGam po pa* and the *Jewel Ornament of*

---

[23] Broido 1987: 27–28.

[24] Karmay 1988: 197–198.

[25] *sNying po don gyi gdam pa phyag rgya chen po'i 'bum tig*, L 0595/1, fol.142b3: *yid chos nyid kyi nga rgyal dang ldan pas ni gnyug ma de rtogs na/ dkar po chig thub ces bya ste/ sgrib pa ni gsum ka byang/*. For a summary of the entire section, see Kragh 2015: 451–452. The *gNas lugs gnyis kyi man ngag dang go cha gnyis kyi man ngag* contains an almost verbatim identical passage, which also identifies the *White Panacea* with the state of realisation. *gNas lugs gnyis kyi man ngag dang go cha gnyis kyi man ngag*, L 0595/1, 364b1: *yid chos nyid kyi nga rgyal dang ldan pa ni gnyug ma'o/ rtogs na dkar po chig thub ces bya ste/ sgrib pa ni gsum ka byang ngo/*. For a summary of this section, see Kragh 2015: 538.

Liberation—forms a practical soteriological scheme of syncretic character, which is both systematic and gradual in that sGam po pa lists several delusions or obstacles to attaining awakening and explains the necessary methods to counteract them. How can such a fundamentally gradual approach involving several methods be brought into line with an instantaneous approach? How can we understand the seemingly instantaneist instructions sGam po pa is said to have presented, which might lead one to believe that he considered that a single method or factor will suffice soteriologically?

In Tibetan doctrinal debates, it is generally very important to keep in mind that differing definitions for key terminologies are used by different proponents, which is often ignored in the argumentations of polemical debates. The way in which sGam po pa defines an instantaneist is indeed very particular. At the beginning of the *Phag mo gru pa'i zhus lan*, it is said that the distinction between the gradualist (*rim gyis pa*) and the instantaneist amounts to the "difference in the degree to which both have purified themselves."[26]

In another passage discussing the differences between gradualists and instantaneists within the *Tshogs chos yon tan phun tshogs* or *Teachings to the Assembly, an Abundance of Qualities* this is formulated even more clearly:

> An individual who has reduced discordant habitual tendencies like afflictions and so on, and has developed deep habitual tendencies for the *dharma* can be called an instantaneist. [27]

A very clear definition of an instantaneist attributed to Phag mo gru pa is again found in a commentary on the *Four Dharmas of sGam po pa* by sPyan snga ba Shes rab 'byung gnas (1187–1241):

> Phag mo gru pa stated: "Instantaneists, those with the highest faculties, who in their former lifetimes underwent immeasurable purifications, are said to realise the meaning of emptiness in this life, just by hearing the name of the guru, seeing [his] face or immediately upon being instructed. [Still,] on the basis of [their] purifications in former lifetimes, they are also gradualists." [28]

---

26 *rJe phag mo gru pa'i zhus lan*, L 0594/01, 482a1: *de gnyis la sbyangs pa che chung cig gi khyad yin te/.*

27 *Tshogs chos yon tan phun tshogs*, L 0594/01, 277a5–6: *cig char ba ni/ nyon mongs pa la sogs pa mi mthun pa'i bag chag bsrabs* [text: *bsrab*] *pa/ chos kyi* [text: *kyis*] *bag chags mthug pa sbyangs pa can gyi* [text: gyis] *gang zag ka zer ba yin te/.* A very similar passage is also found in the *Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhu lan*, L 0594/1, 440b3–4: *cig char ba ni nyon mongs pa'i bag chags srab pa/ chos kyi bag chags 'thug pa'i sbyangs ba can gyi gang zag la zer ba yin te/.*

28 *rJe dwags po'i thugs kyi yang snying cho bzhi'i rnam bshad*, 205.5–206.1: *cig char ba ni gang zag dbang po rab skye ba snga ma phan chad du sbyangs pa dpag tu med pa song ba*

According to these definitions, for sGam po pa and Phag mo gru pa, the term instantaneist describes a practitioner who, in this lifetime, does not need any further preparatory training by means of different successive methods. Still, at the same time it presupposes that the individual underwent a gradual development throughout former lifetimes. Although an instantaneist can rapidly progress toward awakening by relying on a single method in this life, this neither implies a non-gradual or a mono-causal approach. It is rather precisely the prior gradual training throughout former lifetimes, involving a multitude of factors, that allows the instantaneist to take this 'short-cut' now in this life.

That sGam po pa does not consider this to be an approach for the average student becomes clear from a sentence following the above quotation recorded in the *Tshogs chos yon tan phun tshogs*, where he adds: "This is very difficult [to achieve]. I [sGam po pa] should be considered a gradualist."[29]

---

rnams tshe 'dir bla ma'i mtshan thos pa'am/ zhal mthong ba'am khrid byas ma thag tsam gyis stong nyid kyi don rtogs pa la zer te/ snga ma'i sbyangs pa la ltos nas de yang rim gyis pa yin pa rje phag mo gru pas bzhed do//.

[29] *Tshogs chos yon tan phun tshogs*, L 0594/01, 277a6: *de shin tu bka' ba yin/ nga ni rims kyis par 'dod pa yin/.* The following parallel passage of the *Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhu lan* elaborates this even further. *Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhu lan*, L 0594/1, 440b4–7: *shin tu dka' ba yin gsung/ bla ma'i zhal nas nga ni rims kyis par 'dod pa yin gsung/ ngas bla ma mi la'i drung du mi mang rab cig yong pa'i dus su/ rdzogs chen 'di ci rtsug lags zhus pas/ bla ma mar pa'i zhal nas chos men pa skad zer te/ chos men par mi 'dug/ sa drug pa bdun pa yan chad gyi chos su 'dug gsung/ de nas byis pa lo lnga tsam lon pa zhig* [text: *cig*] *la 'dzub mo btsugs nas/ rdzogs chen pa rnams 'di dang 'dra ba yin te/ byis pa 'di na re nga la skyes bu lo nyi shu rtsa lnga lon pa'i nus pa yong zer ba dang 'dra ba yin/ rdzogs chen pa rnams kyang da lta sangs rgyas pa skad zer te/ don dang mi ldan gsung//.*

Jackson 1994: 30, n. 71, recounts this passage as follows: "sGam-po-pa maintains that there are three paths (Pāramitāyāna, Mantra and Mahāmudrā), and also two individuals *(rim-gyis-pa* and *cig-car-ba),* but states that the latter approach is extremely difficult and that he considers himself a 'gradualist' (*rim-gyis-pa*). He goes on to relate that, once, when Mi-la ras-pa was in the company of many people, sGam-po-pa asked him what rDzogs-chen was like, to which Mi-la replied that his teacher Mar-pa had said: 'Though some people say it is not the *Dharma (chos men pa),* that is not [so], but it is a *dharma* belonging to the sixth or seventh *bhūmi* and above.' Then [Mi-la] pointed to a little boy of about five years of age and said, 'The followers of the rDzogs-chen are like him. It is like this child saying that he has the powers of a twenty-five-year-old [adult]. The followers of the rDzogs-chen too speak of 'Buddhahood now, 'but it is not really meaningful.'"

Conclusion

In sGam po pa's doctrinal system, so-called instantaneist instructions are restricted to the training of highly developed individuals and find their place within an overall gradual soteriology. They do not fulfil the criterion criticised by Sa skya Paṇḍita of constituting a single method or factor considered to suffice for achieving Buddhahood. To the contrary, being a person competent enough to use these methods requires training along a gradual path throughout previous lifetimes involving many factors.

Out of a chain of methods, instantaneist instructions are the last ones to be applied. At the end of this process, through directly recognising the true nature of the mind, the basis, that is, deluded states of mind, is instantaneously transformed, and the practitioner immediately understands the nature of the basis. Hence, the practitioner is considered as seeing directly that deluded and undeluded states of mind share the same basis, that is, he or she has attained what is explained in the fourth *dharma* of the *Four Dharmas of sGam po pa,* "delusions that appear as wisdom." Even though it can be argued that it is indeed possible to achieve the result quickly by using such a method, it is only a sudden or instantaneous result from the perspective of the present lifetime of a given practitioner. Thus the instruction is still in perfect harmony with the otherwise gradual doctrinal system of sGam po pa.

Whether intended or not, such a soteriological model constitutes a clever strategy to avert possible criticism directed at the use of instantaneist methods that were very popular during the time of sGam po pa. Any Buddhist critique of these methods would have to accept the principle of reincarnation and its implications for the possible degrees of individuals' capacities. Whatever his motives may have been, by placing such a method at the top of his syncretic doctrinal system, it allowed sGam po pa, on a very practical level, to teach a gradual doctrinal system for the masses without having to deviate from guiding an exclusive circle of students by means of instantaneist methods.

When looking at beings of greater capacity, the highest category within the system of the three types of beings, sGam po pa's doctrinal system seems to suggest yet a further threefold subdivision of this category: those who are capable of following the path of the *sūtra*s, that is, the Pāramitānaya, those who are capable of following the path of the *tantra*s, that is, the Mantranaya, and the extremely developed individuals who are capable of practicing the instantaneist approach.

This corresponds also to sGam po pa's famous teaching on the three paths (*lam gsum*), consisting of the path of inference (*rjes dpag*

lam), the path of blessing (*byin rlabs kyi lam*) and the path of direct perception (*mngon sum lam*). A brief presentation of the three paths is recorded in the *Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhu lan* or *Exchanges with Dus gsum mkhyen pa*. In this work, sGam po pa equates the path of inference with the Pāramitānaya, the path of blessing with the creation and completion stage practices of the Buddhist *tantra*s, and the path of direct perception with luminous co-emergence.[30] In another passage of that work that also discusses the three paths, they are presented as approaches for beings of varying capacities: the Pāramitānaya is described as an approach for beings with dull capacities, the Buddhist *tantra*s as an approach for beings with middling capacities, and Mahāmudrā, which probably relates here to the path of direct perception, as an approach for beings with sharp capacities.[31]

Furthermore, sGam po pa's definition of an instantaneist presupposes that there are extremely gifted students who are far advanced due to their earlier training. They do not need to follow the path of ordinary students and can therefore be subjected to a special religious fast-track education, that is, they can directly practice instantaneist methods. This may be seen in fact as an antecedent of the Tibetan system of identifying tulkus (*sprul sku*)[32] or reincarnations of previous masters who, because of their training in previous lifetimes, are said to require a special treatment.

Traditional Tibetan accounts often consider the Karma pa lineage of the Karma bKa' brgyud tradition to be the oldest reincarnation lineage. This custom is believed to have started with the second Karma pa, Karma Pakṣi (1204/6–1283), who was considered to be the

---

[30] *Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhu lan*, L 0594/1, 440b1–3: *rin po che'i zhal nas lam rnam pa gsum du 'gro dgos gsung ngo/ rjes dpag lam du byed pa dang/ byin brlabs lam du byed pa dang/ mngon sum lam du byed pa gsum yin gsung/ mtshan nyid dam pha rol du phyin pa ni rjes dpag lam du byed pa bya ba yin/ theg pa chen po gsangs sngags ni bskyed rdzogs gnyis la brten nas byin brlabs lam du byed pa yin/ mngon sum lam du byed pa ni lhan cig skyes pa 'od gsal bya ba yin gsung/.* A translation of another presentation of the three paths in sGam po pa's *Tshogs chos chen mo* or the *Great Teachings to the Assembly* is found in Mathes 2006: 202–203.

[31] *Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhu lan*, L 0594/1, 419a2–3: *yang gsum ste dbang po brtul po dad pa can tshogs kyi lam du 'jug pa ni pha rol tu phyin pa'o/ 'bring rtog pa dang nyon mongs pa can thabs kyi lam du 'jug pa ni gsang sngags so/ /dbang po rnon po shes rab can de kho na nyid la 'jug pa ni phyag rgya chen po'o/.*

[32] This term is the Tibetan standard translation for *nirmāṇakāya*, one of the three bodies of a *buddha* in the *trikāya* or *three body* doctrine of the Mahāyāna. In the context of the *trikāya* doctrine, the *nirmāṇakāya* describes the way how a *buddha* manifests for ordinary beings in order to guide them along the path to Buddhahood. See Harvey 1990: 126–128. With the development of reincarnation lineages in Tibet, the term *sprul sku* underwent a semantic change and was eventually used also to refer to reincarnations of deceased masters.

reincarnation of one of sGam po pa's main disciples, Dus gsum mkhyen pa (1110–1193).[33] Leonard van der Kuijp has already noted that there is "ample evidence that a number of other individuals had been considered tülkus during the 13th century," and that several bKa' gdams teachers of the 12th century were considered reincarnations of past masters.[34]

While there may have been other early instances of Tibetan masters being identified as manifestations or emanations of bodhisattvas, reincarnations of deceased masters or even attempts to create reincarnation lineages, it was particularly in the bKa' brgyud tradition that this system became predominant as a succession policy with the establishment of the successive Karma pa reincarnation lineage. One of the reasons among others, a political dimension should be considered why the tulku concept may have fallen on fertile ground in the environment of the early bKa' brgyud tradition may lie in sGam po pa's approach of harmonising gradual and instantaneist currents within a single doctrinal system. While it may not have caused it, sGam po pa's syncretic doctrinal system may have nevertheless facilitated this development.

Bibliography

Tibetan-Language Sources

sGam po pa bSod nams Rin chen (1079–1153). *Chos bzhi mdor bsdus pa legs*. In *Dwags po'i bka' 'bum*, NGMPP reel no. L 0595/1, 401a5–404a2.

———. *Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhu lan*. In *Dwags po'i bka' 'bum*, NGMPP reel no. L 0594/1, 375b1–475b5.

———. *Dwags po thar rgyan*. In *Dwags po'i bka' 'bum*, NGMPP reel no. L 0595/1, 562b1–L 0596/1, 206a7.

33 See Ray 1986: 46f and van der Kuijp 2005: 28.

34 Van der Kuijp 2005: 28–29. Ruth Gamble drew my attention to the need to carefully examine the usage of the term *sprul sku* as an epithet for a Buddhist master, particularly in texts of the 13th and 14th centuries. During this period, the term may not yet denote the reincarnation of a deceased Buddhist master. Berounsky 2010: 19 already demonstrated that the term also occurs as an epithet referring to the magical abilities of an individual.

———. *Dwags po lha rje'i bka' 'bum* [negative reproduction of a handwritten manuscript]. In *'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod chen mo*. Lhasa: [s.n.], 2004, vols. 11–14. TBRC W00JW501203.

———. *Dwags po'i bka' 'bum* [Scans of the Ri bo che blockprint by the NGMPP]. NGMPP reel no. L 0594/1–596/1.

———. *rJe phag mo gru pa'i zhus lan*. In *Dwags po'i bka' 'bum*, NGMPP reel no. L 0594/1, 476b1–507b5.

———. *sNying po don gyi gdam pa phyag rgya chen po'i 'bum thig*. In *Dwags po'i bka' 'bum*, NGMPP reel no. L 0595/1, 119b1–146b7.

———. *gNas lugs gnyis kyi man ngag dang go cha gnyis kyi man ngag*. In *Dwags po'i bka' 'bum*, NGMPP reel no. L 0595/1, 327b1–388b4.

———. *Tshogs chos yon tan phun tshogs*. In *Dwags po'i bka' 'bum*, NGMPP reel no. L 0594/1, 253b1–284b7.

La yag pa Byang chub dngos grub (12th century). *mNyam med dwags po'i chos bzhir grags pa'i gzhung gi 'grel pa snying po gsal ba'i rgyan* [negative reproduction of a handwritten manuscript]. In *'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod chen mo*. Lhasa: [s.n.], 2004, vol. 14, 15–181. TBRC W00JW501203.

sPyan snga ba Shes rab 'byung gnas (1187–1241). *rJe dwags po'i thugs kyi yang snying cho bzhi'i rnam bshad*. In *'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod chen mo*. Lhasa: [s.n.], 2004, vol. 33, 177–210. TBRC W00JW501203.

Other-Language Sources

Berounsky, Daniel. 2010. "Entering Dead Bodies and the Miraculous Power of the Kings. The Landmark of Karma Pakshi's reincarnation in Tibet, Part I." *Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia '10: Ethnolinguistics, Sociolinguistics, Religion and Culture*, 3(2), 7-33.

———. 2011. "Entering Dead Bodies and the Miraculous Power of the Kings. The Landmark of Karma Pakshi's reincarnation in Tibet, Part II." *Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia '11: Ethnolinguistics, Sociolinguistics, Religion and Culture*, 4(2), 7-29.

Broido, Michael. 1987. "Sa-skya Paṇḍita, the White Panacea and the Hva-shang Doctrine." *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 10(2), 27–68.

Eimer, Helmut. 1978. *Bodhipathapradīpa: Ein Lehrgedicht des Atīśa (Dīpaṃkaraśrijñāna) in der tibetischen Überlieferung.* 1. Aufl. Asiatische Forschungen, 59. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz.

Harvey, Peter. 1990. *An Introduction to Buddhism: Teachings, History and Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jackson, David P. 1990. "Sa-skya Paṇḍita the 'Polemicist': Ancient Debates and Modern Interpretations." *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 13(2), 17–116.

———. 1994. *Enlightenment by a Single Means: Tibetan Controversies on the "Self-Sufficient White Remedy"* (*dkar po chig thub*). Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens, 12. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akadamie der Wissenschaften.

Jackson, Roger R. 1982. "Sa-skya Paṇḍita's Account of the bSam yas Debate: History as Polemic." *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 5(2), 89–99.

Karmay, Samten. 1988 (second edition, 2007). *The Great Perfection (rDzogs chen)*. Leiden: Brill.

Kragh, Ulrich T. 2015. *Tibetan yoga and mysticism: A textual study of the yogas of Nāropa and Mahāmudrā meditation in the medieval tradition of Dags po.* Studia philologica Buddhica, Monograph series, 32. Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies.

van der Kuijp, Leonard. 1986. "On the Sources for Sa skya Paṇḍita's Notes on the Bsam yas Debate." *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 9(2), 147–53.

———. 2005. "The Dalai Lamas and the Origins of Reincarnate Lamas." In *The Dalai Lamas: A visual history*, edited by Martin Brauen, 14–31. Chicago: Serindia Publications.

Mathes, Klaus-Dieter. 2006. "Blending the Sūtras with the Tantras: The Influence of Maitrīpa and his Circle on the Formation of *Sūtra Mahāmudrā* in the Kagyu Schools." In *Tibetan Buddhist*

Literature and Praxis: Studies in its Formative Period 900-1400: Proceedings of the Tenth Seminar of the IATS, Oxford 2003, vol. 10/4, edited by Ronald M. Davidson and Christian K. Wedemeyer, 201–27. Leiden: Brill.

———. 2007. "Can *sūtra mahāmudrā* be justified on the basis of Maitrīpa's Apratiṣṭhānavāda?" In *Pramāṇakīrtiḥ. Papers dedicated to Ernst Steinkellner on the occasion of his 70th birthday*, edited by Birgit Kellner et al., vol. 2, 545–66. Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 70. Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien.

———. 2015. "The Pith Instructions on the *Mahāyāna Uttaratantra* (*Theg chen rgyud bla'i gdams pa*): A Missing Link in the Meditation Tradition of the Maitreya Works." In *The Illuminating Mirror: Tibetan Studies in Honour of Per K. Sørensen on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, edited by Olaf Czaja and Guntram Hazod, 303–20. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

Ray, Reginald. 1986. "Some Aspects of the Tulku Tradition in Tibet." *The Tibet Journal*, Winter, 11(4), 35–69.

Rinpoche, Trungram G. S. 2004. "Gampopa, the Monk and the Yogi: His Life and Teachings." PhD diss., Harvard University. Accessed April 04, 2016. http://vajrayana.faithweb.com/Gampopa.pdf.

Scheuermann, Rolf. 2013. "When Buddhist Teachings Meet: Preliminary Remarks on the Relationship Between the Four Dharmas of Sgam po pa and Kun dga' snying po's Parting from the Four Attachments." In *Current Issues and Progress in Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Third International Seminar of Young Tibetologists, Kobe 2012*, edited by Tsuguhito Takeuchi et al., 465–87. Journal of Research Institute, 51. Kobe: Kobe City University of Foreign Studies. Accessed April 04, 2016. https://kobe-cufs.repo.nii.ac.jp/?action=repository_uri&item_id=1964&file_id=22&file_no=1.

sGam po pa and Herbert V. Guenther (tr.). 1959. *The Jewel Ornament of Liberation by sGam po pa*. London: Rider.

❖

The Pointed Spear of a Siddha and its Commentaries: The ’Brug pa bka’ brgyud School in Defence of the Mahāmudrā Doctrine

Dagmar Schwerk

(Universität Hamburg)

As the Mahāmudrā doctrine is the paramount teaching in all bKa’ brgyud schools, its establishment and defence represents a crucial point from which to determine the identity of the ’Brug pa bka’ brgyud school and, furthermore, trace the development of the doctrinal positions of its scholars over the last three centuries.[1]

Since the first systematised criticism concerning certain features of the Mahāmudrā doctrine was articulated by Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga’ rgyal mtshan (1182–1252), the controversy about the doctrine has played a significant role in philosophical debates among Tibetan scholars.

This paper will provide an overview of the genesis, structure and content of the *Grub pa’i mdung rnon*,[2] composed by the Ninth rJe mKhan po of the ’Brug pa bka’ brgyud school in Bhutan, Shākya rin chen (1710–1759), and its commentaries, with special focus on the *Dus kyi pho nya*,[3] written by the Sixty-ninth rJe mKhan po dGe ’dun rin chen (1926–1997).

I have identified three chronological layers of the *Grub pa’i mdung rnon*: The *Grub pa’i mdung rnon* itself, a group of three commentaries from the eighteenth century, and one from the twentieth century.[4]

---

1 I will employ the designation of the term “Mahāmudrā doctrine” throughout this paper to refer to the entirety of Mahāmudrā view, the Mahāmudrā meditative system and Mahāmudrā conduct.

2 *Phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa’i dri tshig grub pa’i mdung rnon* (*The Pointed Spear of a Siddha*: *Queries Concerning* [*the Doctrine of*] *Mahāmudrā*).

3 *Phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa’i dri tshig grub pa’i mdung rnon zhes bya ba’i gsung lan dus kyi pho nya* (*The Timely Messenger*: *A Response to the Queries Concerning* [*the Doctrine of*] *Mahāmudrā Titled ‘The Pointed Spear of a Siddha’*).

4 The *Grub pa’i mdung rnon* is not included in rJe Shākya rin chen’s *gsung ’bum*. I am therefore deeply indebted to the National Library of Bhutan, Thimphu, which enabled me to locate and use two versions of the *Grub pa’i mdung rnon* and also one version each of rJe Yon tan mtha’ yas’, Kun dga’ mi ’gyur rdo rje’s and Chos kyi rgya mtsho’s commentaries. I am especially thankful for the help and support

Dagmar Schwerk, “*The Pointed Spear of a Siddha* and its Commentaries: The ’Brug pa bka’ brgyud School in Defence of the Mahāmudrā Doctrine”, *Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines*, 37, December 2016, pp. 352–373.

The textual analysis is based on a critical edition and annotated translation of rJe Shākya rin chen's seven questions on controversial issues of the Mahāmudrā doctrine and his replies, as presented in his root text, the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*, as well as rJe dGe 'dun rin chen's responses to the questions raised, as displayed in his verse commentary, the *Dus kyi pho nya*. My dissertation sets out to improve our understanding of the history and reception of the Mahāmudrā doctrine in the 'Brug pa bka' brgyud school in Bhutan from the eighteenth to the twentieth century.[5]

1. Genesis of the Grub pa'i mdung rnon *and its Eighteenth-century Commentaries*

In order to illustrate the genesis of the production of the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and its commentaries from the eighteenth century, two autobiographical accounts of rJe Shākya rin chen's journey to Tibet in 1740, and the colophons and intentional statements of the root text and its commentaries serve as a textual basis.[6]

Three commentaries were written in the eighteenth century:

1. *Nges don phyag rgya chen po'i skor las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung rnon gyi lan du gsol ba kun rmongs rang blo tshim byed ces bya ba grub dbang rin po ches mdzad pa*[7]
2. *Nges don phyag rgya chen po la dris pa'i gsung lan 'og min ston pa'i zhal lung*[8]

of Yeshi Lhendup from the National Libary of Bhutan during my field research in November 2014.

5 A critical edition and annotated translation of the *Dus kyi pho nya* form the basis of my analysis of rJe dGe 'dun rin chen's Mahāmudrā interpretation, which I examine in my dissertation (under preparation). I owe my sincere thanks to Sharnon Mentor-King for her careful proofreading of my article.

6 Two works elucidate at length rJe Shākya rin chen's travels in Tibet: *Shākya'i dge sbyong shākya'i ming gis mtshon pa bdag nyid lha ldan 'phrul gyi gtsug lag khang chen por phyin pa'i gtam lha mi kun tu dga' ba'i zlos gar sdeb* (201–254) and the eighth chapter of his autobiography *Lhag pa'i bsam pa bskul zhing byang chub kyi spyod pa la 'jug pa'i gtam dam pa'i chos kyi gaṇḍi sgra dbyangs snyan pa'i yan lag rgya mtsho* (234–279).

7 *Nges don phyag rgya chen po'i skor las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung rnon gyi lan du gsol ba kun rmongs rang blo tshim byed ces bya ba grub dbang rin po ches mdzad pa* (*'Gratifier of the Confused One's Own Mind:' A Reply to the Queries Concerning the* [*Doctrine of*] *Mahāmudrā of Definite Meaning, Titled 'The Pointed Spear of a Siddha,' given by Grub dbang Rin po che*).

8 *Nges don phyag rgya chen po la dris pa'i gsung lan 'og min ston pa'i zhal lung* (*The Oral Instructions of the Teacher of the Akaniṣṭha* [*Realm*]: *A Reply to the Questions About Mahāmudrā of Definite Meaning*).

3. *Phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung bsnun la lan du gsol ba gsung rab kun las btus*[9]

The *Rang blo tshim byed*, the first commentary, was written by the Second Dre'u lhas Grub dbang Kun dga' mi 'gyur rdo rje (1721–1769). He reports that rJe Shākya rin chen posed seven questions among a circle of several masters regarding the debate on the Mahāmudrā doctrine, together with a brief explanation of his own standpoint and interpretation.[10]

Following that, rJe Shākya rin chen requested that the masters present at that meeting clarify their own Mahāmudrā interpretation in regard to the questions raised. But Kun dga' mi 'gyur rdo rje later admitted that he had not been able to fulfil rJe Shākya rin chen's request during the latter's lifetime.

However, at the time of the enthronement of the Second Khri sprul 'Jigs med seng ge (1742–1789) in 1764, Kun dga' mi 'gyur rdo rje was again requested by contemporary scholars to fulfil his promise. Finally, he composed the commentary at his monastic seat Dre'u lhas in Tibet in 1765. His commentary contains the root verses by rJe Shākya rin chen, though only summarized in prose.[11]

About the background of this author: Kun dga' mi 'gyur rdo rje was considered the second incarnation of the renowned "divine madman" (*smyon pa*) 'Brug pa Kun legs (1455–1529); and as John A. Ardussi has pointed out, was one of the most important figures on the Tibetan side in the political and religious "rapprochement between Bhutan and Tibet."[12]

Beginning with Zhabs drung Ngag dbang rnam rgyal's (1594–1651) flight to Bhutan, the subsequent wars and, finally, Tibet's intervention in the Bhutanese civil war from 1732 to 1735, relations between Tibet and Bhutan remained generally highly tense and severely damaged.

Despite the official end of the civil war in Bhutan, the regent, the

---

[9] *Phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung bsnun la lan du gsol ba gsung rab kun las btus* (*An Anthology of Scriptural Sources*: *Replies to the Queries Concerning the* [*Doctrine of*] *Mahāmudrā Titled 'The Pointed Spear of a Siddha'*).

[10] The colophon does not provide any composition date of the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*, but states that the work was written at Shrī Nā landā Monastery near sPu na kha. It could probably be assumed that the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* was set down formally in writing not before 1754, because Shrī Nā landā Monastery was consecrated only in 1754; see rJe dGe 'dun rin chen, *lHo 'brug chos 'byung* (329.3–4).

[11] See Kun dga' mi 'gyur rdo rje, *Rang blo tshim byed* (2r1–v3; 24r6). For a brief account of the biography of the Second Khri sprul 'Jigs med seng ge, see rJe dGe 'dun rin chen, *lHo 'brug chos 'byung* (296.1–297.8).

[12] Ardussi 1999: 64.

Tenth sDe srid Mi pham dbang po, was forced to flee to Tibet in 1736, where his subsequent meetings with important political and religious leaders—such as the Seventh Dalai Lama bsKal bzang rgya mtsho (1708–1757), Pho lha nas bSod nams stobs rgyas (1689–1757), the Seventh rGyal dbang ’Brug chen dKar brgyud ’Phrin las shing rta (1718–1766) and Kun dga’ mi ’gyur rdo rje—became stepping stones for improving relations between Tibet and Bhutan.

In the light of this mutual religious and political “rapprochement,” Kun dga’ mi ’gyur rdo rje was cordially invited to Bhutan in 1739, where he became acquainted with both the later Ninth rJe mKhan po Shākya rin chen and the Thirteenth rJe mKhan po Yon tan mtha’ yas (1724–1784); the latter became a close disciple of both rJe Shākya rin chen and Kun dga’ mi ’gyur rdo rje.

In 1740, Kun dga’ mi ’gyur rdo rje returned to Tibet with the first exchange group of Bhutanese students, among them rJe Shākya rin chen and rJe Yon tan mtha’ yas.[13] They visited many sacred places, such as bSam yas, Rwa lung, Rwa sgreng and gDan sa thel, and not only received teaching from masters of different traditions, but also studied intensively, for example at ’Bras spungs. rJe Shākya rin chen reports at least twice about receiving also Mahāmudrā related instructions in his autobiographical writings.[14]

In the descriptions of the Mahāmudrā debate contained in the introductory parts and colophons of the different works, the exact place and date of the initial meeting of Kun dga’ mi ’gyur rdo rje, rJe Shākya rin chen, rJe Yon tan mtha’ yas and other masters, which led to the production of the *Grub pa’i mdung rnon* text and its commentaries, is not textually identified. But presumably this encounter took place either during the joint travels of these masters or during Kun dga’ mi ’gyur rdo rje’s sojourn in Bhutan.

The *’Og min zhal lung*, the second commentary, was composed by rJe Yon tan mtha’ yas. His extensive prose commentary includes also the original root verses of the *Grub pa’i mdung rnon*.

The third commentary, the *gSung rab kun btus*, was written by sPa gro chos rje Chos kyi rgya mtsho of the gZar chen family line, whose members generally resided at their traditional monastic seat, bSam gtan chos gling, in the village of gZar chen kha near sPa gro. He was the grandnephew of the Fourth rJe mKhan po Dam chos pad dkar (1639–1708).

The family line of Chos kyi rgya mtsho originated from the

[13] See Ardussi 1999: 68–78. Yon tan mtha’ yas’ extensive studies with Kun dga’ mi ’gyur rdo rje are reported in the *Khyab bdag rdo rje ’chang ngag dbang yon tan mtha’ yas kyi gsang gsum mi zad rgyan gyi ’khor lor rnam par rol pa’i rtogs pa brjod pa skal bzang mos pa’i padmo rgyas byed ye shes ’od stong ’phro ba’i nyi ma*; see *ibid*.: 79, n. 33.

[14] See, for example, the *Gaṇḍi sgra dbyangs rgya mtsho* (271; 273–274).

Mahāsiddha sPyil dkar ba (1228–1300), a disciple of rGod tshang pa (1189–1258), who belonged to the upper branch of the 'Brug pa bka' brgyud (i.e. *stod 'brug*). This family line was established by the sixteenth century (or possibly earlier) at gZar chen kha.[15] Family members were principal allies of Zhabs drung Ngag dbang rnam rgyal, for which reason they received a tax dispensation.[16]

Like Kun dga' mi 'gyur rdo rje, Chos kyi rgya mtsho wished to compose a short summary of his Mahāmudrā interpretation to honour rJe Shākya rin chen, who by then had already passed away.[17] This prose commentary sporadically includes single lines of the root verses and summarized root verses in prose.

Arguably, the exchange between these Bhutanese and Tibetan masters from the 'Brug pa bka' brgyud school regarding Mahāmudrā teachings and practices has contributed to a newly awakened interest in defining a purified "Bhutanese" and "Tibetan" understanding of the Mahāmudrā doctrine, be it in contrast or agreement with each other.

rJe Shākya rin chen states in the beginning of his work that he composed the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* because the Mahāmudrā teachings, "the ambrosial liquid, which is not contaminated by the venomous water of dogmatic conceptualizations, is nowadays polluted by the dust of confusion."[18]

In sum, the discussion of rJe Shākya rin chen's seven questions gained wider dissemination within the 'Brug pa bka' brgyud school due to the historical circumstances of harmonization between Bhutanese and Tibetan masters during this time.

rJe Shākya rin chen's seven questions and answers may therefore be considered the fundament for a newly articulated defence and consequently, understanding of the Mahāmudrā doctrine within the two branches of the 'Brug pa bka' brgyud school.

---

[15] See Ardussi 1977: 162–163, n. 39. At least two documentations of the genealogy of the gZar chen family line are available; see Chos kyi rgya mtsho, *Ri khrod mdzes rgyan* (vol. 2: 160–173), and, regarding the early genealogy of the family line, see the biography of rJe Dam chos pad dkar, the *mTshungs med chos kyi rgyal po rje btsun dam chos pad dkar gyi rnam par thar pa thugs rje chen po'i dri bsung* (3r3–4r6).

[16] See Aris 1979: 173.

[17] See Chos kyi rgya mtsho, *gSung rab kun btus* (1r2–2r1).

[18] rJe Shākya rin chen, *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* (1r2–3): *gang dag gshegs pa'i lam gsang phyag rgya che | | rtog ge'i dug chus ma bslad bdud rtsi'i chab | | deng sang rmongs pa'i rdul gyis rnyog mthong nas | | drungs byed dri tshig ke ta ka 'di sbyin | |*.

2. *rJe dGe 'dun rin chen and His Commentary on the* Grub pa'i mdung rnon

The latest commentary, the *Dus kyi pho nya*,[19] was composed by the Sixty-ninth rJe mKhan po dGe 'dun rin chen in the twentieth century. This work is written completely in verse and contains the original root verses of rJe Shākya rin chen.[20]

rJe dGe 'dun rin chen was a remarkable scholar and *yogin* from the 'Brug pa bka' brgyud school in Bhutan (i.e. *lho 'brug*), appointed to the post of *rje mkhan po* from 1990 to 1996. The appointment as *rje mkhan po* is determined by the erudition and level of realisation of its candidates and not by recognition as incarnation.[21]

As an exception however, a separate *sprul sku* lineage was created for rJe Shākya rin chen, who was such an outstanding person in the religious community of eighteenth-century Bhutan; his present incarnation is named Ngag dbang bsTan pa'i nyin byed (b. 1997) and resides at Shrī Nā landā Monastery.

Similarly, an incarnation lineage was created for rJe dGe 'dun rin chen; the current incarnation, Ngag dbang Yon tan rgya mtsho, was officially recognized among different claimants.[22]

Among the Bhutanese, rJe dGe 'dun rin chen is revered under his moniker "dGe bshes Brag phug pa" (rDzong kha: "Bya phugp"): "Ge bshes" due to his erudition; and "Brag phug pa," firstly, because of his birth in a "miraculously arisen cave" at sTag tshang near sPa gro, and secondly, because of the meditative realisation that he is said to have developed during meditation retreats.[23]

---

19 I thank Dorji Wangchuk for initially drawing my attention to this work several years ago.

20 Unfortunately, the colophon of the *Dus kyi pho nya* does not provide the date of composition. The "Timely Messenger" is intended to illuminate and recall the correct understanding of the Mahāmudrā doctrine in this eon of strife (*kaliyuga*). The ornamental title does not refer either to Yamāntaka, the "messenger of death" (or its retinue), or the designation of the fifty-second year of the *rab byung* cycle, the male earth-horse year (*sa rta'i lo*); see the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (vol. 2: 1268).

21 Constitution of Bhutan, art. 3, sec. 4; see Constitution Drafting Committee 2008: 10.

22 Ngag dbang Yon tan rgya mtsho's father, Rin chen mkha' 'gro, kindly provided me with a copy of the official recognition certificate from the dPal ldan 'brug gzhung sprul sku ngos 'dzin tshogs chung, issued on July 22, 2015. In addition, I met another claimant of rJe dGe 'dun rin chen's incarnation, Thub bstan shes rab 'od zer, on November 9, 2014 at Shrī Nā landā Monastery.

23 rDo rje slob dpon Kun legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (27–28). The hagiography contains an intriguing poem, composed by rJe dGe 'dun rin chen, in which he designates himself as a *brag phug pa*, together with a list of instructions on view, meditation and conduct (*lta sgom spyod gsum*) of such cave hermits, see *ibid*. (57–59), which I translate in my dissertation (under preparation). The author of the

In his colophon of his commentary, rJe dGe 'dun rin chen informs the reader that he is nowadays quite concerned about people who do not understand the crucial points of the Mahāmudrā doctrine correctly: He laments that even after the root text of rJe Shākya rin chen had been perfectly elucidated in rJe Yon tan mtha' yas' commentary, this seems to be insufficient.[24]

His verse commentary paraphrases a great number of positions, which are explained in the commentary of rJe Yon tan mtha' yas.

rJe dGe 'dun rin chen's motivation to record and transfer his knowledge was certainly focused on his disciples within Bhutan, in a mostly traditional monastic setting, as documented in his colophon of the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon,* the colophons of several of his other works and also in his hagiography. This can especially be observed in his activities as (initially) teacher and (later) head of the rTa mgo bshad grwa from 1970 to 1980, and the establishment of the new Pha jo sdings bshad grwa in 1981.

His *gsung 'bum* consists of ten volumes with one hundred and twenty-eight works and covers all relevant topics of Tibetan scholasticism, debate, meditative and ritual practices.

Several of rJe dGe 'dun rin chen's works have already received wide academic appreciation outside of Bhutan: first and foremost, his history of the 'Brug pa bka' brgyud school, the *dPal ldan 'brug pa'i gdul zhing lho phyogs nags mo'i ljongs kyi chos 'byung bla gsar ma ba'i rgyan*, but also his hagiography of 'Brug pa Kun legs, the *Chos rje kun dga' legs pa'i rnam thar grub pa'i rtogs brjod*, and his biography of Zhabs drung Ngag dbang rnam rgyal, the *dPal 'brug pa rin po che mthu chen chos kyi rgyal po ngag dbang rnam rgyal gyi rnam thar rgya mtsho'i snying po*.

Additional works of rJe dGe 'dun rin chen that are not contained in his *gsung 'bum*, including direct instructions (*gzhal gdams*) to his disciples on a great variety of topics, poems of spiritual realisation and autobiographical notes, are found in his hagiography.

It is important to bear in mind that rJe dGe 'dun rin chen's thinking was strongly influenced by the *ris-med* scholars. His non-sectarian monastic education took place not only in Bhutan but also in central Tibet (dBus gtsang) from 1952 to 1956, where he studied and received teachings chiefly from rNying ma masters such as bDud 'joms 'Jigs bral ye shes rdo rje (1904–1987) and students of mKhan po gZhan dga' (1871–1927), such as Rwa hor dPal ldan chos kyi grags pa

hagiography, the *rTogs brjod mdor bsdus dwangs shel me long*, rDo rje slob dpon Kun legs, is the present *rdo rje slob dpon*, one of the five *slob dpon*s of the central monastic body (*gzhung lhan tshogs*) in Bhutan. He was rJe dGe 'dun rin chen's disciple during his higher monastic education at the rTa mgo bshad grwa.

[24] rJe dGe 'dun rin chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (499.2–500).

(b. 19th century–1960) and other second-generation disciples of the great rNying ma scholar 'Ju Mi pham rgya mtsho (1846–1912).[25]

This influence is visible, for example, in rJe dGe 'dun rin chen's attempt to harmonise the teachings of the "second and third turning of the wheel of the Dharma" (*chos 'khor gnyis pa/gsum pa*) and his adoption and use of certain technical terms, some of which had been newly introduced in Tibetan philosophical debates by 'Ju Mi pham rgya mtsho.[26]

3. Structure and Content of the Grub pa'i mdung rnon *and its Commentaries*

The *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and its commentaries are considered works of some polemical character due to their being responses to the disputed questions about the Mahāmudrā doctrine (*dgag lan*, honorific: *gsung lan*) and also belong to the questions-and-answers genre (*dris lan*, honorific: *zhus lan*).[27]

It has already been observed that numerous works with explanatory character about the Mahāmudrā doctrine were written in the form of questions from disciples, together with answers from

---

[25] rDo rje slob dpon Kun legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (36–40). The natural closeness of the 'Brug pa and rNying ma schools regarding the monastic education of many higher ranking Bhutanese scholars often resulted in doctrinally blurred boundaries between the schools and therefore should be kept in mind when employing terms as "non-sectarian" or "inter-sectarian."

[26] This has already been illustrated in the textual analysis of rJe dGe 'dun rin chen's *dBu ma'i bsdus don lta ba'i me long* in my M.A. thesis ("'Spiegel der Sichtweise: Die Kernpunkte [der Philosophie] des Mittleren [Weges]' (*dBu ma'i bsdus don lta ba'i me long*): Eine kurze Abhandlung über das Madhyamaka rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chens (1926–1997), dem 69. rJe mKhan-po von Bhutan," Universität Hamburg, 2012: 63–91). For example, rJe dGe 'dun rin chen adopts 'Ju Mi pham rgya mtsho's twofold systematisation of conventional valid cognition (*kun tu tha snyad pa'i tshad ma*: *āṃvyavahārikapramāṇa*) into ordinary perception (*tshu rol mthong ba*: *arvāgdarśana/aparadarśana*) and pure perception (*dag pa'i gzigs pa*: **śuddhadarśana*). As a result, through 'Ju Mi pham rgya mtsho's concept of pure perception, phenomena like the existence of innumerable buddha-fields in one atom or the visualizations in the generation stage of tantric meditations can be explained more precisely. For the examination of this concept and its theory and 'Ju Mi pham rgya mtsho's contributions to Buddhist logic and epistemology, see Wangchuk 2009.

[27] For an overview of the polemical literary genre in Tibet, see Cabezón and Dargay 2007: 11–33. For a discussion about text genres/text types and some research approaches for the categorization of Tibetan literature, see the contributions in Rheingans (ed.) 2015; for an introduction into the current state of research, see *ibid.*: 1–22.

masters.[28]

Additionally, a number of works with polemical, or in our case at least confutative character, have been authored in the form of questions and answers, in most cases, from one master as a response to another master's (real or fictional) questions.[29]

As mentioned before, the first systematised criticism concerning certain features of the Mahāmudrā doctrine was articulated by Sa skya Paṇḍita, mainly in the third chapter of his *Doms pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba* and his *Thub pa'i dgongs pa rab tu gsal ba*, and to a lesser extent in his *sKyes bu dam pa rnams la spring ba'i yi ge* and *Phyogs bcu'i sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' rnams la zhu ba'i 'phrin yig*.[30] Another brief work, the *rTogs ldan rgyan po'i dris lan*, clearly illustrates Sa skya Paṇḍita's conception of the "correct" Mahāmudrā doctrine, as he answers five questions on Mahāmudrā to a student named rTogs ldan rgyan; its topics overlap with the topics discussed in the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*.[31]

After the zenith of the highly polemical debates in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the controversial issues of the Mahāmudrā doctrine had from the viewpoint of the 'Brug pa bka' brgyud school mainly been solved by their eminent master Pad ma dkar po (1527–1592) and his spiritual son mKhas dbang Sangs rgyas rdo rje (1569–1645).[32] Accordingly, rJe Shākya rin chen's explicit motivation to re-

---

[28] For a brief overview of different important Mahāmudrā works that were written in the form of questions and answers, see, for example, Rheingans 2008: 72–74.

[29] An extensive example of a polemical work in the form of one hundred and eight questions and answers is Shākya mchog ldan's *sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye pa'i bstan bcos 'bel gtam rnam par nges pa legs bshad thur ma* (*The Collected Writings of gSer mdog paṇ chen Shākya mchog ldan*. 24 vols. Delhi: Nagwang Topgyel, 1995, vol. 6: 443–652 [W23200]).

[30] See D. Jackson 1994: 159–160. Singular criticism on different aspects of the Mahāmudrā doctrine and practices, such as Maitrīpa's *amanasikāra* teaching cycle, was already present before the time of Sa skya Paṇḍita, for example in the works of 'Brom ston rGyal ba'i 'byung gnas (1005–1064); see D. Jackson 1994: 55–58.

[31] For the translation of the *rTogs ldan rgyan po'i dris lan* and the analysis of Sa skya Paṇḍita's concept of a "correct" Mahāmudrā doctrine presented in this work, see Stenzel 2014. In addition, an alternative translation and investigation of the *rTogs ldan rgyan po'i dris lan* together with five brief works from the *Sa skya bka' 'bum* by Sa skya Paṇḍita, Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147–1216) and 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235–1280) display their respective understanding of a "correct" Mahāmudrā doctrine; see Arca 2015: 127–171.

[32] See Pad ma dkar po in his *Phyag rgya chen po'i man ngag gi bshad sbyar rgyal ba'i gan mdzod* and mKhas dbang Sangs rgyas rdo rje in his *Phyag rgya chen po'i man ngag gi bshad sbyar rgyal ba'i gan mdzod ces bya ba'i bstan bcos la rtsod pa spong ba'i gtam srid gsum rnam par rgyal ba'i dge mtshan*. For a systematical outline of academic research on Mahāmudrā, including Padma dkar po, see R. Jackson 2011. In addition, two recent publications deal with Padma dkar po's interpretation of single key terms in the Tibetan Mahāmudrā transmission; see Higgins 2011 and Scheuermann 2011.

address a discussion on Mahāmudrā in a time of a general "consoled-tion" of positions in the different Tibetan schools has to be examined.[33]

The *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* is divided into seven chapters, each dealing with a specific controversial topic; neither the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* nor the *Dus kyi pho nya* provide a topical outline (*sa bcad*).

In this section, I shall briefly sketch an outline of the seven disputed topics and their relation to the overall controversy on the Mahāmudrā doctrine:[34]

1. *Khungs la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs* (441.1–449.2)
2. *Man ngag gi gzhung la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs* (449.2–460.6)
3. *lTa ba la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs* (460.6–471.5)
4. *sGom pa la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs* (471.6–483.5)
5. *sPyod pa la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs* (483.5–487.4)
6. *'Bras bu la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs* (487.4–492.3)
7. *Bla ma'i mos gus la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs* (492.3–497.6)

1. The first question thematises the scriptural authenticity of the Mahāmudrā doctrine as being grounded in both the Indian sūtric and tantric scriptures.[35] In particular, the scriptural authenticity of a "sūtric Mahāmudrā" tradition, which enables disciples to practice Mahāmudrā without requiring formal tantric initiations, is discussed as defence to the main criticism uttered by Sa skya Paṇḍita, who rigorously rejected the idea that Mahāmudrā could be taught as a path outside the *niruttarayogatantra* section of the Mantrayāna. This "sūtric Mahāmudrā" tradition is said to have been first propounded by sGam po pa bSod nams rin chen (1079–1153).[36]

---

[33] Ruegg 2000: 6, for example, has identified this period in his systematisation of the history of Madhyamaka philosophy in Tibet as, "the post-classical scholastic period (mainly sixteenth century onwards): a period of philosophical consolidation and elaboration (sometimes but by no means always epigonal) comprising continued textual-exegetical and systematic-hermeneutical activity, largely within the bounds of the various established *chos lugs*."

[34] Throughout this paper, the reading follows my critical edition of the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and *Dus kyi pho nya* that will be included in my dissertation (under preparation). The page numbers in this section refer to rJe dGe 'dun rin chen, *Dus kyi pho nya*.

[35] rJe dGe 'dun rin chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (441.1–2, rJe Shākya rin chen): *thog mar phyag rgya chen po'i khungs | | mdo dang sngags gnyis gang yin 'dri | |*.

[36] Later Tibetan scholars have interpreted this kind of Mahāmudrā differently, for example, as a "sūtric Mahāmudrā" or as a practice that stands completely outside the sūtric or tantric path as a third approach. For a brief discussion of sGam po pa bSod nams rin chen's position and the difficulty of completely reconstructing it, see Sobisch 2011: 221–225. On Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas' position, see Matthes 2007: 545–546. The scriptural authenticity of the Mahāmudrā doctrine is

2. In the second of rJe Shākya rin chen's questions, he addresses the doctrinal, transmissional, and therefore exegetical authenticity of the Mahāmudrā doctrine. This makes up the second longest section of the work.[37] Accordingly, the long and short transmission lineages of Mahāmudrā and their content are examined, focusing also on controversies regarding the rank of different sets of quintessential instructions (*man ngag*) in the hierarchy of Buddhist canonical scriptures, such as Maitrīpā's *amanasikāra* teaching cycle[38] and sKyob pa 'Jig rten gsum mgon's (1143–1217) exegetical tradition of the *Ratnagotravibhāga*.

3. The third question focuses on the Mahāmudrā view (*lta ba*) in relation to the Madhyamaka view. The discussion of the "Three Great Ones" (*chen po gsum*) and their relation to each other within the Tibetan philosophical hierarchy has been one of the essential themes in discussions within Tibet.[39]

Both schools, the bKa' brgyud pas with their Mahāmudrā doctrine and the rNying ma pas with their rDzogs chen teachings have asserted their chief efforts over the centuries to hermeneutically harmonising their respective paramount doctrine with the Madhyamaka view, essentially in an attempt to avoid the disgrace of being seen by opponents in the Sa skya or dGe lugs schools to be followers of Yogācāra, Hwa shang Mahāyāna or a "Chinese style rDzogs chen."[40]

rJe Shākya rin chen inquires whether or not a philosophical position related to the Mahāmudrā view exists that is superior to the view that was taught in the scriptural sources of the sūtric Madhyamaka tradition.[41]

---

also established as the first topic in Sa skya Paṇḍita's *rTogs ldan rgyan po'i dris lan*; see Stenzel 2014: 203–205.

[37] rJe dGe 'dun rin chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (449.1–2, rJe Shākya rin chen): *de nas phyag rgya chen po yi | | man ngag gtso bo gang yin 'dri | |.*

[38] For a comparision of different works in the *amanasikāra* teaching cycle as listed in Bu ston rin chen grub's *gsan yig*, the Seventh Karma pa Chos grags rgya mtsho's *Phyag chen rgya gzhung*, and by Klaus-Dieter Matthes, with a short summary of the content of the works, see Matthes 2015: 4–22; see also Broido 1987: 55–56. The complete translation and comprehensive analysis of the twenty-six texts of the cycle (listing according to Matthes), especially in respect to the Madhyamaka philosophy of non-abiding (*apratiṣṭhāna*), is found in Matthes 2015.

[39] rJe dGe 'dun rin chen, for example, speaks in the context of defining his own school of mutual harmony (*nang mthun*) of the *chen po gsum*; see rJe dGe 'dun rin chen, *gNam gyi nga ro* (410.5–6): *phyag chen nang mthun yin tsam gyis | | bka' brgyud zhes su grags na ni | | phyag rdzogs dbu gsum nang mthun las | | thams cad bka' brgyud pa ru 'gyur | |.*

[40] For Sa skya Paṇḍita's designation of Mahāmudrā as a "Chinese style rDzogs chen," see D. Jackson 1994: 67–70; see also Arca 2015: 113–115.

[41] rJe dGe 'dun rin chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (460.6–461.1, rJe Shākya rin chen): *de nas phyag rgya chen po yi | | lta ba'i bzhed tshul mdo lugs kyi | | dbu ma'i gzhung las gang*

rJe Shākya rin chen, being generally influenced in his thinking by the Sa skya master Shākya mchog ldan (1428–1507),[42] adopts the latter's classification of three categories of Madhyamaka in his argumentation, as does rJe dGe 'dun rin chen in his commentary.[43]

Generally, the philosophical debates about the juxtaposed positions of a simultaneous/instantaneous (*cig car du*) and gradual (*rim gyis*) path to awakening and respectively the nature of insight have played an important role in the systematisation of Buddhist doctrine as far back as the bSam yas debate.[44] In this context, Sa skya Paṇḍita's identi-fication of Mahāmudrā as Hwa shang Mahāyāna is rejected.[45]

Further-more, the partial similarity of Mahāmudrā with the *Alīkākāravāda as part of the philosophical tenet of Yogācāra is discussed, but the con-clusion that Mahāmudrā is to be categorized within the four tenets as Yogācāra is refused.[46]

---

bshad pa | | de las lhag pa yod med 'dri | |. Furthermore, rJe dGe 'dun rin chen discusses in the eighth chapter of his *gNnam gyi nga ro* whether or not a distinction between the views of *phyag rgya chen po* and *dbu ma chen po/zab mo'i dbu ma* exists; see rJe dGe 'dun rin chen, *gNnam gyi nga ro* (424.4–5): *de nas gsang sngags theg pa'i mchog | | phyag rgya chen po'i lta ba dang | | zab mo dbu ma'i lta ba gnyis | | khyad par yod dam med pa 'dri | |*.

42 rJe Shākya rin chen was considered to be a reincarnation of Shākya mchog ldan and is well known for his compilation of a twenty-four-volume *gsung 'bum* of Shakya mchog ldan, which had been considered lost until its rediscovery in the Pha jo sdings Monastery and reproduced in Thimphu in 1975. In addition, rJe Shākya rin chen composed a detailed biography of Shakya mchog ldan, the *Gangs can gyi shing rta chen po dpal shākya mchog ldan dri med legs pa'i blo gros kyi rnam thar thub bstan gsal ba'i nyin byed*; see Caumanns 2015: 5; 31–33; 31, n. 37.

43 The first two categories of Madhyamaka can be considered sūtric, the third tantric: (1) Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka as the tradition of Nāgārjuna, (2) Svātantrika-Madhyamaka as the tradition of Asaṅga, and (3) tantric Madhyamaka; see Komarovski 2011: 254–257. For the analysis of Shākya mchog ldan's Madhyamaka, see *ibid*. 2011. In addition, for a study of Shākya mchog ldan's understanding of the relation between Madhyamaka and Mahāmudrā, see Draszczyk 2016.

44 For an extensive study of these two approaches, the bSam yas debate and its far-reaching influence on Tibetan intellectual history, see Ruegg 1989; see also Arca 2015.

45 See rJe dGe 'dun rin chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (465.2–4, rJe Shākya rin chen): *zhar la rgya nag dge slong gis | |'dod pa'i lta ba de nyid dang | | dpal ldan dwags po dkar brgyud kyi | | phyag rgya chen po don gcig ces | | mkhas pa dag gis gang gsungs pa | | de lan thams cad mkhyen pa che | | padma dkar po yab sras kyi | | rtsod spong ji ltar mdzad pa las | | lhag pa'i spros pa mi dgos mod | |*.

46 rJe dGe 'dun rin chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (466.5–6, rJe Shākya rin chen): *gzhan yang rje btsun sa paṇ gyis | |dkar brgyud pa yi phyag chen de | |rnam brdzun smra ba'i lugs yin ces | | gsungs pa 'di la ji skad smra | |*. For an analysis of the subdivisions of Yogācāra in some Indian and Tibetan sources, with special focus on Rong zom Chos kyi bzang po (b. 11th century), and for relevant secondary sources, see Almogi 2009: 34; 145–159.

4. In the fourth question it is determined whether the meditative state, in which one has established the correct Mahāmudrā view, is characterized by mentation (*yid la byed pa*) or non-mentation (*yid la mi byed pa*). Sa skya Paṇḍita's critique of a merely non-conceptual meditation method is rejected, because Mahāmudrā meditation is characterized by non-mentation, but also correctly supported by mindfulness (*dran pa*) and vigilance (*shes bzhin*).[47]

Further on, the features of Mahāmudrā meditation are explained in detail, for instance, the relationship between Mahāmudrā meditation, taught in the four *yoga*s (*rnal 'byor bzhi*),[48] and analytical (*dpyad sgom*) and stabilizing meditation (*'jog sgom*); and its correlation to the generation (*bskyed rim*) and completion phase (*rdzogs rim*) as explained in the *niruttaratantrayoga* section.[49] This part, relating to Mahāmudrā meditation practices, is the longest section in the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*.[50]

5. The shortest section of the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* is the fifth question, inquiring about the result (*'bras bu*) of the Mahāmudrā conduct (*spyod pa*) in the post-meditative state. The question is raised as to how the great accumulation of merit is perfected, which is in itself the prerequisite for obtaining the two form *kāya*s of the Buddha, if the Mahāmudrā instructions teach that one does not perform adoption or rejection in the post-meditative state.[51]

6. The sixth question discusses whether or not a Mahāmudrā meditation perfecting meditative equanimity on the true nature (*gnas lugs*) alone could suffice soteriologically. It further discusses its possible contradiction to the path of skillful means and wisdom, with its two accumulations of wisdom and merit, which are considered necessary in gaining the three *kāyas* as a result (*'bras bu*).[52]

In this section, Sa skya Paṇḍita's criticism of sGam po pa and Bla

---

47 rJe dGe 'dun rin chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (471.6, rJe Shākya rin chen): *de nas lta ba'i rgyun bskyangs tshe || yid la byed dang mi byed 'dri ||*.

48 The history of the *rnal 'byor bzhi* and its systematisation by Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po (1110–1170) has been studied by Schiller 2014.

49 rJe dGe 'dun rin chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (476.1–2, rJe Shākya rin chen): *phyag rgya chen po'i nyams len dang || theg chen dbu ma'i don sgom pa || mtshungs dang mi mtshungs gang yin 'dri ||*.

50 The topic of Mahāmudrā meditative practices and stages is also presented in the fourth question in Sa skya Paṇḍita's *rTogs ldan rgyan po'i dris lan*; see Stenzel 2014: 212–215.

51 rJe dGe 'dun rin chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (483.5–484.1, rJe Shākya rin chen): *de nas phyag rgya chen po yi || man ngag gzhung las spyod pa ni || blang dor med pa nyid du bshad || spyod pas blang dor mi byed na || bsod nams tshogs chen gang gis rdzogs || bsod nams tshogs chen ma rdzogs na ||gzhan don gzugs sku gnyis mi 'byung ||*.

52 rJe dGe 'dun rin chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (487.4–5, rJe Shākya rin chen): *de nas gnas lugs nyag gcig po || bsgoms las 'bras bu sku gsum gyi || thob tshul ji ltar yin pa 'dri ||*.

ma Zhang Tshal pa on the concept of a "self-sufficient white remedy" (*dkar po chig thub*)[53] and the relation between basis (*gzhi*) and fruition (*'bras bu*) are discussed.[54]

7. The seventh question examines the role and function of the main teacher (*rtsa ba'i bla ma*), from whom disciples with very sharp faculties (*dbang po rab/dbang po rnon po*) receive the kindness of being introduced to the nature of the mind within the context of the Mahāmudrā instructions (*sems kyi ngo 'phrod*).[55]

It is asked whether this main teacher should be perceived as a perfect *buddha* (*rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas*) or merely as an ordinary spiritual friend (*bshes gnyen phal pa*), because in this eon of strife (*kaliyuga*), the main teacher may have a mixture of virtues and vices.[56] It is explicitly explained that the main teacher should be perceived as a perfect *buddha* and described how one correctly relates to him.[57]

In sum, this brief overview of the seven questions and answers has shown that the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and its commentaries cover all main topics of the Mahāmudrā controversy.

---

53 I adopt here the translation of the term *dkar po chig thub* by D. Jackson 1994.

54 rJe dGe 'dun rin chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (489.1–490.2, rJe Shākya rin chen): *gal te byang chub sems bskyed dang || smon lam dpag med 'debs pa dang || dge ba rdzogs byang bsngo ba sogs || thabs kyi khyad par du ma yis || sgrub par khas len byed ce na || 'o na phyag rgya chen po'i lam || chig chog nyid du ji ltar 'grub ||*. A number of these topics are also presented in the fifth question of Sa skya Paṇḍita's *rTogs ldan rgyan po'i dris lan*; see Stenzel 2014: 215–217.

55 rJe dGe 'dun rin chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (492.3–5, rJe Shākya rin chen): *de nas brgyud pa rin chen 'di'i || nyams bzhes kun gyi srog snying ni || mos gus kho na yin par bzhed || bla ma mchog la sangs rgyas su || mthong ba'i mos gus dgos so zhes || rnam grangs mang pos rgya cher gdams || gcig ldan dang ni gnyis ldan dang || gsum ldan la sogs bla ma yi || bka' drin thob tshul mang bshad kyang || skabs 'dir rtsa ba'i bla ma ni || phyag rgya chen po'i ngo sprod kyi || bka' drin gang las thob la byed ||*. Sa skya Paṇḍita discusses *sems kyi ngo 'phrod*, for example, in his *rTogs ldan rgyan po'i dris lan* and *bKa' gdams pa nam mkha' 'bum gyi zhus lan*; see Arca 2015: 137–138 and Rhoton 2002: 269, respectively.

56 Je Shākya rin chen refers here to *Paramārthasevā*, Toh. 2065 (5a6).

57 rJe dGe 'dun rin chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (496.1–3, rJe Shākya rin chen): *khyad par dus gsum gshegs bzhugs pa'i || sangs rgyas rnams la mchod pa'i sprin || dpag tu med pa phul ba dang || bla ma'i ba spu gcig mchod pa || bsod nams snga mas phyi ma yi || brgya stong bye ba phrag mang po'i || char yang nye ba ma yin zhes || gsungs pa'i dgongs pa gang yin 'dri ||*. The authenticity of the *bla ma* (*slob dpon tshad ma*) is crucial for the validity of the Mahāmudrā "pointing-out instructions" (and of tantric teachings in general). The authenticity of the *bla ma* represents one of the four means of valid cognition (*tshad ma bzhi*) in the *Lam 'bras* tradition. For the examination of the sources of this four-fold scheme in the *Lam 'bras* tradition (*bla ma tshad ma*, *nyams myong tshad ma*, *bstan bcos tshad ma* and *lung tshad ma*), see Sobisch 2015. Sobisch has shown how the authentication of transmission is deepened by the correlation of the four *tshad ma*s of teacher, experience, scripture and exposition; see *ibid*.: 468–478. The first chapter of the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* discusses *lung tshad ma* and the second *bstan bcos tshad ma*.

4. Concluding Remarks

The analysis of the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and its commentaries serves as an important foundation for researching the late history and reception of the Mahāmudrā doctrine and, thereby, the intellectual history of the 'Brug pa bka' brgyud school in Tibet and Bhutan from the eighteenth to the twentieth century.

The works introduced above address the significant controversy surrounding the Mahāmudrā doctrine, the paramount teaching in all bKa' brgyud schools. They therefore enable us to trace systematically the identity of the 'Brug pa bka' brgyud school by the interpretation of its highest doctrine.

The analysis will illuminate the approach of two great thinkers in the Bhutanese branch of the 'Brug pa bka' brgyud school, rJe Shākya rin chen and rJe dGe 'dun rin chen, in defending their interpretation of Mahāmudrā doctrine by strategies of inclusivism, exclusivism and harmonism.[58]

Equally important, the works cover a timespan from a "pre-*ris-med* time" to a "post-*ris-med* time," hence including the important shift in the intellectual history of Tibet that occurred in the nineteenth century.

Additionally relevant in the case of the commentary of rJe dGe 'dun rin chen, is the analysis of his attempt to develop an innovative and well-reasoned interpretation for his own school, and how he thus influenced the religious landscape of twentieth-century Bhutan.[59]

Furthermore, the circumstances of the textual production of the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and its commentaries in the eighteenth century,

---

[58] For Lambert Schmithausen's interpretation of Paul Hacker's inclusivism as a "method of intellectual debate" that either tries to include the opponent's position by ranking it below one's own or by reinterpreting it in such a way that it fits with one's own interpretation, see Schmithausen 1981: 223; 230; see also Ruegg 1989: 9, n. 9. According to Wangchuk 2004: 191, n. 77, an "inclusive" approach that subjugates the position of the opponent is to be differentiated from a "harmonistic" or "reconciliating" approach that accepts both positions as "equal" or "complementary."

[59] In my dissertation (under preparation), I consider further works of mostly systematising and doxographical character from rJe dGe 'dun rin chen's *gsung 'bum*, and parts of his hagiography. In addition, rJe dGe 'dun rin chen's prayer for the flourishing and spread of the 'Brug pa bka' brgyud school, the *dPal ldan 'brug pa'i bstan pa rgyas pa'i smon lam sa bcad dang bcas pa* (*rJe dGe 'dun bka' 'bum*, vol. 8: 743–752), provides interesting insights into his self-perception and vision of the ideal identity of his school. It will be compared with 'Ju Mi pham rgya mtsho's similar prayer for the rNying ma school, the *sNga 'gyur bstan pa rgyas pa'i smon lam chos rgyal dgyes pa'i zhal lung* (*gSung 'bum Mi pham rgya mtsho*. 27 vols. Paro: Lama Ngodrup and Sherab Drimey, 1984–1993, vol. 19: 701–711 [TBRC-23468]).

as displayed before, show the necessity of further studying any possible cross-linked Bhutanese-Tibetan literal productions.

Future research could additionally improve our knowledge of not only the political, but also of the philosophical-doctrinal motivation for the creation of a refined and strengthened identity of the "Bhutanese" 'Brug pa bka' brgyud school, following Zhabs drung Ngag dbang rnam rgyal's establishment of a unified state of Bhutan.

Bibliography

Tibetan-Language Sources

mKhas dbang Sangs rgyas rdo rje. *Phyag rgya chen po'i man ngag gi bshad sbyar rgyal ba'i gan mdzod ces bya ba'i bstan bcos la rtsod pa spong ba'i gtam srid gsum rnam par rgyal ba'i dge mtshan*. In *The Collected Works of Sanggye Dorje*. 8 vols. Kathmandu: Ārchārya Shedup Tenzin, 1995, vol. 4: 301–644 [TBRC-W23556].

rJe mKhan po IX Shākya rin chen. *Shākya'i dge sbyong shākya'i ming gis mtshon pa bdag nyid lha ldan 'phrul gyi gtsug lag khang chen por phyin pa'i gtam lha mi kun tu dga' ba'i zlos gar sdeb*. In *Shākya rin chen gsung 'bum*. 8 vols. Thimphu: Kunzang Tobgey, 1976, vol. 6: 201–254 [TBRC-W8684].

———. *Gaṇḍi sgra dbyangs rgya mtsho = lHag pa'i bsam pa bskul zhing byang chub kyi spyod pa la 'jug pa'i gtam dam pa'i chos kyi gaṇḍi sgra dbyangs snyan pa'i yan lag rgya mtsho*. In *rJe shākya rin chen gyi rnam thar dang gsung thor bu: The Autobiography and Selected Writings of Śākya-rin-chen, the Ninth rJe mKhan-po of Bhutan*. Delhi: Thamchoe Monlam, 1974 [TBRC-W1KG9605].

———. *Grub pa'i mdung rnon = Phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung rnon*. Blockprint, 24 fols., sPungs thang par ma, [1776–1788]. Location: National Library of Bhutan, Thimphu.

rJe mKhan-po XIII Yon tan mtha' yas. *'Og min zhal lung = Nges don phyag rgya chen po la dris pa'i gsung lan 'og min ston pa'i zhal lung*. In *gSung 'bum yon tan mtha' yas*. 2 vols. Blockprint, 89 fols., sPungs thang dpar ma, n.d., vol. 2: 1–44 [TBRC-W2CZ7858].

rJe mKhan po LXIX dGe 'dun rin chen. *Dus kyi pho nya = Phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung rnon zhes bya ba'i gsung lan dus kyi pho nya*. In *rJe dGe 'dun bka' 'bum*. 10 vols.

Rewalsar: Ārchārya Shedup Tenzin and Sherab Gyaltsen Lama, Zigar Drukpa Kargyud Institute, 1985/1991, vol. 6: 439–500 [TBRC-W10206].

———. *gNam gyi nga ro = gSang sngags dri tshig gnam gyi nga ro*. In *rJe dGe 'dun bka' 'bum*, vol. 6: 401–437.

———. *lHo 'brug chos 'byung = dPal ldan 'brug pa'i gdul zhing lho phyogs nags mo'i ljongs kyi chos 'byung bla gsar ma ba'i rgyan* (1972). Reprint. Thimphu: KMT Publishers, 2005.

Dre'u lhas Grub dbang II Kun dga' mi 'gyur rdo rje. *Rang blo tshim byed = Nges don phyag rgya chen po'i skor las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung rnon gyi lan du gsol ba kun rmongs rang blo tshim byed ces bya ba grub dbang rin po ches mdzad pa*. Manuscript, 47 fols., *dbu can*, [Dre'u lhas], n.d. Location: National Library of Bhutan, Thimphu.

rDo rje slob dpon Kun legs. *Dwangs shel me long = rTogs brjod mdor bsdus dwangs shel me long*. In *bDe chen bang mzod*. Thimphu: Tango Buddhist Institute Library, n.d, 1–128. Digital input without pagination accessed July 22, 2016: http://dharmadownload.net/pages/english/Sungbum/010_69th-Je-Khenpo-of-Bhutan/69th-Je-Khenpo_pages/11_namthar69jekhenpo.htm.

Padma dkar po. *Phyag rgya chen po'i man ngag gi bshad sbyar rgyal ba'i gan mdzod*. In *Collected works (gsuṅ-'bum) of Kun-mkhyen Padma-dkar-po.* 24 vols. Darjeeling: Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang, 1973–1974, vol. 21: 7–370 [TBRC-W10736].

sPa gro chos rje Pad dkar Chos kyi rgya mtsho. *gSung rab kun btus = Phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung bsnun la lan du gsol ba gsung rab kun las btus.* Manuscript, 151 fols., *dbu can*, n.p., [eighteenth century]. Location: National Library of Bhutan, Thimphu.

———. *Ri khrod mdzes rgyan = sPa spro'i chos rje pad dkar chos kyi rgya mtsho'i nyams 'gyur gyi rtogs pa brjod pa'i gtam bcad lhug spel ma'i do shal ri khrod pa'i mdzed rgyan du 'os pa: The collected songs of spiritual realization and minor writings of the Spa-gro Gzar-chen Chos-rje Pad-dkar-chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho*. 2 vols. Thimphu: National Library of Bhutan, 1984 [TBRC-W1CZ1861].

’Brug rgyal sras II Kun dga’ rgyal mtshan. *mTshungs med chos kyi rgyal po rje btsun dam chos pad dkar gyi rnam par thar pa thugs rje chen po’i dri bsung*. In *Masterpieces of Bhutanese Biographical Literature: Accounts of the Lives of the Shakyamuni Buddha, the Arhats, Dam chos pad dkar, bsTan ’dzin don grub, and Chos rgyal Shes rab dbang phyug*. 5 vols. Manuscript, 101 fols., *dbu can*. Reprint. Delhi: n.n., 1970, vol. 1: 11–112 [TBRC-W29905].

Zhang yi sun (ed.). *Tshig mdzod chen mo = Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*. 3 vols. Beijing: Nationalities Publishing House, 1985.

Other-Language Sources

Almogi, Orna. 2009. *Rong-zom-pa’s Discourses on Buddhology: A Study of Various Conceptions of Buddhahood in Indian Sources with Special Reference to the Controversy Surrounding the Existence of Gnosis (jñāna; ye shes) as Presented by the Eleventh-Century Tibetan Scholar Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po*. Studia Philologica Buddhica, Monograph Series 24. Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies.

Arca, Giovanni. 2015. “Reaffirming the ‘origins’ of *Mahāmudrā*.” In *Asian Horizons: Giuseppe Tucci’s Buddhist, Indian, Himalayan and Central Asian Studies*, edited by A. A. Di Castro and David Templeman, 113–174. Serie Orientale Roma, 106. Melbourne: Monash University Publishing.

Ardussi, John A. 1977. “Bhutan Before the British: A Historical Study.” PhD diss., Australian National University.

———. 1999. “The rapprochement between Bhutan and Tibet under the Enlightened Rule of sDe-srid XIII Shes-rab-dbang-phyug (r.1744-63).” *Journal of Bhutan Studies* 1(1), 64–83. Revised. First published in *Proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies Graz 1995,* vol. 1, edited by Ernst Steinkellner et. al., 17–27. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Aris, Michael V. 1979. *Bhutan: The Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.

Broido, Michael. 1987. “Sa-skya Pandita, the White Panacea and the Hva-shang Doctrine.” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 10(2), 27–68.

Cabezón, José I. and Geshe Lobsang Dargay. 2007. *Freedom from Extremes: Gorampa's "Distinguishing the Views" and the Polemics of Emptiness*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.

Caumanns, Volker. 2015. *Shākya-mchog-ldan, Mahāpaṇḍita des Klosters gSer-mdog-can: Leben und Werk nach den tibetischen Quellen*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

Constitution Drafting Committee, 2008. *The Constitution of The Kingdom of Bhutan*. Accessed July 22, 2016. http://www.bhutanaudit.gov.bt/About%20Us/Mandates/Constitution%20of%20Bhutan%202008.pdf.

Draszczyk, Martina. 2016. *Mahāmudrā and the Middle Way: Post-Classical Kagyü Discourses on Mind, Emptiness and Buddha-nature*, edited by David Higgins and Martina Draszczyk. Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 90.2. Vienna: Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien.

Higgins, David. 2015. "The Two Faces of Mahāmudrā: Padma dkar po on Yang dgon pa's *gnas lugs phyag chen* and *'khrul lugs phyag chen*." In *Towards a History of Tibetan Mahāmudrā Traditions*, edited by Klaus-Dieter Mathes, 51–78. Zentralasiatische Studien, 44. Andiast: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies.

Jackson, David P. 1990. "Sa-skya Pandita the 'Polemicist': Ancient Debates and Modern Interpretations." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 13(2), 17–116.

———. 1994. *Enlightenment by a Single Means: Tibetan Controversies on the "Self-Sufficient White Remedy" (dkar po chig thub)*. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Jackson, Roger R. 2011. "The Study Of Mahāmudrā In The West: A Brief Historical Overview." In *Proceedings of the 11th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Königswinter 2006*, edited by Matthew T. Kapstein and Roger R. Jackson, 3–54. Andiast: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2011.

Komarovski, Iaroslav. 2011. *Visions of Unity: the Golden Paṇḍita Shakya*

Chokden's New Interpretation of Yogācāra and Madhyamaka. Albany, New York: SUNY Press.

Lopez, Donald S. 1995. "Polemical literature (*dGag lan*)." In *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, edited by José I. Cabézon and Roger R. Jackson, 217–228. Ithaca: Snow Lion.

Mathes, Klaus-Dieter. 2007. "Can Sūtra Mahāmudrā be Justified on the Basis of Maitrīpa's Apratiṣṭhānavāda?" In *Pramāṇakīrtiḥ. Papers dedicated to Ernst Steinkellner on the occasion of his 70th birthday*, edited by Birgit Kellner, Helmut Krasser and Helmut Tauscher, 545–566. Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 70.2. Vienna: Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien.

———. 2015. *A Fine Blend of Mahāmudrā and Madhyamaka: Maitrīpa's Collection of Texts on Non-conceptual Realization (Amanasikāra)*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Rheingans, Jim. 2008. "The Eighth Karmapa's Life and His Interpretation of the Great Seal." PhD diss., University of the West of England.

———. 2014. "Narratology in Buddhist Studies: Dialogues about Meditation in a Tibetan Hagiography." In *Narrative Pattern and Genre in Hagiographic Life Writing: Comparative Perspectives from Asia to Europe*, edited by Stephan Conermann and Jim Rheingans, 69–112. Berlin: EB Verlag.

——— (ed.). 2015. *Tibetan Literary Genres, Texts, and Text Types: From Genre Classification to Transformation*. Leiden: Brill.

Rhoton, Jared D. 2002. *A Clear Differentiation of the Three Codes: Essential Distinctions among the Individual Liberation, Great Vehicle, and Tantric Systems: The sDom gsum rab dbye and Six Letters*. Albany: SUNY Press.

Ruegg, David Seyfort. 1989. *Buddha-nature, Mind and the Problem of Gradualism in a Comparative Perspective*. Jordan Lectures in Comparative Religion, 13. London: SOAS, University of London.

———. 2000. *Three Studies in the History of Indian and Tibetan Madhyamaka Philosophy: Studies in Indian and Tibetan Madhyamaka*

Thought Part 1, edited by Ernst Steinkellner. Vienna: Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien.

Scheuermann, Rolf. 2015. "The *Four Dharmas of Sgam po pa – A Brief Examination of Padma dkar po's* Famous *Dwags po'i chos bzhi'i rnam bshad skyes bu gsum gyi lam nyin mor byed pa*." In *Towards a History of Tibetan Mahāmudrā Traditions*, edited by Klaus-Dieter Mathes, 121–144. Andiast: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies.

Schiller, Alexander. 2014. *Die "Vier Yoga-Stufen" der Mahāmudrā Meditationstradition: Eine Anthologie aus den Gesammelten Schriften des Mönchsgelehrten und Yogin Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po (Kritischer Text und Übersetzung, eingeleitet und erläutert)*. Hamburg: Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg.

Schmithausen, Lambert. 1981. "On some Aspects of Descriptions or Theories of 'Liberating Insight' and 'Enlightenment' in Early Buddhism." In *Studien zum Jainismus und Buddhismus*, 199–250. Wiesbaden: Klaus Bruhn & Albrecht Wezler.

Sobisch, Jan-Ulrich. 2011. "Guru-Devotion in the Bka' brgyud pa Tradition: The Single Means to Realisation." In *Proceedings of the 11th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Königswinter 2006*, edited by Matthew T. Kapstein et. al., 211–255. Andiast: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies.

———. 2015. "Tibetan Interpretations of Authenticity: The Four Means of Authentication (*tshad ma bzhi*) Belonging to the *mantra* Vehicle in the Sa skya and 'Bri gung Traditions." In *The Illuminating Mirror: Tibetan Studies in Honour of Per K. Sørensen on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, edited by Olaf Czaja et. al., 461–484. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

Stenzel, Julia. 2014. "The Mahāmudrā of Sakya Paṇḍita." *Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies* 15, 199–228.

Wangchuk, Dorji. 2004. "The rÑiṅ-ma Interpretations of the Tathāgatagarbha Theory." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 48, 171–213 (appeared in 2005).

———. 2009. "A Relativity Theory of the Purity and Validity of Perception in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism." In *Yogic Perception,*

Meditation and Altered States of Consciousness, edited by Eli Franco and Dagmar Eigner, 215–239. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Searching for Tibetanness: Tenzing Rigdol's Attempt to Visualize Tibetan Identity

Eva Maria Seidel

(University of Bonn)

Tenzing Rigdol (bsTan 'dzin rig grol), a contemporary Tibetan artist currently living in the US, not only wants to find the Tibetan in himself. He also tries to find the 'Tibetanness' in traditional Tibetan art and the aspects of a Tibetan's life which all or most Tibetans from his definition have in common, like the script, culture and religion.[1] But as Adrian Zenz states, Tibetanness is not so easy to define.[2] The Tibetan community within and outside Tibet speaks many dialects (and even languages), and though Buddhism is the most common religion, Bon, Islam and Christianity are also practiced. The search for essential characteristics of Tibetan culture therefore is difficult. Before I analyse the outcome of his, as I call it, "attempt to visualize Tibetan identity," I will look into Tenzing Rigdol's background and which topics and 'Tibetan' elements he depicts in his art.

1. The Artist

Tenzing Rigdol was born in 1982 in Kathmandu, Nepal. His parents, once producers of ink for wood block prints in Tibet, fled to Nepal in the late 1950s, where they began designing and weaving Tibetan carpets. Rigdol lived also in Dharamsala, where he learned Tibetan carpet design and studied Tibetan traditional collage and thangka art. He also studied Tibetan traditional sand painting and butter sculpture in Kathmandu. In 2002, he moved to the United States, where he began to study Western art before realizing he wanted first to study the art of his own culture more. He left for India and Nepal, where he received his diploma in Tibetan Traditional Thangka Painting at the Tibet Thanka Art School in Kathmandu in 2003.

[1] Interview with Tenzing Rigdol via Skype, in English, February 15, 2013, in context of my Master's thesis.

[2] Zenz 2013: 19–24.

Eva Maria Seidel,, "Searching for Tibetanness: Tenzin Rigdol's Attempt to Visualize Tibetan Identity ", *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 37, December 2016, pp. 374–390.

Returning to the US, he earned a Bachelor of Fine Arts as well as a Bachelor of Arts in Art History degree from Colorado University in 2005.[3]

Rigdol currently lives and works in New York.[4] He makes sculptures, paintings, collages and installations, and he also has published three books of poetry.[5] In 2013, he released a documentary called *Bringing Tibet Home*. The 82 minute film documents the installation *Our land our people* (2011) and which obstacles Rigdol needed to overcome to get 20 tons of Tibetan soil out of the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) to Dharamsala. The installation consisted of a stage covered with Tibetan soil. Tenzing Rigdol's idea was that the Tibetans who live in Dharamsala could set their feet on Tibetan soil again or touch it and say a few words into a microphone afterwards.[6]

Rigdol states that he wants to go back to Tibet, a place he only knows through his parents and friends and the media.[7] He shares this experience with a number of other Tibetan artists living outside of the TAR or other areas of China, such as Tenzing Lodoe (bsTan 'dzin blo gros) and Tshering Sherpa (Tshe ring shar pa). Tenzin Lodoe, born in Dharamsala and now working as a management consultant in Switzerland, has said that, for example, "having been born and raised in exile, with a strong emphasis to preserve all things Tibetan, there are many internal forces that tend to make an exile feel as if one is a 'potted plant.' Never really feeling at ease to grow roots unless it is at the designed and intended place. […] Whether the search is external or internal, there is always a yearning to trot on this path of discovering the Tibetan in oneself […]."[8] Similar to Lodoe, Rigdol tries to find the Tibetan in himself. He holds that his research is on what it means to be a Tibetan or what Tibetanness is.[9] But as stated, his focus is also outwards, towards finding the Tibetanness in traditional Tibetan art and in his life inside and outside of the Tibetan community. He is not alone in this aim; many artists like Losang Gyatso (Virginia, USA), Gonkar Gyatso (Chengdu, PRC) and Gade (Lhasa, TAR) are depicting their own struggles with Tibetan identity, the different cultures they have lived in or their own opinions about Tibet and its changing culture. They all use elements

---

3 Ng 2010: 127.
4 Rossi & Rossi 2016a.
5 *"R" – The Frozen Ink* (2008), *Anatomie of Nights* (2011) and 'Butterfly's Wings' (2011). Published by Tibet Writes in Dharamsala, H.P.
6 *Bringing Tibet Home* 2013.
7 Rigdol cited in Zhefan 2015.
8 Tenzin Lodoe in an unpublished description of himself and his art.
9 Interview with Tenzing Rigdol, February 15, 2013.

of traditional Tibetan art in their artworks.[10] But those three were born in Tibet and experienced it first hand. Tenzing Rigdol is part of the second generation living in exile, which might be a reason behind his even stronger longing to find his identity and, similar to Tenzin Lodoe, finding the Tibetan inside himself.

2. *His Art*

In his artwork, Rigdol draws elements from traditional Tibetan art in dealing with contemporary issues. In his five-part *A Ripple in Time* series (Fig. 1–2),[11] he depicts a maṇḍala with a Buddha, bandages in the silhouette of a meditating monk, the empty robe of the Dalai Lama and an embryo. He does not use the maṇḍala to depict constellations of Buddhas and gods. It functions more as a stage on

Fig. 1. Tenzing Rigdol. 2013. *A Ripple in Time #1 Lost.* Acrylic on paper. Diameter 50 cm. Courtesy of Rossi & Rossi and the artist.

[10] Sheehy 2010: 18–33; Bremm 2010: 37–55.
[11] All five paintings of the *A Ripple in Time* series are published in Bonn-Muller 2013.

which he presents scenarios for Tibet's past, present and future. The maṇḍala in this series is free from decorations or religious symbols, apart from the maṇḍala itself. The first painting shows Buddha Shakyamuni in the centre of a stylized maṇḍala.

He sits on a lotus base under an arch of begging bowls, one of which is positioned on his head like a hat. Atop each of four gates surrounding Buddha Shakyamuni is a letter, together reading the English word "lost." Tenzing Rigdol said in an interview that his intention was to symbolize how the arrival of Buddhism in Tibet led to a weakening of Tibet's power.[12] The second piece, *A Ripple in Time #2 Cost*, shows Buddha Shakyamuni, his head covered in red bandages, seated in the centre of a maṇḍala in front of a lotus base instead of being on top of it. On the base is the red star of the People's Liberation Army. This piece seems to address the cost of Tibet's weakening: the loss of sovereignty. In *A Ripple in Time #3 Rise*, he depicts the rise of Tibetan protests, especially self-immolations, represented by a flame nimbus ringing the figure—whose head is also replaced by a flame—in the centre. In traditional Tibetan art, the flame nimbus is used in the depiction of wrathful deities regarded as protectors in Tibetan Buddhism. The figure in the centre, possibly a Tibetan monk, is thus ascribed the role of a protector of Tibet, Buddhism and Tibetan identity. A body is not visible, only red and orange bandages in the form of a person in lotus position, arms folded in a gesture of protest. The fourth piece of this series depicts, as Tenzing Rigdol explained, an empty robe of the Dalai Lama. Together with the word "exit" written atop the gates of the maṇḍala, Tenzing Rigdol addresses his fear of the Dalai Lama's death. The fifth and final painting shows a scenario of what possibly might happen in the future.

---

[12] Interview with Tenzing Rigdol, February 15, 2013.

Fig. 2. Tenzing Rigdol. 2013. *A Ripple in Time #5 Fear*. Acrylic on paper. Diameter 50 cm. Courtesy of Rossi & Rossi and the artist.

A small embryo is in the centre of the maṇḍala clutching a gun. The clouds surrounding the embryo might express that this is just one possibility, a vision of an unknown future. Although the Dalai Lama keeps the Tibetans calm and peaceful at the moment, Rigdol has said that this image indicates his fears that, when the Dalai Lama passes, later generations might turn to violent tactics of resistance.[13]

In the triptych collage *Alone, Exhausted and Waiting* he shows the Parinirvāṇa Buddha in a brocade robe, his skin made of photographed flames.

[13] Interview with Tenzing Rigdol, February 15, 2013.

Fig 3. Tenzing Rigdol. 2012. *Alone, Exhausted and Waiting*. Collage, silk brocade and scripture. 122 x 396 cm. Courtesy of Rossi & Rossi and the artist.

The silhouette of the Buddha reminds Rigdol, as he claims in an interview, of the homeless people he saw in India and on a mountain range, possibly symbolic of the mountains in Tibet. In this work he again broaches self-immolation and the impact it has had on the Tibetan community. He depicts the unifying character of the self-immolations by using three canvases, representing the three provinces of Tibet (*chol ka gsum*), as well as scripture from Tibetan woodblock prints for the background. In traditional Tibetan art the background would not be filled with scripture. It would be filled for example with the depiction of landscapes. The Tibetan script is of general importance for him. He sees it as the main component of Tibetan identity.

> I remove all the Chinese influence, especially the background, and then I replace that with Tibetan scripture, which for me represents the Tibetan identity. I mean, there are so many things in Tibetan culture, but somehow Tibetan [language], particularly the script, combines all the Tibetan provinces. They might have different dialects, but they write the same script and it was so popular that it spread to Bhutan, spread to even all these other Himalayan regions.[14]

He tries to emphasize Tibetan identity, for example, by highlighting the Tibetan script and actively omitting elements from other cultural backgrounds. One example is the Chinese landscape in traditional Tibetan art. He sees it as outside influence and replaces it with Tibetan script, in line with his aim to find and highlight the Tibetanness in traditional Tibetan art. He not only removes Chinese elements—as one might expect, given his political situation as an exile—but he also leaves out decorations and jewellery influenced by Nepalese and Indian art. However one might argue that traditional Tibetan art is heavily influenced by Buddhism and Buddhist art,

---

14 Interview with Tenzing Rigdol, February 15, 2013.

which came to Tibet by way of India in the 7th or 8th century. Nevertheless Rigdol nonetheless integrates this as an important part of his 'Tibetan identity' too.

When he does depict Buddhas or deities, it is not for religious reasons. For him such representations operate more like a platform to show that being Tibetan does not simply mean keeping old traditions alive.

> The idea is, they [the buyers] might like the image, but I want to put more to it. It is not just the image for me—it is the contemporary. It is the stage for me to express the contemporary issue. Then it becomes something more.[15]

The silhouettes of deities in his artwork have the same function. He plays with the word *ston pa*, which functions in classical texts as a name for the Buddha.

> Basically *ston pa* means 'to show.' What I show is a contemporary issue in their body. In that way it was a very conscious attempt to use the traditional images and to use them as a platform to express my individual concern."[16]

Rigdol combines the symbolism of Tibetan Buddhism with his own thoughts and worries.

He also depicts iconometric grids, used in traditional thangka painting, for keeping to the right measurements for Buddhas and deities. Usually these lines would vanish beneath the painting, but Rigdol chooses to give these "poor lines" more attention.[17] But he was not the first to popularize the iconographic grid as an element of contemporary Tibetan art. Gonkar Gyatso made probably the biggest impact on the popularity of these lines through his collages of comic stickers, in the silhouettes of Buddhas still surrounded by the iconometric grid.

When producing Tibetan carpets, Tenzing Rigdol's parents would first draw the design for a pattern. Rigdol used parts of these drawings in some of his artwork, including *One in Love* (Fig. 4) and *Fusion: Bud-dha-tara*,[18] in which "both the lines and forms are left together in the final composition. The figures of Buddha and Tara, the male and female deities of compassion and enlightenment in Tibetan Buddhism, are fused with staccato placements of geometrical

---

15 Interview with Tenzing Rigdol, February 15, 2013.
16 Interview with Tenzing Rigdol, February 15, 2013.
17 Gavin 2009: 9.
18 The image can be found at: http://www.asianart.com/exhibitions/waves/35.html.

lines, colours and texts, so that the representation of these traditional deities is contemporized through their aesthetic deconstruction."[19] In the collage *Identity* (Fig. 5), integrating the patterns of the sketches for Tibetan carpet design, he addresses "the degradation of the Tibetan language within Tibet."[20]

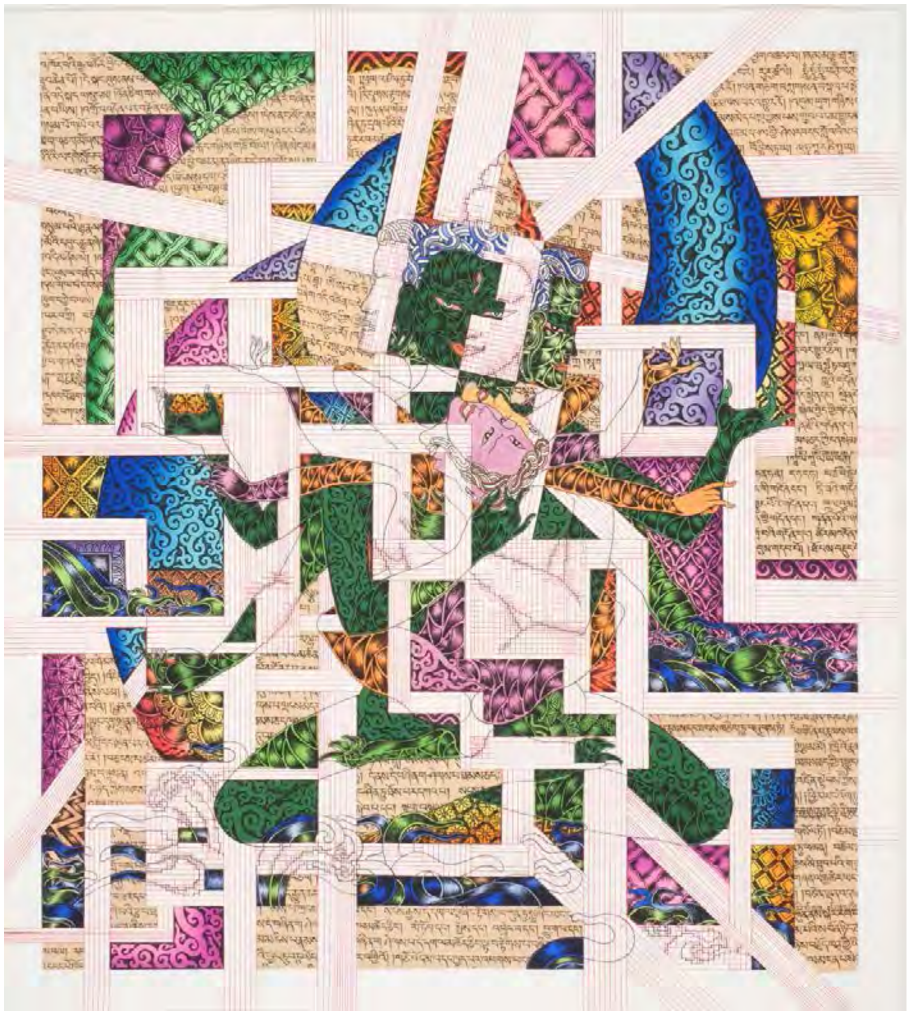


Fig 4. Tenzing Rigdol. 2010. *One in Love*. Pastel and collage on paper. 66 x 59 cm. Courtesy of Rossi & Rossi and the artist.

[19] Scoggin 2007.
[20] Rossi & Rossi 2016b.

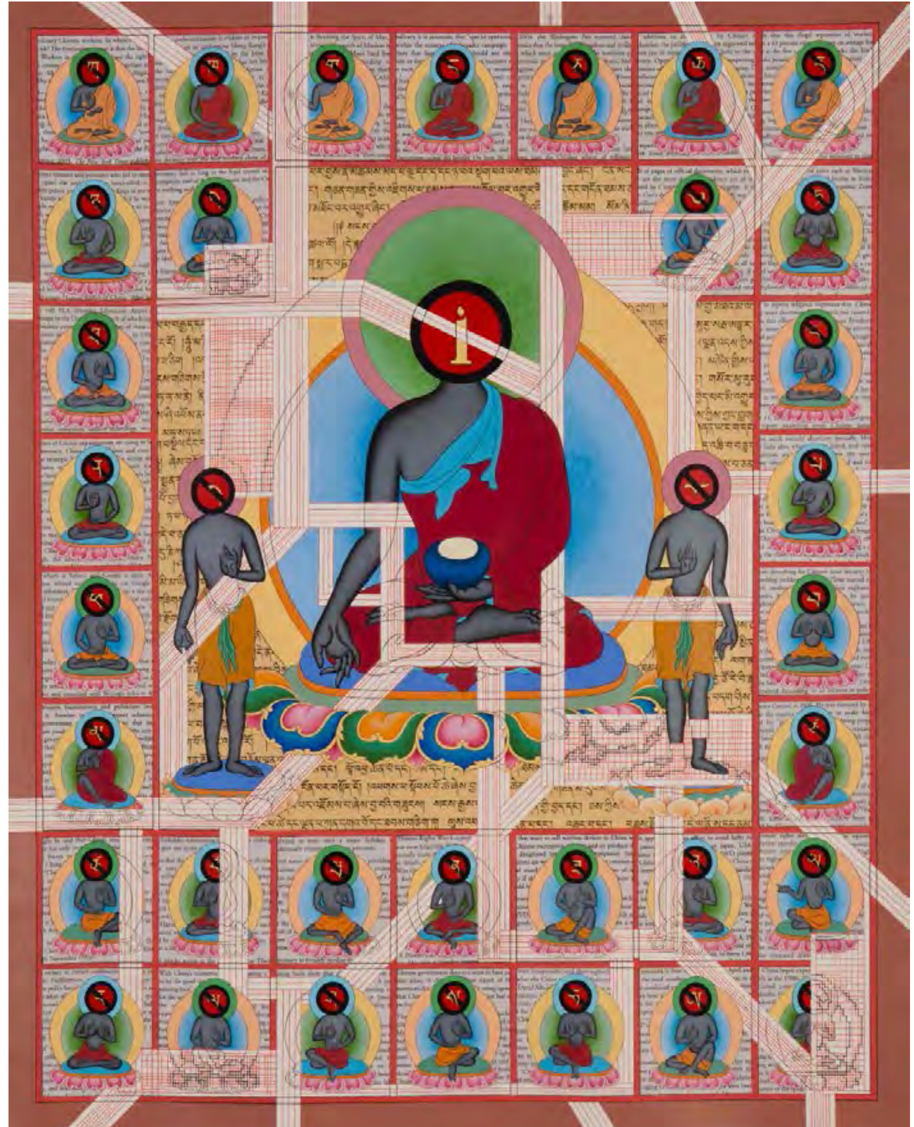


Fig. 5. Tenzing Rigdol. 2015. *Identity*. Acrylic and collage on paper. 71.4 x 77.5 cm. Courtesy of Rossi & Rossi and the artist.

But he does not always depict issues directly linked to self-immolation or the political situation between Tibet and China. With *The Whispering Storm* (Fig. 6) he expresses his worries concerning climate change and its consequences for the Himalayas and beyond:

> The central figure is filled with images of polar animals, ice and water, in addition to global landmarks. This impending environmental crisis

will also have a devastating impact on the Tibetan plateau, which has been warming faster than the rest of the world. I worry that if we don't act, then we will face the threat of being washed clean of our human history.[21]

The concern about environment is nothing new, especially for the intellectual Tibetan elite in exile, but it is, as Toni Huber states, not as old as the elite claims it to be. More so, it is part of a new self-perception that has been built by using parts of the stereotypes that have evolved in the West and contributed to the image of Tibet as Shangri-La.[22] Although Tenzing Rigdol claims that his artwork is not intended to be political, this collage seems to transmit the message that something needs to change and functions as a reminder of what global warming could cause and which parts of nature and the world will be affected.

Fig. 6. Tenzing Rigdol. 2014. *The Whispering Storm*. Collage, photographs and silk brocade. 122 x 122 cm. Courtesy of Rossi & Rossi and the artist.

21 Tenzing Rigdol 2014: 36.
22 Huber 1997: 300–311.

2. 'Tibetanness' and 'Tibetan Identity'

Before I further analyse Tenzing Rigdol's search for Tibetanness, I would like to examine "the widely taken-for-granted notion of 'Tibetanness'" [23] and 'Tibetan identity,' which I equate in this paper. Both terms are problematic because, as Huber has demonstrated, they "evoke the existence of stable or unitary social and geopolitical entities that readily gloss over an enormous actual complexity and fluidity both past and present."[24] Sara Shneiderman acknowledges these difficulties and calls for an open discussion on ethnicity with other disciplines such as anthropology, postcolonial studies, history and so forth.[25]

Zenz contributes the critical notion that "'being Tibetan' … is asserted as a distinct ethnic identity that is seen as being threatened through dilution by 'otherness, ' and whose purity and authenticity must be maintained."[26] The voice of the Tibetan community, Zenz continues, can be characterized "as an imagined construct based on the social memory of a glorified and essentialised past, and of an imagined spiritual-cultural-linguistic community centered around essentialised understandings of 'authentic Tibetans' as morally-upright and religiously devout tsampa-eaters."[27] But at the same time Zenz extends the definition and possible usage of Tibetanness to "an identity that can be felt and claimed by those who no longer share common linguistic, cultural or social patterns (or never did so in the first place), and who may hold a significantly different interpretation of 'Tibetan history.'"[28]

Since the definitions of Tibetanness and Tibetan identity are too elusive, is it even possible for Tenzing Rigdol (or anyone else) to depict it? Before I try to answer this question, it is necessary to see how he defines Tibetanness for himself.

3. Tenzing Rigdol's Definition of 'Tibetanness'

Rigdol claims that honesty is one of the most important pursuits of his artwork. He said that he does not see his artwork as purposefully political, even when he depicts issues in the TAR, China or the rest of

---

[23] Zenz 2013: 2.
[24] Huber 1999: viii.
[25] Shneiderman 2006: 1.
[26] Zenz 2013: 20.
[27] Zenz 2013: 21.
[28] Ibid., 21.

the world. These are the topics that matter to him, and this means, according to his view, that he is just being honest, not political, although it appears to the viewer that at least some of his artwork contains subliminal political messages. The same approach applies to his interest in the idea of Tibetanness. He said "it boils down to the idea of being honest, being what I think and I proclaim it in a very innocent way." He continues:

> But for me, what challenges me is not that people like the idea of 'Tibetanness.' What challenges me is that people are stereotyping the idea of 'Tibetanness.'"[29]

With his dislike for stereotyping 'Tibetanness,' he is part of a development that started with Gedun Choepel (1903–1951),[30] whose famous citation says a lot about the "Old Tibet" and signalized a start for a new development that took place within the Tibetan art scene:

> All that is old is proclaimed as the work of gods
> All that is new conjured by the devil
> Wonders are thought to be bad omens
> This is the tradition of the land of the Dharma.[31]

His impact on the art scene is revealed by the name of the Gedun Choepel Artist's Guild, formed in 2003 by a group of Lhasa-based, contemporary Tibetan artists.

Rigdol accepts the fact that other Tibetan artists do not work with Tibet-related motifs, but he sees it as not "being connected to what is happening." This is in a way still a critique of those artists, especially as he found during his "research on what it means to be a Tibetan or what is the 'Tibetanness'" that he could not distance himself from the situation in Tibet. It started in his process of thinking about what art is. He defines art as follows:

> Art is made of being honest and being honest in a sense of being selfish. You just try to analyse, what that self is that wants to be selfish. And you realize immediately that that self is not independent of what has happened in Tibet. Now if you look at that self, you analyse that, the history, my parents, my grandparents and then thousands of years of tradition are all linked together and I cannot avoid that. To be honest would be to express those ideas and my own interpretation of those ideas.[32]

---

[29] Interview with Tenzing Rigdol, February 15, 2013.
[30] For information on Gedun Choepel, see e.g. Stoddard 1985.
[31] Cited in Topden 2006.
[32] Interview with Tenzing Rigdol, February 15, 2013.

Moreover, speaking about Tibetans, both inside and outside of Tibet, he further remarks:

> They are, we are a product of what has happened in Tibet and not to be influenced by what has happened in Tibet is something I don't understand."[33]

Although he said that he accepts the fact that other Tibetan artists express different ideas, these former expressions imply that artists, who are not depicting traumatic events, are not influenced emotionally by these events, he also said:

> If one wants to make flowers and landscape, it's ok, if that is what you really feel like making but I doubt it. Any Tibetan at the moment, if he wants to paint flowers or likes landscape or takes pictures of subways and tubes, either the person is not really connected to what is happening or even just completely gone rid of the idea of Tibetanness or has maybe reinvented the idea of Tibetanness, which is still fine."[34]

Tibet's past is visible in much of Tenzing Rigdol's artwork. The aforementioned topics, such as the self-immolations, the loss of Tibet's independence and the future of the Dalai Lama, are only a small overview of his concerns. Ernest Renan sees the collective negative memory as more effective in evoking a national thinking than positive ones.

> Where national memories are concerned, griefs are of more value than triumphs, for they impose duties, and require a common effort. A nation is therefore a large-scale solidarity, constituted by the feeling of the sacrifices that one has made in the past and of those that one is prepared to make in the future.[35]

If we adapt Renan's theory for reconstructing the building of a national Tibetan identity, the past 60—70 years of Tibet's history would be emphasized. This is also reflected in Rigdol's focus on the past's negative events and how he uses them for developing his definition of Tibetanness.

Although those memories and contemporary issues are part of the life of many Tibetans, the way in which Rigdol depicts those topics does not solely solicit positive responses. He used and uses several elements of traditional Tibetan art, changing their role and meaning

---

[33] Interview with Tenzing Rigdol, February 15, 2013.
[34] Interview with Tenzing Rigdol, February 15, 2013.
[35] Renan [1882] 1993: 19.

by putting them in different contexts. He uses these elements for his own purpose, for example, to show Tibetanness and contemporary worldly issues, which leads to the question: if the meaning of these elements is changed, is it still a part of Tibetan identity? Some viewers criticize his usage of the Buddha silhouette for non-Buddhist issues and see this as a lack of respect for their religion. But as I mentioned earlier, Tenzing Rigdol does not like it when people stereotype the idea of Tibetanness. With his artwork, Rigdol challenges the conservative ideas of Tibetanness and replaces them with his own modernized and symbiotic idea of Tibetanness, a combination of tradition, history and modernity.

This conflict was on full display when many Tibetans criticized his 2008 performance *Scipture Noodle*. During this piece, he entered a Chinese restaurant, cut pages of a Tibetan book (*dpe cha*), fried and then ate the pieces. Buddhist scriptures are normally treated with a high degree of respect, and are never stamped upon or thrown away, but re-used, for example, to consecrate statues. There are some practices during which scripture would be eaten,[36] but never in a situation like a performance in a Chinese restaurant. Rigdol explained he wanted to explore the transformation of a book into a sacred scripture, which then becomes object of reverence:

> Sometimes their undefiled reverence to scripture blinds them from being an individual, a meaning maker. When I look at scripture, it fascinates me. How so-called scripture evolves from an unknown book to something sacred. How it must have recruited the obedience from the people. These days, people are just busy: they take them to be very sacred and, when questioned, they are blank.[37]

In an interview in 2014 he also said he wanted to refer to an old Buddhist saying, "don't be the bowl that carries the soup, be the mountain, that gulps it."[38] Claire Harris best explains the pressure weighing on Tibetan artists to keep traditional Tibetan art alive:

> The debate over an important public commission demonstrates that in their adaption or rejection of certain styles refugee painters are seen to inscribe a political narrative; for just as there is no such thing as an 'innocent' eye, there is no innocent brush. Those who wield the brush are required to demonstrate, both in their works and in their lives, that their Tibetanness is legitimate and authentic.[39]

---

36 Tenzing Rigdol in an interview published on Youtube. Thupten Norsang 2014.
37 Tenzing Rigdol said that in an Interview with Francesca Gavin. Gavin 2009: 6.
38 Tenzing Rigdol in an interview published on Youtube. Thupten Norsang 2014.
39 Harris 1999: 46.

The struggle to paint in contemporary styles while expressing traditional Tibetanness is something shared by many contemporary Tibetan artists. Though the search for a universally valid definition for Tibetanness may be impossible, the search could form a strong bond that in itself becomes an aspect of Tibetanness, at least among artists.

Contemporary Tibetan artist Tsering Sherpa sums up the differences, struggles and the search in a few sentences:

> Tibet itself exists in different realities—seen as both part of China and as something completely separate from it—and continues to be perceived as both a mythological and spiritual Shangri-la, as well as an occupied and rapidly industrialized country. Emerging from Tibet's history, these divergent pathways have led to so many unique perspectives, and continue to inspire the search for its people's sense of spirit and home.[40]

As mentioned before Rigdol's result differs from the scholarly discourse on Tibetan identity. In my opinion, Tenzing Rigdol's definition, or maybe rather his artistic attempt to pinpoint the essence of Tibetan identity, is based on personal emotions and experiences he had with his family and other Tibetans and therefore cannot be equalled with the definitions made by the scholarly discourse. Also, since those personal experiences always differ at least a bit for every Tibetan in exile, it will not be possible to express a Tibetanness to which every Tibetan can subscribe. The opinions on contemporary Tibetan art for example vary so much that for some commentators this art form does not even seem to be the right media for sorting out the divergent pathways. But since Tenzing Rigdol sees himself as an artist rather than a scholar, one who thinks of his works as expressions of his personality and personal thoughts, it seems legitimate then to view his artwork is an expression of his own journey towards finding the Tibetan in himself as well as his own personal definition of Tibetanness, using the shared term Tibetanness for his own understanding.

Bibliography

Bremm, Anna. 2010. "Blurring Boundaries: Contemporary Art from Tibet and the Diaspora." In *Tradition Transformed. Tibetan Artists*

[40] Sherpa 2014: 10.

Respond, edited by Elaine W. Ng, 37–55. New York: ArtAsiaPacific, Rubin Museum of Art.

Bringing Tibet Home. Accessed July 11, 2016. http://www.bringingtibethome.com/film/.

Gavin, Francesca. 2009. "The Construction of Harmony." In *Tenzing Rigdol. Experiment with Forms*, edited by Anna Maria Rossi and Fabio Rossi, 6–9. London: Rossi & Rossi.

Harris, Claire. 1999. *In the Image of Tibet. Tibetan Painting after 1959*. London: Reaction Books.

Huber, Toni. 1999. *The Cult of Pure Crystal Mountain. Popular Pilgrimage and Visionary Landscape in Southeast Tibet.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ng, Elaine W. ed. 2010. *Tradition Transformed. Tibetan Artists Respond*. New York: ArtAsiaPacific, Rubin Museum of Art.

Renan, Ernest. [1882] 1993. "What is a nation?" In *Nation and Narration*, edited by Homi K. Bhabha, 8–22. London: Routledge.

Rossi & Rossi. 2016a. *Biography of Tenzing Rigdol*. Accessed April 28, 2016. http://www.rossirossi.com/contemporary/artists/tenzing.rigdol/biography.

———. 2016b. *Change is the Eternal.* Accessed April 28, 2016. http://www.rossirossi.com/contemporary/exhibitions/change-is-the-eternal-law/information.

Scoggin, Tamar Victoria. 2007. "Making the Waves: The Rimo of Curating Contemporary Tibetan Art Through an Antropological Lens." Accessed April 28, 2016. http://www.asianart.com/exhibitions/waves/rimo.html.

Sheehy, Michael R. 2010. "Transforming a Tradition: Tibetan Artists on the Dialectic of Sanctity and Modernity" In *Tradition Transformed. Tibetan Artists Respond*, edited by Elaine W. Ng, 18–33. New York: ArtAsiaPacific, Rubin Museum of Art.

Sherpa, Tsering. 2014. "A Creative Explosion." In *Parallel Realities: Contemporary Tibetan Art*, edited by Eti Bonn-Muller, 10. Berlin, London: ARNDT, Rossi & Rossi.

Shneiderman, Sara. 2006. "Barbarians at the Border and civilising projects." Accessed April 27, 2016. http://shneiderman-commons.sites.olt.ubc.ca/files/2015/02/BarbariansattheBorder.pdf.

Stoddard, Heather. 1985. *Le mendiant de l'Amdo*. Paris: Société d' Ethnographie.

Tenzing Rigdol. 2014. "Tenzing Rigdol. bsTan 'dzin rig grol." In *Parallel Realities: Contemporary Tibetan Art*, edited by Eti Bonn-Muller, 10. Berlin, London: ARNDT, Rossi & Rossi.

Thupten Norsang. 2014. "Q&A after Scripture Noodle screening." Accessed April 27, 2016. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z7bBaB8MACY.

Topden Tsering. 2006. "The Story of a Monk Wanderer: Part II." Accessed April 27, 2016. http://www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?aticle=The+Story+of+a+Monk+Wanderer%3A+Part+II&id=11884&c=4&t.

Zenz, Adrian. 2013. *'Tibetanness' under Threat. Neo-Integrationism, Minority Education and Career Strategies in Qinghai, P.R. China,* Inner Asia Book 9. Leiden: Global Oriental.

Zhefan, Shen. 2015. "[Profile] Tibetan Refugee Tenzing Rigdol: Bringing Tibet Home by Art." Accessed July 17, 2016. https://medium.com/@ShenZhefan/profile-tibetan-refugee-tenzing-rigdol-bringing-tibet-home-by-art-6cd86b6242c2#.qziuk77by.

❖

The "Brilliant Moon Theriac" (*Zla zil dar ya kan*): A Preliminary Study of Mercury Processing According to the *Vase of Amṛta of Immortality* (*'Chi med bdud rtsi bum pa*) and its Influence on Tibetan Pharmacological Literature

Carmen Simioli

(University of Naples)

Mercury-based pharmacology is an important strand in the history of Tibetan scientific thought. Stretching its roots far back to the reception and elaboration of Indian alchemical transmutation (*dhātuvāda*), this discipline, with its complex doctrinal apparatus and varieties of procedures, pertains, paradigmatically, to a system of healing characterised by the coalescence of medicine and religion. Therefore, the study of this subject can be inserted in the emerging historiographical debate on the relationship between medicine and ritual in Eurasian civilisations.[1]

Tsothel (*btso thal*), the black mercury sulphide ash that is a key ingredient of many of the "precious pills" (*rin chen ril bu*), is prepared from liquid and poisonous mercury (*dngul chu*). It is a process of transformation that is of multidimensional significance. Precious pills are not only revered as the most powerful medicine but they are regarded as being endowed with apotropaic properties aimed at protecting against poisoning and demonic forces causing epidemics. *Tsothel* is a complex "cultural artefact,"[2] whose religious efficacy is linked to the divine nature attributed to its metallic and mineral constituents (principally mercury), which, in order to become

1 See Adams, Schrempf, Craig (eds.) 2013. For further readings on the relation of medicine and magic in ancient Babylonia see for example Geller 2010; Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim wrote an interesting essay dealing with the combination of moxa and *gLud* rite described in the Dunhuang manuscript ITJ 756 (Yoeli-Tlalim 2015: 749–55); for a further inquiry into the Egyptian "magical and medical papyri" see Lucarelli 2010: 55–67.

2 Barbara Gerke has used this terminology in her recent study on the "cultural biography" of *tsothel*. Gerke 2013: 140–42. For a further reading on the cultural biographies of medical substances see Totelin 2012: 122–144.

Carmen Simioli, "The "Brilliant Moon Theriac" (Zla zil dar ya kan): A Preliminary Study of Mercury Processing According to the Vase of Amṛta of Immortality ('Chi med bdud rtsi bum pa) and Its Influence on Tibetan Pharmacological Literature", Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines, no. 37, December 2016, pp. 391–419.

beneficial, should not only be pre-processed but also be "tamed" (*'dul ba*) through specific rituals. The theurgic essence attributed to mercury conveys an extension of ancient alchemical conceptions to the pharmacological context. These conceptions are subaltern to other theoretical sciences and practises aimed at organising and experiencing the nature (of both the world and the individual) as a unique constitutive and structural reality. The possibility of transferring the knowledge acquired in the alchemical practice to the preparation of efficacious remedies against pestilences and poisons has been elaborated in the medical literature over the course of several centuries in Tibet. The inter-textual analysis of the sources allows us to formulate a series of preliminary considerations about the historical development of mercury procedures in order to assess the role of some influential written sources in shaping the theoretical frame underpinning mercury manufacturing. In particular, the sources can provide us with significant data to understand in what way *tsothel* was designed to be a "theriac" (*dar ya kan*) that eradicates poisons and even prevents atrocious pandemic and infective diseases, and ultimately to examine some authorial strategies in the transmission of pharmacological knowledge.

In this paper I address the role of the Rnying ma *gter ma* entitled *Vase of Amṛta of Immortality* (*'Chi med bdud rtsi bum pa,* CBB)[3] in the process of consolidating pharmaceutical theories and practices based on mercury. Starting with an outline of the inter-textual legacy of this source and its contents, I will argue that the description of recipes that include detoxified mercury in terms of "*log gnon* to pacify all [the diseases]" (*zhi byed kun kyi log gnon*)–a terminology we also find in the *Subsequent Tantra* (*Phyi'i rgyud,* PhG) of the twelfth century *Four Tantras* (*rGyud bzhi*, RgZ)–was influenced by the CBB. I will relate synoptically the method of mercury processing described in the *Vase of Amṛta of Immortality* and the "cold preparation" (*grang sbyor*) described in the eleventh chapter of the *Subsequent Tantra*. More in particular, discussing the term *log gnon* and its multiple meanings, I will argue that the CBB codified the description of processed mercury as endowed with counter poisoning and apotropaic properties that became a narrative motif in many authoritative pharmacological collections by the fourteenth century up to today.

3 *Rin chen gter mdzod*, vol. 46 (ngo, ha): 1r1–124r1.

1. From Alchemy to Chemistry: Tracing Important Stages in the Development of Mercury Processing.

In order to situate the *Vase of Amṛta of Immortality* within the broader context of Tibetan medico-alchemical literature, I shall briefly refer to the fundamental corpora dealing with mercury practices and attempt to problematize the coexistence of continuity and change in the historical development of mercury processing.

The therapeutic use of mercury in Tibet dates back to the ninth and tenth centuries (we find mainly electuaries and topic pomades against skin disorders connoted by purulent secretions).[4] A clear reference to mercury as antidote to poisoning and epidemics is to be found in medical classics such as the eleventh chapter of the PhG, which is entitled *Section on the Composition of the Gemstone Medicine* (*rin po che sman gyi sde tshan*), and that deals with the "precious medicine" (*rin po che'i sman*) or the use of precious stones, minerals and metals to prepare medicines. In this chapter, Rig pa'i ye shes, a manifestation of the Medicine Buddha's mind, explains the use of the gemstones in this way:

> Having administered, one after another, [different varieties of medicines] such as decoctions, powders, pills, medicine butters, [you] feel get used to [those] medicines and yet the disease is not eradicated, [then, apply] the gemstone medicine, the *log gnon* pacifying all [diseases]. The four hundred and four categories of diseases of blood, bile, phlegm and wind, head, trunk and arms wounds, *dmu 'or*,[5] leprosy, *'bras*[6] and *gag lhog*[7] and [the other classes

---

4 Pelliot Tibétain 1057: 1.1–11, 10.19–20; the *Medical Method of Lunar King* (*Sman dpyad zla ba'i rgyal po*): 58v2–59r4 and the *Biji's Yellow Book* (*Bi ci pu ti kha ser*): 26.16–27.11. Simioli 2013: 43–4.

5 Union of *dmu chu* and *'or nad*. The *'or nad* disorder starts with metabolic and digestive disturbances, which interfere with the proper nutrients extraction and waste disposal processes. In the liver, the sap cannot be properly transformed in pure blood or "vital blood" (*zungs khrag*). Consequently, there is an abnormal proliferation and accumulation of impure blood and "yellow fluids" (*chu ser*, lit. yellow water) beneath the skin: impure blood and fluids spread all over the body improperly moving within cavities or pathways. The process resembles the water that circulates through channels until is accumulated into ponds or the water that flows downward. See Byams pa 'phrin las, ed. 2006: 799. *dMu chu* identifies a phlegmatic fluid disorder of demonic origin (*nad bdag*). It derives from a chronic *'or nad* (*'od rnying*) and corresponds to the accumulation of fluids within the viscera and the vital organs. It can affects three different areas of the body: (1) the interstitial space between the skin and flash (*bar chu pags pa'i og dang sha'i steng khyab par gnas pa*); (2) accumulation of fluids into the peritoneal cavity that covers the gastrointestinal tracts or better the intra-abdominal organs (*nag chu rgyu long sogs snod kyi steng du'pho bar gnas pa*); (3) it can affect the two most external strata of the epidermis within which the yellow fluids and radiance flow determining

> of] *gnyan* diseases, [all the diseases determined by] evil influences of malevolent beings such as *klu, rgyal po, 'byung po* etc., all those diseases are dispelled without exception by the gemstone medicine; besides, it becomes a rejuvenating essence (*bcud len*) for healthy persons […].[8]

Around the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the conception of mercury as *log gnon*, was fully developed, reaching its most sophisticated forms in the exegetical context of iatrochemical literature authored by physicians of medical lineages connected to the Brang ti and the Zur families. Among the most authoritative medical collections is the *Great Measure of Gold* (*gSer bre chen mo,* SbC)[9] authored by Brang ti Dpal ldan rgyal mtshan (fourteenth century) and the *Ten Million Relics* (*Bye ba ring sel,* BRS) by Zur mkhar ba mNyam nyid rdo rje (1439–1475).[10]

The first emic perspective on the history of Tibetan mercurial alchemy and iatrochemistry is provided by lHa btsun Rin chen rGya mtsho (fourteenth century) in his *the White Collection of 'Brong tse, a Treasure of Secret Instructions* (*'Brong rtse be'u bum dkar mo man ngag gi bang mdzod,* BMD). *The Collection of 'Brong rtse* contains a great deal of information about the alchemical texts and sources available in the fourteenth century, all systematised in the synoptic version of O rgyan pa's teachings entitled *Systematic Collection of the Whole Series of Teachings on the Trilogy of Mercury Transmitted by Orgyenpa, Including Aural, Special and Profound Instructions* (*O rgyan pa nas brgyud pa'i dngul chu skor gsum gyi gdams pa cha tshang bar phyogs gcig tu bkod pa zhal shes dang bcas zab pa'i khyad can*). Rin chen dpal (1229/30–1309) seems to have had a pivotal role in the history of Tibetan

---

the body complexion (*phyi chu sha mdangs bar du gnas pa*). See Byams pa 'phrin las, ed. 2006: 650–51. The category of "yellow fluid" comprises different body fluids such as lymph fluid, blood plasma, extra and intra-cellular fluids, and interstitial fluid. See Bauer-Wu *et al.* 2014: 3.

6 Abbreviation of *'bras nad*. It refers to a broad nosological category of chronic diseases that most closely aligns with that of cancer of biomedicine. See Bauer-Wu *et al*. 2014: 3–9.

7 Union of *gag pa* and *lhog pa*. *Gag pa* is a kind of *gnyan nad* that affects the tongue and causes swelling in the throat. *Lhog pa* is another kind of *gnyan nad,* which affects the skin causing pustules described as swelling sores or ulcers. Byams pa 'phrin las, ed. 2006: 93.

8 PhG 25v6–27v2: */thang phye ril bu sman mar sogs// yang yang bsten pas nad 'dred ma thon// zhi byed kun log gnon rin po che// khrag mkhris bad kan rlung brgya rtsa bzhi'i nad// mgo dang byang go yan lag rma rnams dang// dmu 'or mdze 'bras gag lhog gnyan nad // klu rgyal po la sogs 'byung po'i gdon// rin po che yis mi sel 'ga' yang med// nad gzhi med pa'i mi la bcud len 'gyur//.*

9 For a further inquiry into the chapters dealing with mercury recipes see SbC 144–178.

10 Czaja 2013: 77–8.

iatrochemistry. He elaborated what nowadays is considered the prime method to purify mercury otherwise known as the tree-fold "great purification" (*btso bkru chen mo*) handed down within the *Great Measure of Gold* and the *Ten Million Relics*. The complex intertextual nature of Rin chen dpal's teachings was clear to Lha btsun Rin chen rgya tsho, who structured them as a trilogy of medical precepts, tantric instructions and pith oral instructions. Conforming to the research for siddha's legacy of mercurial alchemy, he related the last two series of instructions with the *Mahāmudrā* transmission of the Indian siddha Śāvaripa. These instructions regard the ingestion of unprocessed mercury (*rngul chu rjen pa gtang*, lit. "intake naked mercury"), which is empowered and subdued with mantras and whose poisons are cured with countermeasures. The medical precepts contain identifiable quotations from different medical and tantric texts including the CBB, which is classified as medical cycle on ritual precepts against poisons (*dug sman las sman skor la bsrung skor*) and diseases of demonic nature (*nad gdon 'joms pa'i skor*).[11] Thus, this collection inserts the transmission of the CBB in the broader history of the relationships between Rnying ma tantric sources and Tibetan medicine.

Returning to the overview on the history of Tibetan iatrochemistry, we might assume that this tradition evolved for the most part from two literary traditions: (1) Indian alchemical literature preserved in the Buddhist canon and (2) rNying ma canonical and apocryphal scriptures called "Accomplishing Medicine" (*sman sgrub*).[12] The first literary tradition is the result of a complex process of reception and *translation* of a system of knowledge at its pinnacle in the late Indian Buddhist tantric sources. Indeed, the preservation of Indian alchemical corpora might be inserted in the project of canonization of Buddhist scriptures. The *Bka' 'gyur* includes the eleventh century translations of the *Kālacakratantra*[13] and its commentary the *Vimalaprabhā*,[14] which together contain extensive descriptions of alchemical practices.[15] The same canon also preserves the following four Indian works: the *Treatise on the Perfected Mercurial*

[11] BMD 278/20-283-24.

[12] I have adopted the terminology coined by Frances Garrett in her study on the *g.Yu thog Hearth Essence* (*g.Yu thog snying thig*) because I agree with her interpretation of *sman sgrub*. Garrett 2009: 209–12.

[13] *Kālacakra Tantra* Tōh 375, *bKa' 'gyur* (Lhasa), vol. 79 (*rgyud, ka*): 28v5–105v3.

[14] *Vimalaprabhā* Tōh 1114, *bKa' 'gyur* (sDe dge par phud), vol. 102, (*rgyud, srī*): 1v1–69r7.

[15] *Kālacakra Tantra* Tōh 375 *bKa' 'gyur* (Lhasa), vol. 79 (*rgyud, ka*): 73r6–73v7. *Vimalaprabhā* Tōh 1114, *bKa' 'gyur* (Sde dge par phud), vol. 102, (*rgyud, srī*): 178v3–179v5. See also Fenner 1979.

Elixir (*dNgul chu grub pa'i btsan bcos,* DGB),[16] the *Compendium on Transmutation into Gold* (*gSer 'gyur bstan bcos bsdus pa,* GBB),[17] *The Omniscent Lord's Elixir that, Dispelling All the Diseases, Promotes Physical Strength* (*Thams cad kyi dbang phyug gi bcud len nad thams 'joms shing lus stobs rgyas par byas pa,* TBCNJT)[18]—three *rasaśāstra* texts that were translated by Rin chen dpal—and the *Nectar that Transmutes into Gold* (*gSer 'gyur rtsi,* GGT).[19]

After analysing these sources, I offer some conclusions on the epistemological classification of the alchemical knowledge within the classical sciences (*rig gnas lnga*). These four Indian alchemical treatises are preserved under the category of "art and technologies" (*bzo rig*). This classification highlights an established representation of alchemy as operative knowledge, the linking node between the alchemical elixir and the mercurial medicine. Indeed, these writings integrate the alchemical transmutation of base metals or "gold making" (*gser 'gyur*) with therapeutic, rejuvenating and life-prolonging purposes that result in the realisation of the "perfect mercurial elixir" (*dngul chu grub pa'i bcud len*).[20]

The second literary tradition is represented by the "Accomplishing Medicine" (*bdud rtsi sman sgrub*) literature, a genre developed in Rnying ma sources, both in the canonical literature (*bka' ma*) and in some apocryphal *gter ma* teachings. I refer to the sources that describe rituals structured according to the model of *Mahāyogatantra*, in which the *Guhyagarbha* (*gSang ba'i snying po*) and the *Māyājāla* (*sGyu 'phrul dra ba*) play a significant role. This class of writings describe *sādhana* (mainly related to wrathful deities) and aimed at empowering or better "accomplishing medicines" (*sman sgrub*), which become long-life elixirs (*'chi med bdud rtsi*). These sources offer valuable data to reconstruct the historical development of ideas related to Tibetan nosology and conceptions of death and dying processes, especially, with regard to the notion of untimely death, and the related practices to reverse it. In particular, I refer to the *Sun and the Moon Secret Union Tantra* (*Nyi zla kha sbyor,* NZB) of the *Seminal Essence* (*sNying thig*) scriptures of rDzogs chen, part of *Collected Instructions* (*Man ngag sde*), that most probably were compiled around the eleventh and the

---

[16] Tōh 4313, *bsTan 'gyur* (sDe dge), vol. 203 (*mdo'grel, ngo*): 1r1–7r3.

[17] Tōh 4313, *bsTan 'gyur* (sDe dge), vol. 203 (*mdo'grel, ngo*): 7r3–8v4.

[18] Tōh 4318, *bsTan 'gyur* (sDe dge), vol. 203 (*mdo'grel, ngo*): 17v1–18r2.

[19] Tōh 2394, *bsTan 'gyur* (sDe dge), vol. 53 (*rgyud, zi*): 23r4–23v6.

[20] This elixir overcomes illnesses (such as leprosy and other skin disorders), bestows mundane and spiritual accomplishments through associated yogic and meditative practices aimed at obtaining ultimate liberation, see Simioli 2013; Simioli 2015.

twelfth centuries.[21] These two literary currents merged with the alchemical system ascribed to Rin chen dpal. He or those who compiled the sources ascribed to him started a Tibetan lineage of transmission of mercurial alchemy related to the Indian works (he translated the DGB, the GBB and the TBCNJT, and received and formulated teachings related to the *Kālacakratantra* as well), but also related to the "Accomplishing Medicine" literature as we find passages from the CBB in his teachings. The next paragraph summarises the literary genre and the contents of the CBB in order to contextualise and to clarify the specific meaning of *log gnon* in tantric context of the CBB and in particular to connect this class of remedies to the cure of epidemics and poisoning.

2. The Paradigm of the Black Diseases and its Cures: Aetiology, Diagnosis and Cure of gnyan Diseases according to the CBB.

The CBB is part of the Rnying ma gter ma cycle entitled the *Great Vase of Amṛta of Curative Methods* (*gSo thab bdud rtsi bum chen*), which is included in the Treasury of Rediscovered Teachings (*Rin chen gter mdzod*), an eighteenth century collection of gter ma teachings that was compiled by 'Jam mgon Kong sprul Blo sgros mtha' yas (1813–1899) and 'Jam dbyang mKhyen brtse'i dbang po (1820–1892).[22] According to the colophon, the CBB was rediscovered by rDor 'bum Chos kyi grags pa,[23] a gter ston contemporary of Mar pa (eleventh century).[24] His hagiography narrates that the CBB yellow scroll emerged from the heart of Hayagrīva, "the glorious subjugator of the haughty spirits" (*rta mgrin zil dregs zil gnon*) at the temple of Byang Pra dun rtse, one of the "Temples Taming the Borders" (*mtha' 'dul*).[25] Conforming to the visionary narrative of the rNying ma gter ma literature, the origin of the CBB is pushed back to the imperial period and is ascribed to the figure of Padmasambhava, "the tamer of demons." This connection, along with the account of its rediscovery, represents the *gter ma* logic of legitimation, which substantiates the efficacy and correctness of the practices prescribed in the CBB. The CBB could be situated in the large body of Mahāyoga and the "Accomplishing medicine" scriptures. Its structure does not progress

---

[21] Davidson 2005: 228–29.
[22] *Rin chen gter mdzod* vol. 46 (ngo, ha): 1.1–124.1.
[23] CBB 124.1.
[24] Byams pa 'phrin las 1990: 91.
[25] The hagiography is preserved in the *Hagiographies of One Hundred and Eight gTer stons* (*gTer ston brgyad rtsa 'i rnam thar,* GBR) compiled by 'Jam mgon Kong sprul. GBR (vol. 1) 137.9–17.

in a rational sequence: the text is divided in three main tantras, subsidiary chapters and two groups of minor scrolls (the group of 36 minor scrolls and the group of 11 minor scrolls), all evolving around repeated narrative nuclei. What follows is a brief survey of the main sections that could provide a clear picture of the contents.

As evincible from the *Vajra Armor, Tantra of the Long Protection Ritual* (*rDo rje'i khrab ring srung ba'i rgyud*) and other main ritual sections[26] of the *Vase of Amṛta of Immortality*, the *gter ma* contains a wealth of exorcisms and contemplative practices centred on the blue Garuḍa, Vajrapāṇi, and Hayagrīva, often combined to constitute the main male wrathful deity of the rituals of protection, empowerments of medicines and offerings.

Embedded into a prophetic framework, the *gter ma* describes specific diagnostic techniques, recipes and exorcisms to dispel a category of diseases classified as *rims* or *gnyan rims.*

The *Root Tantra* summarises the contents of the CBB dividing it into very brief chapters dealing with (1) the primary (*rims kyi rgyus*) and the (2) the secondary causes of *rims* diseases (*rims kyi rkyen*); (3) "diseases nomenclature" (*rims kyi ming*); (4) "times of contagion" (*rims 'byung ba'i dus*); (5)"diagnostic methods"(*rims kyi brtag thabs*); (6) "curative methods"(*rims kyi bcos thabs*) and "rituals of protection" (*rims bsrung thabs*).[27] Generally speaking, the *gnyan* category subsumes infective, epidemic and malignant diseases of demonic nature: according to the CBB, human arrogance and misbehaviours outrage demons and gods that in turns exhale venomous (*dug can*) miasmas disseminating pestilences, wars, famine and cataclysms. Immorality is, in fact, the primary cause of contagion, while the secondary cause corresponds to the demonic influence (*gdon*).[28]

The virulent and demonic essence of this kind of pathologies is accentuated by using an imaginative and codified language. These diseases come under the category of the "black poisonous all encompassing oblivion" (*ha la cog 'gyel nag po*),[29] a concept in which *ha la* is synonymous of virulent and *cog 'gyel*[30] vividly depicts the image of a multitude of falling corpses claimed by the deadly disease

---

[26] The *Vajra Armor* focuses on the ritual of the *protective wheel* (*bsrung 'khor*) centred on the main wrathful deities mentioned above. The second main ritual section is the *Ritual to Protect the Vital Force* (*Srog gi srung gi cho ga*) [CBB 104r1–117v6], which is structured on the model of the *Vajra Armor*, and contains also subsections on contemplative practices (*sgom pa ting 'dzin*) and preparations of ointments (*byug sman*).

[27] CBB 1r1–7r6.

[28] CBB 3r1–3v4.

[29] CBB 35v4.

[30] *'Gyel ba* means to collapse. The transitive form is *sgyel ba* that means to put down or overthrow; *'gyel ba* also relates to the verb *brgyal ba* or to faint.

that steals their 'life-supporting breath' (*lus srog dbugs 'jags par byed pa*). Other alternative names are the "black oblivion [that spreads] running quickly" (*nag po rgyug 'gyel*) and the "black one, union of the three" (*nag po sum sgril*). Those diseases are, in fact, defined as the union of three elements because are characterised by the conjunct action of *gnyan*, fever (*tshad*) and wind (*rlung*). The term *gnyan* corresponds to the final phase of several pathologies determining fever and that spread by riding quickly the subtle energy.

The *Mañjuśrī Heart Essence, Union of the Sun and Moon* (*'Jam pa'i dbyangs kyi thugs kyi bcud nyi zla lha sbyor*)[31] is the main diagnostic section of the CBB. Other references to the diagnosis of the signs of death are scattered in miscellaneous chapters such as the *Medical Preparations of the Vital Force-Treasure* (*Srog gter gyi sbyor ba*), and in *The Pillar of the Vital Force* (*Srog gi ka chen*).[32]According to the cited *Union of the Sun and Moon*, there are three categories of signs of contagion. The initial phase of "unripe *rims* disease" (*skya rims*) or manifestation of the demonic influence that "sinks its teeth into the sick person" (*gdon so pas zung*)[33] is accompanied by turbid dreams (*rmi lam nyag nyog*) and is characterised by the development of general physical symptoms[34] of contagion. The intermediate stage of contagion (*'bar rtags*) is the visible sign of *gnyan* and occurs when the infection spreads all over the body and affects vital organs or viscera (*don la 'babs*). The final signs of contagion are "the signs of life and death" (*tha ma 'tsho 'chi'i rtags*). The signs of death are classified as general and particular signs and respectively refer to the infections affecting specific organs and the gradual dissolution of the five gross elements *('byung ba'i thim rim*) that fade into each other in a reversing order. This process also indicates radical changes in the direction of the subtle winds (*rlung*). Every visible external sign of the dying process corresponds to an internal sign of consciousness experience.[35] Among the signs of death enumerated in the *Pillar of the Vital Force*, some parallel the cryptic metaphors of the *Sun and Moon Union* of the *Seminal Essence* (*sNying thig*). The following quotes are two examples of such paradigmatic correspondence: "when the pillar of the sky and earth is destroyed, one is about to die" (*gnam sa gnyis kyi ka gdun de/ bar snang chag na 'chi*); "if the sound of the ḍākinī ceases within the inner recess of the forest, one is about to die" (*nag 'dabs gsang ba'i brag*

---

31 The diagnostic tantra is divided in root tantra that corresponds to folios 7v1–9v1 and the exegetical tantra that corresponds to folios 9v1–12v5 of the CBB.

32 CBB 44v3–49v1.

33 CBB 7v6.

34 CBB 7v6–8r2.

35 CBB 11v4–12r2.

phug tu/ mkha' 'gro'i rang sgra chag na'chi).[36] These last quotes offer ulterior elements to address the nature of the historical connections of CBB with other literary traditions: we might assume that the CBB hints to notions derivative of the divinatory techniques developed in the context of the early *Seminal Essence* literature but also in Bon po scriptures such as the *Lamp to Clarify the Signs of Death* (according to the tradition datable around the second half of the eleventh century). In this literary context the literature on epidemics and *log gnon* flourished and influenced the medical literature.

3. *The Brilliant Moon Theriac*: *Designating Mercury as a* log gnon.

The section on mercury is part of the *Five Extraordinary Sons Superior to the Mother and the Father* (*Ma pas lhag pa'i bu lnga*) a long chapter that prescribes the use of five remedies all called theriac (*dar yak an*): *ha ti ta la a ru ra*[37] or "bone-theriac" (*rus pa dar ya kan*), *stag sha* or "meat theriac"(*sha dar yak an*), calcite (*cong zhi*) or "fat-theriac"(*tshi lu dar yak an*), *lha mo gsha' g.yas* or "blood theriac" (*khrag dar yak an*) and mercury or "brilliant moon-theriac" (*zla zil dar yak an*). Similar to the case of the renowned Greek *Mithridatium* or *Theriaca*,[38] instead of presenting a stable tradition providing one fixed recipe for the theriac, in the *Vase of Amṛta of Immortality* there are different medical compounds. The theriacs are, essentially, complex compositions, wherein the substances that give the name to the compound represent the basic constituents of each theriac and are mixed with a plethora of other ingredients. All the theriacs share similar properties and are mainly antidotes to poisons and treat *gnyan* diseases.[39]

---

[36] CBB 44v3–49v1. The first verse is explained as an optical illusion arising when staring at the forearms fixed in a particular position: "the two forearms in the space appear like being cut off in the middle" (*bar snang khams su lag ngar gnyis kyi bar du chag lta'o*). The second one is explained as "the absence of any sound in the ears" (*rna ba'i sgra chag na 'chi*). For a further enquiry on the corresponding verses in the *Union of the Sun and Moon*, see Orofino 1990: 33, 93. See also *Nyi zla kha sbyor gsang ba'i rgyud* (NZB) 28r.1–6 and *'Chi rtags sal ba'i sgron ma* (CtSg) 411/8–13; 412/8–11.

[37] In this preliminary study, I have chosen to do not mention any possible Latin Botanical equivalent for the Tibetan plants. I will deal with this issue in another forthcoming paper.

[38] Totelin 2004.

[39] Ancient medical uses of some types of theriac are documented in medical literature predating the *Four Tantras*, such as the Dunhuang manuscripts. Yoeli-Tlalim 2013: 57. The *Medical Method of the Lunar King* (*sMan dpyad zla ba rgyal po*, SZG) lists the use of different kinds of herbal substances, salts, animal and human products, but mercury is not mentioned. SZG 56v5–57v2.

The CBB conforms to the narrative scheme of Indo-Tibetan alchemical literature and reiterates the root hermetic principle of non-dual correspondence of macro and microcosm. According to the mythical account of its origin,[40] mercury is identified with the innate and radical moisture of spermatic origin, the "supreme radiance" (*mdangs mchog*) or ultimate distillate of the metabolic process (*lus gzungs gnas mdangs*).[41] Being the physical natural moisture, mercury turns out to be an essence (*bcud len*) or elixir that can restore and rejuvenate the body.[42] Ultimately, mercury corresponds to the three Buddha bodies.[43]

In the CBB a group of ingredients, named *log gnon*, plays an important role in dispelling *gnyan* disease, being used to prepare and empower the theriac recipes. According to the CBB, among the *log gnon*, musk (*gla rtsi*)[44] and *gu gul* are specifically efficacious against poisons and demonic influences.[45] In the alchemical context of the CBB, mercury, due to its divine essential nature and despite its union with poisons, enantiodromically becomes the mineral equivalent to musk. Before dealing with the alchemical procedures and the associated therapy, I focus on the ritualised aspect of mercury processing in order to provide a better understanding of the significance of *log gnon* in the specific context of the CBB. The ritual practice corresponds to the last phase of mercury processing and is aimed at transforming detoxified mercury into an apotropaic substance. During this "ceremony of protection" (*bsrung ba*), mercury is empowered as follows:

> […] Thus, this is the teaching on protection. Mix mercury with *gla ba*, *gu gul*, *mu zi* and *btsan dug* and put [the mercurial compound] into the mandala that protects against the [follow] four [categories] of diseases, demonic influences, and poisons, primary and secondary causes of contagion. Thereby, it will dispel all the classes of demonic influences of great, medium and minor entities, all of them that attack the upper, the lower and middle parts of the body without any

40 Mercury came into being after the sexual union of the son of Heaven and Earth with a beautiful maiden born among the eight classes of demons and gods For similar accounts in Indian alchemical writings, see White 1996: 188–202 and Wujastyk 2013: 23.

41 RgZ (lcag po ri skyar par ma) II: V 14v3.

42 See Gerke 2012, 2012 and Simioli 2015: 35–6.

43 CBB 89r4.: "[…] *rtog pa med dang 'dod bzhing/ gang la 'dod der ston pa'i sprul sku zhes bya ba yin//.*"

44 I identify this substance with musk because in the CBB it is also called *gla ba*. For a description of its potencies see Dga' ba rdo rje 1995: 334.

45 Chapters twenty and twenty-one of the *Explanatory Tantra* (*bShad rgyud*) of the *Four Tantras* attributes the same properties to musk. Akosay, Yoeli-Tlalim 2007: 232.

> exception. In particular, [this compound] is the [exorcism that] reverses the destructive rite of the yak horn,[46]destructive mantras[47] and the ritual to dispatch one's protective deities on the enemies.[48] Add the [following] nine substances *btsan dug*, *sman can ra dug*, *a ru ra*, *spru nag*, *shu dag*, *stag*, *sha ba*, *gla ba*, *dri can* and *gu gul*. Empower them with mantra and mix pure urine of a monk or of an eight-year old boy, and subsequently form the pills. If you chew three of those pills, for three times in the morning, even though this is an aeon [of degeneration] during which diseases widespread, you will be unspoiled."[49]

At the end of the process, being mixed with secondary substances mercury is defined the "pure *log gnon* [protecting from] all [the diseases]" (*kun kyi log gnon dag pa*).

As we know, the term *log gnon* identifies the post-therapeutic complications or the countermeasure used to counteract the side effects of wrong processed mercury pills. However, in the CBB the term has not only this usage but classifies a group of medical substances, which belong to different categories of *materia medica*, and correlated rituals. Certainly, the word *log gnon* itself in this context is related to *zil gnon* epithet of fierce Buddha manifestations, the subjugators of demons in *Mahāyogatantra* and Rdzogs chen scriptures, and which in the CBB refers to the fierce Garuḍa, Vajrapāṇi, Hayagrīva and Vajrayoginī, the tutelary divinities of the empowerment rituals. Among the texts included in the *Section of the Thirty-six Minor Scrolls* (*Shog dril gsum bcu so drug*) of the CBB, there is the *Scroll of the Log gnon Antidotes* (*Log gnon gnyen po'i shog dril*)[50] that describes the wonderful therapeutic and apotropaic virtues of musk *(gla rtsi)*, *gu gul*, *stag sha* and *shu dag*. In this scroll, all the substances are defined as the "heroes that defeat *Yama, the Lord of Death*" (*'chi bdag 'joms pa'i dpa bo*). According to the text, those "fierce heroes *log gnon*" are the specific medicines to apply in case of the "harsh all encompassing oblivion." If one does not use this restoring cure, life

---

46 *mNan gtad*. This is a ritual of destruction performed to kill enemies. Nebesky-Wojkovitz 1975: 483–86.

47 *Byad* is abbreviation of *Byad kha*. For a further enquiry see Namkhai Norbu 1995: 216–17.

48 *Ibid.*

49 CBB 90v6–91r3: "[…] *de nas srung pa bstan pa ni/ nad gdon dug dang rgyus rkyen bzhi/ gang bsrung gong gi dkyil'khor la/ gla ba gu gul mu zi dang/ btsan dug bsdeb pas gdon gyi rigs/ steng 'og bar gsum thams cad kyi/ chen 'bring chung gsum ma lus thub/ khad par mnan gtad byad rbod bzlog/ sman chen ra dug a ru ra/ spru nag shu dag stag sha/ gla ba dri can gu gul dgu/ che zhing sngags gyis byin brlabs gtsang ma dge long am lo brgyad pa'i byi pas/ chur sbyar phra phus ril bu tsam/ snga dro gsum gsum mur ba yis/ nad kyi skal pa byung yang nyams med//.*"

50 CBB 96v6–97v1.

will be exhausted; only those substances are the *log gnon*, "the murderers of Death". [51] According to the CBB, *log gnon* addresses, in particular, the two substances musk or *gla rtsi* and *gu gul*. These are empowered during a suppressive ritual to eliminate the *gnyan* disease known as *lhog pa* in the [*The Ritual*] *of Log gnon of Sucking [the Infection] with the Adamantine Sow's Tongue* (*Log gnon phag mo'i ljags 'jibs*). During the ritual the healer visualises himself as the Black Sow Goddess Vajravāhārī (Phag mo nag mo) with a sharp thunderbolt dagger. Being the manifestation of the fierce goddess, the healer visualises himself killing and devouring *gnyan*, while he cuts the pustules with a lancet and drinks infected serum and blood. While performing the ritual, the practitioner empowered musk and *gu gul*, along with *thar nu*. All these substances are used to kill or subjugate the mercury as said in another short scroll called the *Scroll of the* [*Method to*] *Penetrate and Kill Mercury* (*dNgul chu khong gsod shog dril*). The CBB stresses the counter poisoning virtues of musk that becomes the king *maghita* (*rgyal po ma gi ta*). [52] In the *Brilliant Moon-Theriac*, detoxified mercury, due to its divine quintessence, established through philosophical and alchemical implications, is identified with musk, also called king of the essences *maghita*, the supreme antidote to all poisons. In paragraph 6, I highlight how this terminology with its multidimensional significance endured over the course of centuries, being assimilated in later pharmacological texts that quote the CBB verbatim.

5. Comparing the CBB with the PhG.

A preliminary analysis of the eleventh chapter of the PhG, shows that the chapter was drawn upon different scriptural sources. Yang ga's study suggests that the *Minor Tantra* (*rGyud chung,* RgC) might be the first draft of this chapter, but still the original sources remain unknown.[53] The PhG, probably dating back to the twelfth century prescribes two different methods to compound mercury: (1) the "hot preparation" (*tsha sbyor*), that seems to be very similar to the hot preparation of mercury prescribed in the *Lunar King*, which predates

---

[51] *CBB* 97r6–97v1: "[…] *mi bzad nad cog 'gyel la log non dpa' rgyod sbyor ba yis/ 'di yis ma sos tshe tshad yin/ log non 'chi bdag gsod byes yin//."*

[52] *Ma gi ta* is synonym of musk but is also used to address a series of herbal substances viz *phur nag* or *bya rgod spos*, which are fragrant as musk, share the same potencies and dispel *gnyan nad*. *gSo rig gces btus rin chen phreng ba* (RcP) 545/27 – 546/10.

[53] Yang ga 2010: 250. See also the *Minor Tantra* in the *Eighteen Auxiliary Teachings* (*Cha lag bco brgyad*) 759.16–762.6.

the Four tantras;[54] (2) the "cold preparation" (*grang sbyor*) that is very similar to the method to process mercury of the *Vase of Amṛta of Immortality*. The *Subsequent Tantra* cold composition is divided into three parts: (a) "methods" (*thabs*), (b) "compounding [detoxified mercury with other ingredients]" (*sbyor*), (c) *log gnon*. Mercury processing in the CBB (around the eleventh or twelfth century) is divided in: (a) a ten-fold method to detoxify mercury, (b) ritual of protection (*srung*) and recipes (*bcos*). In the following I compare the various steps of the mercurial practice on both the PhG (and a commentary) and CBB.

A. The Cold Preparation of Mercury in the PhG:

a) The nine steps of Mercury processing:
   1) "Removing oxides (*g.ya' phyi*) Mercury is rubbed with hot substances (powders of *sga*, *pi pi ling* and *pho ba ris*) in a sack made of deerskin. Afterwards, mercury is washed with cow's urine and triturated (*ba chur* [*bkru pas*] *btags*).[55]
   2) "Expelling poisons" (*dug 'don*). Being soaked in urines, mercury is cooked with calcite (*cong zhi*). This long process finished when the compound is exsiccated.[56]
   3) "Smoothening" (*'jam btsal*). The compound is mixed with *pi pi ling*, *pho ba ri*, *bul tog*, *cong zhi* and *nag mtshur*.[57] These substances are gentle on the body because are both effective and have not side-effects.
   4) "Instruction to guide [the efficacy of the remedy]" (*sna khrid*). Prescription of *cha la* and *dbyi mong* to the patient in order to guide the efficacy of the medicine in the right direction. Other

[54] See the *Lunar King* [SZG 58v3–59v4].

[55] According to the seventeenth century commentary *Blue Beryl* (*Bai du rya sngon po*, BDR) mercury is washed with cow's urine, human urine, borax, acid fruit juices, and alum and then triturated. BDR 1669.13–15.

[56] According to the *Blue Beryl*, mercury is cooked with calcite and eight minerals viz. orpiment (*ba bla*), realgar (*ldong ros*), magnetite (*khab len*), silver ore (*dngul rdo*), black alum (*nag mtshur*), mica (*lhang tsher*), pyrite (*pha wang long bu*) and eight metals viz. gold, silver, copper, lead, tin, bronze, brass, iron and urines. The eight minerals are said to bind (*'ching byed*) the "poison of heaviness" (*lci dug*) and the "penetrative poisons" (*'phigs dug*), while the eight metals devours (*za byed*) such poisons. The compound is processed until it becomes gluey and can be pierced with a stick, which has to stand right in the compound in order to prove that the latter has reached the expected thickness. BDR 1669.15–21. For a further inquiry on the toxicity of mercury, see Sonam Drolma 2013: 113–14.

[57] The doses of each of the five substances are established according to the nature of the disease to be cured: in case of hot diseases, the quantity of *pi pi ling* and *pho ba ris* is diminished; conversely, in case of cold diseases the quantity of those two substances is augmented. BDR 1669.21–1670.1.

substances selected according to diseases to be cured (hot or cold pathologies).

5) "Trituration" (*bshig pa*). Mercury is triturated with *star bu* and then kneaded with cow's urine (*ba chu*) and saliva (*mchil ma*).[58]
6) "Opening the channels of the body" (*rtsa kha 'byed).* A decoction with *g.yer ma,* salts and other substances is administered to the patient to open the channels of the body.
7) "Storage in a [appropriate] recipient" (*snod pa btang*). Mercury is mixed with copper ash in order to be more easily assimilated by the body.[59] Before ingesting the pills, the patient has to take ghee for a couple of days.
8) "External protection" (*phyi srung*). Before administering the pills to the patient, the latter must be smeared with white butter in case of hot diseases, and with black butter in case of cold diseases.
9) "Increasing the potencies" (*nus skyed*). Mercurial pills are taken with *chang* to increase their potency.

b) "Types of Compounding" (*sbyor ba*) or Preparations of specific recipes that are said to be enhanced by adding mercury.[60] Among those recipes the following occur also in the CBB: a recipe to cure *tsha rnyog,*[61] *'bras, sur ya,*[62] *rtsa nad*[63];[64] a medicine to overcome leprosy, *'bras, gag lhog, dmu chu, 'or nad* and *skya rbab*[65];[66] a remedy to cure fevers determined by poisoning (*dug tshad*);[67] a remedy to cure poisoning caused by meat food (*sha dug*)[68] and a remedy to cure black pox (*'brum nag*);[69] the remedy to eliminate pus from

[58] Patient's body is smeared with butter in order to close all follicles (*ba spu'i bug a bgag*) [so that mercury can stay in the body]. BDR 1670.14–16.

[59] BDR 1670.10–12.

[60] See also BDR 1671–73.

[61] Fever determined by impure blood, *chu ser* and an excess of *rlung*. Byams pa 'phrin las, ed. 2006: 287.

[62] This disease affects liver, lung, colon and kidneys. It leads to sores in tissues and skin. The name of this disease is due to the shape of the pustules.

[63] Byams pa 'phrin las, ed. 2006: 689; 695.

[64] This remedy contains: *cu gar, li shi, sug smel, ka ko la, dza ti, dzan dan dkar dmar, a bar, skyur, 'bras bu gsum, spos dkar, thal ka rdo rje, so ma radza, dom mkhris, ru rta*.

[65] Swelling disease affecting the liver. It leads to pale skin and pustules similar to water bubbles. Byams pa 'phrin las, ed. 2006: 34.

[66] It contains: *bstan dug, a ru ra, mu zi, gla rtsi, shu dag, ru rta, gu gul, bzang drug, spos dkar, thal ka rdo rje, so ma ra dza* and honey (*sprang rtsi*).

[67] The recipe contains *bzang drug, gla rtsi, btsan dkar, bse ru dkar po, gi wang, mtshan, a ru ra, brag zhun, bong nga dkar dmar, phya tshan gsum, khyung sder dkar smug, dpa' bo ser po, dom mkhris, tig ta, ma nu, ru rta, skyer ba'i bar shun, ka ra, chos sman*.

[68] *Cu gang, li shi, gur gum, gi wam, gla rtsi, bong nga dkar po, ru rta, brag zhun, gser gyi me tog, byi'u la phug, nyung ma'i khan dha*.

[69] It contains *smug po sbal rgyab, mdzung rtse dmar po, gans thigs, cong zhi, tsha la, gla rtsi*.

the cest (*brang khog rnag khrag*).[70] The section on compounding includes also the "rejuvenating remedies" (*bcud len*) that is an electuary (*lde gu*)[71] prepared with a medical compound called *kun rgyug*, which contains mercury, musk, yellow sulphur (*mu zi ser)*, *dbang lag*, *star bu* all amalgamated with honey and ultimately mixing *ra mnye* and *nye shing.*

c) *"Log gnon"* The use of substances to overpower the side effects of mercury pills: (1) the text prescribes *'bying thig*, *bzang drug* and *ka ra*; (2) powdered *bzang drug* and powder of copper (*zang thal*) and in case of diarrhoea; a warm soup (thang tsha mo) or simple hot water containing powdered *zang drug* is prescribed in case of mouth wound (*kha rma*), abdominal and gastrointestinal pain (*rgyu long gzer*), and in case of *lhen skran*[72]; (4) meat (*sha*), ghee (*zhun mar*), chang, *sgog skya*, *dza ti* and *shing kun* are prescribed in case of dazed head, of toothache and painful gums (*so rnyil na*), and insomnia; (5) a cold soup containing two types of salts (*rgya tswa* and *rgyam tshwa*), *pi pi ling* and *star bu* are prescribed in case of shivering legs and disjunction of bones and joints (*rus tshigs 'bral*).

B. Mercury processing according to the CBB:

a) The tenfold method to detoxify mercury and contrast the side effect of wrong mercury processing:
   1) "Removing oxides" (*g.ya phyi*). Mercury is rubbed with salts (*tshwa sna*) and hot substances (*spod tsha*) in a sack made of deerskin or goatskin in order to eliminate the oxides.
   2) Expelling poisons" (*dug 'don*). Mercury is cooked (*btso*) with urine and acid substances; thereupon mercury is washed with pure water to eliminate poisons.
   3) "Smoothening" (*'jam btsal*). Mercury is mixed with *sga* and *spod*, 'human fat' (*tshil chen*), and *bul tog.*
   4) "Trituration" (*bshig*). Mercury is triturated in a stone mortar with acid substances viz. *skyu ru ra*, *star bu*, acid *chang*.
   5) "Inducing bliss" (*bde byed*). Prescription of a warm decoction containing *g.er ma* and *rgya tsha*.

---

[70] It contains *bse ru dkar po*, *ga dor*, *'grong thal*, *re skon*, *zangs thal*, and butter (*mar gsar*).

[71] Byams pa 'phrin las, ed. 2006: 406.

[72] *Skran nad* localized at the base of the breastbone (*lhen sna*). The disease is caused by not digested food (*ma zhu ba*), a subsequent increasing of phlegm (mucus similar to "calf's nose-mucus" or *be snabs*) in the stomach, and it is associated with excess of wind. Byams pa 'phrin las, ed. 2006: 1009.

6) "Pour into an [appropriate] recipient" (*snod du glugs*). Mercury is mixed with powdered copper. The patient has to assume ghee for a few days.
7) "Increasing the potencies (*nus bskyed*). Mercurial pills are prepared and ingested with chang.
8) "Protection" (*srung*). The patient body is smeared with white or black butter (it depends on the kind of disease to be cured: white butter is used for hot diseases while black butter for cold diseases).
9) "Union of the assisting substances" (*nang yan pa,* lit. servant, arch. for *nang du g.yog po rgyug*). Appropriate substances "which help" (*kha 'dzin*)[73] are added to the formula to support the therapeutic effect of the medicine on a specific organ (*snod don*) that is affected by the disease.
10) "*Log gnon*." The mercurial compound is mixed with substances that can overcome the side effect of improperly processed mercury: (1) the text prescribes the use of *bying 'thib*, *zang drug* and *ka ra*; (2) *bzang drug*, powdered copper (*zangs thal*), powdered *so ma ra dza* are used in case of diarrhoea; (3) a warm soup containing medicine used during the phases of smoothening and trituration are prescribed to cure mouth, hands and body wounds (*kha lce lus rma byung*), in case of abdominal and gastrointestinal pain (*rgyu long gzer*), and to overcome *lhen skran*; (4) prolonged administration of meat (*sha*), ghee (*zhun mar*), chang, *sgog skya*, *dza ti* and *shing kun* in case of dazed head, of toothache and painful gums (*so rnyil na*), and insomnia; (5) a cold soup containing two types of salts (*rgya tswa* and *rgyam tshwa*) and *star bu* are prescribed in case of shivering legs and aching bones and joints or when occurs a disjunction (*rus tshigs nam khol*).

b) "Ritual of protection" (*bsrung*). Mandala ceremony to empower the mercurial medicine with mantras and mixed it with *gla ba*, *gu gul*, *mu zi*, *btsan dug*. Alternatively, mercury is mixed with the "nine heroes" or *gla ba*, *gu gul*, *btsan dug*, *a ru ra*, *spru nag*, *shu dag*, *stag*, *sha ba*, *dri can*, urine of a fully ordained monk or of an eight year old child. This ritual confers to apotropaic properties to the medicine.
c) "Prescriptions" (*bcos*) or specific recipes. Many recipes are aimed to cure specific kinds of fever and *gnyan rims*. Among those medicines, the following occur also in the *Subsequent Tantra* are: the recipe to cure pus and impure blood of the chest (*byang khog*

[73] Byams pa 'phrin las, ed. 2006: 263.

rnag khrag);[74] the recipe to cure *dmu 'or*, *skya rbab*, *rnag tshad rnying 'bras, su rya, rtsa nad*;[75] the recipe to cure fever caused by poisoning (*dug tshad*);[76] the medicine to cure poisoning caused by meat food (*sha dug*).[77]

d) "Long-life practice" (*tshe sgrub*). Preparation of a *bcud len* or long-life elixir. Mercury is mixed with the three fruits (*a ru ra, skyu ru ra, bar u ra*), the five roots (*ra mnye, nye shing, lca ba, ba spru and gze ma*). Besides, mercury is mixed with *rtag tu ngu*, animal substances such as the meat of *da byid*,[78] of *rtsang pa*[79] and snake meat (*sprul gyi sha*). Other substances are animal testicles, calcite, the three sweet substances (*sbrang rtsi*, *bu ram*, *bye ma ka ra*) and clarified butter (*zhun mar*).

A closer examination of this synopsis leads me to draw some considerations. The sources describe four identical sets of practices regarding the detoxification of mercury, the intake of mercury pills and the related preparatory therapy, a list of recipes, and the *log gnon* to contrast the side-effects of the mercury pills. The description of the practices is identical (same procedures and *materia medica* with few exceptions) but they are enumerated in a different order and the CBB classifies the *log gnon* under the same group with the nine steps to detoxify mercury and the therapy. In the following two cases, the order but also the nomenclature are different: (1) the sixth step of "opening the channels" described in the PhG corresponds to the fifth procedure of "inducing bliss" described in the CBB; (2) the fourth phase or the "instruction to guide the efficacy of the remedy" of the PhG corresponds to the ninth phase of the "union of assisting substances" of the CBB. The last two mentioned phases deal with the intake of the medicine, which involves cleansing procedures and dietary restriction as well as the yoga practice of channels and subtle energies or *tsalung* (*rtsa rlung*). The phases of "opening the channels" and the "inducing bliss" refer to this kind of yoga and, as evident in the second case, to the states of bliss aroused during this practice. Moreover, the hot potency of the spicy *g.yer ma* is used to enhance the yoga and to induce bodily heat (*drod*). According to the CBB, the

---

74 It contains *ser tshur, stag sha ba, phur thal, mgron bu'i thal*. CBB 92r3.

75 It contains *bzang drug,'bras bu sum,tsan dan gnyis, spos dkar, thal ka rdo rje, dom mkhris, ru rta, mu zi*. CBB 92r5–6.

76 It contains *bzang drug, gla rtsi, tsan dan ka ra, gi wang, brag zhun, bse ru, bong nga dkar, khyung sder, skyer shun, a ru ra, ma nu ru rta*. CBB 92r6–92v1.

77 It contains *gla rtsi, ru rta, bsil gsum (cu gang, gur gum, li shi), bong dkar, byi'u la phug*. CBB 92v1.

78 Lizard whose meat can give strenth and luminosity to the body and can cure virility. Byams pa 'phrin las, ed. 2006: 96.

79 Another lizard. Byams pa 'phrin las, ed. 2006: 700–01.

method of administrating the mercurial medicine involves the practices of opening and closing the channels (*rtsa kha 'byed sdom*) and the use of "assisting substances" in order to get rid of the poisons and induce vomit (*dug phyung ma thag skyugs*)[80] with the aim of purging the body from intoxicating substances.

Later sources such as the *Great Golden Measure*[81] (fourteenth century) and also the *Collection of 'Brong rtse*[82] (fourteenth century) describe these phases as one of O rgyan pa's teachings, which is called *the teaching to draw* [*out*] *poisons* (*dug 'dren du bsten pa*) and actually consists in the practice of the channels, the diagnosis of poisoning and the addition of specific substance to the medical formula in order to assist the organs affected by poisoning. This phase is absent in the corresponding chapter of the *Minor Tantra*. The last recipe of the CBB, the one related to the long-life practice corresponds partially to that described by the PhG. This remedy appears in the ninety-one chapter of the *Tantra of Oral Instructions* (*Man ngag rgyud*)[83] of the *Four Tantras* or the chapter devoted to the cure of virility (*ro rtsa*). The substantial difference between the two texts is given by the ritual of protection to confer apotropaic and counter poisoning virtues to the mercurial medicine, which is described in the CBB but is absent in the PhG. However, as seen, the incipit of the PhG chapter refers clearly to these peculiar properties of the mercurial compound. It could be plausible that the tantric ritual associated to mercury processing was omitted in the medical writing in order to be kept secret and be taught orally.

6. Lineages of Transmission and Inter-textual Legacy of the CBB.

The *Current of the River Ganges, Enumeration of the Received Teachings on the Vast and Profound Sacred Dharma* (*Gan ga'i chu rgyun,* GcG), authored by the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (16171682), provides us with an uninterrupted lineage of transmission of the CBB. According to this text, the CBB was transmitted to g.Yu thog Yon tan mgon po the younger (12th century), who is said to have compiled the RgZ, as well to other important masters of Brang ti and Zur medical lineages. The Fifth Dalai Lama himself received the transmission of the cycle by his master Zur chen chos kyi rang sgrol (16041699).

80 CBB 90r6.
81 SbC 150.20–157.15
82 BMD 271.17–272.13.
83 RghZ (*cun ze par ma*) 270v2–3.

As we know from Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1653–1705), the regent of the Fifth Dalai Lama, one important source he relied upon to write the *Blue Beryl* was a text entitled the *Amṛta Vase* (*bDud rtsi bum pa*) attributed to Padmasambhava, a text that could be identified with the CBB.[84] Relevant data on the popularity and the effective role of CBB in consolidating mercury-based iatrochemistry can be provided by the inter-textual analysis of the sources. The corpus of mercurial instructions ascribed to O rgyan pa (the teaching preserved in the *Great Measure of Gold* and the *Ten Million Relics*) shows that most probably O rgyan pa drew on a wide range of medical and tantric sources. dPal ldan rgyal mtshan (fourteenth century) in *the Great Measure of Gold* traces O rgyan pa's teaching on mercury detoxification back to Nāgārjuna and Vyāḍipā (the author of the DGB and GBB, translated by O rgyan pa) and cites two referential scriptural sources entitled the *Essence of Amṛta Tantra* (*bDud rtsi snying po*) and the *Tantra of the Seminal Theriac* (*Thig le dar ya kan*). The first one title might refer to the *Four Tantra*s, of which the complete title is the *Amṛta Essence, Tantra of Secret Instructions on the Right Branches of Medicine* (*bDud rtsi snying po yang lag brgyad pa'i man ngag gi rgyud.* The second title might refer to the section of a CBB dealing with mercury, a chapter entitled the *Brilliant Moon Theriac*. In the following I analyse the content of the *Great Measure of Gold* outlining quotations that were evidently taken from the CBB. According to the *Great Measure of Gold*, O rgyan pa's three-fold "method to subdue mercury" (*dngul chu 'dul thabs*) can be summarised as follows: (1) the "elimination of oxides and extirpation of poisons" (*g.ya' phyi dang g.ya' khu 'don*), (2) the "cooking and washing [processes] to eliminate perforating [poisons]" (*lce 'bigs btso bkru*) and (3) the "confrontation with the enemy and changing form" (*dgra dang phral nas gzugs su bsgyur ba*) achieved by mixing mercury with sulphur and other metals and minerals. The eight minerals called the "eight devourers" (*za byed khams brgyad*) and eight metals or "eight binding elements" (*'ching byed khams brgyad*) cover a fundamental role in the entire process to stabilise mercury. Silvery mercury, deprived of poisons, is completely transformed into a black powder by being rubbed with yellow sulphur, and by being amalgamated with the eight minerals and metals corresponding to the five elements of all the phenomena of existence. The intertextual analysis of this source reveals that the system of mercury detoxification attributed to O rgyan pa, contains extensive quotations from the CBB and its formulation of mercury as *log gnon* as *the Great measure of Gold* states:

[84] Czaja 2007: 363–64.

> […] Once deprived of poisons and perfected, extremely soft as Chinese silk or cotton, mercury becomes the supreme elixir, which prolongs the lifespan and promotes the physical constituents. It purifies the channels and clarifies the gateways of the senses. Mercury strengthens the aged; grey hair and wrinkles will not appear. The demonic forces will neither harm the upper part nor the lower part of your body. It is the supreme mantra among the exorcisms to reverse the destructive ritual of the yak horn, the destructive mantra, the witchcraft to dispatch your protective deities on the enemies, and any sorcery. In case of pernicious diseases, when other antidotes cannot be beneficial, subdued and perfected mercury, mixed with specific substitutive ingredients chosen on the basis of the disease to be treated, overcomes pathologies difficult to cure. In case of poisoning, if in the remedy that counters poisoning mercury is absent, the other ingredients cannot eradicate the poisons; this is why mercury is the main ingredient. […]
> Mercury is the supreme antidote, the *log gnon* that pacifies the diseases. […][85]

At the end of the process, mercury as the alchemical gold of ancient literature is described in these terms:

> […] With regard to the phase of *changing form*, yellow sulphur, orpiments, realgar, hematite, chalcopyrite, silver ore, and white cinnabar are the eight elements that bind mercury.[86] Without sulphur, the reaction will not take place. […] Mica (which has been macerated into goat's urine, grounded to fine powder in an open vessel over a fire of burning cow dung) and a coating of copper sulphate called blue bamboo are mixed on the surface of the eight elements. […] Once mercury is mixed (mercury ground together with monk *Vajradhara* or breastfed infant's urine) and rubbed, it becomes the colour of the sky. After the "confrontation", having changed its form, it becomes the *matrix* and the *universal basis*, the *king of essences* known as the king *ma gi ta*. When it becomes like a cloud that floats on the sea (physically, some powder is left floating on the surface of water

[85] SbG 144.8–144.19: "[…] *dug dang bral ba'i skyon med ni/ rgya dar ram/ srin bal dang 'dra ba shin tu 'jam ste/ tshe dang lus zungs 'phal zhing bcud len gyi mchog tu 'gyur ro// rtsa khams dwangs la dbang po'i sgo rnams shin tu gsal/ sgas sra zhing / skra dkar dang gnyer ma mi 'byung / steng 'og gi gdon gyis kyang mi tshugs zhing/ mnan gtad byad kha rbod gtong mthu bzlog sogs la mchog bsngags so/ nad rigs gdug cing gso dka' ba gnyen po gang gyis kyang ma phen pa la/ dngul chu dul ma skyon med la/ rang rang gi kha 'dzin kha bsgyur dang sdebs te btang na gso dka' ba'i nad kun 'joms shing/ khyad par dug nad la sbyor ba 'di med par/ gzhen gyis rtsa ba 'byin mi nus pas 'di gal che'o// grogs kyis sman nus bskyed/ yun ci tsam las kyang nu spa mi 'tshor mi 'grib/ des na 'di ni gnyen po'i mchog zhi byed kyi log gnon du gyur pa yin no//*"

[86] The identification of these minerals is controversial. My current identification is based on a previous research dealing with the cited four alchemical treatises included in the *bsTan 'gyur*, see Simioli 2014: 56–8.

poured into a vessel) because it is purified, perfected mercury is similar to a king that can do everything […].[87]

These passages demonstrate a continuity of pharmacological narrative motives in this literary tradition. These textual connections bring out the existence of a semantic field rooted in the alchemical tradition of the CBB and that reached its climax in the pharmacological research during the fourteenth century. There is a connection between the theriacs, the *log gnon* and the blackish mercury sulphide prepared according to the "great purification." The alchemical literature circulated in Tibet since the eleventh century and its Tibetan elaboration, constitute a long-lasting tradition at the basis of these iatrochemical developments. Ancient therapeutic and nosological themes are enriched theoretically and practically in the scholarly pharmacological literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The pharmacological terminology is enriched by new terms borrowed from the philosophical language: this is the case of "matrix and base of all" (*kun gzhi ma*), generally addressing the nature of mind as the basis of both suffering and liberation, in this context it refers to mercury.

7. Conclusion and Further Research

Mercury processing, and in particular the *log gnon* presents a perfect case study for debating a crucial problem that confronts historians of sciences in their task of reconstructing the past: the challenge of tracing the continuity and changes of medical and chemical ideas and practices over centuries, while avoiding anachronisms. The study of the CBB might allow us to reflect on the historical relationship

[87] SbG 147.11–148.6: "[…] *rang gzungs su bsgyur ba ni/ mu zi nag po dngul chu'i ljid tsam gcig/ ba bla/ ldong ros/sbal rgyab/ pha wang (gru bzhi) gser zil/ dngul rdo/ mtshal dkar te dngul chu 'ching pa'i khams brgyad po 'di'i mu zi med thabs med/ gzhan kun 'dzoms na legs/ re re tsam ma tshang yang chog lhang tsher (lhang tsher 'dul thabs lhang tsher la ra'i gcin blug la rtan par btags pa ska sla zho tsham song ba rdza ser pa'i nang du rdo g.yas gyis kha bcad la lci ba'i mes 'tsher lhang song song bsregs pa'i thal ba'o) mthing shun cas pa smyug ma sngon po'i phyi rtsi ste/ de gnyis kyang khams brgyad pa'i steng du bsres la/ khams brgyad po re re la bong dngul chu'i sum cha re tsam byas pa rnams cha mnyam pa dang/ dngul chu bsres (dge sbyong rdo rje 'dzin pa'am khye'u zho 'thung gi chu'i brlan dang ma bral bar 'dam 'thag gnyis gsum du bya'o) bstan pa 'jam bsros pa'i nang du yun ring mnyes pas nam mkha'i mdog ltar 'gyur ba ni dgra dang phral ba rang gzugs su bsgyur ba te/ kun gyi gzhi ma bcud rgyal ma gi ta zhas bya'o/ g.ya' dang bral ba shin tu legs pa'i tshad rang gi rnam da gnam mkha'i mdog (sngon po) 'dzin cing/ rgyam tsho'i steng du sprin chags (snod chu'i bkang ba'i steng du blugs pas steng du khod sdong pa) na 'byongs pas rgyal po dang 'dra bar kun gyi khur cing grub pa'i chu yin pas*[…]."

between Tibetan medicine as exposed in the *Four Tantras*, in the *Golden Measure* and in later pharmacological sources with elements that can be traced to its tantric heritage in Buddhist Nyingma texts. Reframing the historicity of rDor 'bum Chos kyi drag pa is problematic and the date of his rediscovery of the CBB is unknown. We cannot establish with certainty whether the CBB, as suggested by its colophon, can be traced back to eleventh century and, therefore, it cannot be ascertained if the *gter ma* predates the PhG. However, we have a rather clear picture of the literary context (the connections with the *Accomplishing Medicine* and the *Seminal Hearth* literatures) in which the CBB was formulated and of its transmission through the indirect tradition embodied by authoritative medical collections from the thirteenth century onwards. The eleventh chapter of the PhG describes two methods of detoxification, one similar to the method described in the *Lunar King* and another extremely similar to that we find in the CBB. We cannot exclude that, as ascertained in other cases,[88] also this chapter of the *Four Tantras,* in the version it has been handed down to us, was compiled relying upon a variety of sources. As said, the chapter of the *Minor Tantra*, which is considered a first draft of eleventh chapter of the PhG, does not include the sections on the channels and the drawing out of the poisons, which are central in the CBB and in *Great Measure of Gold*. It could be reasonable to think that those steps were added later on because of the importance they had in the *Great Measure of Gold* and other later sources, which had a central role in the codification of mercury processing. We find traces of influences of the CBB on the fourteenth century iatrochemistry in the Brang ti medical collection. The cited passages of the CBB show a continuity of narrative motives in the pharmacological literary tradition: as evincible from the Brang ti text, there is the endurance of the conception of processed mercurial compounds and pills as apotropaic protections and antidotes to poisoning. Given the alchemical origin of the association of mercury with the divine quintessence of the universe, and its further magical and philosophical elaborations, we might understand the reasons why the mercurial compound is considered a medium that, combined with the potencies of several substances (plants, gemstones, animal and human substances), can dispel demonic diseases, protects against poisons, and evil incantations. In the CBB, the ritualised aspect of mercury processing is related to an operative natural magic knowledge of *materia medica*: during the rituals for "accomplishing medicines" the mercurial remedies absorb the virtues of the nine special substance or "nine heroes" (*dpa' bo dgu*) and are imbued with

[88] See for example Gerke 2012.

the powers of the demons-subjugator deity (*zil gnon*), which is embodied by the tantric practitioner/ physician. My on-going research on the CBB has lead me to individuate a certain degree of the influence of the CBB on the medical literature from the fourteenth century up to the seventeenth century. I refer to chapters on the *gnyan rims* disease in the *Supplements* (*lHan thabs*, LhT) composed by Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, who seems to have relied upon the CBB. Looking in detail to this comparison is beyond the scope and the limitations of this paper, and will be the subject of further research. However, I showed that the influences of the CBB on the medical literature are still visible in the seventeenth century authoritative writings of Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho. This aspect might be particularly pertinent considering that during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, as demonstrated in Janet Gyatso's recent ground-breaking study,[89] there was the rise of certain empirical modes of thought, of attitudes conducive to a physical understanding of the human body, illnesses and their treatment. The inter-textual analysis of the sources might shed some light on how physicians dealt with the dual foundation of medicine that is not only the result of divine revelation, whose transmission is related to hermetic genealogies, but also a well-founded medical discipline.[90]In this sense, we should carry out an in-depth analysis of the relation between speculation and observational experience in the medico-alchemical context, and ultimately provide a more balanced assessment of the historical relationship between alchemy and medicine. This preliminary research on the CBB is conceived as a starting point for a further detailed analysis of the discourses used to explain the nature of the *gnyan rims* diseases in the medical literature over the course of centuries.

[89] Gyatso 2015.

[90] In this respect, I would like, as an example, to point to the *Ten Million Relics* (*Bye bya ring srel*, BRS) that shows how the philosophical speculation on medical topics is sometimes substantiated by the textual exegesis of fundamental tantric cycles. Zur mkhar ba Myams nyid rdo rje on the one hand enriches O rgyan pa's teachings on iatrochemical procedures with annotations of his own hands-on pharmacological and medical practices, but on the other hand explains the spiritual practices connected to mercury processing by adhering to Indian *mahāsiddha* Drilbupa's exegesis of the *Cakrasaṃvara* / *Heruka tantra.* BRS 766.15–767.8. Simioli 2014: 38.

Bibliography

Medical Dictionary and Contemporary Authors

Dga’ ba rdo rje. 1995. *’Krungs dpe dri med shel gyi me long*. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Byams pa ’phrins las, 1990. *Bod kyi sman pa rim byon gyi rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs.* Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

———. ed. 2006. *Bod lugs gso rig tshig mdzod chen mo*. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Other Tibetan-Language Sources

BMD: lHa btsun Rin chen rgya mtsho. *’Brong tse be’u bum*. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2005; MS TBRC W1PD2.

BDR: Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho. *gSo ba rig pa’i bstan bcos sman bla’i dgongs rgyan rgyud bzhi gsal byed ba’i dū rya sngon po mal li ka* (smad cha). Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2005.

BRS: Zur mkhar ba mNyams nyid rdo rje. *Man ngag bye ba ring bsrel pod chung rab ’byams gsal ba’i sgron me*. Lanzhou: Kan su’u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1993.

CBB: rDor ‘bum Chos kyi grags pa. *’Chi med bdud rtsi bum pa*, in *Rin chen gter mdzod* vol. 46. Paro: Stod lung mtshur phu’i par khang, 1980.

CtSg: gZhon ston dNgos grub. *’Chi rtag gsal ba’i sgron ma*, in *rDzogs pa chen po yang rtse klong chen.* Dolanji: Zhang bod shes rig dpe tshog khang, 2007.

DGB: Ba li pa; O rgyan pa Rin chen dpal (transl.); Sri Narendabadra (transl.). *dNgul chu grub pa’i bstan bcos,* in *bsTan ’gyur* (sDe dge blocks), Delhi: Delhi Karmapae Chodhey, Gyalwae Sunrab Partun Khang, 1982–85; MS TBRC W23703.

GBB: Bha li pa; O rgyan pa Rin chen dpal (transl.). *gSer ’gyur bstan bcos bsdus pa,* in *bsTan ’gyur* (sDe dge blocks), Delhi: Delhi Karmapae Chodhey, Gyalwae Sunrab Partun Khang, 1982–85; MS TBRC W23703.

GBR: 'Jam mgon Kong sprul Blo sgros mtha' yas. *Gter ston brgya rtsa'i rnam thar.* Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2007; MS TBRC W 1PD83972.

GcG: Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho. *Zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam chos kyi yig gang ga'i chu rgyun*, in *gSung 'bum*, vol. 1 (gSang yig ka). Gangthok: Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology, 1991–95; MS TBRC W294.

Kālacakratantra: Paramādibuddhoddṛtaśrīkālacakranāmatantrarāja (*mChog gi dang po'i sangs rgyas las byung ba rgyud kyi rgyal po dpal dus kyi 'khor lo*), in *bKa' 'gyur* (Lha sa), Lhasa: Zhol bka' 'gyur par khang, 1934; MS TBRC W26071.

LhT: Sangs rgyas Rgya mtsho. *Man ngag yon tan rgyud lhan thabs*. Zi ling: mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1991; MS TBRC W20041.

NgGd: *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud las sgron me drug gi gdams pa*, in *Zhang zhung snyang rgyud kyi gsung pod* (sDe dge par ma). Lun grub steng: sDe dge par khang, [n.d.]; MS TBRC W00EG1016835.

NZB: *Nyi zla kha sbyor chen mo gsang ba'i rgyud, in rNying ma rgyud bcu bdun* (*A 'Dzom par ma*). Dpal yul rdzong: A 'dzom chos sgar par khang, 2000; MS TBRC W1KG11703.

Pelliot tibétain 1057. International Dunhuang Project (IDP), URL: http://idp.bl.uk/.

RcP: De'u dmar bTan'dzin phun tshogs. *gSo rig gces btus rin chen phreng ba*. Zi ling: mTsho sgnon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1993; MS TBRC W21588.

RgC: g.Yu thog Yon tan mgon po. *rGyud chung*, in *Cha lag bco brgyad.* Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2005; MS TBRC W1GS11.

RgZ(1): g.Yu thog Yon tan mgon po. *bDud rtsi snying po yan lag brgyad pa gsang ba man ngag gi rgyud* (1). Lhasa: Lcag pho ri par khang; MS TBRC W1KG1315.

RgZ(2): g.Yu thog Yon tan mgon po. *bDud rtsi snying po yan lag brgyad pa gsang ba man ngag gi rgyud* (2). *A Reproduction of a Set of Prints from the eighteenth century Cung cu ze Block*. Leh: T.S.

Tashigangpa, 1978.

SbC: dPal ldan rgyal mtshan. *Brang ti lha rje'i rim brgyud kyi man ngag gser bre chen mo*. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2005.

SZG: Nāgārjuna; Ha shang Mahāyana (transl.); Bai ro tsa na (transl.). *sMan dpyad zla ba'i rgyal po*. Leh: T.Y. Tashigangpa, 1989; MS TBRC W29577.

TBCNJT: O rgyan pa Rin chen dpal (transl.); Sivadasa (transl.). *Thams cad kyi dbang phyug gi bcud len nad tham cad 'joms shing lus stobs rgyas par byas pa*, in *bsTan 'gyur* (sDe dge blocks). Delhi: Delhi Karmapae Chodey, Gyawae Sungrab Partun Khang, 1982–85; MS TBRC 23703.

Vimalaprabhā:Vimalaprabhānāmamūlatantrānusārinidvādaśasahasrikālaghukālacakratantrarājaṭīkā (*bsDus pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po dus kyi 'khor lo'i 'grel bshad rtsa ba'i rgyud kyi rjes su 'jug pa stong phrag bcu gnyis pa dri ma med pa'i 'od*), *Bka' 'gyur* (sDe dge par phud), Delhi: Delhi Karmapae Chodhey, Gyalwae Sungrab partun khang, 1976–79; MS TBRC W22084.

Other-Language Sources

Adams, Vincanne; *et.al.*, eds. 2010 *Medicine Between Science and Religion: Explorations on Tibetan Grounds.* New York: Berghahn Books.

Akosay, Anna; and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim. 2007. "Along the Musk Routes: Exchanges Between Tibet and the Islamic World." In: *Asian Medicine: Tradition and Modernity* (3), 217–240.

Bauer-Wu, Susan, Tenzin Lhundup, Tawni Tidwell, et al. 2014.*Tibetan Medicine for Cancer An Overview and Review of Case Studies*. In *Integrative Cancer Therapies* 13(6), 502–512.

Czaja, Olaf. 2007. "The Making of the Blue Beryl—Some Remarks on the Textual Sources of the Famous Commentary of Sangye Gyatso (16531705)." In *Sounding in Tibetan Medicine. Anthropological and Historical Perspectives*, edited by Mona Schrempf, 345–72. *Proceedings of the Tenth International Association of Tibetan Studies*, Oxford, 6–13 September 2013. Leiden: Brill.

———. 2013. “On the History of Refining Mercury in Tibetan Medicine.” In: *Asian Medicine: Tradition and Modernity* 8(1), 75–105.

Davidson, Ronald M. 2005. *Tibetan Renaissance: Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Fenner, Todd. *Rasayan Siddhi: Medicine and Alchemy in Buddhist Tantras.* PhD thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1979.

Garrett, Frances. 2009. “Alchemy of Accomplishing Medicine (sman sgrub): Situating the Yuthok Hearth Essence in Tibetan Literature and History.” In: *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 37, 207–30.

Geller, Markam J. 2010. *Ancient Babylonian Medicine, Theory and Practice.* West Sussex: Wiley&Blackwell Edition.

Gerke, Barbara. 2012. “Treating Essence with Essence: Re-inventing bcud len as Vitalising Dietary Supplements in Contemporary Tibetan Medicine.” In: *Asian Medicine: Tradition and Modernity* 7(1), 196–224.

———. 2012. “Treating the Aged and Maintaining the Health: Locating bcud len Practices in the Four Medical Tantras.” In: *Journal of International Buddhist Studies (JIABS)* 35(1-2), 329–362.

———, ed. 2013. “The Social Life of Tsothel: Processing Mercury in Contemporary Tibetan Medicine.” In: *Asian Medicine: Tradition and Modernity* 8(1), 120–152.

Gyatso, Janet. 2015. *Being Human in a Buddhist World: An Intellectual History of Medicine in Early Modern Tibet.* New York Chichester, West Sussex: Columbia University Press.

Lucarelli, Rita. 2010. “Le formule magiche contro il mal di testa (papiro Chester Beatty V) e la demonizzazione delle malattie nell’antico Egitto.” In *Magia Egizia*, edited by Cristiano Daglio, 55–67. Sassari: Restless Architecture of Human Possibilities.

Namkhai Norbu. 1995. *Drung Deu and Bön. Le Narrazioni, I linguaggi simbolici e il Bön nell’antico Tibet*. Arcidosso: Shang Shung Edizioni.

Orofino, Giacomella. 1990. *Sacred Tibetan Teachings on Death and Liberation*. Bridport, Dorset: Prims-Unity Press.

Simioli, Carmen. 2013. "Alchemical Gold and the Pursuit of the Alchemical Elixir." In: *Asian Medicine: Tradition and Modernity* 8(1), 43–77.

———. 2015. "The King of Essences: Mercury within Tibetan Medico-Alchemical Traditions." In *Elisir Mercuriali e Immortalità Capitoli per Una Storia dell'Alchimia nell'Antica Eurasia*, edited by Giacomella Orofino *et. al.*, Pisa-Roma: Fabbrizio Serra Editore.

Sonam, Drolma. 2013. "Understanding the Ideas of Toxicity in Tibetan Medical Processing of Mercury." In: *Asian Medicine: Tradition and Modernity* 8(1), 106–119.

Totelin, Laurence. 2004. "Mitridathes' Antidote- A pharmacological Ghost." In: *Early Science and Medicine* 9 (1), 1–19

White, David G. 1996. *The Alchemical Body: Siddha Tradition in Medieval India*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wujastik, Dagmar. 2013. "Perfect Medicine. Mercury in Sanskrit Medical Literature, in Mercury in Ayurveda and Tibetan Medicine." In: *Asian Medicine: Tradition and Modernity* 8(1), 15–40.

Yang ga. *The Sources of Writing of the Rgyud Bzhi*. Ph.D thesis, Harvard University, 2010.

Yoeli-Tlalim, Ronit. 2013. *Central Asian Melange: Early Tibetan Medicine from Dunhuang, in Scribes, Text and Rituals in Early Tibet and Dunhuang*, edited by Brandon Dotson, *et. al.*, 53–60. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag.

———. 2015. "Between Medicine and Ritual: Tibetan 'Medical Ritual' from Dunhuang." In *Tibetan and Himalayan Healing, an Anthology for Anthony Aris*, edited by Charles Ramble and Ulrike Roesler, 739–46. Kathmandu: Vajra Publications.

❖

གནའ་བོའི་མོན་དང་མོན་པའི་རུས་ལ་དཔྱད་པ།

bsTan ’dzin chos ’phel བསྟན་འཛིན་ཆོས་འཕེལ།

(ས་ནྟ་བོད་ཀྱི་མཐོ་རིམ་སློབ་གཉེར་ཁང་)

མོན་ནི་གདོད་མའི་བོད་ཀྱི་རུས་རྙིང་ཞིག་ཡིན་པར་བརྟེན། མོན་པའི་རུས་མ་བཤད་པའི་སྔོན་དུ། ཐོག་མར་བོད་ཀྱི་ལུགས་ ལ་རུས་ནི་ཅི་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་དང་། ཇི་ལྟར་གྲུབ་པ། ཅི་འདྲ་འཕེལ་བའི་ཚུལ་མདོར་ཙམ་བསྙད་འོས་པར་སྙམ་ནས་ཆེ་ལོང་ཙམ་ཞུ་རྒྱུ་ཡིན། དེ་ཡང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེབ་ཐེར་རྣམས་སུ་རིགས་དང་། རུས། གདུང་། རིགས་རུས། གདུང་རུས། སྐུ་གདུང་། ཆོ་འབྲང་། གདུང་རབས། མི་རབས་སོགས་དབྱེ་བ་མང་དུ་བཀར་ཏེ། ལ་ལས་དེ་དག་ལ་མཐོ་དམའ་དང་བཟང་ངན་ཆེ་ཆུང་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཁྱད་པར་ཡོད་ཚུལ་གསུངས་ཡོད་པ་རེད།

གོང་ས་ལྔ་པ་ཆེན་པོས་རང་རྣམ་དུ་ཀུ་ལའི་གོས་བཟང་སྟོད་ཆ་ལས་ “ལྷོ་བྲག་མཁན་ཆེན་ལས་ཀྱི་རྡོ་རྗེའི་རྣམ་ཐར་དུ་ཆུ་རྒྱུད་གངས་ལ་ཐུག་པ་དང་མི་རྒྱུད་ལྷ་ནས་ཆད་པ་ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་སྔོན་ཆད་བོད་འདིར་རིགས་རུས་ཆོ་འབྲང་ལ་ནན་ཏན་གཙིགས་ཆེ་བས་རིགས་ནི་མཁས་མཛངས་དཔའ་ཞིང་རྟུལ་ཕོད་པ་བཀའ་བཙན་ལ་དཀྱིལ་ཆེ་བ་བཞུང་བཟང་ལ་འགྲོགས་བདེ་བ་སོགས་ཡ་རབས་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་ཚུལ་ཅི་རིགས་དང་ལྡན་པ། རུས་ནི་རིགས་མ་ཉམས་པའི་ཕ་དེའི་རྒྱུད་ལས་བྱུང་བ། ཆོ་ནི་ཞང་པོ་ཁུངས་དང་ལྡན་པ་འབྲང་བ་ནི་བཤད་མ་ཐག་པ་གསུམ་པོ་དང་ལྡན་པའི་སྤྱོད་པའི་འབྲང་ས་འཛིན་པ་ཡིན།”[1] ཞེས་རིགས་དང་། རུས། ཆོ་འབྲང་གསུམ་གྱི་ཁྱད་པར་གསུངས་པ་ནི་ཡོངས་གྲགས་ཀྱི་བཤད་སྲོལ་ཞིག་སྟེ། “སྔར་ནས་རང་རེའི་རིགས་ནི་མཁས་མཛངས་སོགས་ལྡན་པའི་རིགས་རྒྱུད་ཅིག་ཡིན་པ་དང་། རང་རེའི་རུས་ནི་སྤྱིལ་རྒྱུད་ལས་གྲོས་པ་དང་། རང་རེའི་ཆོ་འབྲང་ནི་བྲག་སྲིན་ལས་བྱུང་བ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པའི་ཕྱིར་དུ། ཡིག་ཚང་རྣམས་སུ་ཡང་རིགས་རུས་ཆོ་འབྲང་གསུམ་བཀོད་ཡོད་པ་ཐུགས་འཛུགས་ཞུ།”[2] ཞེས་གསལ།

---

1 ངག་དབང་བློ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ། 1989: 19–20.

2 རྟ་གོ་དང་འཕྲིན་ལས། 1989: 37.

bsTan ’dzin chos ’phel བསྟན་འཛིན་ཆོས་འཕེལ།, “གནའ་བོའི་མོན་དང་མོན་པའི་རུས་ལ་དཔྱད་པ།” *Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 37, December 2016, pp. 420–450.

འོན་ཀྱང་སྡེ་སྲིད་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོས། “འབྲས་སྤུངས་སུ་ཐུབ་པ་ཐའི་ཇི་སྙེར་དུ་ཆེ་དབང་གནང་བ་ནས་བཟུང་རིགས་ཀྱི་ མཐོ་བ་གནམ་བྱིང་གིར་དང་། གངས་ཅན་གྱི་ལྡོངས་སུ་བོད་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་གདུང་རུས། འཕོན་གྱི་གདུང་གདན་ས་གོང་འོག་གི་ཞལ་ངོ་ན་རིམ། རླངས་ལྷ་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་གདུང་དཔལ་ཕག་མོ་གྲུ་པ། སྐྱུར་འབྲི་གུང་། སྟག་ལུང་ག་ཟི། འོད་གསལ་ལྷ་ལས་འཆད་པའི་སྨྱོས་ཀྱིས་མཚོན་རིགས་རུས་ཀྱིས་མཚོན་པར་མཐོ་བ་དང་།”[3] ཞེས་རིགས་དང་། གདུང་རུས། རིགས་རུས་གསུམ་གྱི་དོན་གཅིག་པར་འགྲེལ་ནས། དེ་དག་ནི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་རིགས་སམ་རིགས་མཐོན་པོར་འབྲུ་གཉེར་འདུག

དེ་དག་ཀུན་གྱི་སྤྱི་སྒོམ་དུ་བོད་རིགས་པའི་མཁས་དབང་ཆེན་པོ་རྒན་ཇོ་སྲས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཚེ་རིང་མཆོག་གིས “དེས་ན་རྗེ་ལ་གདུང་རབས་དང་། འབངས་ལ་མི་རབས་སམ་རུས་རབས་ཞེད་འདུག་སྙམ། བོད་ཀྱི་གཏམ་དཔེར་ཡང་། དཔོན་གདུང་རབས། གཡོག་མི་རབས་ཞེས་ཟེར། གདུང་དང་རུས་ལ་དབྱེ་བ་ཡོད་དམ་ཞེ་ན། རུས་ལ་ཆེ་ཆུང་དང་མཐོ་དམའ་འབྲིང་གསུམ་ཡོད། དེས་ན་རུས་ཆེན་ནམ་རུས་མཐོ་བར་གདུང་གི་གོ་ཐོབ་ཡོད་སྙམ།”[4] ཞེས་དང་། ཡང་ཁོང་གིས “དེས་ན་རུས་མཛོད་ཅེས་འབོད་དུས་རུས་ཆེ་ཆུང་མཐོ་དམན་ཚང་མ་གླིང་བ་དང་། གདུང་རབས་ཞེ་ན་བླ་དཔོན་སྐུ་རུས་མཐོན་པོའི་རིགས་ཀྱི་མི་རབས་ཞེད་པར་གོ་དགོས་པ་ལྟ་བུར་སྣང་།”[5] ཞེས་གསུངས་ཏེ་ཐུགས་ཞིབ་ཚགས་པོའི་སྒོ་ནས་ཁ་གསལ་བཟོས་འདུག

འོན་ཀྱང་མདོར་དྲིལ་ན་དེ་དག་ཚང་མ་མིང་འབོད་སྟངས་དང་འབོད་ཡུལ་ཕྲན་བུ་མི་གཅིག་ཅིང་། ཞེ་ས་དང་ཕལ་ཚིག་གི་ཁྱད་པར་ཡོད་པ་ཙམ་ལས། མི་རབས་གོང་མའི་ཁྲག་དང་རུས་པའི་རྒྱུན་ལ་ཟེར་བ་གཅིག་མཚུངས་ཡིན་པར་སྙམ། དེ་འདྲ་སོང་ཙང་། མོན་ཡང་རང་རེ་བོད་ལ་རིགས་རུས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་གྲངས་ཧ་ཅང་མང་པོ་ཡོད་པའི་ནང་ནས་གཅིག་ཡིན་པར་སེམས།

དེ་ཡང་གནད་དོན་གཞན་ཞིག་ནི། རུས་མིང་རྣམས་གང་འདྲ་གྲུབ་དང་ཇི་ལྟར་ཐོགས་ཀྱི་ཡོད་མེད་སྐོར་ཡིན་ཞིང་། སྤྱིར་ས་ མིང་རུས་སུ་ཐོགས་པ་དང་། མི་མིང་རུས་སུ་ཐོགས་པ། མཚང་མིང་རུས་སུ་ཐོགས་པ་སོགས་རྣམ་གྲངས་མང་བ་སྟེ། ལ་དྭགས་ རྒྱལ་རབས་འཆི་མེད་གཏེར་ལས “སྤྱོད་ལམ་རུས་སུ་སོང་བ་ཡང་ཡོད་དོ། མིང་རུས་སུ་སོང་བ་ཡང་ཡོད་དོ། ཡུལ་རུས་སུ་སོང་བ་ཡང་ཡོད་དོ།”[6] ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར། དཔེར་ན། སྟོན་བོད་མིའུ་གདུང་དྲུག་གི་ཁུངས་གང་ལས་མཆེད་ཚུལ་སྐོར་རྗོད་སྐབས། བོད་མི་ཁྲི

3 སྡེ་སྲིད་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོ། 1989: 391.

4 ཇོ་སྲས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཚེ་རིང་། 2008: 102.

5 ཇོ་སྲས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཚེ་རིང་། 2008: 102.

6 བསོད་ནམས་ཚེ་བརྟན་ཡོ་སེབ་དགེ་རྒན་དང་བསོད་ནམས་སྐྱབས་ལྡན་དགེ་རྒན། 1976: 9.

དོ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ལ་སྲས་དྲུག[7]བྱུང་ཞིང་། སྲས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ལ་ཕོ་བོ་ལྡོང་དང་། ཨ་ལྟུགས་འབྲུ་དང་། སེ་ཁྱུང་དབྲ་དང་། རྨུ་ཚ་ལྷ་དང་། ཉ་བོ་དབས་དང་། ཉ་བོ་ཐ་ཆུང་བརྟའ་བཅས་ཡིན་ཞིང་། ཕྱིས་སུ་དེ་དག་ཆེར་སྐྱེས་ཏེ་རང་རང་ལ་ས་དབང་བདག་ཐོབ་སྐྱོད་སྐབས། སྲས་སོ་སོའི་མཚན་ཟུར་ས་མིང་དུ་སྦྱར་ཞིང་དེ་ནས་རིམ་གྱིས་རུས་མིང་དུ་གྱུར་བ་སྟེ། ཕུ་བོ་ལྡོང་གི་རྒྱུད་པའི་གནས་ལ་ལྡོང་མོ་མ་ལེ་པང་བྱ་བ་དང་། ཨ་ལྟུགས་འབྲུའི་རྒྱུད་པའི་གནས་ལ་འབྲུ་མོ་ཕྲོམ་ཕྲོམ་ཐོགས་པ་དང་། སེ་ཁྱུང་དབྲའི་རྒྱུད་པའི་གནས་ལ་དབྲ་མོ་རབ་དཀྲ་ཐོགས་པ་དང་། རྨུ་ཚ་ལྷའི་རྒྱུད་པའི་གནས་ལ་ལྷར་མ་མེ་པོ་ཐོགས་པ་སོགས་མི་མིང་ས་མིང་དུ་ཆགས་པ་ཡིན།

དེ་ལྟར་རིམ་པ་བཞིན་ལྡོང་སོགས་དྲུག་པོ་རུས་མིང་དུ་སོང་བའང་འོག་ཏུ་འབྱུང་བ་ལྟར་ཡིན་ཏེ། ལྡོང་གཟའ་ཁྲི་སྒྲོན་དང་། ལྡོང་ཆེ་བ་གཉན་ཅན། ལྡོང་སེང་གློན། ལྡོང་དོ་རྗེ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། ལྡོང་མི་ནག ལྡོང་སྟོན་ཛྙཱ་ན་ཤྲཱི། ལྡོང་དག་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་སོགས་དང་། འབྲུ་ (འབྲི་དང་འབྲུ་བྲིས་པའང་འདུག) བྱམས་པ་ཅན། འབྲི་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཡོན་ཏན། འབྲི་སེ་རུ་གུང་སྟོན། འབྲུ་ཤང་ཐུང་ཅན། འབྲི་བཟའ་ཐོད་དཀར་མ། འབྲི་ཁྲི་རྗེ་སྟག་སྣ། འབྲི་ཡས་བྱང་ཆུབ། འབྲི་ལྷ་རྒྱལ། འབྲི་ཉི་མ་དཀར་པོ་སོགས་དང་། སེ་(བསེ་བྲིས་པའང་འདུག) བྲག་པོ། སེ་བག་ནག་པོ། སེ་བཙུན་གཞོན་ནུ། སེ་རྣལ་འབྱོར། སེ་བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་སོགས་དང་། ལྷ་ (དགའ་དང་རྒ་བྲིས་པའང་འདུག) ཨ་གྲོ་དཔལ་ཞར། ལྷ་ཡིག་ཚང་ཅན། ལྷ་ཨ་རིག ལྷ་ཨ་འབྲུག ལྷ་ཨ་ཁྲོམ། རྒ་གཞོན་ནུ་དཔལ། རྒ་རྗེ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་རིག་འཛིན་དགེ་འདུན་ཤེས་རབ། རྒ་གུང་ཐང་བསྟན་པའི་སྒྲོན་མེ་སོགས་དང་། དབས་སྐྱེས་བཟང་སྟོང་བཙན། དབས་འགྲོ་མགོན་ཕག་མོ་གྲུ་པ། དབས་སྣང་གཞེར། དབས་ཁྲོད་ལྡོང་བཙན། དབས་ཁོ་གཞེར་ལེགས་སྟོང་སོགས་མང་དུ་མཆིས་ཤིང་། ཞང་ཞུང་དང་། སུམ་པ། མྱང་(ཉང་)། སྣུབས་(གནུབས)། གཉགས། གཉན། དཔྱལ། གཉལ་སོགས་ཀྱང་གོང་ལྟར་རུས་མིང་ཡིན་ལ་ས་མིང་ཡང་ཡིན་པ་ཤ་སྟག་རེད། འདི་དག་ནི་དཔེ་མཚོན་ཙམ་ཡིན་པ་ལས་བོད་ཀྱི་རུས་མིང་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཤེས་བྱ་ལ་ཞིབ་པར་བལྟས་ན། ཐོག་མར་མི་མིང་དང་། དེ་ནས་ས་མིང་། དེ་ནས་རིམ་གྱིས་རུས་སུ་སོང་བ་མངས་ཤིང་། ཐོག་མར་ས་མིང་དང་དེ་ནས་རུས་མིང་དུ་སོང་

---

7 བཀའ་ཆེམས་ཀ་ཁོལ་མ། 1989: 56. “དེ་ནས་སྤྲེའུ་ཕྲུག་རྣམས་འཛོངས་འཐབས་ནས་མ་འཆམ་སྟེ། གཅིག་ལ་གཅིག་མི་འཇིགས་ཏེ་ཚན་པ་བཞིར་ཆད་དེ་གྱེས་སོ། དེར་མེས་པོ་སྤྲེའུ་སྒོམ་གྱིས་བུ་ཚ་བོ་ཡང་ཚ་རྣམས་ལ་བརྟག་གཞི་བྱས་པས། ཚན་པ་གཅིག་ནི་སྨ་ལྡོང་ངེ་བྱས་པ་ཞིག་བྱུང་ནས། མིང་རུས་ལྡོང་བྱ་བར་བཏགས་ཏེ། ལྡོང་ལ་རུས་ཆེན་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་བྱ་བ་བྱུང་ངོ་། དེའི་འོག་མ་ནི་འགྲམ་ཤ་སྟོང་ངེ་བྱས་པ་ཞིག་བྱུང་ནས། མིང་རུས་སྟོང་བྱ་བར་བཏགས་ཏེ། སྟོང་ལ་རྗེ་བཞི་ཁོལ་བརྒྱད་བྱ་བ་བྱུང་ངོ་། དེའི་འོག་མ་ནི་མགོ་སེ་ཡང་ངེས་བྱས་པ་ཞིག་བྱུང་ནས། མིང་རུས་སེ་བྱ་བར་བཏགས་ཏེ། སེ་ལ་འཇུག་ལེ་སྤྱུན་དགུ་བྱ་བ་བྱུང་ངོ་། དེའི་འོག་མ་ནི་འཚུལ་བ་སྨུག་སྒོར་རེ་བྱས་པ་ཅིག་(ཞིག་)བྱུང་ནས། མིང་རུས་སྨུ་བྱ་བར་བཏགས་ཏེ། སྨུ་ལ་ཀོ་ལེའི་འཕྲ་བརྒྱད་བྱ་བ་བྱུང་ངོ་། ལྡོང་དང་སྟོང་གཉིས། སེ་དང་སྨུ་གཉིས་ཏེ་ནང་གི་མིའུ་རིགས་བཞི་བྱ་བར་གྲགས་ཏེ། བོད་ཡུལ་ཁ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་མི་ལ་སྤུ་བ་ཡང་དེ་རྣམས་ཡིན་ནོ།” ཞེས་གསལ་ཞིང་། ཡང་མ་ཎི་བཀའ་འབུམ 2007 ང་། “སྤྲེའུ་དང་བྲག་སྲིན་མོ་གཉིས་འདུས་པས་རིགས་དྲུག་ལས་ཚེ་འཕོས་པའི་སྤྲེའུ་ཕྲུག་མི་འདྲ་པ་དྲུག་བྱུང་བ་ཕྱིས་སུ་སྤུ་བྲི་བར་གྱུར་ནས་མིའི་དབྱིབས་ཅན་དུ་གྱུར་པ་ལས་བོད་མི་མཆེད་པ་སེ་རྨུ་ལྡོང་སྟོང་ (དབྲ)འབྲུ་སྟེ་རུས་དྲུག” ཞེས་གསལ་བ་ལྟར་མིའུ་རིགས་དྲུག་གམ་བཞིའི་སྐོར་ཐོག་མར་གསུང་ས་ནི་དེབ་ཐེར་འདི་གཉིས་ཡིན་པར་སྣམ།

བ་ཡང་ཧ་ཅང་མང་། དེ་བཞིན་བྲ་སྙོད། ཆེད་ལས། བཟོ་དབྱིབས། གོ་གནས་སོགས་རིམ་པ་བཞིན་རུས་མིང་དུ་གྱུར་པའང་ཡོད་པ་རེད། སྤྱིར་མིང་འདོགས་ཚུལ་ལ་འདོད་རྒྱལ་དང་རྗེས་གྲུབ། དངོས་མིང་དང་བཏགས་མིང་སོགས་ཡོད་པ་བཞིན། རུས་མིང་འདོགས་སྟངས་ཀྱང་དེའི་རྒྱ་ལས་འདའ་མེད། དེ་ལྟར་རུས་མིང་གྲུབ་སྟངས་ཀྱི་རིགས་ལམ་འདིའི་ཐོག་ནས་བལྟས་ནའང་སྔོན་ནི་གནའ་བོའི་བོད་ཀྱི་རུས་ཤིག་ཡིན་པར་སེམས་སོ།།

གནད་དོན་གསུམ་པ་ནི་རུས་མིང་འཕེལ་སྟངས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་ཉིད་དེ། རུས་ཆེན་གཅིག་གིས་རུས་ཕྲན་ཆུང་ངུ་མང་དུ་བསྐྱེད་དེ་རུས་ཁུངས་འདྲ་ཡང་རུས་མིང་མི་འདྲ་བར་གྱེས་ཞིང་འཕེལ་བའི་ཚུལ་དེ་ཡིན། ལར་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་རུས་རྒྱུད་སྐོར་དཔྱད་མཁན་ལ་ལའི་གྲུབ་དོན་ལྟར་ན། སྔར་གྱི་མིའུ་རིགས་བཞི[8]འམ། རུས་ཆེན་ལྔ། མིའུ་རིགས་དྲུག་གམ་གདུང་དྲུག་ལས་རིམ་པར་མཆེད་དེ་བོད་ཀྱི་ རུས་མཛོད་དང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེབ་ཐེར་ཁག་ཏུ་ཁྲོན་སྔོམ་རུས་མིང་བརྒྱ་དང་བཞི་བཅུ་ལྷག[9]གམ་བརྒྱ་དང་ཉི་ཤུ་ལྷག[10]ཡོད་པའི་སྔོམ་རྩིས་བཀོད་འདུག

བོད་ཀྱི་རུས་མཛོད་དང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེབ་ཐེར་ཁག་ལས་མིའུ་གདུང་དྲུག་གི་ཐོག་མའི་འཕེལ་རིམ་རྗོད་སྐབས། སེ་ལས་བྱུས་ལེགས་བུ་བཞི་སྤྱིད། སྨུ་ལས་གོད་ལེ་ཕྲ་བརྒྱད་སྤྱིད། ལྡོང་ལས་རུས་ཆེན་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་སྤྱིད། སྟོངས་ལས་རྗེ་བཞི་ཁོལ་བརྒྱད་སྤྱིད། ཅེས་ བྱུང་བ་བཞིན། སེ་ལས་མཆེད་པའི་བྱུས་ལེགས་བུ་བཞི་ནི། རྒྱལ་ནང་རྗེ། གྲོ་ནང་ཉེད་པ། འོ་གོག་བཙན་དང་དོ་སྟོངས་སེ་བཅས་བཞི་དང་། སྨུ་ལས་མཆེད་པའི་གོད་ལེ་ཕྲ་བརྒྱད་ནི། ངབ། གཞུབ། བཞུབ། སྨོན། འགར། དཀར། སྒོ། ངན་ལམ་སྟེ་བརྒྱད་དང་། ལྡོང་ལས་གྱེས་པའི་རུས་ཆེན་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་ནི། ཙོག ཙོག་རྩེ། ཙོག་རོ། ཁྱུང་པོ། ཟླ་བ། འབྲིང་། ལྷ་ལུང་། ལྷ་རྩེ། གྲང་། དགེས་པ། ཁུ་ན། ཉ། རྩེ་སྤོང་། འུ་ནག་ཉི། ཕོ་གོ ཐག་བཟང་། འབྲི་སྟེ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་དང་། སྟོང་ལས་གྱེས་པའི་རྗེ་བཞི་ཁོལ་བརྒྱད་ནི། ཙོག་པ་རྗེ། ཆང་རྗེ། ཐོད་དཀར་ཏེ་ཙོག་ཉལ་བོ་རྗེ། ཉགས་རྗེ་ཐག་རྣལ་ཏེ་རྗེ་བཞི་དང་། འབངས་སམ་ཁོལ་བརྒྱད་ནི། དམར། མར་བ། ཉུལ་བ། ཉུལ་དཔོན། རྫོག ཁྲོག རོག ཉ་རེ་དང་བརྒྱད་ཡིན་ནོ། གཞན་ཡང་ཕྱི་ལོ་༡༩༣༩ལོར་གཡས་རུ་སྟག་ཚང་པ་དཔལ་འབྱོར་བཟང་པོས་མཛད་པའི་རྒྱ་བོད་ཡིག་ཚང་ཆེན་མོ་ལས་ཕོ་བོ་ལྡོང་ལ་ཆེ་དྲུག་དང་བཙུན་དྲུག་དེ་བཅུ་གཉིས་དང་། ཨ་ལྷུགས་འབྲུ་ལའང་ཆེ་བཙུན་སྤྱིལ་བ་བཅུ་གཉིས་དང་། སེ་ཁྱུང་དབྲ་ལའང་ཆེ་བཙུན་སྤྱིལ་བ་བཅུ་གཉིས། རྨུ་ཙ་ལྷ་ལའང་ཆེ་བཙུན་སྤྱིལ་མ་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཏེ་མིའུ་རིགས་བཞི་ལས་ཁྲོན་སྔོམ་རུས་ཕྲན་བཞི་བཅུ་ཞེ་བརྒྱད་འཕེལ་ཞིང་བྱུང་བའོ།

---

8 མཁས་དབང་དམུ་དགེ་བསམ་གཏན། 1992: 110 ལས་ "དེས་ན་བོད་ཀྱི་ཐོག་མའི་རུས་ཆེན་བཞི་ནི། ཡེ་སང་། ཡེ་སྨོན། སྤྱང་། སྔོན་བཞི་ཡིན་ལ།" ཞེས་གསུངས་འདུག་པས། དེ་ལའང་དཔྱད་པ་ཞིབ་གསལ་གཏང་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་པར་སྙམ།

9 མགོན་པོ་ཚེ་རིང་། 2008: 71.

10 རྟ་མགོ་དང་འཕྲིན་ལས། 1988: 47.

དེ་ཡང་དཔེར་ན་དུས་ཕྱིས་སུ་ལྷོང་ལ། དབལ་ཤུལ་(ཐྲེ་ཤུལ། ཕྲ་ཤུལ། དཔའ་ཤུལ་ཟེར་བ་འདང་འདུག) ཆོས་ཤུལ། རག་ཤུལ། ཡུལ་ཤུལ། ཕྱུག་ཤུལ། སེར་ཤུལ། ཡབ་ཤུལ། འགོ་ཤུལ། ཉན་ཤུལ། ལོ་ཤུལ་སོགས་དང་། དེ་དག་ལས་དབལ་ཤུལ་གྱི་མི་རབས་ཕྱི་མ་ཞིག་ཏུ།[11] མདོ་ཁམས་རྨ་ཁོག་ཏུ་ལྷོང་མི་ནག་གུག་གུ་ར་སྐད་དུ་འབོད་པ་ཞིག་བྱུང་བ་དེའི་བུ་གེ་ལི་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ལ། བུ་གེ་ཙེ་དང་། གེ་ཐན། གེ་རྒྱལ། བེཏྟེ་སྐྱབས་སོགས་བྱུང་ཚུལ་འདུག་ལ། ལྷག་པར་དུ་གེ་ཐན་གྱི་རྒྱུད་པ་རྣམས། གཡུ་ཁོག་དང་། རྩང་ཁོག སྙེག་ཁོག་སོགས་སུ་ད་ལྟའང་ཡོད་པར་བཤད་ལ། དུས་འགྱུར་སྐབས་རྩང་ཁོག་ནས་ཡིན་པ་གེ་ཐན་གདུགས་དཀར་མགོ་ཞེས་པའི་དཔའ་བོ་ཞིག་བྱུང་ཚུལ་ཁམས་བྲག་མགོ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་བཤད་རྒྱུན་འདུག་པ་ཁོ་བོས་ཐོས། ལྷག་པར་རབ་བྱུང་བཅུ་གཉིས་པའི་ས་ཕོ་སྦྲུལ་ལོ་(༡༧༢༥)ལ་འཁྲུངས་པའི་འཇམ་དབྱངས་བཞེད་པའི་རྡོ་རྗེ་དང་། རབ་བྱུང་བཅུ་གསུམ་པའི་ཤིང་སྤྲེལ་(༡༧༦༨)ལོར་འཁྲུངས་པ་དབལ་མང་དཀོན་མཆོག་རྒྱལ་མཚན་སོགས་ཀྱང་། རུས་ཆེན་ཕོ་བོ་ལྷོང་གི་ནང་གསེས་དབལ་ཤུལ་གྱི་རུས་རྒྱུད་དུ་འཁྲུངས་འདུག

དེ་བཞིན་དུ་བོད་མིའུ་གདོང་དྲུག་ལས་རུས་ཆེན་དམུའི་ (སྨུ་དང་རྨུ་ཟེར་བའང་ཡོད།) རྒྱུད་པའང་ "སྟོད་གངས་དཀར་རྣམ་གསུམ" དང་ "ཐང་ཡངས་པ་རྣམ་གསུམ" སོགས་སུ་གནས་བཅས་ཏེ་རིམ་གྱིས་འཕེལ་ཚུལ་ཡོད་པ་ལྟར། དམུའི་རིགས་ནི་སྟོང་ཞང་ཞུང་དང་དབུ་རུ་སྟེ། ད་ལྟ་མངའ་རིས་དང་དབུས་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་མལ་གྲོ་སོགས་དང་། དེའི་རུས་ལག་དམུ་ཚ་སྣ་དང་། དབས་བཟ (ཟླ) གཉིས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་པ་ནི་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་རྒྱ་བོད[12]ས་མཚམས་སོགས་སུ་ཡོད་ཚུལ་རྒྱ་བོད་ཡིག་ཚང་ཆེན་མོ་རུ་གསལ།[13] གོང་དུ་ཞུས་པ་ལྟར་དམུ་ལས་ཀོད་ལེ་ཕྲ་བརྒྱད་ཅེས་པ་ལས་མར་བྱེས་ཏེ་རུས་ཕྲན་དམུ་ཚ་སྣ་དང་ཐང་ལེ་སྣ། དེ་བཞིན་ཨ་རིག ཨ་འབྲུག ཁྲོམ་ཚ།

11 ཕོ་བོ་ལྷོང་གི་མི་རྒྱུད་བྱུང་འཕེལ་སྐོར་གྱི་དཔྱད་གཞི་གཙོ་བོ་ནི། ༡) རིན་གོང་རྡོ་རྗེ་མཁའ་ 1987: 1–11. ༢) རིན་གོང་རྡོ་རྗེ་མཁར། 1989: 41–46. ༣) རིན་གོང་རྡོ་རྗེ་མཁར། 1990: 31–51. ༤) ཕྲ་ཤུལ་སྟོ་ཆུང་། 1985: 55–59.

12 དཔའ་བློ། 2006: 30 ཐོག་གསལ་དོན་དུ་ "ཡང་ 《རྒྱ་བོད་ཡིག་ཚང་ཆེན་མོ་》 ལས་ "དབས་བཟས་རྒྱ་བོད་ས་མཚམས་སུ། མཚམས་ཀྱི་མདའ་དར་གོང་མ་བཟུང་" ཞེས་གསུངས་ཏེ་དམུའི་རུས་ལག་དབས་དང་བཟ་(ཟླ)ཡང་" ཤར་རམ་བྱང་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་བོད་ས་མཚམས་སུ་གནས་པར་བཀོད་པ། 《ལྡེའུ་ཆོས་འབྱུང་རྒྱས་པ་》 ལས་ "བར་གྱི་བདུད་ཚོགས་ཏེ་རྨུ་ཡུལ་དུ་བཤུགས་ཏེ་སྲས་ནི་གཉའ་ཁྲི་གར་བར་གྱི་བདུད་ཚོགས་ཏེ། ཡར་ཡབ་དང་གཅིན་ལ་གནོད། མར་ཡུམ་དང་གཙུང་ལ་གནོད་ནས། ཞང་ཞུང་ཡུལ་དུ་སོང་ཞིང་བཀའ་བསྒོ་སྟེ་ཞང་པོ་རྨུ་རྗེ་བཙན་པོའི་ཡུལ་ངམ་འབྲང་ལྟང་འབྲང་" ཞེས་པས་དམུའི་ཡུལ་ནི་ཞང་ཞུང་ཕྱོགས་དང་དམུ་རྗེ་བཙན་པོའི་སྟོད་གནས་ནི་ངམ་འབྲང་ལྟུམ་འབྲང་ཞེས་བྱ་བར་གསལ་པོ་བསྟན་ནོ།" ཞེས་གསལ་བར་བཀོད་འདུག

13 བློ་གྲོས་རྒྱ་མཚོ། 1994: 9–10 བར་གསལ་བ་ལྟར་ན། "ཕལ་ཆེ་བས་བྱང་དཀར་པོ་ཐང་ཟེར་བ་ནི་ད་ལྟའི་བྱང་འབྲོག་གིས་ཁྱུལ་རྣམས་དང་། མདོ་ཁམས་གཡར་མོ་ཐང་ཟེར་བ་ནི་ཨ་ཆེན་གངས་རྒྱབ་ནས་མཚོ་སྔོན་པོའི་ཁ་བར་གྱི་ཐང་ཆེན་པོ་དེ་དང་། ཙོང་ཁ་ལ་གྱེས་ཐང་ཟེར་བ་ནི་ཤར་ཙོང་ཁའི་སྐྱིས་རིས་དབུས་ལྷོ་བྱང་གཉིས་སུ་གྱེས་པའི་མདོ་སྨད་ཙོང་ཁའི་ཡུལ་རྣམས་ཡིན་པར་འདོད། སྟོད་གངས་རི་རྣམ་གསུམ་ཟེར་བ་ནི། གངས་ཆེན་པོ་ཏི་སེ་དང་འབྲོག་ལ་ཕྱིས་གངས་དང་། བསམ་གཏན་གངས་བཟང་གསུམ་ལ་ངོས་འཛིན་མཁན་ཡོད་ཀྱང་བདེན་མིན་དཔྱད།" ཞེས་གསལ་ཡང་། ད་དུང་ངོས་འཛིན་གནང་སྟངས་མི་འདྲ་བ་ཡང་མཆིས་པས། མཐའ་གཅིག་ཏུ་འདིའོ་ཞེས་བརྗོད་དཀའ་བར་འདུག

ཞུར་ཆུང་ཟེར་བ་སོགས་མང་དུ་མཆེད་ཅིང་། ལྷག་པར་དུ་ཁྲི་རལ་སྐབས་སུ་སྣ་ཡེ་ཤེས་དར་རྒྱུས་ཟེར་བའི་དམག་དཔོན་སྐད་གྲགས་ཅན་ཞིག་བྱུང་ཏེ། དེས་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་སུ་དམག་དྲངས་ཏེ་དེར་གནས་བཅས་པས། ཕྱིས་སུ་ཨ་མདོའི་ཅོ་ནེ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་རྒྱུད་པ་རྣམས་བྱུང་བར་བཤད། ཁྱད་པར་རུས་ཆེན་དམུའི་རིགས་རྣམས་ནི་བོན་པོ་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་ཧ་ཅང་ཟབ་པར་འདུག་ལ། རུས་དེ་ལས་བོན་པོའི་མཁས་པ་ཡང་མང་པོ་འཁྲུངས་ཡོད་ཚུལ་གདའ། དེ་བཞིན་བོད་ཆུ་ཕྱི་ (༨༩༢) ལོར་འཁྲུངས་པའི་བླ་ཆེན་དགོངས་པ་རབ་གསལ་དང་། རབ་བྱུང་བཅུ་པའི་ཤིང་འབྲུག་ལོར་ (༡༦༠༤) འཁྲུངས་པའི་[༧]གོང་ས་ལྔ་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་དབུ་བླ་གསང་སྔགས་རྙིང་མའི་མཁས་གྲུབ་ཟུར་ཆོས་དབྱིངས་རང་གྲོལ། རབ་བྱུང་བཅུ་གསུམ་པའི་ཆུ་ཕོ་རྟའི་ལོར་(༡༧༦༢)འཁྲུངས་པའི་རྫེ་ཀྱུང་ཐུང་བསྟན་པའི་སྒྲོན་མེ་སོགས་བོད་ཀྱི་མཁས་གྲུབ་མང་པོ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་རུས་ཆེན་དམུའི་རུས་ལག་སྣའི་རྒྱུད་དུ་འཁྲུངས་པར་བཤད། མདོར་ན་རུས་ཆེན་ནས་རུས་ཕྲན་དུ་འཕེལ་ཏེ་རུས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་གྲངས་ཧ་ཅང་མང་པོ་བྱུང་ཚུལ་ཡང་དེ་ལྟར་ཡིན་འདུག རྒྱུ་མཚན་དེ་དག་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས། མོན་ནི་གོང་དུ་བསྟན་ཟིན་པའི་རུས་མིང་གི་ཁྱད་ཆོས་དང་མཚན་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཟུར་ཡོངས་སུ་རྫོགས་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་རུས་མིང་སྔར་ཚོགས་ཁྲོད་ན་འདོད་མདངས་རབ་ཏུ་བཀྲ་བའི་རུས་ཆེན་ཞིག་ཡིན་ནོ།

དེ་ལྟར་གོང་དུ་རུས་ཆེན་ལྡོང་དང་དམུ་གཉིས་དཔེ་རུ་དྲངས་ཏེ་བོད་ཀྱི་རུས་རྒྱུད་འཕེལ་སྟངས་དང་། གྲིས་ཚུལ་གྱི་ཆོས་ཉིད་ལ་མདོར་ཙམ་དཔྱད་ཁུལ་ཡིན། མ་གཞི་ཨ་ལྷུགས་འབྲུ་དང་། སེ་ཁྱུང་དབྲ། ཡེ་སང་དཀར་པོ། ཡེ་སྨོན་ནག་པོ། སྤྱང་ཕྲུག་ཡེ་ཤེས། མོན་རྫུན་ནག་པོ་སོགས་བོད་ཀྱི་རུས་ཆེན་གཞན་རྣམས་ལའང་རྒྱུད་པ་ཕྱི་མའི་བྱུང་བ་ཞིབ་གསལ་ཡོད་པར་ངེས་པས། ཞིབ་འཇུག་དང་དཔྱད་པ་གནང་རྒྱུ་འགངས་ཆེ་བ་འདུག མཁས་དབང་དམུ་དགེ་བསམ་གཏན་མཆོག་གིས་མུན་གསལ་སྒྲོན་མེ་ལས་བོད་ཀྱི་ཐོག་མའི་རུས་ཆེན་བཞི་ལས། སྤྱང་གི་སྐོར་བཀའ་འགྲེལ་ཞིབ་རྒྱས་གནང་འདུག ད་ལམ་ཁོ་བོས་མོན་རྫུན་ནག་པོ་སྟེ་མོན་པའི་རུས་རྒྱུད་སྐོར་མདོར་ཙམ་དཔྱད་པ་ལ་སྤྲོ་བ་རབ་ཏུ་བསྐྱེད།།

1. མོན་ནི་གནའ་བའི་བོད་ཀྱི་རུས་རྙིང་ཞིག་ཡིན།

མོན་པའི་རུས་རྒྱུད་ཟེར་དུས། ད་ལྟའི་རྒྱ་གར་བྱང་ཤར་ཨ་རུ་ན་ཅལ་མངའ་སྡེའི་ཁོངས་སུ་ཡོད་པའི་མོན་པའི་རུས་ཚོ་དེ་ཙམ་ལ་བསམས་ན་ཧ་ཅང་ཁྱབ་ཆུང་དྲགས་པ་རེད། སྤྱིར་མོན་ནི་གནའ་བོན་པོའི་ལུགས་ཀྱི་རུས་ཆེན་བཞིའི་ནང་གི་གཅིག་ཡིན་ལ་རུས་མོན་ཅན་གྱི་མི་ལ་མོན་པ་དང་དེ་གནས་སའི་ཡུལ་ལ་མོན་ཡུལ་ཟེར། མོན་ཞེས་པའི་ཐ་སྙད་དེར་བོད་བརྡ་རྙིང་པའི་འགྲོས་ཀྱིས་འགྲེལ་ན་སའི་ཁད་དམའ་ཞིང་དོག་པ་དང་། རོང་ཁུལ་ལྟ་བུའི་གནམ་གཤིས་ཀྱི་དྲོད་གྲང་མཉམ་ཞིང་འབྲུ་རིགས་དང་རྩི་ཤིང་། ནགས་ཚལ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཐོན་སྐྱེད་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པའི་ས་གནས་ཁག་ལ་གོ་ཞིང་། དེ་ཡང་གདོད་མའི་དུས་སུ་མོན་ཡུལ་ཞེས་པ་ནི་དེང་སང་གི་

མོན་ཡུལ་ཙམ་མ་ཡིན་པར་བོད་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་སྨེར་ཆགས་པའི་ས་ཁུལ་ཚང་མར་མོན་ཡུལ་ཞེས་འབོད་པ་ཡིན་པས།[14] མཚམས་རེར་རྒྱ་ གར་ལའང་མོན་རྒྱ་གར་ཞེས་བོས་མྱོང་།

མཁས་དབང་དམུ་དགེ་བསམ་གཏན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་མཆོག་གིས་ "དེས་ན་བོད་ཀྱི་ཐོག་མའི་རུས་ཆེན་བཞི་ནི། ལེ་སང་། ལེ་སློན། སྤྲང་། མོན་བཞི་ཡིན་ལ།"[15] ཞེས་གསུངས་ཏེ། མོན་ནི་གནའ་བོའི་བོད་ཀྱི་རུས་ཆེན་བཞིའི་ཡ་གྱལ་དུ་བགྲངས་ཡོད། དེ་ལྟར་ འབྱུང་སའི་ཐོག་མའི་ཁུངས་ཀྱི་ཕྱི་མོ་ལྟ་བུ་ནི་ཕྱི་ལོ་༡༤༣༤[16]ལོར་སྟག་ཚང་དཔལ་འབྱོར་བཟང་པོས་མཛད་པའི། རྒྱ་བོད་ཡིག་ ཚང་མཁས་པ་དགའ་བྱེད་ལས "བོད་མིའི་ཁམས་རིགས་འབྱེད་ན། མིའུ་རིགས་བཞི་བྱ་བ་ཡོད་པ་ནི། ལེ་སངས་དཀར་པོ་གནམ་ གྱི་འཇུ་ཐག་ཅན་དང་གཅིག ལེ་སློན་ནག་པོ་ཁྲི་ཀླུའི་ཕ་འོང་འདྲ་བ་དང་གཉིས། སྤྲང་ཁྲིག་ཡེ་ཤེས་ལྷའི་སྒྲོན་མེ་དང་གསུམ། མོན་ རྫུང་ནག་པོ་ཁྲིའི་ཛ་ལྷོང་ཅན་དང་བཞིའོ། སྤྲེའུ་ཕྲུག་མིར་གྱུར་པ་དེ་རྣམས། མང་དུ་འཕེལ་ནས། བོད་ལ་དབང་བྱས་ཏེ། མང་ སངས་སྲུན་དགུ། རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་ལྔ། རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་བཅུ་གཉིས། རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་སིལ་མ་བཞི་བཅུས། རིམ་པར་དབང་བྱས་སྐད་དོ།།"[17] ཞེས་པ་དེ་དང་། ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༡༦༤༣ལོར་མཛད་པའི་ʋ གོང་ས་ལྔ་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་རྫོགས་ལྡན་གཞོན་ནུའི་དགའ་སྟོན་ལས "འཕགས་པ་ཐུགས་རྗེས་རིགས་བསྒྱུར་ བའི་སྤྲེའུ་ཞིག་དང་། འཕགས་མ་སྒྲོལ་མའི་བྱིན་རླབས་ཀྱིས་རི་དྭགས་གཟུགས་བརྟན་བློའི་ཟླ་གཞོན་དྭངས་པའི་ངོས་སུ་ཤར་བའི་བྲག་ སྲིན་མོ་གཉིས་ཚོགས་པ་ལས་རིགས་དྲུག་ནས་ཚེ་འཕོས་པའི་སྤྱོད་ཚུལ་མི་འདྲ་བའི་ཕྲུག་གུ་དྲུག་བྱུང་བ་ཡང་། ཕ་རིགས་རྣམས་འཆར་ སྒོ་སྨུར་ཞིང་སྙིང་རྗེ་ཆེ་བ་ཁོག་གྱིམས་པ། མ་རིགས་རྣམས་གདོང་དམར་སྡིག་ལས་ལ་དགའ་ཞིང་རོ་གྱོང་བ་བྱུང་བ་དེ་དག་ལས་རིམ་ པར་འཕེལ་བས་བོད་མིའི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་སུ་གྱུར་ཏེ། རུས་ཆེན་བཞི་ལས་གྱེས་པའི་ཁམས། ལེ་སང་དཀར་པོ་གནམ་གྱི་འཇུ་ཐག་ཅན་དང་ གཅིག ལེ་སློན་ནག་པོ་ཁྲི་ཀླུའི་ཕ་བོ་འདྲ་བ་དང་གཉིས། སྤྲང་ཁྲིག་ཡེ་ཤེས་ལྷའི་སྒྲོན་མེ་དང་གསུམ། མོན་རྫུན་ནག་པོ་ཁྲིའི་ཛ་ལྷོ་ཅན་ དང་བཞིར་དབྱེ་བ་བྱུང་།།"[18] ཞེས་བྱུང་བ་ལྟར། ལེ་སང་དཀར་པོ་དང་། ལེ་སློན་ནག་པོ། སྤྲང་ཕྲུག་ཡེ་ཤེས། མོན་རྫུ་ནག་པོ་རྣམས་ནི་

14 ཆབ་སྤེལ་ཚེ་བརྟན་ཕུན་ཚོགས། 1988: 2 ལས "མོན་ཞེས་པའི་ཐ་སྙད་དེ་ཡང་ས་བབ་དམའ་ཞིང་རི་རོང་དོག་པ་དང་གདོད་མའི་ནགས་ཚལ་སྟུག་པོས་ ཁེབས་པའི་ས་ཁུལ་ལ་ཐོགས་པའི་གནའ་བོའི་བོད་ཀྱི་བརྡ་རྙིང་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཏེ་བོད་ཡིག་གི་ཚིག་མཛོད་དུ་མའི་ནང་དུ་གསལ་ཡོད།" ཞེས་གསུངས་འདུག

15 དམུ་དགེ་བསམ་གཏན། 1992: 110.

16 དུང་དཀར་རིན་པོ་ཆེས 1985: 11. རྒྱ་བོད་ཡིག་ཚང་མཁས་པ་དགའ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་སྔོན་གླེང་དུ། "དེབ་ཐེར་འདི་བརྩམས་པའི་ལོ་ནི་བོད་ཀྱི་རབ་བྱུང་བདུན་ པའི་ཤིང་སྟག་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༤༣༤ལོ་ཡིན་པར་ར་འཕྲོད་ཅིང་།" ཞེས་གསུངས།

17 དཔལ་འབྱོར་བཟང་པོ། 1985: 128 གོང་འཁོད་ཚིགས་བཅད་འདིར་རྒྱན་མཁས་དབང་ཛོ་སྲས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཚེ་རིང་མཆོག་གིས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་ན། ཐོག་ མའི་རུས་ཆེན་བཞིའི་སྐོར་གྱི་ཚིགས་བཅད་འདི་ཐོག་མར་འབྱུང་ས་དེབ་ཐེར་འདི་ཉིད་ཡིན་པར་འདུག་ལ། དེའི་སྔོན་དུ་ཚིགས་བཅད་འདི་འཁོད་པའི་དེབ་ཐེར་ད་ ཕན་མཇལ་མ་བྱུང་ཞེས་བཀའ་སློབ་བཀའ་དྲིན་ཆེ་བ་ཕེབས།

18 ངག་དབང་བློ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ། 1989: 13–14.

བོད་ཀྱི་ཐོག་མའི་དུས་ཆེན་བཞི་དུ་གསུངས་ཤིང་། གསུང་ཚུལ་དེ་ནི་གནའ་བོ་བོན་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཐོག་མའི་དུས་རྒྱུད་འབྱུང་ཁུངས་སྐོར་མིན་ནམ་སྙམ་པའི་ཐུགས་དགོངས་མཁས་དབང་དགེ་འདུན་ཆོས་འཕེལ་[19] དང་མཁས་དབང་བཀྲིས་ཚེ་རིང་[20] གཉིས་ཀར་འཁྲུངས་འདུག རྒྱུ་མཚན་དེར་བརྟེན། མོན་ནི་གནའ་བོའི་བོད་ཀྱི་དུས་ཕྲན་ཙམ་མ་ཡིན་པར་དུས་ཀྱི་བྱེ་བྲག་ཏ་ཅང་མང་བའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཐོག་མའི་དུས་རྒྱུན་ཞིག་ཡིན་པར་ཐེ་ཚོམ་མི་འདུག

བོད་མི་བུ་གདུང་དྲུག་གི་དུས་མཛོད་མེ་ཏོག་སྐྱིད་ཚལ་"བོད་མི་བུ་རིགས་བཞིའམ། རིགས་ལྔའམ། རིགས་དྲུག་པོ་དེ་བྱུང་ ཚུལ་དང་ངོས་འཛིན་སོགས་བརྗོད་པ་ལ། དེ་དག་གི་རིགས་ཐོག་མར་བྱུང་ཚུལ་དང་། བར་སྐབས་ཞིག་ནས་བཟུང་སྤེ་རིགས་དེ་ རྣམས་ཀྱི་གྲེས་ཚུལ་དང་། དེ་དག་ངོས་བཟུང་ནས་ད་ལྟའི་བར་དུ་དར་ཚུལ་བཤད་པ་དང་གསུམ། དང་པོ་ནི། དེ་ལ་བོན་ལུགས་ ལྟར་ན་སྲིད་པའི་མོན་བུ་ཡུམ་ཡུམ་དང་། ཡུམ་ཆུའི་རྒྱལ་མོ་འབུམ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བརྒྱུད་པར། ཕྱྭ་དམུ་གཙུག་གསུམ་བསྐོས་(ཀྲོས) དང་བཞི་ནས་རིམ་པར་བརྒྱུད་ནས་སྲིད་པའི་རྒྱལ་བུ་མཐིང་གི་བར་མཆེད་ཚུལ་ལྟར་བྱུང་ལ།"[21] ཞེས་པ་ལྟར། བོད་ཀྱི་ཐོག་མའི་ མི་བུ་རིགས་བཞིའི་

---

19 དེ་ཡང་དགེ་འདུན་ཆོས་འཕེལ་གྱི་(གངས་སེང་ཡོད་མེད་ཀྱི་དཔྱད་པ་)ཞེས་པའི་དཔྱད་རྩོམ་དེར་ སྔོན་བོན་ལ་གྲགས་པ་ཞིག་མིན་ནམ་སྙམ་ཏེ། བོད་ཀྱི་རྩ་བའི་དུས་ཆེན་འདྲེན་སྐབས། ཡེ་སང་དཀར་མོ་གནམ་གྱི་འཛུ་ཐག་ཅན་དང་གཅིག སྲུང་ཕྱུག་ཡེ་ཤེས་ལྷ་ཡི་སྒྲོན་མ་གཉིས། མོ་(མོན་)རྫུ་ནག་པོ་ཁྲིའི་ཐ་མ་ཅན་གསུམ། སོགས་བོན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་གསུང་རིས་འབྲེལ་མེད་ཅིག་འདུག་པས་སོ།" ཞེས་གསུངས་འདུག རྩོམ་འདིའི་ཡོང་ཁུངས། དགེ་འདུན་ཆོས་འཕེལ། 2008: 22.

20 དེ་ཡང་ཀྲན་ཇོ་སྲུས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རིང་ (2008: 43) གིས་ "རང་གི་འདོད་ཚུལ་ལྟར་ན་མིའུ་རིགས་བཞིའམ། དུས་ཆེན་བཞིའི་གནའ་བོའི་བོན་པོའི་ཐ་སྙད་ཤུལ་ལུས་ལྟ་བུ་ནི་༡༧༣༧ལོའི་རྒྱ་བོད་ཡིག་ཚང་མཁས་པ་དགའ་བྱེད་ཆེ་མོ་ལས།" མིའུ་རིགས་བཞི་བྱ་བ་ཡོད་པ་ནི། ཡེ་སངས་དཀར་པོ་གནམ་གྱི་འཛུ་ཐག་ཅན་དང་གཅིག །ཡེ་སྨོན་ནག་པོ་ཁྲོ་ཆུའི་ཕ་འོང་འདྲ་བ་དང་གཉིས། སྤྲུང་ཁྲིག་ཡེ་ཤེས་ལྷའི་སྒྲིན་མེ་དང་གསུམ། མོན་རྫུ་ནག་པོ་ཁྲིའི་ཐ་ལྷ་ཅན་དང་བཞིར་དབྱེ་བ་བྱུང་།" ཞེས་དང་། ཞེས་དུས་ཀྱི་ཕྱི་མོ་ཆེན་པོ་བཞི་པོ་དེ་དག་ནི་གནའ་བོ་བོན་པོའི་ཐ་སྙད་ཀྱི་ཤུལ་ལུས་མིན་ནམ་སྙམ་པའི་དགོངས་ཚུལ་གསལ་པོར་གསུངས་འདུག དེ་འདྲ་སོང་ཙང་མོན་ཡང་དེའི་ནང་གི་གཅིག་ཡིན་པས་ན། གནའ་བོ་བོད་ཀྱི་དུས་ཆེན་བཞིའི་ཡ་གྱལ་དུ་ཚུད་པ་རེད།

21 གྱི་ལུང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་དང་གྱི་ལུང་ཐུགས་མཆོག་རྡོ་རྗེ། 2000 ཕན་གྱི་ལུང་ཁུངས་ནི་འབྲུ་ལོག་དམ་ཆོས་དཔལ་བཟང་། 2000: 375 ཐོག་གསལ། རླངས་ཀྱི་པོ་ཏི་བསེ་རུ། 1986: 4 ངོས་སྦྱང་དེ་དང་ཆ་འདྲ་བ་ཞིག་གསལ་པ་འདིར་འགོད་ན "འབངས་ཀྱི་མི་རབས་ལ་འབྱུང་བ་རྣམ་པ་ལྔའི་སྙིང་པོ་ལས། སྒོང་ཆེན་པོ་གཅིག་ཡོང་བ། ཕྱིའི་སྒོང་ཤུན་ལ། ལྷ་བྲག་དཀར་པོ་ཆགས། ནང་གི་སྒོང་ཆུ་ལ། དུང་མཚོ་དཀར་མོར་འཁྱིལ། བར་གྱི་སྒོ་ངའི་དར་ཆ་ལ། རིགས་དྲུག་སེམས་ཅན་ཀུན་ཏུ་གྲོལ། སྒོང་ཕྱུམ་གྱི་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་ཆགས། སྒོང་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་འབྲིང་བ་དེ། དུང་སྒོང་གཅིག་ཏུ་ཡར་ནས་བྱུང་། དེ་ནི་སྨོན་པའི་མི་བོ་ཡུམ་ཡུམ་ཡིན། དེ་ལ་རྣམ་ལྔའི་རིག་པ་མེད་པ། བསམ་པའི་སེམས་ཡོད་པས། ལྟ་བའི་མིག་དགོས་བསམ་པ་ལ། ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་སྤྱན་དོད། དྲི་བཟང་རིག་པའི་ཤངས་དོད། སྒྲ་སྙན་ཆོར་བའི་སྙན་དོད། དུག་ལྔ་གཅོད་པའི་ཚེམས་དོད། རོ་མྱོང་བའི་ལྗགས་དོད། ས་གཞི་འཁོད་པའི་ཕྱག་དོད། རྫུ་འཕྲུལ་བཞུད་པའི་ཞབས་དོད་པས་གང་བསམ་བསམ་ལམ་ལམ་དོད་བྱུང་བས། ཁོང་རང་གིས་མིང་བཏགས་པ། སྨོན་མི་བསམ་པ། ལྷུམ་ལྷུམ་ལམ་ལམ་དུ་བཏགས་སོ། དེར་ཡེ་ནས་སྨོན་པས་ཡེ་སྨོན་རྒྱལ་པོར་བཏགས་སོ། འབུམ་ཚོའི་མེས་པོ་ཡིན་པས། སྟོན་པ་འབུམ་མེ། ཡེ་ནས་སངས་ནས་འབུམ་ཚོའི་གཙོ་ལ་བཞུགས་པས། སངས་པོའི་འབུམ་ཁྲི་ཞེས་སུ་བཏགས་སོ། དེས། ཡུམ་ཆུ་ལྕུགས་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཁབ་ཏུ་བཞེས་པའི་སྲས་ནི། ལྷ་སྲས་སྤྱི་གཙུག་རྒྱལ་བ་ཞེས་ཀྱང་བྱ།

འབྱུང་ཁུངས་ཕོད་སྐབས་ཀྱང་། མོན་གྱི་རུས་ཅན་སྲིད་པའི་མོན་བུ་ལུམ་ལུམ་དང་ཆུའི་རྒྱལ་མོ་འབུམ་གཉིས་ ལས་བྱུང་ཚུལ་གསུངས་འདུག

ཡང་ས་སྐྱའི་གདུང་རབས་ཡ་རབས་ཁ་རྒྱན་ལས་ "མ་སངས་སྤྱི་རྗེ་ཐོག་ལྕམ་ཙུར་མོའི་སྲས།། དཔའ་བོ་སྟག་དང་ཀླུ་ལྕམ་དྲ་མའི་སྲས།། སྟག་པོ་འོད་ཅན་འདི་རྣམས་བར་སྣང་བཞུགས།། དེ་དང་མོན་བཟའ་མཚོ་མོ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སྲས།། གཡའ་སྤང་སྐྱེས་གཅིག་བྱོན་རྣམས་ལྷའི་གདུང་རབས།། གང་དེས་སྲིན་པོ་སྐྱ་རེངས་ཁྲག་མེད་བསད།། ཆུང་མ་གཡའ་འབྲུམ་འཕྲོགས་བཞེས་ལྷ་སྲིན་འཁོན།། བར་དུ་བྱུང་བས་སྲས་ནི་འཁོན་བར་སྐྱེས།།"[22] ཞེས་བྱུང་བ་ལྟར། གཡའ་སྤང་སྐྱེས་ཀྱི་ཡུམ་ནི་མོན་རུས་ཅན་གྱི་མོན་བཟའ་མཚོ་མོ་རྒྱལ་ཞེས་པ་ཡིན་འདུག་ལ། ས་སྐྱ་འཁོན་གྱི་གདུང་རྒྱུད་ཀྱང་ཡར་དེད་ན་མོན་པའི་རུས་དང་གཅིག་ཏུ་འདྲེས་ཡོད་པའང་འདི་ནས་ཤེས།

ལྡེའུ་ཆོས་འབྱུང་ལས (ཡོ་ག་ལྷ་གྲེས་ཅན)ཞེས་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེབ་ཐེར་གྲགས་ཅན་དེ་ལུང་དུ་དྲངས་ནས་གཉའ་ཁྲི་བཙན་པོ་ཡར་ལུང་དུ་བྱོན་པའི་ "གཤེགས་རབས་ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་བདུན" ཞེས་པ་གསུང་སྐབས། "དེའི་ཚེ་བོད་ཀྱི་བྲམ་སྣང་བྲེས་པ་ཁྲི་ཁྲི་ཅན་ལུས་ལ་བྱའི་སྤུས་བརྒྱན་པ་གསུམ་དང་ཕྲད་དོ། བྲེས་པ་དེ་གསུམ་མོན་གྱིས་ལྟས་ངན་དུ་བཏང་བ་ཡིན་ཏེ། དེ་གསུམ་བཟུང་སྟེ་ཁྲིད་པས། མོན་ སྐད་མ་གོ་ནས། རང་གི་མཆིད་ཚིག་ལས། གཅིག་ལ་ལྷོན་ག་བེར་བཏགས། གཅིག་ལ་སླགས་ལྕུང་ཀ་བེར་བཏགས། གཅིག་ གིས་མྱུང་གོང་དུ་ཕྱིར་བསྟོད་ནས་ཡིབ་སྟེ། ལོ་རོའི་རོང་དུ་བྲོས་ཏེ་ཧོར་གྱི་འབྲུམ་མཁར་དུ་བབས་པ་ལ་མྱུང་གོང་ངན་ལེ་བཙོག་དུ་ བཏགས་པ་ནི་མྱུང་གི་མེས་པོ་ལགས་སོ། གཉིས་ཚུར་ལ་འོངས་པ་ནི་ལྷོ་དང་སླགས་གཉིས་ཀྱི་མེས་པོ་ལགས་སོ།"[23] ཞེས་ གསུངས་པ་འདི་ལས། བོད་ཀྱི་རུས་ལྷོ་དང་། སླགས། མྱུང་གསུམ་གྱི་རུས་ཁུངས་ཀྱང་མོན་པའི་རུས་ཡིན་པ་གསལ་ཞིང་། ལྷོ་ སླགས་མྱུང་གསུམ་གྱི་རུས་ལས་བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཐོག་གཟེངས་སུ་ཐོན་པའི་མི་སྣ་ཡང་གང་མང་བྱུང་ཡོད་པ་སྟེ། མྱུང་ཙེ་སྐྱུ་དང་མྱུང་ ཏིང་ངེས་འཛིན། མྱུང་ཁྲི་

སྲིད་འདོད་ཙམ་ཞེས་ཀྱང་བྱ། འཕྲུལ་སྲས་དབང་ལྡན་ཞེས་ཀྱང་བྱ། དེས་དུང་ཟ་དཔུལ་མོ་ཁབ་ཏུ་བཞེས་པའི་སྲས་ལ་བགོ་སྲས་སྐྱེས་ཅིག དེའི་སྲས་སྣ་མི་རབས་མཆེད་གསུམ་ལགས། དེ་རྣམས་ནི་མི་ལ་ལྟར་མིང་བཏགས་པ་ནི། སྲིད་པ་མི་རབས་མཆེད་དགུ་ནི་སུ་ཏིག་བསྟར་ལ་བརྒྱུས་པ་ལྟ་བུ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པར་འདུག་སྟེ། འདི་རྣམས་ནི་ལྷའི་ཐུགས་ལས་སྤྲུལ་བའི་སྲས་ཡིན།" ཞེས་བྱུང་བ་ལྟར། སྲིད་པའི་སློན་བུ་ལུམ་ལུམ་ཞེས་པ་དང་སྲིད་པའི་མོན་བུ་ལུམ་ལུམ་ཞེས་པ་གཉིས་སྣའི་ཆ་ནས་འདྲ་ཆེ་བས་འདི་གཉིས་ཀྱི་གཞི་རྩའི་མིང་ཚིག་གི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས་དང་གོ་དོན་སྐོར་དཔྱད་རྟེན་ཡོད་པར་སྣམ། ཡར་ནས་བོན་གྱི་བསྟན་བཅོས་མང་པོར་སྲིད་པའི་སློན་བུ་ལུམ་ལུམ་ཞེས་པ་འདི་གསལ་ཡོད་ཚུལ་ལ་བལྟས་ན། གནའ་བོའི་བོན་གྱི་གསུང་སྒྲོལ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་ལ་ཐེ་ཚོམ་ཡེ་མི་འདུག་གོ

[22] ཀུན་དགའ་བློ་གྲོས། 1991: 2.

[23] མཁས་པ་ལྡེའུས། 1987: 237 གངས་སྲིད་དགེ་མཛོད་ཁང་གིས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་བསྒྲིགས་པ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་འདུག དཀར་ཆག་དང་ཚིག་འགྲོས་ཚང་མ་མཐུན། ཕལ་ཆེར་བོད་པར་དེར་དཔེ་བསྒྲིགས་པ་འདྲ།

བཟང་ལེགས་འདུས། སྤྱང་ཤ་བ་ཅན་སོགས་དང་། དེ་བཞིན་དུ་སྐྱགས་ཀྱི་རུས་སུ་འང་། སྐྱགས་ཀུ་སླ་ར། སྐྱགས་དེ་ཕ་ཤ། སྐྱགས་ཁྲི་བཟང་ཡང་སྟོན། སྐྱགས་ཡེ་ཤེས་གཞོན་ནུ་སོགས་དང་། ལྷོའི་རུས་སུ་འབྲུངས་པ། ལྷོ་ཁྲི་བཟང་གཡུ་བཙན། ལྷོ་བ་སྒྲོག་ཟན། ལྷོ་པོ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་སེང་གེ ལྷོ་གྲུབ་པ་སེང་གེ་སོགས་མང་དུ་བྱུང་ཡོད་ལ། སྤྱིར་བོད་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་ཁུལ་དང་མོན་པའི་རུས་བར་ལ་འབྲེལ་བ་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་ཞིང་། ལྷག་པར་སྤྱང་ཡུལ་ནི་བོད་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་ངོས་དང་འདབ་འབྲེལ་དུ་ཆགས་པའི་དེང་སང་གི་རྒྱང་རྩེ་ཡིན་པར་ཚང་མས་ངོས་འཛིན་བྱེད། རྒྱུ་མཚན་དེ་དག་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས། ཕྲན་གྱིས་རྨོངས་འཆར་ལྟར་ན་ད་ལྟ་ཡང་ད་དུང་བོད་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་ངོས་སུ་གནས་ཤིང་གཞིས་ཆགས་པའི་རུས་རྒྱུད་མང་པོ་ཞིག་གི་ཕྱི་མོ་ནི། བོན་ལུགས་ཀྱི་རུས་ཆེན་བཞིའི་ཡ་གྱལ་མོན་རྫུ་ནག་པོ་འདི་ཉིད་མིན་ནམ་སྙམ། ལྷག་པར་བོད་ལྷོ་ངོས་སུ་ཆགས་པའི་ཀོང་པོའང་མོན་པའི་རུས་ལ་དབྱེ་བ་གསུམ་ཕྱེ་པའི་ནང་ནས་གཅིག་ཡིན་ཚུལ་རྒྱ་བོད་ཡིག་ཚང་མཁས་པ་དགའ་བྱེད་ལས་གསུངས། ད་དུང་ལྡན་མ་རྒྱལ་སྲས་སྤྲུལ་སྐུས་བརྩམས་པའི་མོན་རྟ་ཝང་དགོན་པ་དགའ་ལྡན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལྷ་རྩེའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མདོར་ཙམ་བརྗོད་པ་ཞེས་པའི་དཔྱད་རྩོམ་ལས། "བསིལ་ལྡན་སྣ་ལའི་སྙན་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་ཐ་གྲུར་འཁོད་པའི་ཡུལ་ལ། ཇི་སྐད་དུ། སློབ་དཔོན་པདྨས་མོན་ཡུལ་རྫོ་དང་གླིང་རྣམས་ཞེས་རྫོ་ནི་ཨ་སམ་གྱི་ཁོངས་སུ་གཏོགས་པའི་རྒྱ་གར་བ་རྣམས་ལ་དེང་སང་ཡང་ཡུལ་སྡེ་འགའ་ཞིག་ནས་རྫོ་ཞེས་འབོད་པ་ལྟར་དང་། གླིང་ནི་གླིང་ཡུལ་དང་། མོན་ནི་སྔ་དུས་སྟོད་བལ་བོད་ཀྱིས་མཚམས་ནས་བཟུང་སྨེ་འབྲས་ལྗོངས། འབྲུག ལྷོ་བྲག་ཁུལ། རྟ་ཝང་དང་། འབུམ་རྡེ་ལ་སོགས་དང་། སྨད་ནས་སྤོ་ཡུལ་སོགས་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་མོན་ཞེས་འབོད་པར་སྣང་ཞིང་། འོན་ཀྱང་དུས་ཕྱིས་སུ་ནི་རྟ་ཝང་དང་འབུམ་རྡེ་ལའི་ས་ཁོངས་ཆུང་ཤས་ཤིག་ལ་མོན་ཡུལ་ཞེས་སྤྱི་མིང་བྱེ་བྲག་པ་ཞིག་ལ་ཆགས་པ་ཡིན།"[24] ཞེས་པ་ལྟར། གོང་འཁོད་ཀྱིས་ཁུལ་རྣམས་ནི་བོད་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་ངོས་སུ་ཆགས་པ་ཤ་སྟག་ཡིན་ལ། དེང་སང་བོད་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཐ་ལན་དང་འབར་མའི་ནང་དུའང་མོན་རུས་ཅན་གྱི་མི་འབོར་ཧ་ཅང་མང་པོ་གནས་ཡོད་པ་དང་། དེ་དག་ནི་སྤྱི་ལོ་དུས་རབས་བདུན་པ་ཡས་མས་སུ་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་ནུབ་ཕྱོགས་(བོད་)ནས་གནས་སྤོས་པ་ཡིན་ཚུལ་བཤད། ལྷག་པར་ཕྱི་ལོ་༨༢༣ལོར་བརྩུགས་པའི་ལྷ་སའི་དབོན་གཞུང་རྡོ་རིང་ཤར་ངོས་སུའང་ "མོན་རྒྱ་གར་དང་"[25] ཞེས་བཀོད་ཡོད།།

---

24 ལྡན་མ་རྒྱལ་སྲས་སྤྲུལ་སྐུ། 2009: 44.

25 མོན་ཞེས་པའི་ཚིག་འདི་རྡོ་རིང་ཐོག་བེད་སྤྱོད་བྱས་སྔ་ཤོས་ནི་ཕྱི་ལོ་༨༢༣ལོར་བརྩུགས་པའི་ལྷ་སའི་དབོན་གཞུང་རྡོ་རིང་ཤར་ངོས་སུ "ཉམས་པའི་གཡུང་དྲུང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་ནི་ཆེ། དེའི་ཕྱིར། ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་མོན་རྒྱ་གར་དང་། ནུབ་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་ཏ་ཟིག་དང་། བྱང་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་དྲུ་གུ་ནི་སྐྱེལ་ལ་སྐོགས་པ། གཡུག་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྟོམ་ན་ར་བྲུ་བ་ཀུན་གྱི(ཀྱིས་ཀྱང)འཕྲུལ་གྱི་ལྷ་བཙན་པོའི་དབུ་རྨོག་བརྩན་པོ་དང་ང་བོར་ནི་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱིས་གུས་པ་མཛད་དེ། ཕན་ཚུན་དགྱེས་ཤིང་བཀའ་སྙན་དོ་ཅོག་ཉན་པ་ཡིན།།" ཞེས་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་མོན་རྒྱ་གར་དང་ཞེས་ཟེར་ནས་བྱུང་བས། དེའི་ཐོག་ནས་ང་ཚོར་མོན་ཞེས་པ་ནི་ཕལ་ཆེར་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་བརྗོད་པ་མིན་ནམ་སྙམ་པའི་དོགས་པ་ཟ་རུ་བཅུག རྒྱུ་མཚན་ནི་སྐབས་འདིར་མོན་རྒྱ་གར་ཟེར་བ་ལས་མོན་དང་རྒྱ་གར་ཞེས་སོ་སོར་བཀར་ཏེ་བྲིས་མེད་པས་ཡིན། དེ་ནི་དཔེར་ན་སྟོད་ཞང་ཞུང་དང་། སྨད་འ་ཞ། ཤར་མི་ཉག་ཟེར་བའི་མིང་འདོད་སྟངས་དང་ཀུན་ནས་མཚུངས་པ་རེད། ཡིན་ན་ཡང་ཕྱི་ལོ་༨༢༣ ལོར་མོན་རྒྱ་གར་ཞེས་བྲིས་ཡོད་པ་ཙམ་གྱིས་མོན་ཟེར་བ་ནི་སྤྱོན་རྒྱ་གར་ཀྱི་ཆེ་བརྗོད་ཀྱི་མིང་ལྟ་བུ་ཞིག་རེད་འདུག་གོ་ཞེས་ཏེ་བཞག་ན་ག་ལ་འགྲིག་སྙམ་མི་འགྲིག་གོ།

2. *མོན་པའི་རུས་ཀྱི་ནང་གསེས་དང་མོན་བོན་དབར་གྱི་འབྲེལ་བ།*

ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་རབས་འཆི་མེད་གཏེར་ལས "མཚམས་ཀྱི་མིའུ་རིགས་བཞི་ནི། གམ་ཤང་རྒྱ། གྲིམ་ཤང་ཧོར། ཏ་ལེ་མོན། སྤྱུ་རྒྱལ་བོད་དང་བཞིའོ།"[26] ཞེས་པ་ལྟར། ཏ་ལེ་མོན་ནི་མཚམས་ཀྱི་མིའུ་རིགས་བཞི་ལས་གཅིག་ཡིན་ཚུལ་དང་། སྐབས་འདིར་ མཚམས་ཞེས་པ་ནི་མཐའ་མཚམས་ཏེ། བོད་ཤར་ལྷོ་ནུབ་བྱང་གི་མཐའ་མཚམས་སུ་གནས་པའི་རུས་རྒྱུད་ཁག་ལ་གོ་བ་མིན་ནམ་ སྙམ་པས་དཔྱད།

དེ་དང་ཆ་མཚུངས་པ་ཞིག་རྒྱ་བོད་ཡིག་ཚང་ཆེན་མོ་ལས "ནང་གི་མིའུ་རིགས་བཞི་ནི། གི་ཤང་རྒྱ་དང་། གྲིམ་ཞང་ཧོར། ཁ་ལེ་མོན་དང་། སྤྱུ་རྒྱལ་བོད་བཞིའོ། །དེའི་ནང་ནས། རྒྱ་ལ་གྲོལ་ཆ་གཉིས་སུ་གྱེས་པ་ནི། རྨུ་རུས་དང་། ཀེ་ལའོ། ཧོར་ཡང་གཉིས་སུ་གྱེས་པ་ནི། སྲིད་ཚ་དང་། ལྷ་ཚའོ། །མོན་པ་རིགས་གསུམ་བྱུང་བ་ནི། མོན་རང་རྒྱུད་པ་དང་། རྒྱ་བོད་མཚམས་ཀྱི་མི་ཉག ཧོང་པོ་དང་གསུམ་མོ།"[27] ཞེས་པ་ལྟར། སྐབས་འདིར་ཁ་ལེ་མོན་ཞེས་པ་ནི་མོན་པ་རང་དུ་ངོས་བཟུང་སྟེ། དེ་ལ་རིགས་གསུམ་དུ་ཕྱེ་པ་མོན་རང་རྒྱུད་པ་དང་། རྒྱ་བོད་མཚམས་ཀྱི་མི་ཉག་དང་ཧོང་པོ་གསུམ་ཡང་མོན་པ་རང་དུ་གཏོགས་ཚུལ་གསུངས་འདུག གཞན་ཡང་ཁ་ལེ་མོན་དང་ཏ་ལེ་མོན་ཞེས་མིང་ཚིག་མི་འདྲ་བ་གཉིས་བྱུང་འདུག་པ་དེ་ཡང་ཡི་གེའི་སྒྲ་གདངས་ཀློག་སྟངས་ཀྱི་ཆ་ནས་དག་སྦྱིབ་མི་འདྲ་བར་གྱུར་བ་ལས་འཇུག་གཞི་གཅིག་རང་དུ་སྣང་སྟེ། སོག་པོ་ཁལ་ཁ་ལ་ཏལ་ཏ་དང་ཁ་བཏགས་དང་ཏ་བཏགས་ཞེས་འབོད་པས་གསལ་ལོ།

Michael Aris ཡིས "མོན་བྱང་རྒྱུད་པའི་སྐད་ནི་རྒྱ་བོད་ས་མཚམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་རོང་གི་སྐད་དང་ཉེ་ཞིང་། ནམ་རྒྱུན་རྒྱ་ནག་གིས་རྒྱལ་རོང་བར་man (མན་) ཞེས་འབོད་ལ།[28] བོད་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དེ་མོན་དང་གཅིག་པ་གོ་གི་ཡོད། རྒྱལ་རོང་དང་མོན་བར་གྱི་འབྲེལ་བ་དེས། ཉིན་ཞིག་མོན་ཞེས་པའི་ཐ་སྙད་བྱེ་བྲག་པ་དེ་དང་། དེ་འཇུག་སའི་རྟ་ཐང་ལུང་པར་ཡང་འགྲེལ་བཤད་གསལ་པོ་ཞིག་ཐོགས་པའི་རེ་བ་ཡོད།" ཞེས་དང་། ཡང་ Francoise Pommaret ཡིས་མོན་པའམ་མོན་ཞེས་པའི་མིང་འདི་བོད་ཀྱི་རིག་གཞུང་དུ་སྤྱོད་རྒྱ་ཧ་ཅང་ཆེ་ཞིང་། དེ་ནི་གཙོ་བོ་གོམས་སྲོལ་ཚུང་ཟད་འདྲ་པོ་ཡོད་པའི་རུས་ཚོགས་མི་འདྲ་བ་ཁ་ཤས་ལ་འཇུག་ཅིང་། (རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་རྩོམ་པ་པོ་ལ་ལས་མོན་ཞེས་པའི་དག་ཆ་ལ 'memba' (མེམ་པ་)དང་། རྒྱ་ནག་གིས་མེན་པ (menba) འམ་མོའིན་པ (moinba) ཞེས་འབྲི།) མོན་ཞེས་པའི་བརྡ་ཆད་འདི་ཕལ་ཆེར་རྒྱ་སྐད་དུ་སྤྱོད་བཞིན་པའི་

---

[26] མཁས་དབང་བསོད་ནམས་ཚེ་བརྟན་ཡོ་སེབ་དགེ་རྒན་དང་བསོད་ནམས་སྐྱབས་ལྡན་དགེ་རྒན། 1976: 28

[27] སྟག་ཚང་དཔལ་འབྱོར་བཟང་པོ། 1985: 11. དུང་དཀར་རིན་པོ་ཆེས "དེབ་ཐེར་འདི་བརྩམས་པའི་ལོ་ནི་བོད་ཀྱི་རབ་བྱུང་བདུན་པའི་ཤིང་སྟག་སྤྱི་ལོ ༡༩༣༩ལོ་ཡིན་པར་ར་འཕྲོད་ཅིང་།" ཞེས་གསུངས།

[28] Michael Aris 1980: 10 རྩོམ་འབྲུང་ལས་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་དོན་འགྱུར་ཙམ་ཡིན།

‘man’ (མན)་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་ཆེ་ཞིང་། རྒྱ་སྐད་ལས་མན་གྱི་དོན་ནི་ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་གནས་པའི་ཀླ་ཀློ་ཞེས་པར་གོ་བ་ཡིན། Aris ཡིས་བརྗོད་པ་ལྟར་ན་ “རྒྱ་མི་ཚོས་བརྡ་ཆད་དེ་ཆང་ (ch’iang) དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་ཀླ་ཀློའི་རུས་ཚོགས་ཁ་ཤས་ལ་སྦྱར་ཞིང་། དེའི་ནང་རྒྱལ་རོང་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ཚུད་ཡོད། སྤྱིར་མོན་ཞེས་པའི་བརྡ་ཆད་དེ་དུས་རབས་བརྒྱད་པ་དང་དགུ་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་དེབ་ཐེར་རྣམས་སུ་མོན་ (mon) དང་མོང་ (mong) ཞེས་བྱུང་ལ། དེའི་རྗེས་ནས་བརྡ་ཆད་འདིའི་གོ་དོན་གཙོ་བོ་ནི། བོད་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་ཧི་ལ་མ་ཡའི་རི་རྒྱུད་དུ་ཆགས་པའི་ཚོ་པ་ཆེ་ཆུང་ཚང་མར་གོ་ཞིང་། བརྡ་ཆད་དེར་དམིགས་བསལ་གྱིས་ཡུལ་བྱེ་བྲག་པ་ཞིག་ལ་གོ་དཀའ་ནའང་། སྔོན་དུས་སྐབས་ཤིག་ལ། ནུབ་བྱང་གི་རི་རྒྱུད་ཁག་ཏུ་གནས་མཁན་ཙམ་དང་། བོད་དང་རྒྱ་གར་མ་ཡིན་པའི་ཀླ་ཀློ་ཙམ་ལས་ལྷག་པའི་གོ་བ་ཞིག་ཡོད་སྲིད་པར་སྙམ།”[29] ཞེས་པ་ལྟར། གོང་གི་དབྱིན་ཡིག་གི་དཔྱད་གཞི་གཉིས་ལས་མོན་གྱི་རུས་རྒྱུད་འདི་ནི་སྐད་ཡིག་དང་། གོམས་སྲོལ། ཆ་ལུགས་སོགས་མང་པོའི་སློ་ནས་རྒྱ་བོད་མཚམས་སུ་གནས་པའི་རྒྱལ་རོང་བ་རྣམས་དང་ཡང་འབྲེལ་བར་བསྟན་ཞིང་། རྒྱ་ཡིག་མན་ (蛮) ཞེས་པའི་འབྲུ་དོན་ཡང་ལྷོ་མཚམས་སུ་གནས་པའི་མི་ཀླ་ཀློའམ། རྒྱུ་མཚན་མི་རྟི་མཁན། སྤྱོད་པ་རྟིང་པོའི་རིགས་ལ་བརྗོད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་འདུག དེ་འདྲ་སོང་ཙང་། རྒྱ་བོད་ཡིག་ཚང་ཆེན་མོ་ལས་གསུང་པའི་མོན་གྱི་དབྱེ་བ་གསུམ་ལས། རྒྱ་བོད་མཚམས་ཀྱི་མི་ཉག་ཅེས་པའི་ཁོངས་སུ། རྒྱ་བོད་མཚམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་རོང་ཡང་འདུས་ནས། མི་ཉག་དང་རྒྱལ་རོང་སོགས་སུ་གནས་པའི་མི་རིགས་རྣམས་ཀྱང་བོད་ཀྱི་རུས་ཆེན་བཞིའི་ཡ་གྱལ་མོན་རྫུ་ནག་པོའི་རིགས་སུ་གཏོགས་པ་ཡིན་ཤས་ཆེ། མ་གཞི་གོང་གི་རྒྱ་ཡིག་མན་ (man 蛮) ཞེས་པའི་ཚིག་དོན་དང་འདྲ་བར། བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེབ་ཐེར་རྣམས་སུ་ “ཀློ་དང་མོན་ལྟར་རྒྱུ་བའི་བོད་ཡུལ་གང་” ཞེས་དང་། “ཡབ་མྱེས་རྣམ་པའི་ཡིག་ཚང་མ་ཤེས་ན། མོན་ཕྲུག་ཡུལ་བོར་དོན་མེད་ཡན་པ་འདྲ།” ཞེས་དང་། བཀའ་ཆེམས་ཀ་ཁོལ་མ་ལས་ “ད་རུང་གར་མ་གཏོགས་ཀྱི་རུས་ངན་ཁེངས་པོ་བདུན་བྱ་བ་བྱུང་སྟེ་འདི་རྣམས་ཡིན་ནོ། གར་ལོག་ཀྱུངས་སྐད་ཅན་དང་གཅིག ཀེ་ལེ་མི་ཤ་ཅན་དང་གཉིས། སོག་པོ་སྤྲེ་སྨྲག་ཅན་དང་གསུམ། རྒྱལ་མོ་ཀྱི་ཁྲོ་ཅན་དང་བཞི། ཀློ་བུ་མིག་དམར་ཅན་དང་ལྔ། རྡོ་རུ་ཤང་སྔོན་ཅན་དང་དྲུག མོན་བུ་སྤྱི་འདུམ་ཅན་དང་བདུན་ནོ།”[30] ཞེས་པ་མོན་པའི་རུས་འདི་རུས་ངན་གྱི་ཁོངས་སུ་བགྲངས་པ་སོགས། མོན་ལ་ཆུང་ལྟ་དང་དམའ་འབེབས་བྱས་ཡོད། དེའི་རྒྱུ་མཚན་ཡང་། མོན་ནི་བོན་ལུགས་སུ་བྱས་པའི་གནའ་བོའི་བོད་ཀྱི་རུས་ཆེན་བཞིའི་ཡ་གྱལ་ཡིན་པས། བན་བོན་གྱི་འགལ་ཟླའི་དབང་གིས་བོན་པོའི་སྲོལ་ཕལ་ཆེར་ཉམས་པར་གྱུར་པའི་གྲས་སུ་ཚུད་དེ་གྲགས་མི་ཆེ་བར་གྱུར་བ་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་མོན་པ་རྣམས་རང་བཞིན་གྱི་སྤྱོད་པ་རྟིང་ཞིང་སྤྱོད་ལམ་ཆོས་དང་མི་འབྲེལ་ཞིང་། འཚོ་ཐབས་གཙོ་བོ་རྔོན་ལས་ཡིན་པས་ཤ་ཁྲག་གི་ཟས་སྦྱོར་བྱེད་པ་ཏ་ཅང་མང་བར་བརྟེན། བོད་ཀྱི་རབ་བྱུང་བའི་སྲིས་བྲིས་པའི་ཆོས་འབྱུང་རྣམས་སུ་དམའ་འབེབས་བྱས་པའི་རྒྱུ་མཚན་ཡང་དེ་མིན་འགྲོ་སྙམ། ལྷག་པར་དུ་བཀའ་ཐང་ལས་ “བདུད་དང་

29 Pommaret 1999: 53. རྗོམ་འབྱུང་ལས་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་དོན་འགྱུར་ཙམ་ཡིན།

30 བཀའ་ཆེམས་ཀ་ཁོལ་མ། 1989: 58–59

བཙན་དང་དམུ་དང་ཐེའུ་རང་དང་། །གྲུལ་བུམ་ཀླུ་དང་གནོད་སྦྱིན་དྲི་ཟ་དང་། །བྲམ་ཟེ་མུ་སྟེགས་མོན་པ་སོག་པོ་དང་། །མི་སྣག་ཧོར་དང་མཐའ་མི་ཨཱ་ཙ་ར། །མགོན་པོ་མ་མོ་མེ་ལྷ་ལྷ་མ་ཡིན། །ཕྱི་དང་ནང་དང་གསང་བའི་ལྷ་མ་སྲིན། །སྡེ་ཚན་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱད་རང་རང་སྲོག་སྙིང་ཕུལ།།”[31] ཞེས་པ་ལྟར་མོན་ནི་གནོད་སྦྱིན་དང་། དྲི་ཟ། གྲུལ་བུམ། བདུད་དང་སྲིན་པོ་སོགས་ཀྱི་གྲལ་དུ་བཙུད་དེ་འཇིགས་སུ་རུང་བ་ཞིག་ཏུ་བརྩིས་པ་དང་། བཀའ་ཐང་ལས་བོད་དུ་གཏེར་སྦས་པའི་ལེའུ་ལས་ཀྱང་ “ཤེལ་གྱི་བྲག་ཕུག་གསང་གཏེར་བཀའ་འདུས་སྦས། །ལྷོ་བྲག་ཁོ་མཐིང་བདེ་གཤེགས་འདུས་པ་སྦས། །མཁར་ཆུ་གནམ་སྐས་ཅན་ལ་ཡོངས་རྫོགས་སྦས། །གཏམ་ཤུལ་སྲིན་མོ་སྦར་རྗེས་གསང་གཏེར་སྦས། །སྣག་ཚང་སེང་ཕུག་ཐུགས་གཏེར་སྐོར་དགུ་སྦས། །མོན་ཁ་སྣང་རིངས་སེང་གེ་རྫོང་གསུམ་ལ། །མ་ཉིང་གདེར་ཀ་ཁྲ་གཏེར་བཅོ་ལྔ་སྦས། །སྤ་གྲོ་གནམ་ཐང་དཀར་པོ་ནས་འབྲི་མཚམས། །མངའ་བདག་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ནོར་གཏེར་མང་དུ་སྦས།།”[32] ཞེས་དང་། ཡང་དེ་ཉིད་ལས “སྤ་གྲོ་ཆུ་མོ་ཕུག་ཏུ་ཐུགས་གཏེར་སྦས། །ཤ་འུག་སྟག་སྒོར་མ་ཉིང་གཏེར་བཅུ་སྦས། །དོམ་ཚང་རོང་དུ་གཏེར་ཕྲན་འདྲེས་མ་སྦས།།”[33] ཞེས་དང་། ཡང་དེ་ཉིད་ལས་ས་རྟགས་གཏེར་གྱི་འབྱུང་གནས་བསྟན་པའི་ལེའུ་ལས “རྗོ་བོད་མཚམས་སུ་སྦས་པའི་གཏེར་ཀ་འདི། །མི་གཞག་འདོན་པའི་རྟགས་དེར་བསྟན་ནས་བྱུང་། །དེའི་འོག་ནས་ཐིག་ཕྲེང་འགའི་མཚམས་སུ་ལྷོ་མོན་ཕྱོགས་སུ་སྦས་པའི་གཏེར་ཀ་འདི། །མི་གཞག་འདོན་པའི་རྟགས་དེར་བསྟན་ནས་བྱུང་། །ཡང་ཐིག་ཕྲེང་འགའི་མཚམས་སུ” མོན་ཁ་སྤ་གྲོར་སྦས་པའི་གཏེར་ཀ་འདི། །མི་བཞག་འདོན་པའི་རྟགས་དེར་བསྟན་ནས་བྱུང་།།”[34] ཞེས་བྱུང་ཞིང་། ལྷག་པར་བཀའ་ཐང་ལས་སྒྲུབ་པ་བྱེད་པའི་གནས་གསུང་སྐབས “ཐུགས་ཀྱི་དབེན་གནས་ལྷོ་བྲག་མཁར་ཆུ་ཡིན། །ཡོན་ཏན་དབེན་གནས་ཡར་ཀླུང་ཤེལ་གྱི་བྲག །འཕྲིན་ལས་དབེན་གནས་མོན་ཁ་སེང་གེ་རྫོང་།།”[35] ཞེས་བྱུང་བ་དང་། ལྷག་པར་དུ་ལྷོ་ནུབ་སྲིན་པོའི་ཡུལ་དུ་འབྱོན་པར་དགོས་པའི་ལེའུ་ལས “སྙིང་པོའི་ཛྭ་ལ་ཟླ་བ་གཉིས། །མོན་ཁ་སྣ་རིང་ཟླ་བ་གསུམ། །སྤ་གྲོ་སྟག་ཚང་ཟླ་བ་བཞི། །ཆུ་མོ་ཕུག་ཏུ་ཟླ་བ་གཉིས། །བྲ་མོ་ལྡིང་ལྷར་ཟླ་བ་གཉིས། །ཤ་འུག་སྟག་སྒོར་ལོ་གཅིག་བཞུགས། །མཁན་ཆེན་བྲག་ལ་ལོ་གཅིག་སྟེ། །དཔྱལ་གྱི་བྲག་ལ་ལོ་གཅིག་བཞུགས། །ལྷ་རིའི་གངས་ལ་ལོ་གཅིག་བཞུགས། །གཡུ་ཕུ་ཛ་ལྡིང་ཟླ་བ་གསུམ། །མོན་སྒོམ་བྲག་ཕུག་ཟླ་བ་གསུམ། །འོན་ཕུ་སྟག་ཚང་ཟླ་བ་གསུམ། །གསར་མོ་རི་ལ་ཟླ་བ་གཉིས། །དྭགས་རྫོང་ཕུག་པར་ལོ་གཅིག་བཞུགས། །བྱར་གྱི་སྣག་ཆུང་ཞག་གསུམ་སྟེ། །དོམ་ཚང་རོང་དུ་ཞག་ལྔ་བཞུགས། །སྟག་ཚང་རོང་དུ་ཞག་བདུན་ནོ། །གཟིག

---

31 པད་མ་བཀའ་ཐང་། 2006: 192.

32 པད་མ་བཀའ་ཐང་། 2006: 454.

33 པད་མ་བཀའ་ཐང་། 2006: 456–457.

34 པད་མ་བཀའ་ཐང་། 2006: 465.

35 པད་མ་བཀའ་ཐང་། 2006: 481.

ཚང་རོང་དུ་ཞག་དགུ་བཞུགས།།”[36] ཞེས་བྱུང་བ་ལྟར། ཡོངས་གྲགས་སུ་སློབ་དཔོན་པདྨ་འབྱུང་གནས་བོད་དུ་ཕེབས་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་བདུད་སྲིན་མ་རུང་བ་རྣམས་དམ་ལ་བཏགས་ཤིང་བོད་ཁམས་བདེ་ལ་བཀོད་ཚུལ་དང་། དེ་ནས་ལྷོ་ནུབ་སྲིན་པོའི་ཡུལ་དུ་སྲིན་པོ་རྣམས་བཏུལ་བར་ཕེབས་པ་རེད་ཅེས་བཤད་སྲོལ་ཡོད་པ་ལྟར། སློབ་དཔོན་གྱིས་གཏེར་སྦས་ཡུལ་དང་གཏེར་གནོན་ཡུལ། ལྷག་པར་ལྷོ་ནུབ་སྲིན་ཡུལ་དུ་སྒོམ་མཛད་པའི་བྲག་ཕུག་དང་ས་ཆ་སོ་སོའི་མིང་ནི་མོན་ཡུལ་གྱི་ལུང་པ་མང་པོའི་མིང་དང་ཆ་འཕྲོད་པར་བལྟས་ན། ལྷོ་ནུབ་སྲིན་ཡུལ་ཟེར་བ་དེ་ཡང་མཐར་གཏུགས་ན་ཕལ་ཆེར་མོན་ཡུལ་རང་ཡིན་པ་འདྲ་སྟེ། དུས་སྐབས་དེར་མོན་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བོན་ཆོས་ཁོ་ན་དོན་དུ་གཉེར་ཞིང་། བན་ཆོས་ལ་རྒོལ་ཞིང་དམར་ཟན་སྤྱོད་ཅིང་དམར་མཆོད་ཕུལ་བ་སོགས་མ་རུང་བའི་ལས་བྱེད་པ་བགྲང་དུ་མེད་པས། སློབ་དཔོན་ཆེད་དུ་དེ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ཆོས་སྤེལ་དུ་སོང་བ་མིན་ནམ་སྙམ་དུ་སེམས་ལ། རྒྱུ་མཚན་དེའི་དབང་གིས་སྔར་བོད་ཀྱི་ཆོས་འབྱུང་མཛད་པ་པོ་དག་སློང་ཁོང་རྣམ་ཀོས། མོན་པའི་རིགས་ལ་དམའ་འབེབས་དང་། ཆུང་ལྷ། ངན་སྣད་བྱས་པ་ཡིན་ལས་ཆེ་སྙམ་དུ་སེམས་པ་ཞོར་དུ་ཐལ། དེ་ལྟར་ཡིན་པའི་རྒྱུ་མཚན་ཡང་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་དེ། བོད་སིལ་བུའི་སྐབས་བོན་ཆོས་དར་སའི་གནས་གཙོ་བོ་ནི་[37]སྟོད་མངའ་རིས་དང་། འཇང་ས་ཐམ། ལྷོ་མོན་ཡུལ་སོགས་ཡིན་པའི་ཕྱིར། གླིང་སྒྲུང་དུ་གེ་སར་གྱིས་མོན་ཡུལ་བཏུལ་དགོས་པའི་རྒྱུ་མཚན་ཡང་མོན་ཤིང་ཁྲི་རྒྱལ་པོ་བདུད་རྒྱལ་ཡིན་པ་དང་། ཆོས་ལ་དད་པ་མེད་ཅིང་བསྟན་པའི་སྒྲི་དགྲ་ཡིན་པ་དང་། ཆོས་ཀྱི་བྱ་བར་གེགས་ཆེན་པོ་བྱེད་པས་ཡིན་པར་གསུངས་ཏེ། མོན་གླིང་གཡུལ་འགྱེད་ལས "མོན་གྱི་ཤིང་ཁྲི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ། །ནག་པོ་བདུད་ཀྱི་རྡེ་བོ་ཡིན། །སངས་རྒྱས་སྟོང་གི་སྒྲི་དགྲ་ཡིན། །བྲ་མོའི་གླིང་གི་སྐྲེར་དགྲ་ཡིན། །ཁོ་མ་འདུལ་རང་ས་བཞག་པས་ན། །སངས་རྒྱས་ཆོས་དང་དགེ་འདུན་ལ། །དད་པས་བཀུར་ཕྱག་བྱེད་ལེ་མིན།"[38] ཞེས་པ་ལྟར། སྔར་མོན་ཡུལ་ནི་བོན་ཆོས་དར་ཞིང་ནང་ཆོས་ལ་རྒོལ་མཁན་གྱི་ལུང་པ་ཞིག་ཏུ་གྱུར་མྱོང་བ་མིན་འགྲོ་སྙམ་པས་དཔྱད་པར་འཚལ།

མདོར་ན། རང་རེ་བོད་ཀྱི་གནའ་བོ་བོན་པོའི་ལུགས་སུ་ཐོག་མའི་རུས་ཆེན་བཞི་འམ། མིའུ་རིགས་བཞིའི་ཡ་གྱལ་མོན་གྱི་རུས་རྒྱུད་ལས་མཆེད་པའི་རུས་ཕྲན་ལྷོ་དང་། སྣགས། སྨྱང་སོགས་དེང་སང་བོད་ཁྲུལ་དྭགས་པོ་དང་ཀོང་པོ། ཛ་ཡུལ་སྟོད་སྨད། མཚོ་ སྣ། ལྷོ་བྲག་རྫོང་། རྒྱལ་རོང་། མི་ཉག སྨྱང་སྟོད་སྨད་སོགས་དང་། བོད་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་མཐར་གནས་པའི་བོད་རིགས་ཙམ་མ་ཡིན་པར། ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམ་མཆོས་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་རྒྱ་གར་དང་། འབྲུག འབྲས་ལྗོངས། ཐ་ལན། འབར་མ་སོགས་སུའང་དེང་སང་དུ་མོན་པའི་རིགས་མཆིས་ལ། ནམ་རྒྱུན་ཡོངས་གྲགས་ཀྱི་མོན་དང་མོན་ཡུལ་ཞེས་པ་ནི་རྒྱ་གར་ཨ་རུ་ན་ཅལ་མངའ་སྡེའི་ཁོངས་སུ་གཏོགས་པའི་རྟ་ཝང་

[36] པད་མ་བཀའ་ཐང་། 2006: 495–496.

[37] ཚག་འགག་རྟ་མགྲིན། 1993: 75 པར་འགོད་དོན "དེས་ན་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་གཅིག་པར་བོད་དུ་ནང་པ་སངས་རྒྱས་པའི་ཆོས་ལུགས་དང་གཞི་མཐུན་མེད་པའི་ཆོས་ལུགས་ནི་སྟོད་མངའ་རིས་དང་། ལྷོ་མོན། འཇང་ས་ཐམ་སོགས་མཐའ་ཁུལ་དུ་སྤེལ་བའི་བོན་ཆོས་མེད་པས།" ཞེས་གསལ་བར་འགོད་དོ།

[38] ཚབ་འགག་རྟ་མགྲིན། 1993: 74.

དང་། འབུམ་རྡེ་ལ། སེང་གེ་རྫོང་། རྡེ་རང་སོགས་ཡིན་ཞིང་། འབྲུག་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་མ་ཚུགས་པའི་སྔོན་ལ་འབྲུག་ལའང་མོན་ཡུལ་སྟེ། ལྷོ་མོན་ཞེས་བོས་མྱོང་བ་རེད།།

3. མོན་པའི་ངག་རྒྱུན་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་མོན་པ་རིགས་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས་བཤད་པ།

དེང་སང་ཡོངས་གྲགས་ཀྱི་མོན་པ་ནི་གོང་དུ་མདོར་ཙམ་ཞུས་ཟིན་པ་ལྟར། རྒྱ་གར་བྱང་ཤར་ཨ་རུ་ན་ཅལ་མངའ་སྡེའི་ཁོངས་སུ་ ཡོད་པའི་རྟ་ཝང་དང་། འབུམ་རྡེ་ལ། སྟག་ལུང་རྫོང་། རྒྱང་མཁར་རྫོང་། རྡེ་རང་རྫོང་། སེང་གེ་རྫོང་སོགས་སུ་གཞུག་མར་ གནས་པའི་མོན་པ་རྣམས་ཡིན་ལ། སའི་རྒྱ་ཁྱོན་ལ་སྤྱི་ལེ་གྲུ་བཞི་མ་༡༤༠༠ཡོད་པ་དང་། དེ་དག་ནི་གནའ་བོ་མོན་པའི་རུས་རྒྱུད་ ཀྱི་ཤུལ་ལུས་རྒྱུད་འཛིན་པ་གཙོ་བོ་ཡིན་དགོས་ལ། ལོ་རྒྱུས་སུ་བྱུང་བའི་“མོན་རང་རྒྱུད་པ”ཟེར་བའང་འདི་དག་ཡིན་པར་སྙམ། དེ་སྔོན་བོད་ཀྱི་ཡིག་ཆ་རྣམས་སུ་མོན་ཡུལ་གྱི་རྒྱ་ཁྱོན་དཀྱུས་ལ་རྟ་པའི་ཉིན་ཞག་བཅོ་ལྔ་ཙམ་དང་། ཞེང་ལ་ཉིན་ཞག་གསུམ་ཙམ་ཡོད་ཚུལ་དང་། ཐུབ་བསྟན་ཆོས་འཕེལ་གྱིས་“མོན་ཡུལ་གྱི་རྒྱ་ཁྱོན་སྤྱི་ལེ་གྲུ་བཞི་མ་དགུ་ཁྲི་ཙམ་ཡོད་”[39] ཟེར་བ་དེ་དང་། ཡེ་ཤེས་ འཕྲིན་ལས་ཀྱིས་ “མི་ཁ་མ་ཧུང་ས་ཐིག་ཟེར་བའི་ལྷོ་ངོས་སུ་གནས་པའི་ས་ཁུལ་གཙོ་བོ་ནི་མོན་ཡུལ་དང་། ལྷོ་ཡུལ། རྫ་ཡུལ་སྨད་ མ་སོགས་ཡིན་ཞིང་། དེ་དག་ལ་ཁྱོན་བསྡོམས་སྤྱི་ལེ་གྲུ་བཞི་མ་ཁྲི་དགུའི་རྒྱ་ཁྱོན་ཡོད།”ཟེར་བ་གཉིས་མཚུངས་ཤིང་། མཁས་ དབང་ཆབ་སྤེལ་གྱིས་ཀྱང་ཁུལ་དེ་ཚོར་སྔ་མོ་ནས་མོན་ཡུལ་ཞེས་འབོད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་ཚུལ་གསུངས་འདུག རྒྱུ་མཚན་དེར་བརྟེན། སྔར་གྱི་ མོན་ཡུལ་དང་ད་ལྟའི་མོན་ཡུལ་མི་འདྲ་ཞིང་། ཆེས་གདོད་མའི་དུས་ཀྱི་མོན་ཡུལ་ནི་དེ་བས་གཞན་ཞིག་ཡིན་པར་སེམས་སོ།

དེ་ལྟར་ས་ཁུལ་དེ་དག་ཏུ་གནས་པའི་མོན་པ་རིགས་ཀྱི་དམངས་ཁྲོད་ཤོད་རྒྱུན་ཞིག་ཏུ་ “གནའ་དུས་ས་གཞི་ཆེན་པོའི་སྟེང་དུ་མིའི་རིགས་མེད་ཅིང་། མཁའ་དབྱིངས་སུ་ཉི་ཟླ་སྐར་གསུམ་མེད་པས། གནམ་ནས་ཐུར་དུ་བལྟས་ན་ས་གཞི་ནི་སྨུག་པའི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ ཞིག་དང་འདྲ། ནམ་མཁའི་ལྷ་ཡིས་མིའི་འཇིག་རྟེན་ཞིག་བསྐྲུན་པའི་ཆེད་དུ་སྤྲེའུ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་དང་བྲག་སྲིན་མོ་གཉིས་སྟ་ གཞུག་ཏུ་འཇིག་རྟེན་ལ་མངགས་ཤིང་། དེ་གཉིས་གཉེན་བསྒྲིགས་ནས་སྤྲེའུ་ཕྲུག་མང་དུ་འཕེལ་རུང་། སྤྲེའུ་རྣམས་བྲག་ངོས་དང་ སྡོང་མགོར་འཛེགས་ནས་ཟན་འཚོལ་བ་ལས་ལོ་ཏོག་འདེབས་མ་ཤེས་པས། ཕ་སྤྲེའུ་དེ་གནམ་དུ་སོང་ནས་ལྷ་ལ་ང་ཚོའི་བུ་རབས་ཚ་ རྒྱུད་ཚང་མ་སྤྲེའུ་ཡིན་པས་མིའི་འཇིག་རྟེན་བསྐྲུན་ཐབས་མེད་ཅེས་ཞུས་པ་ལ། ལྷས་ཁོ་ཚོར་ནས་དང་འབྲས་སོགས་འབྲུ་རིགས་ཀྱི་ ས་བོན་གནང་བར་མ་ཟད། ཁོ་ཚོར་ས་བོན་འདེབས་སྟོལ་ཁྲིད་ནས་ལོ་ཏོག་སྐྱེས་བྱུང་། དེ་ནས་བཟུང་ས་གཞིའི་སྟེང་དུ་འབྲུ་རིགས་ སྣ་ཚོགས་ཡོད་པར་གྱུར། དེའི་ཚེ་སྤྲེལ་ཞིག་གིས་རྡོའི་སྟ་རེ་སྤྱད་ནས་སྲོག་ཆགས་མང་པོ་བསད་ཡོད་པ་དང་། སྤྲེའུ་ཞིག་གིས་མི་ སྐད་བཤད་པས

[39] ཐུབ་བསྟན་ཆོས་འཕེལ། 1988: 42.

སྤྲེའུ་ཚོགས་སུ་དེའི་སྐད་གྲགས་ཙུང་ཟད་ཇེ་ཆེར་སོང་། དེ་ནས་བཟུང་མི་སྐད་སྨྲ་ཤེས་པའི་སྤྲེའུ་བསྟུད་ཀྱིན་བསྟུད་ ཀྱིན་ཇེ་མང་དུ་སོང་བ་དང་རིག་པའང་ཇེ་རྣོར་གྱུར་རུང་། ཟས་རིགས་བཙོ་མ་ཤེས་པས། སྤྲེའུ་ཞིག་ཡང་གནམ་དུ་སོང་ནས་ལྷ་ལ་ང་ ཚོས་ད་ལྟ་རི་དྭགས་བརྔོན་ཤེས་ཤིང་ལོ་ཏོག་འདེབས་ཤེས་ལ་མི་སྐད་ཀྱང་སྨྲ་ཤེས་པར་གྱུར་ཀྱང་མེ་མེད་པས་ཟས་རིགས་བཙོ་མི་ཐུབ་ཅེས་ཞུས་པ་ལ་ལྷས་ ཡང་ཁོ་ཚོར་མེ་གནང་བས། ཟན་ཡང་བཙོ་ཤེས་ནས་སྤྲེའུ་རྣམས་མིར་གྱུར་སོང་།”[40] ཞེས་དང་། ཡང་བཤད་ སྲོལ་གཞན་ཞིག་ལ་ “མོན་པ་རིགས་ནི་ལྷའི་སྨུ་རྐས་དང་གསེར་གྱི་དཔྱང་ཐག་ལ་འཛུས་ནས་མིའི་ཡུལ་དུ་བབས་པ་ཡིན”[41] ཟེར་བ་ སོགས་མོན་པའི་དམངས་ཁྲོད་ངག་རྒྱུན་གྱི་བཤད་སྲོལ་འདི་གཉིས་ཀར། བོད་ཀྱི་ངག་རྒྱུན་དུ་ཡོངས་སུ་གྲགས་པའི་འཕགས་པ་སྤྱན་ རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱིས་བྱིན་རླབས་བཞུགས་པའི་ཕ་སྤྲེའུ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་དང་། རྗེ་བཙུན་སྒྲོལ་མའི་བྱིན་གྱིས་རླབས་པའི་མ་བྲག་ སྲིན་མོ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་ལས་སྤྲེའུ་ཕྲུག་འཕེལ་ཚུལ་གྱི་གཏམ་རྒྱུད་དེ་དང་། བོན་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བོད་ནི་ནམ་མཁའ་ལས་མཆེད་པ་ཡིན་ ཟེར་བའི་བཤད་སྲོལ་གཉིས་དང་གཅིག་པ་ཡིན་པའི་ཡིན་ལུགས་སྒྲུབ་བྱེད་དང་བཅས་པ་ཆབ་འགག་ཏྲ་མགྲིན་དང་འཆི་མེད་རྡོ་རྗེ་ལ་༢་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ གསལ་པོར་གསུངས་འདུག་པས་འདིར་རྒྱས་པར་སྤྲོས་པ་ལ་དགོས་པ་མ་མཆིས། གཞན་ཡང་མོན་ཆོས་འབྱུང་ལས་ “ཁྱད་པར་ལྷོ་ མོན་ཁ་བཞིའི་ལུང་ཕྱོགས་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་མི་རྣམས་བོད་ཡུལ་ནས་ལྷོ་མོན་ལ་ཡོང་ནས་ཡུན་རིང་པོ་སོང་བས་གོང་དུ་བརྗོད་པའི་རིགས་ རུས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་པ་ཁོ་ན་ཉིད་ཡིན་འདུག་ཀྱང་། ལྷོ་མོན་གྱི་ལུང་ཕྱོགས་འདིར་རྒྱ་བོད་ཀྱི་ལུགས་ལྟར་རིགས་རུས་ལ་མཐོ་ དམན་གྱི་དབྱེ་བ་མེད་ཅིང་། མཐོང་བཀུར་ཆེ་བར་མི་འཛིན་པས་ཡིག་ཆ་ལ་མ་བཀོད་པ་དང་། ཁུངས་མ་ཆོད་པ་ཡིན་འདུག”[42] ཞེས་གསལ་བ་ལྟར་ལྷོ་ ཕྱོགས་མོན་གྱི་རུས་ཚོ་དེའི་འབྱུང་སའི་ཁུངས་ཐོག་མ་ནི་བོད་ནས་ཡིན་ཚུལ་གསུངས་འདུག

སྤྲེའུ་ལས་མིར་འཕེལ་བའི་ངག་རྒྱུན་དེ་ནི། སྲོང་བཙན་སྒམ་པོས་མཛད་པར་གྲགས་པའི་བཀའ་ཆེམས་ཀ་ཁོལ་མ་ལས་ཐོག་ མར་བྱུང་བས། ཡོངས་གྲགས་སུ་ངག་རྒྱུན་དེ་དུས་རབས་བདུན་པ་ལས་སྔ་བར་ངེས་འཛིན་བྱེད་ཀྱི་མེད། འོན་ཀྱང་། ཉེ་བའི་ཆར་ཚན་ རིག་གི་ལག་རྩལ་གོང་མཐོར་ཕྱིན་པ་དང་སྟབས་བསྟུན་ཏེ་ས་ཁམས་དང་གནའ་རྫས་རྟོག་ཞིབ་པ་ཚོས། བོད་ཡུལ་སྟོད་སྨད་བར་ གསུམ་ནས་རྡོ་ལོ་སྟོང་ཕྲག་མང་པོའི་གོང་གི་རྫ་ཆས་དང་རུས་ཆས་མང་པོ་རྙེད་སོན་བྱུང་བ་ལས། “འཛམ་བཟོས་སྤྲེའུའི་སྐུ་བརྙན”[43]

---

40 ཆབ་འགག་ཏྲ་མགྲིན། 1990: 18–19. གཏམ་རྒྱུད་འདིའི་མ་དཔེ་ཡོང་ཁུངས་ནི་བོད་ལྗོངས་མི་མང་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་གིས་༡༩༨༧ལོའི་ཟླ་༡༠པར་དཔར་ དུ་བསྐྲུན་པའི་ 《མོན་པ་རིགས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མདོར་བསྡུས།》 (རྒྱ་ཡིག་པར་མ) ཞེས་པ་དེ་ཡིན་འདུག་ལ། འཆི་མེད་རྡོ་རྗེས་ 1987 དཔྱད་རྩོམ་དེར་ ཡང་ལུང་འདྲེན་གནང་འདུག

41 ཆབ་འགག་ཏྲ་མགྲིན། 1990: 19.

42 ལྷ་བཙུན་ངག་དབང་ཕུན་ཚོགས། 1988: 127.

43 འཆི་མེད་རྡོ་རྗེས། 2006: 38 ཐོག་གསལ་དོན། “གྲོང་ཁྱེར་ལྷ་སའི་བྱང་ངོས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ལེ་ཕུ་ཙམ་གྱི་སར་གནས་པའི་མཆོད་གོང་ནས་རྡོ་ཆས་གསར་མའི་ དུས་ཀྱི་གནའ་རྫས་འབོར་ཆེན་ཐོན་ཡོད་པ་དེ་དག་ལ་ཊ་ལོ་བཞི་སྟོང་ལྷག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡོད་ཅིང་། ཡང་སྐོར་སུ་འཛམ་བཟོས་སྤྲེའུའི་སྐུ་བརྙན་ཞིག་ཐོན་པ་དང་།

ཐོན་ཡོད་པ་དེ་ལ་བལྟས་ན། བཀའ་ཆེམས་ཀ་ཁོལ་མ་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་བོད་མིའུ་གདོང་དྲུག་སྤྲེའུ་དང་བྲག་སྲིན་ལས་མཆེད་ཚུལ་སྐོར་གྱི་ངག་རྒྱུན་དེ། སྲོང་བཙན་སྒམ་པོའི་ཡར་སྔོན་ནས་ས་ཁྲབ་ཇོ་ཁྲབ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་པའི་གནའ་བོ་བོན་པོའི་བཤད་སྲོལ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པའི་ར་སྤྲོད་བྱས། དེས་ན་མོན་པའི་ངག་རྒྱུན་དུ་ལྷས་སྤྲེའུ་མངགས་ཤིང་། སྤྲེའུ་མི་རུ་གྱུར་ཚུལ་གྱི་ལྟ་སྣང་དེ་ཡང་གནའ་བོ་བོན་པོའི་ངག་རྒྱུན་གཞའ་མ་ཞིག་མིན་འགྲོ་སྙམ་དུ་དོགས། དུང་དཀར་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་གྲུབ་མཐའི་རྣམ་བཤད་དུའང་“སྤྱི་ལོའི་དུས་རབས་དང་པོའི་ཡས་མས་ནས་བོན་པོའི་དཔེ་ཆའི་ནང་བོད་ཀྱི་མི་དེ་ཕ་སྤྲེའུ་དང་མ་བྲག་སྲིན་མོ་ནས་བྱུང་”[44] ཞེས་གསུངས་འདུག ལྷག་པར་དུ་མོན་པ་རྣམས་ལ་བོན་གྱི་ཤུགས་རྐྱེན་བོད་ཡུལ་ལས་ལྷག་པར་ཟབ་བ་ཡོད་ཚུལ་ལ་བལྟས་ན། མོན་པའི་ངག་རྒྱུན་དེའི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས་ཀྱི་ཐོག་མ་བཀའ་ཆེམས་ཀ་ཁོལ་མ་མ་ཡིན་པར། གནའ་བོ་བོན་པོའི་བཤད་རྒྱུན་དག་མ་དེ་མོན་པ་ཚོས་ཉར་ཚགས་རྒྱུན་འཛིན་བྱས་འདུག་སྙམ། རྒྱུ་མཚན་ནི། དེ་ནང་པའི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བཤད་སྲོལ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ན་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་བཤད་སྲོལ་དེ་ཡོད་དགོས་པ་ལ་མེད་པའི་ཕྱིར།

གཞན་ཡང་མོན་པའི་ངག་རྒྱུན་དུ་མོན་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཆུ་བོ་ཆེན་པོ་གསུམ་སྟེ། ཉང་ཆམ་ཆུ། རྟ་དབང་ཆུ། ཕོ་ལུང་ཆུ་བཅས་གསུམ་ བོད་ཡུལ་ནས་ཡོང་བའི་གཅེན་གཅུང་ཡིན་ཚུལ་ཞིག་བཤད་སྲོལ་ཡོད་འདུག་ལ། ཆུ་བོ་དེ་གསུམ་ནི་མོན་པ་རིགས་ཀྱི་འཚོ་གནས་ཀྱི་ རྟེན་ས་གཙོ་བོ་དང་། ཇི་ལྟར་ཆུ་བོ་གསུམ་པོ་བོད་ནས་བབས་པ་ལྟར། མོན་པ་རིགས་ཀྱང་ཆུ་བོ་དེ་དག་གི་རྒྱུན་དང་འགྲོགས་ཏེ་ཡ་ ཐོག་གདོད་མའི་དུས་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་རོང་སུ་གནས་སྤྱར་ཞིང་འཚོ་བ་རོལ་བ་ཡིན་འདུག་གོ །[45]

དེ་བཞིན་དབྱི་ཐ་ལིའི་མཁས་པ་སྐུ་ཞབས་ཏུའུ་ཆིས་ཀྱང་དུས་རབས་ཉི་ཤུའི་ལོ་རབས་བཞི་བཅུའི་ནང་དུ་བོད་ལ་གནའ་རྫས་རྟོག་ཞིབ་གནང་བར་ཐེངས་མང་ཐེབས་པའི་འབྲས་བུར་ཡི་གེ་མ་བྱུང་བའི་དུས་སྐབས། (史前时期) སམ་གདོད་མའི་དུས་སྐབས་ཀྱི་རིན་ཐང་བྲལ་བའི་གནའ་རྫས་འབོར་ཆེན་ལག་སོན་བྱུང་བའི་ནང་ནས་སྣལ་པའི་སྟེང་དུ་སྐྲོག་ལུང་ཡོད་པའི་སྤྲེའུའི་རྐུ་བརྙན་ཞིག་རྙེད།” ཅེས་དང་། དཔྱད་རྩོམ་དེའི་མཇུག་གི་དཔྱད་གཞིའི་རྩོམ་ཁུངས་སྟོན་པའི་སྐབས། ཤོག་གྲངས་༡༣པའི་ཐོག་གསལ་དོན། (6) དོན་གྲུབ་དབང་འབུམ 2001: 236 ལས “མི་རྣམས་སྤྲོ་བ་སྐྱེ་དགོས་པ་ཞིག་ནི་ལྷ་སའི་མཆོད་ཁང་གྲོང་ཚོའི་གནའ་ཤུལ་རྒྱུན་མཐུད་ནས་སྔོག་འཚོལ་བྱས་པའི་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་ནང་བསམ་ཡུལ་ལས་འདས་པ་ཞིག་ལ་སྤྲེའུའི་འདྲེམ་བཟོས་མགོ་ཞིག་རྙེད། ནང་ཆོས་ནི་དུས་རབས་བདུན་པའི་ནང་དུ་བོད་ལ་དར་བ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པས་དེའི་ཐོག་ནས་མ་མཐར་ཡང་ད་ནས་བསྟེས་པའི་ལོ་ངོ་བཞི་སྟོང་སྔོན་ནས་བོད་མིས་སྤྲེའུ་ལ་དད་མོས་བྱེད་པའི་གོམས་སྲོལ་ཡོད་པ་གསལ་བཤད་བྱས་ཡོད།” ཅེས་དང་། ཡང་དཔྱད་རྩོམ་དེའི་ཤོག་གྲངས ༡༣ ངོས། (7) [དབྱི་ཏ་ལི] ཏུའུ་ཆི་ཡི [Tucci] 2004: 6 《ལས “མི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བོད་ནས་སྤྲེའུ་(སྐུ་བརྙན་)བཙལ་རྙེད་ཐུབ་པར་ཡ་མཚན་སྐྱེ་མི་སྲིད་དེ། བོད་མི་ནི་སྤྲེའུ་དང་བྲག་སྲིན་མོ་བཤོས་པ་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་ཤོད་རྒྱུན་ཡོད་པའི་ཕྱིར།” ཞེས་པ་རྣམས་ནི་བོད་ཡུལ་ནས་སྤྲེའུའི་འདྲེམ་སྐུ་རྙེད་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་དཔང་རྟགས་ཡིན།

44 མཁས་དབང་དུང་དཀར་བློ་བཟང་འཕྲིན་ལས། 2004: 534 ཐོག་གསལ་དོན། “དེ་བཞིན་སྤྱི་ལོའི་དུས་རབས་དང་པོའི་ཡས་མས་ནས་བོན་པོའི་དཔེ་ཆའི་ནང་བོད་ཀྱི་མི་དེ་ཕ་སྤྲེའུ་དང་མ་བྲག་སྲིན་མོ་ནས་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན་ཞེས་བཤད་ཡོད། དེ་ནི་སྲོང་བཙན་སྒམ་པོ་མ་བྱུང་གོང་གི་སྐད་ཆ་ཡིན་པ་ལས་སྲོང་བཙན་སྒམ་པོ་བྱུང་ཚར་རྗེས་གཞི་ནས་བཟོས་པ་ཞིག་མིན། སྔ་དགེའི་དཔེ་ཆེའི་ནང་དུ་བྲག་སྲིན་མོ་ཞེས་བྲིས་ཡོད་ལ། སྦྲུ་མོ་ཞེས་ཀྱང་བྲིས་ཡོད།” ཞེས་གསལ།

45 འཆི་མེད་རྡོ་རྗེས། 2006: 38–39. ངག་རྒྱུན་དེ་ཁོ་བོས་འཆི་མེད་རྡོ་རྗེ་ལགས་ཀྱི་དཔྱད་རྩོམ་ལས་མཐོང་བ་མ་གཏོགས་དེ་སྔོན་ཐོས་མྱོང་མེད། ཡིག་ཚོགས་ལ་མི་འཛེམས་པར་ཁོང་གི་དཔྱད་རྩོམ་དུ་འཁོད་པའི་ངག་རྒྱུན་དེ་འབྲེལ་གྱི་བརྗོད་པ་རེ་གཉིས་འདིར་མཆན་དུ་གདབ་པར་བྱ། དེ་ཡང་ཤོག་གྲངས

4. མོན་དང་མ་སངས།

མ་སངས་(སང་) ནི་ཡོངས་གྲགས་བོད་མི་ཚོས་ཐེའུ་རང་ལ་ངོས་འཛིན་གནང་ཞིང་། ཐེའུ་རང་ནི་རྐང་པ་ཡ་གཅིག་ལས་མེད་པའི་མི་མ་ཡིན་ཞིག་དང་། དེ་བསྒྲུབ་ན་ཕྱུ་རྒྱུན་འཛོག་སྐབས་ཕྱུ་ཡག་པོ་འཁོར་བའི་གྲོགས་ཐོབ་ཚུལ་གྱི་དམངས་སྒྲུང་ཡང་མང་པོ་ཟླ་ཤད་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་པ་རྣམས་ལ། མཁས་དབང་ནམ་མཁའི་ནོར་བུས་མ་སང་གི་སྒྲུང་ཅེས་གསུངས་འདུག འོན་ཀྱང་བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེབ་ཐེར་སྔོན་པ་ཕལ་ཆེ་བའི་ནང་གཉའ་ཁྲི་བཙན་པོ་དེ་ཡུར་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ཡར་སྟོན་དུ་བྱུང་བའི། སྟོད་སིལ་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ཡོངས་གྲགས་སུ་མདའ་མཛད་བཅུ་རུ་འབོད་པ་དེའི་ཐུས་སུ་གཏོགས་པའི། བདུན་པ་མ་སངས་སྤུན་དགུའམ་རུ་དགུས། བོད་ཁམས་གཡང་དྲུག (བོད་ཁ་ཞ་དྲུག བོད་ཁམས་གཡའ་དྲུག བོད་ཀ་གཡག་དྲུག)དབང་སྒྱུར་བྱས་ཚུལ་གསལ་བ་དེ་ནི། མི་མ་ཡིན་ལྷ་བུ་ཞིག་གིས་བོད་ཁམས་དབང་སྒྱུར་བྱས་པར་ངོས་འཛིན་གནང་ན་འགྲིག་ཐབས་མེད་པ་ཡིན། མཁས་པ་གོང་མ་ཚོས་ཇི་ལྟར་གསུངས་པ་བཞིན་དེ་ནི་ངེས་པར་དུ་རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་ནམ་ཡང་ན་རྒྱལ་པོའི་རབས་ཤིག་ཡིན་དགོས་ཏེ། "བདུན་པ་མ་སངས་རུ་དགུས་དབང་བྱས་ཏེ། །ཡུལ་གྱི་མིང་ནི་བོད་ཁམས་གཡང་དྲུག་ཟེར། །ལག་ཆར་དོང་རལ་ཕུབ་ཆུང་དེ་ནས་བྱུང་། །" ཞེས་པ་ལྟར་མ་སངས་རུ་དགུས་བོད་ཁམས་དབང་བྱེད་པའི་དུས་སུ" རང་ཉིད་

ཐོག་གསལ་དོན "མོན་པ་བའི་ཐོག་མའི་མཆེད་ཁུངས་སྐོར་ལ་གཞམ་དུ་འཆར་འགྱུར་གྱི་དམངས་སྒྲུང་དེས་ཀྱང་ང་ཚོར་གོ་རྟོགས་ཕྲན་བུ་སྐྱེད་ཐུབ་པ་སྟེ། དེ་ཡང་མོན་ཡུལ་དུ་ཆུ་བོ་ཆེན་པོ་གསུམ་ཡོད་པ་སྟེ། ཉང་ཆམ་ཆུ་དང་རྟ་དབང་ཆུ། ཕོ་ལུང་ཆུ་བཅས་ཡིན་ཞིང་དེ་གསུམ་པོ་ནི་གཅེན་གཅུང་ཡིན་ཚུལ་གྱི་གཏམ་རྒྱུད་འཆད་སྲོལ་ཡོད། ནམ་ཞིག་གཅེན་གཅུང་གསུམ་པོ་བོད་ནས་ཁ་བྲེས་སྐབས་མོད་གསུམ་ཞེས་པའི་ས་དེར་འཛོམས་རྒྱུའི་ཀ་ཆད་བྱས་པ་མ་ཟད། སུ་ཞིག་སྔོན་ལ་སླེབས་ན་དེ་གཅེན་པོར་བསྒོ་རྒྱུའི་ཐག་བཅད། ཉང་ཆམ་ཆུ་ནི་གནས་པ་གངས་རི་དཀར་པོ་བརྒྱུད་དེ་དལ་པོའི་ངང་སྐྱོད་བཞིན་མོན་གྱི་སྲིན་མོ་གྲོང་དུ་སླེབས་སྐབས། སྲིན་མོ་ཞིག་དང་ཕྲད་པས་སྲིན་མོ་དེས་ཉང་ཆམ་ཆུ་ལ། ཁྱེད་རང་ད་ལྟ་འདིར་གཞི་ནས་སླེབས་ཙམ་ཡིན་ནམ། རྟ་དབང་ཆུ་དང་ཕོ་ལུང་ཆུ་གཉིས་ཉིན་གསུམ་གྱི་སྔོན་ནས་མདོ་གསུམ་ལ་ཕྱིན་ཚར་སོང་ཞེས་བརྫོད་པས་ཉང་ཆམ་ཆུ་ད་གཟེད་ཤང་སྒྲ་དང་བཅས་ཏེ་མདོ་གསུམ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་བསྐྱོད། ཉང་ཆམ་ཆུ་མདོ་གསུམ་དུ་སླེབས་སྐབས་རྟ་དབང་ཆུ་དང་ཕོ་ལུང་ཆུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་གྲིབ་མ་ཙམ་ཡང་མཐོང་རྒྱུ་མེད་ཅིང་། ཉིན་གསུམ་སོང་རྗེས་ཁོ་གཉིས་གཞི་ནས་མདོ་གསུམ་དུ་འབྱོར། དེར་བརྟེན་ཉང་ཆམ་ཅུ་སྔོན་ལ་སླེབས་པས་དུས་དེ་ནས་བཟུང་གཅེན་པོར་གྱུར་པ་དང་རྟ་དབང་ཆུ་དང་ཕོ་ལུང་ཆུ་གཉིས་གཅུང་པོར་གྱུར་ཏོ་ཞེས་ངོ་མཚར་ཆེ་འབའི་གཏམ་རྒྱུད་དུམ་བུ་འདིར་འདྲ་ཞིག་བརྒྱུད་ནས་ཉང་ཆམ་ཆུ་དང་རྟ་དབང་ཆུ། ཕོ་ལུང་ཆུ་བཅས་ཆུ་བརྒྱུད་གསུམ་གྱི་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་འབྲེལ་བ་ནི་གཅེན་གཅུང་གི་འབྲེལ་བ་ཞིག་གམ་ཕ་མེས་གཅིག་ནས་གྱེས་པའི་རྒྱུད་པ་ཡིན་པ་དང་། ཡང་སྔོས་ཆུ་རྒྱུད་གསུམ་གྱི་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཐོག་མའི་མཆེད་ཁུངས་ནི་བོད་ས་མཐོ་ནས་སོ་སོར་གྱེས་ཏེ་ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་གནས་སྤོས་བྱས་པའི་རུས་མོན་ཅན་གྱི་རྒྱུད་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པར་བསྟན་ཡོད་ཅིང་མོན་པ་བའི་དམངས་གཞས་ལས་ཀྱང་། བོད་རིགས་མོན་པ་གློ་པ། ང་ཚོ་རྩ་བ་གཅིག་རེད། ཕ་རྒྱུད་སྤྱིལ་ཀན་བྱང་ཆུབ། ཕ་མ་གཅིག་གི་གཅེན་གཅུང་།" ཞེས་དང་། དེ་ཉིད་ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༨༠ ཐོག་གསལ་དོན "ཐོག་མར་ཁོ་ཚོ་འཚོ་གནས་བྱ་ཡུལ་གཙོ་བོ་ཉང་ཆམ་ཆུ་དང་རྟ་དབང་ཆུ། ཕོ་ལུང་ཆུ་བཅས་ཆུ་རྒྱུ་གསུམ་སྟེ། དེང་སང་གི་གྲོ་མོ་དང་འབྲུག་ཡུལ། འབྲས་ལྗོངས། ལྷོ་བྲག་རྫོང་། མཚོ་སྣ་རྫོང་ཁོངས་ཡོད་པའི་མོན་(རྒྱ་གར་གྱིས་བཙན་བཟུང་བྱས་པའི་རྟ་དབང་དང་ཧེ་རང་། སེང་གེ་རྫོང་སོགས་ཚུད།) ཡུལ་བཅས་སུ་ཡིན་པས་ཡུལ་ཁམས་དེ་དག་གི་སྤྱི་མིང་ལ་མོན་ཞེས་དང་དེ་དག་ལ་གནས་པའི་ཡུལ་མི་རྣམས་ལ་མོན་པ་ཞེས་འབོད་དེ།" ཅེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་རོ།

ཀྱི་ངོ་གདོང་སྲུང་སྐྱོབ་བྱེད་པའི་གདོང་རལ་དང་། གཟུགས་པོ་འགེབས་པའི་གོ་ཁྲབ་དང་ཕུབ་ཆུང་ཡང་གསར་དུ་བཟོ་ཤེས་པ་བྱུང་།”[46] ལྷག་པར་དུ་སྐབས་དེར་མ་སངས་སྤུན་དགུས་བོད་ལ་དབང་བྱེད་སྐབས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་དེའི་རྒྱལ་ས་ནི། ཁྲུངས་དང་རྒྱུ་མཚན། དཔང་རྟགས་དུ་མར་བརྟེན་ནས་ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་མོན་ཡུལ་ཡིན་པར་བསྒྲུབས་ཏེ། མི་འོད་ལགས་མོན་ཡུལ་དུ་ཕེབས་ཏེ་ཉམས་ཞིབ་ཟབ་མོ་གནང་སྟེ་བརྩམས་པའི་ཚངས་དབྱངས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་བསྐྱར་དུ་འཚོལ་བ་ཞེས་པ་ལས “ཐོག་མར་འགྲོ་དུས་གནས་ཆ་ཚང་ལ་མཇལ་མ་ཐུབ། བླ་མ་མཁྱེན་ནོ་དང་སྐུའི་རྒྱབ་བདུན་གསལ་བའི་རྗོ། བླ་མ་ཞབས་རྗེས་བཅས་ལ་བདག་གཅིག་ཙུང་ཡག་པོ་བྱས་འདུག་པས་འཚོལ་སླ་ལ། གཞན་རྣམས་ལ་འགྲེལ་བཤད་དང་རྟགས་མཚན་དམིགས་བསལ་གང་ཡང་མེད་པས་འཚོལ་བ་དང་ངོས་འཛིན་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་ཙུང་དཀའ་མོ་རེད། ད་དུང་རི་ངོས་དེ་ན་བདེ་མཆོག་གི་ཕོ་བྲང་དང་། མཁའ་འགྲོ་མའི་ནུ་འབུར། ཐབ། མ་སངས་ཀྱི་ཞབས་བྲོ་རྗེད་ས། མ་ཕའི་དྲིན་ལན་མཇལ་ས་སོགས་གཞན་མང་པོ་ཞིག་ཡོད།”[47] ཅེས་གསལ་བ་ལྟར། མ་སངས་ཀྱི་ཞབས་བྲོ་རྗེད་ས་ཞེས་པའི་གནས་འདི་ནི། “རྟ་དབང་རྫོང་ནས་སྤྱི་ལི་བཙོ་བརྒྱད་”[48] སར་ཡོད་འདུག དེ་ཙམ་མ་ཟད་ཁོ་བོས་མོན་པའི་གྲོགས་པོ་བློ་བཟང་ཡོན་ཏན་དང་། ཐུབ་བསྟན་བརྟན་པ་སོགས་དང་ལྷན་དུ་གླེང་མོལ་བགྱིས་པ་ལས། མོན་ཕྱོགས་སུ་མ་སངས་ཀྱི་མི་རྒྱུད་ད་དུང་ཡང་ལྷག་ཡོད་པ་དང་། མ་སངས་ཞེས་རྗོད་སྐབས་གཟུགས་སྟོབས་ཆེ་ལ། གཤིས་རྒྱུད་དྲང་པ། ཉམ་ཆུང་ལ་དཔུང་གྲོགས་བྱེད་མཁན་གྱི་རིགས་ཤིག་ལ་ངོས་འཛིན་བྱེད་ཀྱི་རེད་ཟེར། གཞན་མ་སངས་ཀྱི་དམངས་སྒྲུང་མང་པོ་ཡོད་སྐོར་གསུངས་བྱུང་།

མོན་ཡུལ་མཚོ་སྣ་ཡི་ས་མིང་བྱུང་ཚུལ་སྐོར་སྡེ་སྲིད་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོས “དེ་ལ་སྐྱ་སེང་བུ་ལྷ་དགྲ་འདན་དཔུང་ཚོགས་ཡན་ལག་བཅུ་གཉིས་དང་འཐབས་པའི་ཚེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྡུ་པ་ཏི་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་ལུགས་ཤིག་ཡོད་ནའང་གྲགས་ཆེ་བ་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་དང་སྒྲོལ་མས་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརླབས་པ་སྤྲེའུ་དང་བྲག་སྲིན་ལས་ཆད་པ་བོད་ཁ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་རི་མཐོ་ཞིང་ས་གཙང་བའི་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཆར་གཏོགས་པ། མ་སངས་ཀྱི་མཐོང་སྣང་དུ་ཡུལ་ཐམས་ཅད་རྨུགས་པས་ཞོ་བསླལ་བ་ལྟར་ཁེངས་པ་མཚོར་མངོན། དེར་བྲག་གི་སྣ་ཞིག་མཐོང་བས་མཚོ་སྣར་གྲགས་པའམ། ཤ་བ་མཆོལ་སོང་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལ་བརྟེན་མཚོ་སྣར་གྲགས་པ་སོགས་རྒྱུ་མཚན་མང་ཙམ་མཆིས་ཀྱང་དོན་བྱང་དུ་ནེ་ར་གཡུ་མཚོ་དང་། ལྷོ་ན་སྐྱེར་ཆེན་གཡུ་མཚོ་གཉིས་ཡོད་པའི་མཚོ་གཉིས་པོའི་སྣེའི་དབུས་ན་ཡོད་པས་མཚོ་སྣར་གྲགས་པའི་ཆ་ཁྱུལ།”[49]ཞེས་གསལ་བ་ལྟར། མོན་ཡུལ་མཚོ་སྣའི་མིང་འདིའང་མ་སངས་ཀྱི་མཐོང་སྣང་དང་འབྲེལ་བའམ་མ་སངས་ཀྱིས་བཏགས་པར་གསུངས་པ་དང་། དེ་དང་ཏ་ཙང་ཆ་འདྲ་ཞིང་གསལ་ཁ་ཙུང་ཆེ་བ་ཞིག་མཁས་མཆོག་བློ་ལྡན་གྱིས་གསུངས་འདུག་སྟེ། “བསིལ་

46 མཁས་དབང་བེ་རི་ཀྲན་འཛིགས་མེད་དབང་རྒྱལ། 2008: 15.

47 མི་འོད། 2013: 147.

48 མི་འོད། 2013: 146.

49 སྡེ་སྲིད་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོ། 2007: 147.

ལྗན་ཁ་བའི་ལྗོངས་འདིར་སྔོན་མ་སངས་སྤུན་དགུས་བཟུང་བའི་ཡུལ་གྲུ་རྒྱུན་དུ་ན་བུན་གྱིས་བཏིབས་པ་མཚོ་དང་སྐྱེ་ཤིང་གིས་གང་བའི་ཉེ་སར་བྲག་རིའི་བ་གམ་བརྩེགས་པའི་སྣ་ཞིག་མཐོང་བ་དེའི་བྱང་ན་ནེ་ར་གཡུ་མཚོ། ལྷོ་ན་སྐྱེར་ཆེན་གཡུ་མཚོ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྣེ་མོར་གྱུར་པས་མཚོ་སྣ་ཞེས་གྲགས་པའི་ཡུལ་དེ་བཞིན་ལྷོ་མོན་ཡུལ་དང་བོད་ཀྱི་མཚམས།”[50]ཟེར་བ་ལྟར། སྔོན་དུས་སུ་མ་སངས་སྤུན་དགུས་བོད་ལ་དབང་བྱེད་སྐབས་ཡུལ་མཚོ་སྣར་གནས་བཅས་ཚུལ་ཞིག་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དཔེ་རྙིང་རྣམས་སུ་ཐོན་གྱི་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་སྟེ། རྒན་བེ་རི་མཁས་དབང་འཇིགས་མེད་དབང་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་མངའ་མཛད་བརྩུ་ལས་མ་སངས་སྤུན་དགུའི་ལོ་རྒྱུ་གསུང་སྐབས “འདིའི་རྒྱལ་ལྟེ་བ་ནི། ད་ལྟའི་མོན་རྟ་དབང་གི་ས་ཁུལ་དུ་ཡིན་པ་སེམས་ཏེ། རྒྱུ་མཚན་གང་གིས་ན། ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་ཡིག་ཆར་འཁོད་མིན་ཇི་ལྟར་ཡང་། ལྷོ་མོན་གྱི་ཕྱོགས་སུ་མ་སངས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་བཤད་སྲོལ་མང་པོ་གོ་རྒྱུ་དང་མཐོང་རྒྱུ་འདུག་པ་དཔེར་ན། ལྷོ་མོན་གྱི་རི་སུལ་འགར་རྡོ་ཕ་བོང་ཆེན་པོ་གཅིག་ཐོག་གཅིག་བརྩེགས་ཅན་དུ་མ་ཡོད་པར་ཡུལ་མི་ཚོས། དེ་དག་ལ་མ་སངས་ཀྱི་རྡོ་བརྩེགས་དང་། ཡང་རྡོ་རིང་གྱེན་དུ་ཀ་བ་ལྟར་བསླངས་པ་དུ་མ་ཡོད་པ་དེ་དག་ལ་མ་སངས་ཀྱི་ཀ་བ་དང་། ཡང་རྡོ་རིལ་ཆེན་པོ་ཁབ་གཅིག་ལ་མ་སངས་ཀྱི་སོར་རྡོ་ཡིན་ཚུལ་དེང་སང་གི་བར་དུ་གྲགས་ཆེ་བ་ཤེས་གསལ་ཡིན། དེ་བཞིན་ཟེར་མའི་བྱང་རྒྱུད་དུ་བྱུང་ཟེར་བའི་གྲོང་པའི་ཕར་ཕྱོགས་སུ་བྱ་མཐའ་ཟེར་བའི་གཡང་གཟའི་ལྷོ་ངོས་ནས་འབབ་པའི་ཆུ་ཞིག་ལ། མ་སངས་ཀྱི་གཙུན་རྒྱངས་སུ་འབོད་པ་དང་། ས་ཁུལ་དེར་སྐྱེས་པའི་སྣ་ཆུང་གསེར་མགོ་ཟེར་བའི་སྔོན་ལྷམ་ལ་མ་སངས་ཚོད་མ་འབོད་སྲོལ་ཡོད་པ་ཡོངས་གྲགས་ཡིན་པས། རྒྱུ་མཚན་དེ་དག་ལ་བལྟས་ན་ཕལ་ཆེར་མ་སངས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ས་ལྟེ་བ་དེ། དེང་སང་མོན་རྟ་དབང་ཕྱོགས་འདིར་ཡིན་ཆོག་པར་སེམས།”[51] ཞེས་གསུངས་འདུག་པ་སོགས། ཕྱོགས་མང་པོ་ཞིག་ནས་བལྟས་ཡོང་སྐབས་མ་སངས་དང་མོན་པའི་དབར་དུ་འབྲེལ་བ་ཞིག་ནི་ཏན་ཏན་ཡོད་པར་སྙམ་ལ། གཅིག་བྱས་ན་གོང་དུ་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་མ་སངས་སྤུན་དགུས་བོད་ཁམས་དབང་སྒྱུར་སྐབས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ས་ལྟེ་བ་ནི་ད་ལྟའི་མོན་ཡུལ་འདི་ཡིན་སྲིད་པས། འབྱུང་འགྱུར་གསལ་ཁ་ཅན་གྱི་རྒྱུ་ཆ་གསར་རྙེད་བྱུང་ན་གནད་དོན་འདིའི་ཐོག་དམིགས་སུ་བཀར་ཏེ་ཞིབ་དཔྱད་གནང་རྒྱུ་གལ་འགངས་ཆེ་བར་སེམས།

གནད་དོན་འདི་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་ཏ་ཙང་ཆེ་བའི་བྱུང་བ་གཞན་ཞིག་ནི་རླངས་ཀྱི་པོ་ཏི་བསེ་རུ་ལས “རླངས་སེང་གེ་འདུལ་གྱིས་ལྷ་རུ་མོན་ལྷ་སྤྱི་སྒོམ་དེ་མཆོད་ནས་མོན་ལ་དམག་དྲངས་པས། མོན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་དེ་ཆམ་ལ་ཕབ། དེའི་དཔའ་རྟགས་སུ་མོན་གྱི་ཆུ་ སྟག་མི་ཟན་དེ་བཟུང་ནས་དཔའ་བའི་མཛོད་དྲུག་དེ་བཀོལ་ནས་འཕྱུ་ལ་བཙུགས། མོན་ཁ་བཞི་དེ་འབངས་སུ་བཀོལ་ནས་དེ་བས་ དཔའ་བའི་སྟངས་འཕྱུ་འཛུགས་མི་དང་། མོན་འབངས་སུ་བཀོལ་མི་ཡང་ལྷ་གཟིགས་རླངས་ཡིན།”[52] ཞེས་པ་ལྟར། མ་སངས་ དང་དུས་

50 མཁས་མཆོག་བློ་ལྡན། 1998: 328.

51 མཁས་དབང་བེ་རི་རྒན་འཇིགས་མེད་དབང་རྒྱལ། 2008: 16.

52 རླངས་ཀྱི་པོ་ཏི་བསེ་རུ་རྒྱས་པ། 1986: 33.

རྒྱུད་གཅིག[53] པར་བཤད་པའི་ནླངས་སེང་གེ་འདུལ་གྱིས་མོན་ཡུལ་བཏུལ་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་གསལ་པོ་མེད་པས། གཅིག བྱས་ན་སྟོད་སེལ་སྐབས་སུའང་ཡིན་སྲིད་ལ། ནླངས་སེང་གེ་འདུལ་ཟེར་བ་འདི་བོད་ཀྱི་བཙན་པོ་ག་གེ་མོ་ཞིག་གི་བློན་པོའི་འགན། ཕྱུར་ཏེ་མོན་ཡུལ་དྲག་འདུལ་བྱས་པའང་ཡིན་སྲིད། མོན་ཆོས་འབྱུང་དུའང་ནླངས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་པ་ཨ་མི་དོན་འགྲུབ་རྒྱལ་ཟེར་བ་ཞིག་ལྷ་ སྲས་གཙང་མ་མ་བྱུང་བའི་སྔ་རོལ་ནས་དེར་འབྱོར་ཟིན་པར་བཀོད་ཡོད།

ལྡན་མ་རྒྱལ་སྲས་སྤྲུལ་སྐུས "གཞན་ཡང་མོན་ཡུལ་འདིར་བོད་ནས་མི་ཆོ་ཁག་བདུན་ཙམ་སྔ་རྗེས་བྱུང་བར་གྲགས་ཏེ། དེ་ཡང་ཐེངས་དང་པོ་འོང་བ་རྣམས་སྲུམ་སྤྲག་རོང་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བར་ཆགས། གཉིས་པ་ཁྲི་མོ་གཉེན་གདོང་ཁར་ཆགས། གསུམ་པ་ལྷའུ་བྲག་གདོང་ཁར་ཆགས། བཞི་པ་ངམ་མདོང་འཕྲེད་ལམ་དུ་ཆགས། ལྔ་པ་རྫོ་གདོང་འབུམ་པར་ཆགས། དྲུག་པ་ཉང་ཤར་སྤང་རྒྱན་དུ་ཆགས། བདུན་པ་ལྷ་སྲས་གཙང་མ་སྐྱ་འཁོར་དང་བཅས་བྱུང་ནས་རྗེ་འབངས་དེ་དག་གི་མི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱང་མང་དུ་འཕེལ་བ་བྱུང་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡུལ་མི་རྒན་པོ་དང་དགོན་རྩེ་སྐྱ་གོང་མའི་གསུང་རྒྱུན་ཁུངས་མ་དག་ལས་བྱུང་བ་དོན་ལ་གནས་པར་ཆ་བཞག་དགོས་ཏེ། དེ་ལྟར་མ་བྱུང་བའི་རྒྱུ་མཚན་བཤད་དུ་མེད་པས་སོ།" ཞེས་པ་ལྟར་བོད་ནས་མི་ཚོགས་ཁག་བདུན་མོན་ཡུལ་དུ་སོང་ནས་གཞིས་ཆགས་ཚུལ་གྱི་སྐད་ཆ་ཞིག་ཡོད་འདུག་ཀྱང་། མི་གང་ཞིག་དང་དུས་ནམ་ཞིག་ལ་ཕྱིན་མིན་གསལ་ཁ་དང་དུང་རྟེན་སོན་བྱུང་མེད་ཀྱང་། སྔ་མ་དྲུག་པོ་གང་ཚང་ལྷ་སྲས་གཙང་མའི་ཡར་སྔོན་དུ་དེ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ཕེབས་པ་ནི་བང་རིམ་བསྒྲིགས་པ་ལས་ཤེས་ཐུབ། དེ་འདྲ་སོང་ཙང་། སྔ་མའི་སྔ་མ་རྣམས་ནི་གཅིག་བྱས་ན་མ་སངས་ཀྱི་རུ་ཚོ་དང་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་སྲིད།

དཔའ་བློས་བོད་ལྗོངས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཕྱི་ལོ་༡༩༩༤ ལོའི་འདོན་ཐེངས་དང་པོ་དང་གཉིས་པ་ཐོག་སྤེལ་བའི་ 《མ་སངས་ཞེས་བྱ་བར་བརྟག་པ།》 ཟེར་བའི་དཔྱད་རྩོམ་ཤོག་ལྷེབ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་ཅན་ཞིག་འདུག་ཀྱང་། དེར "མ་སངས་གེ་སེར་རྒྱལ་པོ" དང་། "མ་སངས་ནོར་བུ་དགྲ་འདུལ།" "གླིང་མ་སངས་རྒྱལ་པོ"ཟེར་བ་སོགས་མ་སངས་དང་གླིང་གེ་སར་དབར་དུ་རུས་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་འབྲེལ་བ་དང་། མ་སངས་ཀྱི་རུས་རྒྱུད་ལྗོངས་དང་འབྲེལ་ཚུལ་སོགས་གནས་ཚུལ་གཞན་མང་པོ་གསུངས་འདུག་ཀྱང་། མོན་དང་མ་སངས་དབར་དུ་འབྲེལ་བ་ཡོད་ཚུལ་ནི་ཡིག་འབྲུ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མི་འདུག་གོ།

53 ཆབ་འགག་རྡ་མགྲིན། 1993: 72 ངོས་གསལ་དོན "མ་སངས་སྤུན་དགུའི་རྒྱུད་ལས་མཆེད་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་རུས་ཆེན་ནླངས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་དེ་སྔ་དམག་གི་དཔུང་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་ལྷོ་མོན་ཁ་ལུང་བཞི་ཐེངས་ཤིག་ལ་ཆམ་ལ་ཕབ་ཏེ་འབངས་སུ་བཀོད་མྱོང་བ་རེད།"ཅེས་གསལ་བ་ལས་ཀྱང་ང་ཚོས་མ་སངས་དང་ནླངས་ཀྱི་གདུང་རྒྱུད་དབར་འབྲེལ་བ་ཡོད་པ་ཤེས་ཐུབ།

5. བོད་བཙན་པོའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་མོན།

དེ་ཡང་བོད་བཙན་པོའི་དུས་སྐབས་ནི་སྤྱི་ལོ་སྔོན་གྱི་ལོ་༦༢༧(?)ནས་སྤྱི་ལོ་༨༤༢བར་གྱི་ལོ་ངོ་༡༦༡ རིང་དེ་ལ་ངོས་འཛིན་གནང་ཞིང་། སྲོང་བཙན་གྱིས་བོད་ཁམས་གཅིག་གྱུར་མ་མཛད་པའི་གོང་ཞང་ཞུང་དང་། སིམ་པ། འ་ཞ་སོགས་ལྷོར་མོན་ཡང་རུས་རྒྱུད་ཚོགས་པ་ལས་གྲུབ་པའི་བོད་ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་ཞིག་ཡིན་འདུག རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་དེའང་གདོད་བོན་གྱི་གོམས་སྲོལ་ཏ་ཅང་ཟབ་པའི་སྐོབས་འགྱུར་དང་གཏུམ་དྲག་ཆེ་ལ་དམར་ཟན་ཟ་བར་དགའ་བའི་རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་འདྲ།

གོང་དུ་ཞུས་ཟིན་པ་ལྟར་གནའ་ཁྲི་བཙན་པོའི་གཤེགས་རབ་ཉེར་བདུན་སྐབས་ "བོད་ཀྱི་གྲམ་སྣར་མོན་གྱི་བྱིས་པ་གསུམ་དང་འཕྲད་" པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དུམ་བུ་དེ་ནི་ད་ཕན་ལག་སོན་བྱུང་བའི་བོད་བཙན་པོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རྙེད་སྐབས་སུ་བྱུང་བའི་མོན་པའི་སྐོར་གྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་ཐོག་མ་དེ་ཡིན། ཕྱིས་སུ་དུས་རབས་བདུན་པར་སྲོང་བཙན་སྒམ་པོའི་རིང་བོད་ཀྱིས་ཁྲ་སྲིན་མོ་གན་རྐྱལ་ཉལ་བའི་གཟུགས་སུ་མཐའ་འདུལ་ཡང་འདུལ་གྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་རྣམས་བཞེངས་སྐབས། མོན་ཡུལ་དུའང་བཞེངས་ཡོད་དེ། མ་ཎི་བཀའ་འབུམ་ལས "དེ་ནས་སྲིན་མོས་རྐང་ལག་གཡབ་པར་ཤེས་ནས། སྲིན་མོའི་དཔུང་པ་གཡོན་པ་ལ་གཡུ་རུ་ཁྲ་འབྲུག། དཔུང་པ་གཡས་པ་ལ་དབུ་རུ་ཀ་ཚལ། དཔྱི་གཡས་པ་ལ་གཡས་རུ་གཙང་འཕྲང་། དཔྱི་གཡོན་པ་ལ་རུ་ལག་གི་གྲོམ་པ་རྒྱང་བརྩིགས་ཏེ། རུ་གནོན་ཆེན་པོ་བཞིའོ། གྲུ་མོ་གཡས་པ་ལ་གོང་བུ་རྒྱ། གཡོན་དུ་ལྷོ་བྲག་ཁོ་མཐིང་། པུས་མོ་གཡོན་དུ་མོན་བུམ་ཐང་། གཡས་སུ་བྱང་སྤྲ་དུམ་བརྩིགས་ཏེ་མཐའ་འདུལ་བཞིའོ། ལག་མཐིལ་གཡས་སུ་མདོ་ཁམས་གླིང་ཐང་སྒྲོན་མ། ལག་མཐིལ་གཡོན་ཏུ་བྱང་ཚངས་པ་རླུང་གནོན། རྐང་མཐིལ་གཡས་སུ་མང་ཡུལ་བྱམས་སྤྲིན། རྐང་མཐིལ་གཡོན་དུ་སྤྲ་གྲོ་སྐྱེར་ཆུང་ལྷ་ཁང་སྟེ། ཡང་འདུལ་གྱི་གཙུག་ལག་བཞིའོ།།"[54] ཞེས་པ་ལྟར་མོན་བུམ་ཐང་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དང་ལྷོ་བྲག་ཁོ་མཐིང་གི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་སོགས་བཞེངས་ཚུལ་དེ་དང་། སྐབས་འདིའི་མོན་བུམ་ཐང་ནི་དེང་སྐབས་འབྲུག་འབུམ་ཐང་ཡིན་ལ། "འབྲུག་པས་རང་གིས་རང་ལ་འབྲུག་པ་འབོད་པ་ནི་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་བཞི་པའི་"[55] དཀྱིལ་ཙམ་དུ་གཞི་ནས་བྱུང་བར་བཤད་ཅིང་། དེའི་ཡར་སྔོན་འབྲུག་ནི་མོན་ཡུལ་གྱི་བྱེ་བྲག་ཅིག་ཡིན་པས་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མོན་ཡུལ་བུམ་ཐང་ཞེས་བོས་པ་རེད།

---

54 མ་ཎི་བཀའ་འབུམ། 2007: 432.

55 ཚབ་འགག་རྡོ་མགྲིན། 1993: 70 ཤོག་གསལ་དོན་ "ད་ལྟའི་འབྲུག་ཡུལ་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀྱང་གནའ་རབས་སུ་མོན་པའི་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཆ་ཤས་ཤིག་ཡིན་པ་འབྲུག་ཡུལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་འཇིགས་མེད་རྡོ་རྗེ་དབང་ཕྱུག་གི་ཐུགས་དགོངས་དང་མངག་བཅོལ་ལྟར་རྒྱ་གར་བ་མི་ཏྲ་ལ་ཡིས་བརྩམས་པའི་ 《འབྲུག་ཡུལ། གཡུ་འབྲུག་གི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ།》 བྱ་བར། མོན་ཞེས་པ་ནི་འབྲུག་ཡུལ་གྱི་གནའ་བོའི་མིང་ཡིན་ཟེར་བ་དང་། 《མོན་པ་རིགས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མདོར་བསྡུས》 བྱ་བར "འབྲུག་ཡུལ་ནི་གནའ་བོའི་མོན་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཁག་ཅིག་ཡིན། ད་ལྟ་རང་གིས་རང་ལ་འབྲུག་པར་འབོད་པའི་མོན་རིགས་དེ་དག་གིས་མེས་པོ་རྣམས་འབྲུག་ཡུལ་ཞེས་པའི་ས་ཁུལ་དེར་བཙའ་སྡོད་བྱས་པ་རེད།" ཟེར་བ་གཉིས་དོན་ཡོངས་སུ་མཐུན་པ་ལས་གསལ་པོ་ཤེས་ཐུབ།" ཅེས་དང་། ཡང་ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༧༦ ཤོག

ཆོས་འབྱུང་མཁས་པའི་དགའ་སྟོན་ལས་ཀྱང་། “གྲུ་མོ་གཡས་པ་ལ་ཤར་སྟག་གི་མགོར་ཀོང་པོ་བུ་ཆུ། གཡོན་པ་ལ་ལྷོ་ འབྲུག་གི་ཟེ་སྟེང་དུ་ལྷོ་བྲག་ཁོང་ཐེང་། ཕུས་མོ་གཡས་པ་ལ་ནུབ་བྱ་དམར་པོའི་སྙས་སྟེང་དུ་དགེ་རྒྱས། གཡོན་པ་ལ་བྱང་རུས་སྦལ་ གྱི་པྲལ་སྟེང་དུ་པྲ་དུན་ཙེའི་ལྷ་ཁང་བཏབ་སྟེ་ཡང་འདུལ་བཞིའོ། ལག་མཐིལ་གཡས་གཞོན་པ་ལ་མི་ཉག་གིས་ལག་དཔོན་བྱས་ཏེ་མོན་སྐྱེར་ཆུ།”[56] ཞེས་གསལ་བ་ལྟར། མོན་སྐྱེར་ཆུ་ལྷ་ཁང་དང་ལྷོ་བྲག་ཁོང་ཐེང་ལྷ་ཁང་སོགས་བཞེངས་ལ། དེ་དག་ནི་ད་ལྟ་འབྲུག་དང་མོན་པའི་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱིས་ཁུལ་རྣམས་ཡིན། ལྷག་པར་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དེ་དག་ནི་ལྷ་ཁང་ཙམ་མ་ཡིན་པར་སྐབས་དེའི་སྲིད་འཛིན་ས་ཁུལ་གྱི་ངོ་དམ་ལས་ཁུངས་ཡིན་པ་རེད་ཅེས་གསུང་མཁན་ཡང་འདུག་པ་ཞིག་ཏུ་མད། གནད་དོན་འདིའི་ཐོག་ནས་ཀྱང་དུས་སྐབས་དེར་ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་མོན་གྱི་ཡུལ་དུ་བོད་བཙན་པོའི་དབང་ཤུགས་ཁྱབ་སྤེལ་ཡོད་པ་མངོན།

གཞན་ཡང་མཁས་པ་ལྡེའུས་མཛད་པའི་ལྡེའུ་ཆོས་འབྱུང་ལས་སྲོང་བཙན་སྒམ་པོའི་སྐབས་བོད་ཡོངས་གཅིག་གྱུར་བྱས་ཏེ་རུ་ཆེན་ལྔ་ལས་གཡོ་རུའི་ས་མཚམས་ཕྱེ་སྐབས”[57] གཡོ་རུའི་རུ་མཚམས་ནི། ཤར་རྐོང་ཡུལ་བེའུ་སྣ། ལྷོ་ཤ་འུག་ལ་སྒོ་རུབ (ནུབ) ཁ་རག་གངས་དཀར། བྱང་སྨྲ་ལ་ལ་བརྒྱུད། དབུས་ཡར་ལུང་ཁྲ་འབྲུག་ལ་བྱས་སོ། (གཡོ་རུའི་རུ་མཚམས་ནི། ཤར་ཀོང་ཡུལ་བྲེ་སྣ། ནུབ་ཁ་རག་གཙྒྲི། བྱང་རྨ་ལ་ལ་རྒྱུད། ལྷོ་ཤ་འུག་སྟག་སྒོ། དབུས་ཚད་ཡར་ལུང་ཁྲ་འབྲུག་གོ)” ཞེས་ལྷོ་མོན་ཤ་འུག་ སྟག་སྒོ་ཚུན་ཆད་བོད་ཀྱི་མངའ་ཁོངས་སུ་གཏོགས་ཚུལ་དེ་དང་། ཆོས་འབྱུང་མཁས་པའི་དགའ་སྟོན་ལས་ཀྱང་ “ཤར་ཀོང་ཡུལ་ བྲིས་སྣ་ལྷོ་ཤ་འུག་སྟག་སྒོ་ནུབ་ཁ་རག་གངས་རྩེ་བྱང་རྨ་ལ་ལ་བརྒྱུད་དབུས་ཚད་ཡར་ལུངས་ཁྲ་འབྲུག་ལ་བྱས་པ་གཡོ་རུ།”[58]ཞེས་ལྷོ་ཤ་འུག་སྒོ

གསལ་དོན་ “དེ་ལྟར་འབྲུག་ཡུལ་ཞེས་པའི་མིང་དེ་ཡང་སྤྱི་ལོ་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་བཞི་པའི་དུས་དཀྱིལ་ཙམ་ལ་ད་གཟོད་བྱུང་བ་དང་། དེའི་སྔོན་ལ་འབྲུག་ཡུལ་ལའང་མོན་ཡུལ་ཟེར་གྱིན་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ། སྤྱི་ལོ་དུས་རབས་དགུ་པར་རྒྱ་གར་དང་འབྲུག་གིས་མཚམས་སུ་འབྲེལ་ཆོད་བྱེད་དུས་འབྲུག་ཡུལ་ལ་ད་དུང་མོན་ཡུལ་དུ་འབོད་པ 《འབྲུག་ཡུལ་_གཡུ་འབྲུག་གི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ》 བྱ་བའི་ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༦༧ ལ་གསལ་ལ། བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་རབས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རྣམས་སུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཁྲི་སྲོང་ལྡེ་བཙན་གྱི་སྲས་མུ་ནེ་བཙན་པོ་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཁྲི་རལ་པ་ཅན་གྱི་སྲས་ལྷ་སྲས་གཙང་མ་གཉིས་མོན་ཡུལ་དུ་རྒྱང་སྤྱུགས་བྱས་པར་བཀོད་པའི་མོན་དེ་ཡང་ད་ལྟའི་འབྲུག་ཡུལ་ལ་ངོས་འཛིན་གྱི་ཡོད།” ཅེས་གསུངས་འདུག་ལ། སྐབས་འདིའི་ཁོང་གི་དཔྱད་གཞི་གཙོ་བོ་ནི་རྒྱ་ཡིག་དཔེ་རྙིང་མ 《མོན་པ་རིགས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མདོར་བསྡུས》 ཞེས་པ་དང་ 《འབྲུག་ཡུལ་_གཡུ་འབྲུག་གི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ》 ཟེར་བ་གཉིས་ལགས་པས། ཕྱན་རྒྱ་ཡིག་ལ་བློ་མིག་ལྟོང་བར་བརྟེན་གོང་དུ་བཀོད་པ་རྣམས་དཔྱད་གཞི་གལ་ཆེན་དུ་བརྩིས་ཏེ་ཚུར་དྲངས་པ་ཡིན།

56 དཔའ་བོ་གཙུག་ལག་ཕྲེང་བ། 2002: 230.

57 ལྡེའུ་ཇོ་སྲས། 1987: 111 དེ་དང་ཕྱོགས་མཚུངས་པའི་ལུང་གཞན་དག་ཅིག་ཀྱང་འདུག་པ་འདིར་བཀོད་ན། “གཡོ་རུའི་རུ་མཚམས་ནི། ཤར་ཀོང་ཡུལ་བྲི་སྣ། ནུབ་ཁ་རག་གཙྒྲི། བྱང་རྨ་ལ་ལ་རྒྱུད། ལྷོ་ཤ་འུག་སྟག་སྒོ། དབུས་ཚད་ཡར་ལུང་ཁྲ་འབྲུག་གོ” ཞེས་པའོ། (ཤ་འུག་སྟག་སྒོ་) ནི་དེ་སང་མཚོ་སྣ་རྫོང་ལེགས་པོ་ཆུས་ཤ་འུག་གྲོང་ཚོ་ལ་ཡོད་ཅེས་གཡུའི་ཕྲེང་བ་ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༢༠༤ ཐོག་གསལ།

58 དཔའ་བོ་གཙུག་ལག་ཕྲེང་བ། 2002: 186.

བཀོད་འདུག

ཚལ་པ་ཀུན་དགའ་རྡོ་རྗེས་བརྩམས་པའི་དེབ་ཐེར་དམར་པོ་ལས་སྲོང་བཙན་སྒམ་པོས་ “བོད་དུ་བཞི་སྡོང་སྲིར་ཕྱེ། ལྷོ་ནས་བློ་དང་མོན། ནུབ་ནས་ཞང་ཞུང་། བྱང་ནས་ཧོར། ཤར་རྒྱ་མི། ཤིང་མི་རྣམས་མངའ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུས།” ཞེས་པའི་སྐབས་སུའང་བློ་(ཀློ་) ཡུལ་དང་མོན་ཡུལ་སྲོང་བཙན་གྱི་མངའ་ཁོངས་སུ་བཙུགས་པ་ཧ་ཅང་གསལ།

དེ་ནས་སྟག་ཚང་དཔལ་འབྱོར་བཟང་པོས་བརྩམས་པའི་རྒྱ་བོད་ཡིག་ཚང་ཆེན་མོ་ལས་ཀྱང་ “མཐའི་རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་རྣམས་དང་། ལྷོ་མོན། རྒྱ་མི་ཤིང་མི་ལ་སོགས་ཐམས་ཅད་མངའ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུས།”[59] ཞེས་ཟེར་བ་དེ་ནི་གོང་དང་མཚུངས་ཤིང་། མདོར་ན་སྔར་བོད་ཀྱི་ཆོས་འབྱུང་དཔེ་རྙིང་དེ་དག་ཚང་མའི་ནང་མོན་པའི་སྐོར་མང་ཉུང་ལ་མ་ལྟོས་པར་གསལ་ལྷམ་མེར་འཁོད་པ་ཙམ་མ་ཟད། བོད་བཙན་པོའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁོངས་ས་ཁྲའི་བཅད་མཚམས་ནང་ཡོངས་སུ་ཚུད་མྱོང་བའི་ར་སྤྲོད་གསལ་པོ་བྱས་འདུག་སྙམ།

བཤད་སྒྲོལ་ལ་བོད་དུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྲོང་བཙན་སྒམ་པོའི་སྐབས་ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་མོན་གྱི་ཡུལ་དུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཀ་ལ་དབང་པོ་དང་དེའི་བཙུན་མོ་མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་འགྲོ་བ་བཟང་མོ་དང་། དེ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྲས་རྒྱལ་བུ་ཀུན་ཏུ་ལེགས་པ་རྣམས་བྱུང་ཞིང་མོན་ཡུལ་དུ་སངས་རྒྱས་པའི་ཆོས་སྤེལ་བར་བཤད་ཅིང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཀ་ལ་དབང་པོ་དང་མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་འགྲོ་བ་བཟང་པོའི་གཏམ་རྒྱུད་ནི་བོད་ཡུལ་སྟོད་སྨད་བར་གསུམ་ཀུན་ཏུ་གྲགས་ཆེ་བའི་བོད་ཀྱི་དམངས་ཁྲོད་གཏམ་རྒྱུད་ཅིག་ཡིན་ལ། ང་རང་ཆུང་ཆུང་ཡིན་དུས་ངའི་སྤོ་བོས་བཤད་མྱོང་བའི་བོད་ཀྱི་དམངས་ཁྲོད་གཏམ་རྒྱུད་བརྒྱ་སྟོང་མང་པོའི་ནང་གི་གཅིག་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་བོད་ཡུལ་དུ་གོང་གི་གཏམ་རྒྱུད་དང་འདྲ་བའི་དྲི་མེད་ཀུན་ལྡན་གྱི་གཏམ་རྒྱུད་དང་། སྣང་ས་འོད་འབུམ་གྱི་གཏམ་རྒྱུད་སོགས་ཧ་ཅང་མང་པོ་ཡོད། གཏམ་རྒྱུད་དེ་དག་ནི་དངོས་བྱུང་གི་སྒྲུང་ལ་མང་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་སྒྲོ་བཏགས་ཏེ་བརྩམས་སྒྲུང་གི་རྣམ་པར་བསྒྱུར་བ་ཙམ་ལས། ལོ་རྒྱུས་དངོས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་བའི་ཁྲོད་མི་སྣ་དེ་དག་དངོས་སུ་བྱུང་ཡོད་པ་ལ་ཐེ་ཚོམ་མི་འདུག་སྙམ།

ལྷག་པར་དུ་ཆོས་འབྱུང་མཁས་པའི་དགའ་སྟོན་ལས་[60] “ནམ་པ་སྤྱི་རྒྱལ། བལ་པོ་ལི་རྒྱལ། སུམ་པ་ལྷུགས། མོན་རྩེ་རྒྱལ་ཞེས་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་བཞིས་དཔྱ་བསྡུས་ནས་འབུལ་བས་འབངས་ལ་གཏོགས་སོ།” ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར། མཐའ་ཡི་རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་བཞིའི་ཡ་གྱལ་མོན་རྩེ་རྒྱལ་སྟེ་མོན་རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོས་ཀྱང་བཙན་པོའི་གཞུང་ལ་ཁྲལ་བསྒྲུབས་ཤིང་དེའི་ཁོངས་སུ་འདུས་ལ། ཇེ་

59 སྟག་ཚང་དཔལ་འབྱོར་བཟང་པོ། 1985: 146–147.

60 དཔའ་བོ་གཙུག་ལག་ཕྲེང་བ། 2002: 189.

ལྷར་མཁས་དབང་ཆབ་སྤེལ་ཚེ་བརྟན་ཕུན་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་[61] རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་སོ་སོའི་མིང་ཡང་ཡུལ་དེའི་ཐོན་ཁུངས་དང་དབུལ་བྱའི་དཔྱ་ཁྲལ་ལས་བཏགས་པར་མངོན་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར། མོན་ཡུལ་ནི་རྩྭ་དང་རྩི་ཤིང་འབེལ་ཞིང་ལྷག་པར་དུ་སྨན་རྩྭའི་རིགས་ཀྱིས་རབ་ཏུ་ཕྱུག་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་ཞིག་ཏུ་ལགས་ན། སྐབས་དེར་མོན་རྩེ་རྒྱལ་ལམ་རྩི་རྒྱལ་དུ་བོས་པ་དང་། ཕྱིས་སུ་མོན་ཡུལ་ལ་ “སྨན་ཡུལ་སྐྱིད་མོ་ལྗོངས་” དང་ “སྨན་ཡུལ་མཁན་པ་ལྗོངས” སོགས་ཡུལ་དེའི་ཐོན་ཁུངས་དང་། ཆགས་དབྱིབས། བཀོད་པ་སོགས་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་ཡིད་དུ་འོང་བའི་མཚན་ཡང་ཧ་ཅང་མང་པོ་བཏགས་པར་མངོན་ལ། ལྷག་པར་བོད་གདོང་མའི་རུས་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་མཆེད་ཚུལ་རྗོད་སྐབས། “མོན་རྫུ་ནག་པོ་ཁྲིའི་ཧ་ལྡང་ཅན་དང་བཞི།”ཞེས་བྱུང་བ་ལྟར། མོན་པའི་རུས་ཀྱི་མིང་ལའང་མོན་རྫུ་ནག་པོ་ཁྲིའི་ཧ་ལྡང་ (ལོ་མ་དང་ཤིང་སྡོང་གི་མདོག་ཁ་ལྡང་ཁུའི་དོན།) ཅན་དང་། མོན་རྩེ་ (རྩི་ཤིང་གི་དོན་དུ་གོ་ཆོག།) རྒྱལ་སོགས་ཀྱི་མིང་བཏགས་པའམ་ཐོགས་ཤིང་། ལྷག་པར་མོན་ཞེས་པའི་ཐ་སྙད་དེར་བོད་བརྡ་རྙིང་པར་འབྲུ་རིགས་དང་རྩི་ཤིང་། ནགས་ཚལ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཐོན་སྐྱེད་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པའི་ས་གནས་ཁག་ལ་གོ་བ་དང་། སྔར་བོད་ཀྱི་གསོ་རིགས་སྨན་རྩྭའི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས་གཙོ་བོ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་མོན་ཡུལ་ཡིན་ལ། དེང་སང་ད་ལྟའང་ཕྱར་ཧཱ་མཐོ་སློབ་ཀྱི་གསོ་རིག་སྡེ་ཚན་དང་བོད་གཞུང་སྨན་རྩིས་ཁང་ནས་དེ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་སྨན་རྩྭ་འཐུ་རུ་འགྲོ་བཞིན་ཡོད། ལྷག་པར་དུ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཚིག་མཛོད་རྣམས་སུ། མོན་ཆ་ར། མོན་དཀར་འབྲུ། མོན་དར། མོན་ནག་འབྲུ། མོན་བུ། མོན་ལུག མོན་ལུག་གླ་སྣང་། མོན་སྣེ་དམར་པོ། མོན་སྲན། མོན་སྲན་གྲེའུ། མོན་སྲན་དཀར་པོ། མོན་སྲན་ལེབ་མོ། མོན་སྲན་སྡེའུ། མོན་སླེའུ། ལ་སོགས་པའི་སྔོ་སྨན་དང་ལྗུམ་རྩྭ་འདི་ཚོའི་མིང་གི་མགོར་མོན་ཞེས་བཏགས་པར་བལྟས་ན། མོན་ནི་སྔོ་ཞེས་པའི་ཚིག་གི་དོན་དུ་བེད་སྤྱོད་པ་ལྟ་བུར་འདུག་པས། གནའ་སྔ་མོ་ཞིག་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་གསོ་རིག་གི་སྨན་རྫས་མང་པོ་ཞིག་མོན་ཡུལ་ནས་ཐོན་སྐྱེད་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་པ་དང་། མོན་ཡུལ་ནི་གནའ་བོ་བོད་ཀྱི་གསོ་རིག་སྨན་རྫས་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས་ཡིན་པར་རྟོགས། ལྷག་པར་བཙན་པོ་ཁྲི་སྲོང་ལྡེའུ་བཙན་ཡབ་སྲས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་དུས་སུ་བོད་ཀྱི་གསོ་བ་རིག་པའི་གཞུང་ལུགས་དར་རྒྱས་ཕྱིན་པ་དང་སྟབས་བསྟུན་ནས་སྨན་རྩྭ་རིགས་མང་པོ་ཞིག་མོན་ཡུལ་ནས་གསར་རྙེད་བྱུང་བས་དེ་དག་གི་ཐོན་ཁུངས་དང་འབྲེལ་ནས་མིང་ཚིག་འདི་དག་དེ་དུས་བྱུང་བ་མིན་ནམ་སྙམ།

[61] ཆབ་སྤེལ་ཚེ་བརྟེན་ཕུན་ཚོགས་ (1988: 4) ཀྱིས་ "སྐབས་དེའི་རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་བཞི་པོ་དེ་སོ་སོའི་ཐ་སྙད་ལ་དཔྱད་ནའང་། ཡུལ་གྱི་ཆ་རྐྱེན་ནམ་ཐོན་ཁུངས་གཙོ་བོ་གང་ཡིན་པ་དེ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་མིང་བཏགས་པར་མངོན་ཏེ། དེ་ཡང་ནམ་པ་སྤེ་རྒྱལ་ནི་མི་སྤེ་མང་བའི་རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་ཡིན་པ་དང་། བལ་པོ་ལི་རྒྱལ་ནི་ལྕགས་རིགས་བཟོ་ནས་པར་དབྱིབས་སྣ་ཚོགས་སུ་ལུགས་བརྒྱབ་པའི་ཐོན་རྫས་ལི་ཞེས་འབོད་ཅིང་། དེ་ལྷ་བུའི་ལི་མའི་དངོས་པོ་མང་པོ་ཐོན་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་ཡིན་པ། སུམ་པ་ལྕགས་རྒྱལ་ནི་ས་འོག་ལྕགས་གཏེར་འབེལ་ཤོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་ཡིན་པ་བཅས་མཚོན་ཞིང་། དེ་ལྟར་ན་མོན་རྩེ་རྒྱལ་ཞེས་པའང་རྩྭ་ཤིང་གི་རྩེ་མོར་སྨིན་པའི་རྩི་ཏོག་སྣེ་ཐོན་ཁུངས་བཟང་ཤོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་ཡིན་པས། མོན་རྩེ་རྒྱལ་ལམ། རྩི་རྒྱལ་དུ་བཏགས་པ་ཡིན་སྙམ” ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་བཞིས་བཅའ་བསྡུས་ནས་འབུལ” ཞེས་པའང་རང་གི་ཐོན་ཁུངས་གང་བཟང་བཅའ་སྐྱེས་སུ་འབུལ་བ་སྨོས་མ་དགོས་པས། མོན་གྱི་འགོ་པས་ཀྱང་མོན་པ་རྣམས་ནས་འབྲུ་རིགས་དང་འབྲས་བུའི་རིགས་ཀྱི་ཁྲལ་བསྡུས་ནས་ལོ་རེ་བཞིན་བོད་ཀྱི་བཙན་པོར་དཔྱ་ཁྲལ་འབུལ་དགོས་པའི་བོད་འབངས་སུ་གཏོགས་པ་དེ་ལ་མི་ལོ་ ༡༣༠༠ ལྷག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལྡན་པ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཚད་ལྡན་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཡིག་རྙིང་དུ་མ་ནས་ར་འཕྲོད་ཀྱི་ཡོད།”

གཞན་ཡང་མོན་པའི་སྐོར་གྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་གཞན་ཁག་གཅིག་ནི་བཙན་པོ་ཁྲི་སྲོང་ལྡེའུ་བཙན་གྱིས།[62] "སློབ་དཔོན་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ལུང་གྲངས་མང་དུ་གསུངས་བས། དེ་དག་ཐམས་ཅད་བོད་དུ་ལེན་དགོངས་བསམ། །བློ་རྟོ་སྙིང་རུས་ཆེ་བའི་མཆོག་གྱུར་པ། །ལོ་རྫ་བརྒྱ་དང་རྩ་བརྒྱད་འཚོལ་དགོས་སྙམ། །མངའ་འོག་བོད་ཡུལ་རུས་བཞི་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི། །ལོ་བརྒྱད་ཡན་ཆད་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་མན་ཆད་ཀྱི། །ལུས་ལ་སྐྱོན་མེད་སེམས་ལ་ཐག་མ་ཞུགས། །བློ་གསལ་གཡེར་ཞིང་དྲན་པ་གཞུངས་མང་བསྡུས།།" གསུངས་པ་ལྟར། བོད་ཡུལ་རུས་བཞི་ནས་ལོ་ཙྪ་བ་བརྒྱ་རྩ་བརྒྱད་བསྡུས་ཏེ་རྒྱ་གར་དུ་མངགས་པའི་གྲས་སུ།[63] "མོན་བུན་རྒྱལ་བྱང་ཆུབ" ཟེར་བ་ཞིག་བྱུང་འདུག ལྷག་པར་མཁའ་འགྲོ་ཡེ་ཤེས་མཚོ་རྒྱལ་[64] དང་མོན་གྱི་བུ་མོ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཁྱི་འདྲེན་ཟེར་བ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་སློབ་དཔོན་གདན་དྲངས་ཏེ་ཚོགས་འཁོར་བརྒྱ་རྩ་བསྐོར་བའི་སྐོར་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱང་གསལ། དེའི་ཐོག་ནས་གཅིག་བྱས་ན་ཁྲི་སྲོང་ལྡེའུ་བཙན་ཡབ་སྲས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་རིང་ལ་མོན་ཡུལ་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་བཙན་པོའི་ཞབས་དྲིང་ཡང་ཡོང་གི་མེད་དམ་སྙམ་པ་འདུག་ལ། ཁྲི་སྲོང་ལྡེའུ་བཙན་གྱི་བཙུན་མོ་ཚེ་སྤོང་གཟའ་དམར་རྒྱན་སྒྲོན་ལ་སྲས་ཁྲི་ཁ་ར་ཐོད་ཟེར་བ་ཞིག་སྐྱེས་ཏེ་དེ་མོན་ཡུལ་དུ་སྤྱུགས་ཤིང་མོན་ ⌠འབྲུག⌡ གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆགས་པ་དང་། དེ་རྗེས་ཁྲི་རལ་གྱི་སྐབས་སུ་ལྷ་སྲས་གཙང་མའང་ལྷོ་མོན་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ཕེབས་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རྒྱས་པོ་མོན་ཆོས་འབྱུང་དུ་གསལ་ཞིང་། ལྷ་སྲས་གཙང་མ་མོན་ཡུལ་དུ་འབྱོར་སྐབས་རྣངས་ལྷ་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་པ་དོན་འགྲུབ་རྒྱལ་ཟེར་བ་དང་ཁྲི་ཁ་ར་ཐོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་པ་རྣམས་དེ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་སྔ་ས་ནས་གཞིས་ཆགས་ཏེ་གནས་ཡོད་ཚུལ་མོན་ཆོས་འབྱུང་དུ་གསལ་པོར་འཁོད་འདུག དེ་ཙམ་མ་ཟད་སིལ་བུར་ཐོར་རྗེས་བོད་ཕྱོགས་ནས་ཚོ་པ་རེ་ཟུང་ལྷོ་མོན་གྱི་ཕྱོགས་སུ་གནས་སྤོས་ཡོད་འདུག་པ་སོགས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་བ་གསལ་ཁ་ཆེ་ཙམ་རེ་གདའ་ཡང་། སྐབས་འདིའི་བརྗོད་བྱ་དངོས་དང་འབྲེལ་མི་ཆེ་བས་རེ་ཞིག་བཞག

《རྒྱ་བོད་ཡིག་ཚང་ཆེན་མོ།》 ལས་[65] "མངའ་ཐང་སྐྱེས། སྟར་ཡབ་མེས་ཀྱི་རིང་ལ། ཆབ་འོག་ཏུ་མ་ཆུག་པའི་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་རྒྱ་ནག་པོའི་དུས། སོ་མཚམས། སྤྱི་ལོན་ཞན་གྱི་རི་རྒྱུད། དར་དཀར་གྱི་ཡོལ་བ་འདྲ་བ་ལ་གཏུགས། ནུབ་ཕྱོགས་སྟག་གཟིག་གི་སོ་མཚམས། སྟག་ཤ་དྲུང་གི་སྒོ་མོ་ཅན་ལ་གཏུགས། བྱང་ཕྱོགས་ཧོར་གྱི་སོ་མཚམས། བྱ་མ་ཀང་རིངས་ཀ་རྨང་མའི་རྒྱབ་འདྲ་ལ་གཏུགས། ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་མོན་ཏ་ལ་བ་ཏི་ཤེལ་གྱི་དུམ་བུ་འདྲ་བ་ལ་གཏུགས་ཤིང་། འཛམ་བུ་གླིང་གི་གསུམ་གཉིས་དབང་དུ་བསྡུས་པར་བྱེད་དོ།" ཟེར་བའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་མོན་ནི་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་ཟེར་བ་མིན་འགྲོ་སྙམ་ཏེ། ཕྱི་ལོ་༨༢༣ ལོར་བཙུགས་པའི་ལྷ་སའི་དབོན་གཞུང་རྡོ་རིང་

---

[62] པད་མ་བཀའ་ཐང་། 2006: 341.

[63] པད་མ་བཀའ་ཐང་། 2006: 343.

[64] པད་མ་བཀའ་ཐང་། 2006: 527 ངོས་གསལ་དོན། "དེ་ནས་ཡར་ཀླུང་ཤོལ་གྱི་བྲག་ཕུག་ཏུ། མོན་གྱི་བུ་མོ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཁྱི་འདྲེན་དང་། བདེ་ཆེན་མཁའ་འགྲོ་ཡེ་ཤེས་མཚོ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས། སློབ་དཔོན་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ཚོགས་འཁོར་བརྒྱ་རྩ་བསྐོར།།" ཞེས་གསལ།

[65] སྟག་ཚང་དཔལ་འབྱོར་བཟང་པོ། 2006: 204.

ཤར་ངོས་སུ་ "ཉམས་པའི་གཡུང་དྲུང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་ནི་ཆེ། །དེའི་ཕྱིར། །ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་མོན་རྒྱ་གར་དང་། །ནུབ་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་ཏ་ཟིག་དང་། །བྱང་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་གྲུ་ནེ་སྐྱིལ་ལ་སྐོགས་པ། །གཡུག་་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྟོམ་ན་ར་བྲུ་བ་ཀུན་ཀྱི་(ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་)འཕྲུལ་གྱི་ལྷ་བཙན་པོའི་དབུ་རྨོག་བརྟན་པོ་དང་་་ང་བོར་ནི་ཕྱོགས་སྒྱི་གྲུས་པ་མྱེད་དེ། །ཕན་ཚུན་དབྱེས་ཤིང་བཀའ་སྐྱལད་དོ་ཆོག་ཉན་པ་ཡིན།།" ཞེས་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་མོན་རྒྱ་གར་དང་ཞེས་ཟེར་ནས་བྱུང་བས། དེའི་ཐོག་ནས་ང་ཚོར་མོན་ཞེས་པ་ནི་ཕལ་ཆེར་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་བརྗོད་པ་མིན་ནམ་སྙམ་པའི་དོགས་པ་ཟ་རུ་བཅུག རྒྱ་མཚན་ནི་སྐབས་འདིར་མོན་རྒྱ་གར་ཟེར་བ་ལས་མོན་དང་རྒྱ་གར་ཞེས་སོ་སོར་བཀར་ཏེ་བྲིས་མེད་པས་ཡིན། དེ་ནི་དཔེར་ན་སྟོད་ཞང་ཞུང་དང་། སྨད་འ་ཞ། ཤར་མི་ཉག་ཟེར་བའི་མིང་འབོད་སྟངས་དང་ཀུན་ནས་མཚུངས་པ་རེད། ཡིན་ན་ཡང་ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༨༢༣ ལོར་མོན་རྒྱ་གར་ཞེས་བྲིས་ཡོད་པ་ཙམ་གྱིས་མོན་ཟེར་བ་ནི་སྤྱོན་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ཆེ་བརྗོད་ཀྱི་མིང་ལྷ་བུ་ཞིག་རེད་འདུག་གོ་ཞེས་ཏེ་བཞག་ན་ག་ལ་འགྲིག་སྙེ་མི་འགྲིག་གོ།

6. མཇུག་གཏམ།

དཔྱད་རྩོམ་འདིར་ཁོ་བོས་མོན་ནི་བོད་ཀྱི་གནའ་བོའི་རུས་སྙིང་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་དང་། མོན་པའི་རུས་རྒྱུད་ཚོ་པ་ཁག་དང་བོན་པོའི་དབར་གྱི་འབྲེལ་བ། མོན་པའི་ངག་རྒྱུད་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་མོན་པ་རིགས་ཀྱི་མཆེད་ཁྲུངས་བཤད་སྲོལ་དང་གདོད་མའི་བོན་པོའི་བཤད་སྲོལ་འདྲ་ཚུལ། དེ་བཞིན་མོན་དང་མངའ་མཛད་བཅུའི་ནང་གསེས་མ་སངས་དབར་གྱི་འབྲེལ་བ། ལྡངས་ལྷ་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་པ་དང་མ་སངས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་པ་འབྲེལ་བ་མ་ཟད། ལྡངས་དང་མ་སངས་ཀྱི་རུས་ཚོ་མོན་ཡུལ་དུ་ཡོད་ཚུལ་དང་། རྒྱ་བོད་ཡིག་ཚང་ཆེན་མོ་སོགས་ལས་གསལ་བ་ལྟར་མོན་ལ་དབྱེན་མོན་རང་རྒྱུད་པ་དང་། གོང་པོ། རྒྱ་བོད་ས་མཚམས་ཀྱི་མི་ཉག་ཅེས་པའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་མི་ཉག་དང་རྒྱལ་རོང་འབྲེལ་ཞིང་། Michael Aris ཡིས་རྒྱལ་རོང་དང་མོན་པའི་སྐད་དང་ཆ་ལུགས་འདྲ་ཚུལ་བཤད་པ་དེ་དང་། རྒྱ་ཡིག་ནང་རྒྱལ་རོང་སོགས་ལྷོ་ཁྲུག་ཏུ་གནས་ཤིང་དཔལ་ཡོན་མ་དར་བའི་ས་ཁུལ་རྣམས་ལ་ (man) "མན" ཞེས་འབོད་པ་སོགས་ཀྱི་དབར་འབྲེལ་བ་ཞིག་གཏན་གཏན་ཡོད་ངེས་པའི་དཔྱད་གཞི་ཙམ་ཕུལ་ཡོད་ལ། ལྷག་པར་བོད་བཙན་པོའི་སྐབས་སུ་མོན་རྗེ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་སྲོང་བཙན་ལ་གསོ་བོ་རྗེ་ཤིང་འབྲུ་རིགས་ཀྱི་ཁྲལ་མཇལ་ཞིང་། སློབ་དཔོན་པདྨ་འབྱུང་གནས་ལྷོ་ནུབ་སྲིན་པོ་ཡུལ་དུ་ཕེབས་པ་རེད་ཅེས་པའང་གཅིག་བྱུས་ན་མོན་ཡུལ་མིན་ནམ་སྙམ་པའི་དོགས་སློ། དེང་སང་ཐན་ལེན་དང་འབར་མ་སོགས་སུ་གཉུག་མར་གནས་ཤིང་མོན་དུ་འབོད་པ་རྣམས་དང་། ད་ལྟའི་རྒྱ་གར་བྱང་ཤར་ཨ་རུ་ན་ཅལ་མངའ་སྡེའི་ཁོངས་སུ་ཡོད་པའི་མོན་པ་རྣམས་ས་འབྲེལ་ཡིན་པ་དང་། མིང་འདྲ་བ་སོགས་ཀྱི་སློ་ནས་གཅིག་བྱུས་ན་རུས་རྒྱུད་གཅིག་པ་མིན་འགྲོ་སྙམ་པའི་དོགས་སློང་། དེ་བཞིན་སྔར་བོད་ཀྱི་གསོ་བ་སྨན་རྩྭའི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས་གཙོ་བོ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་མོན་ཡུལ་མིན་ནམ་སྙམ་པ་སོགས་སྟེང་གྱི་རུས་མཛོད་དང་། རྡོ་རིང་། གདན་རབས། ཆོས་འབྱུང་། ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེབ་ཐེར། ཡུལ་མིའི་ངག་རྒྱུན་སོགས་ལ་ཁུངས་བཙལ་ཏེ། དཔྱད་པ་གང་འཚམས་རེ་བགྱིས་ཁུལ་ཡིན་ཡང་། ཕྲན་ནི་ཤེས

རྒྱ་དམན་པ་དང་ཐོས་པ་ཉུང་བའི་དབང་གིས་ཆད་ལྷག་དང་ནོར་འཆུག་ནི་ཅིས་ཀྱང་ཡོད་ངེས་པས། ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་སྤྱན་དང་ལྡན་པའི་མཁས་དབང་རྣམ་པས་བཀའ་མཆིད་ལྷུག་བསྐུལ་ཡོང་བ་མཁྱེན།། །།

དཔྱད་གཞིའི་ཡིག་ཆའི་མཚན་གཞུང་།

ཀུན་དགའ་བློ་གྲོས། 1991 ས་སྐྱའི་གདུང་རབས་ཡ་རབས་ཁ་རྒྱན། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་།

བཀའ་ཆེམས་ཀ་ཁོལ་མ། 1989 ཀན་སུའུ་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་།

མཁས་པ་ལྡེའུ། 1987 རྒྱ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཆོས་འབྱུང་རྒྱས་པ། བོད་རང་སྐྱོང་ལྗོངས་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཚན་རིག་ཁང་བོད་ཡིག་དཔེ་རྙིང་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་ནས་བསྒྲིགས། བོད་ལྗོངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་།

མཁས་མཆོག་བློ་ལྡན། 1998 མཚོ་སྔོའི་ཚོང་འདུས་ཁག་གསུམ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རགས་རིམ། བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རིག་གནས་དཔྱད་གཞིའི་རྒྱུ་ཆ་བདམས་བསྒྲིགས་འདོན་ཐེངས་ཉི་ཤུ་པ། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་།

གྱི་ལུང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་དང་གྱི་ལུང་ཐུགས་མཆོག་རྡོ་རྗེ། 2000 བོད་མི་བུ་གདོང་དྲུག་གི་རུས་མཛོད་མེ་ཏོག་སྐྱེད་ཚལ། འགུ་ལོག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་གཉན་པོ་གཡུ་རྩེའི་བཤད་དུད། སྨད་ཆ། འགུ་ལོ་དམ་ཆོས་དཔལ་བཟང་། བོད་ཀྱི་དཔེ་མཛོད་ཁང་།

དགེ་འདུན་ཆོས་འཕེལ། 2008 གངས་སེང་ཡོད་མེད་ཀྱི་དཔྱད་པ། ལྗོངས་ཞིང་ལྷའི་མཉམ་སྒྲིག་སློབ་གཞི། ཉིན་རྩེལ་པོའི་ལམ་ལུགས་ཀྱི་མཐོ་རིམ་སློབ་འབྲིང་གི་སློབ་དེབ། སྐད་ཡིག་དེབ་གསུམ་པ། མཚོ་སྔོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་།

དགོན་པོ་ཚེ་རིང་། 2008 བོད་ཀྱི་རུས་རྒྱུད་གྲུབ་སྟངས་གླེང་བ། མང་ཚོགས་སྒྱུ་རྩལ། དབྱར།

υརྒྱལ་དབང་ལྔ་པ་བློ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ། 1989 འདི་སྣང་འཁྲུལ་བའི་རོལ་རྩེད་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་ཀྱི་ཚུལ་དུ་བཀོད་པ་དུ་ཀཱུ་ལའི་གོས་བཟང་། གླེགས་བམ་དང་པོ་བཞུགས། བོད་ལྗོངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་།

υརྒྱལ་དབང་ལྔ་པ་བློ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ། 1999 དཔྱིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མོའི་གླུ་དབྱངས། བོད་གཞུང་ཤེས་རིག་དཔར་ཁང་།

ཆབ་སྤེལ་ཚེ་བརྟན་ཕུན་ཚོགས། 1988 མོན་ཡུལ་ནི་སྔར་ནས་ཀྲུང་གོའི་མངའ་ཁོངས་ཡིན་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དཔང་རྟགས། བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རིག་གནས་དཔྱད་གཞིའི་རྒྱུ་ཆ་བདམས་བསྒྲིགས། སྤྱིའི་འདོན་ཐེངས་༡༠། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་།

ཆབ་འགག་རྡོ་མགྲིན། 1993 གླིང་གེ་སར་རྒྱལ་པོའི་སྒྲུང་ལས་མོན་གྱི་སྐོར་གླེང་བ། བོད་ལྗོངས་ཞིབ་འཇུག འདོན་ཐེངས་༣

ཆབ་འགག་རྡོ་མགྲིན། 1990 མོན་པ་རིགས་ཀྱི་མཆེད་ཁྱུངས་ལ་དཔྱད་པ། བོད་ལྗོངས་ཞིབ་འཇུག འདོན་ཐེངས་༢

ཆབ་འགག་རྡོ་མགྲིན། 1990 མོན་པ་རིགས་ཀྱི་མཆེད་ཁྱུངས་ལ་དཔྱད་པ། བོད་ལྗོངས་ཞིབ་འཇུག འདོན་ཐེངས་༢

འཆི་མེད་རྡོ་རྗེ། 2006 མོན་གྱི་རིགས་རུས་མཆེད་ཁྱུངས་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་གནད་དོན་ཁག་གཅིག་ལ་རོབ་ཙམ་དཔྱད་པ། བོད་ལྗོངས་ཞིབ་འཇུག འདོན་ཐེངས་༣

ཇོ་སྲས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཚེ་རིང་། 2008 བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བགྲོ་གླེང་། ཆོལ་གསུམ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྤྱི་ཚན་ནས་ཕྱོགས་བསྒྲིགས་བྱས། བོད་ཀྱི་དཔེ་མཛོད་ཁང་ནས་དཔར་དུ་བསྐྲུན།

ཏཱའི་སི་ཏུ་བྱང་ཆུབ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། 1986 རླངས་ཀྱི་པོ་ཏི་བསེ་རུ་རྒྱས་པ། བོད་ལྗོངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་།

རྟ་གོ་དང་འཕྲིན་ལས། 1988 བོད་ཀྱི་རུས་རྒྱུད་དཔྱད་གཞི་ཏམ་བུ་རའི་སྒྲ་དབྱངས། ཀྲུང་གོའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་རིག་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། འདོན་ཐེངས་༨

སྟག་ཚང་དཔལ་འབྱོར་བཟང་པོ། 1985 རྒྱ་བོད་ཡིག་ཚང་ཆེན་མོ། སི་ཁྲོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་།

དུང་དཀར་བློ་བཟང་འཕྲིན་ལས། 2004 གྲུབ་མཐའི་སྐོར་གྱི་རྣམ་བཤད། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་།

དུང་དཀར་བློ་བཟང་འཕྲིན་ལས། 1985 རྒྱ་བོད་ཡིག་ཚང་ཆེན་མོའི་སྟོན་གླེང་། སི་ཁྲོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་།

ལྷན་མ་རྒྱལ་སྲས་སྤྲུལ་སྐུ། 2009 རྟ་དབང་དགོན་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མོན་ཡུལ་གསལ་བའི་མེ་ལོང་། ཨ་མྱེས་རྨ་ཆེན་བོད་ཀྱི་རིག་གཞུང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཁང་།

ལྷུན་མ་རྒྱལ་སྲས་སྒྲོལ། 1996 མོན་རྟ་ཝང་དགོན་པ་དགའ་ལྡན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལྷ་རྩེའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མདོ་ཙམ་བརྗོད་པ། ཟམ་ཏོག ལྷོ་ལི་བོད་ཁང་།

ལྷེའུ་ཇོ་སྲས། 1987 ལྡེའུ་ཆོས་འབྱུང་ཆེན་མོ་བསྟན་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན། བོད་ལྗོངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་།

སྡེ་སྲིད་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོ། 1989 དགའ་ལྡན་ཆོས་འབྱུང་བཻཌཱུར་སེར་པོ། ཀྲུང་གོ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་རིག་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་།

པད་མ་བཀའ་ཐང་། 2006 སློབ་དཔོན་པདྨ་འབྱུང་གནས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར། སི་ཁྲོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་།

དཔའ་བོ་གཙུག་ལག་ཕྲེང་བ། 2002 ཆོས་འབྱུང་མཁས་པའི་དགའ་སྟོན། ལྷ་ཆ་བཛྲ་བིདྱཱ་དཔེ་མཛོད་ཁང་།

དཔའ་བློ། 2005 བོད་ཀྱི་རུས་ཆེན་དམུ་ཞེས་བྱ་བར་བརྟག་པ། བོད་ལྗོངས་ཞིབ་འཇུག འདོན་ཐེངས་༢

བ་རི་འཇིགས་མེད་དབང་རྒྱལ། 2008 བོད་མངའ་མཛད་བཙུའི་དུས་རབས་ཀྱི་ངོ་སྤྲོད་མདོར་ཙམ་གླེང་པ། ཕྱི་ལོ་༢༠༠༨་ལོའི་ཟླ་ཆེས་༨་ཉིན་དབྱིན་ཡུལ་ལོན་ཊོན་དུ་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིའི་གཞོན་ནུའི་བོད་རིག་པའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཚེད་རྩོམ།

བློ་གྲོས་རྒྱ་མཚོ། 1994 བོད་མི་བུ་གདུང་དྲུག་གི་བྱུང་བརྗོད་པ་ལས་རྨུ་ཆ་སྨྲའི་སྐོར། བོད་ལྗོངས་ཞིབ་འཇུག འདོན་ཐེངས་༢

རིབ་གོང་རྡོ་རྗེ་མཁར། 1990 བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལས་འཕྲོས་ཏེ་མིའུ་རིགས་བཞི་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་རགས་ཙམ་གླེང་བ། ཀྲུང་གོའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་རིག

རོབ་གོང་རྡོ་རྗེ་མཁར། 1989 ཕོ་བོ་ལྗོང་གི་མི་རྒྱུད་ཁག་གཅིག་ཡུལ་གང་དུ་གནས་པ་རགས་ཙམ་གླེང་བ། བོད་ལྗོངས་ཞིབ་འཇུག འདོན་ཐེངས་༢

རིབ་གོང་རྡོ་རྗེ་མཁར། 1987 ཕོ་བོ་ལྗོང་གི་སྐོར་རགས་ཙམ་གླེང་བ། བོད་ལྗོངས་ཞིབ་འཇུག འཕོན་ཐེངས་༣.

བསོད་ནམས་ཚེ་བརྟན་ཡོ་སེབ་དང་བསོད་ནམས་སྐྱབས་ལྡན། 1976 ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་རབས་འཆི་མེད་གཏེར། edited by S.S. Gergan. Sonwar: Broca's Artistic Press.

ལྷ་བཙུན་ངག་དབང་ཕུན་ཚོགས། 1988 རྗེ་འབངས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རིགས་རུས་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས་གསལ་བའི་སྒྲོན་མེ་འབམ་མོན་ཆོས་འབྱུང་། བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རིག་གནས་དཔྱད་གཞི་རྒྱུ་ཆ་བདམས་བསྒྲིགས། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། སྤྱིའི་འདོན་ཐེངས་༧༠

Other-Language Sources

Aris, Michael. 1980. "Notes on the History of the Mon-yul Corridor." In *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson: Proceedings of the International Seminar on Tibetan Studies, Oxford 1979*, edited by Michael Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi, 9–20. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.

Pommaret, Francoise. 1999. "The-Mon-pa Revisited: In Search of Mon." In *Sacred Spaces and Powerful Places in Tibetan Culture*, edited by Toni Huber, 52–73. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.

Labtse Construction and Differentiation in Rural Amdo

Rahel Tsering

(Humboldt University, Berlin)

The ritual cosmos in the Tibetan landscape is marked through sacred constructions and ritual practices which "constantly recreate[d] the structure of Tibetan religious meanings."[1] One such type of ritual practice focuses on Labtse[2] (*lab tse, lab rtse, lab btsas, la btsas, la rdzas*), arrow-spear structures prominent in Amdo.

Labtse are understood as consecrated abodes and places of veneration for specific local territorial gods (*yul lha, gzhi bdag, sa bdag*). These structures form the centre of communal Labtse rituals that reinforce the exclusive relationship between a mountain deity, "his"[3] local community and the community's territory. The ritual and the veneration of the deity are dedicated to "mundane" benefits, concerning personal and communal matters, such as health, wealth or other forms of good "fortune" (*g.yang*). This paper describes previously unclear construction components of Labtse, including their subsurface altars. It also compares Labtse with other, similar types of structures in the Tibetan landscape. The paper is based on fieldwork conducted during 2012 and 2014 in the Amdo region, mainly in the village of Fudi (*phug sde)*[4] near the renowned Labrang monastery (*bla brang bkra shis 'khyil*), situated in Gansu Province of the People's Republic of China. I was able to attend the reconstruction of the Labtse of Amnye Dragmar (*a myes brag dmar*) during a three week stay there in 2012.

---

1 Samuel 1993: 159.

2 Synonyms for Labtse or the altar inside the foundation of it used in Tibetan texts include : *gser mkhar* (golden palace), *gsas mkhar* (divine palace), *dpa' mkhar* (hero's palace), *lha rten* (deity's receptacle), *lab btsas pho brang* (Labtse palace), *btsan mkhar* (palace of a tsen demon) and *lha tho.*

3 I use the masculine personal pronoun in this paper, to stress the general concept of *gzhi bdag* as masculine human-like actors, through there are rare accounts of female territorial deities for example from the Rebgong area.

4 The Tibetan name probably means place/village inside (the mountains) as the Fudi territory extends over a mountain range and an important mountain pass. The villagers commonly pronounce *phug sde* closely to the Chinese equivalent 夫地 (fúdì).

Rahel Tsering, "Labtse Construction and Differentiation in Rural Amdo", *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 37, December 2016, pp. 451-468.

1. Historical Background

It is widely purported by Tibetan and Western[5] sources that mountain deity cults and Labtse trace back long before the arrival of Buddhism in Tibet. Tibetan texts[6] on Labtse often begin with vague discussions of its origins, linking the Labtse cult to the Bon tradition, the Manjushri cult at Mount Wutai, the Shiva cult in India or the Chinese Princess Wencheng (*'On shing kong jo*). Also military undertakings or the placing of stones on mountaintops or borders as markers or guideposts for soldiers and herders are discussed.

Other clues might be found through archaeological remains, but very little scholarly attention has been paid to this possibility. Bellezza documents archaic shrines and rock art in Upper Tibet which he identifies as *rten mkhar*, *gsas mkhar*, *lha rten* and *lha gtsug* "(...) cubic or stepped tabernacles used to enshrine and worship indigenous deities." [7] Bellezza stresses that one feature that distinguishes these shrines from the remains of early Chorten (*mchod rten*) constructions is the frequent presence of subterranean structures.[8] He attests that these shrines are of "substantial age,"[9] but the exact period of their origin has not been determined.

Although the custom of erecting Labtse in Tibetan cultural areas is assumed to be very old, available information on Labtse constructions in Amdo generally indicate quite recent origins.[10] Almost all Labtse structures in Amdo were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), when "[t]he *yul lha* cult was singled out as *rmong dad*, 'inane faith.'"[11] After the reforms initiated by Deng Xiaoping in the late 1970s, Labtse were restored or rebuilt in many places. However, the financial resources and construction knowledge were initially deficient. Once exposed to the harsh weather conditions in Amdo, a weak construction thus often led to a sidewise bending of the Labtse's arrow-spears. This phenomenon is understood as an indication of problematic relations between the village and "his deity," and can damage the reputation of the village. Therefore, the proper construction of the often widely visible Labtse is very important for the villagers. Karmay translated further reasons for proper construction originally given by an Alag:[12] "If the *dpa'*

---

5 E.g. Pallas 1801: 215.
6 Chab 'gag rdo rje tshe ring 2006: 4–5.
7 Bellezza 2008: 141.
8 Bellezza 2010.
9 Bellezza 2008: 142.
10 E.g. in Chab 'gag rdo rje tshe ring 2006.
11 Karmay 2005: 65.
12 Honorific title for a reincarnate lama in Amdo.

mkhar is correctly built, men will live long, women will be glorious, the merits of men and woman will be abundant, their power and prosperity will expand, they will have fewer enemies and thieves, less risk from wolves and there will be benefit to their posterity."[13] Since the beginning of the 1980s Labtse construction manuals have been republished, reincarnate lamas (*sprul sku*) have once again become involved in their construction, and financial resources in Amdo have increased. Today Labtse rituals and constructions are booming. In many places older structures have been replaced by new ones that are larger and of better quality.

In 2012 I was fortunate to be present when one such old Labtse was rebuilt in Fudi village, a Lhade (*lha sde*)[14] village of Labrang monastery. The original Labtse had been destroyed in 1958. For a short period in 1960–1961 Labtse rituals were briefly resumed before again being disrupted until the end of the 1970s. The Labtse construction in Fudi was then provisionally repaired, and subsequently rebuilt sometime around 1989. The quality of the construction remained unsatisfying in the eyes of the villagers, though, and they planned a major reconstruction in 2012. Before 1958 every Tsowa (*tsho ba*)[15] of the village had its own Labtse. However, after resuming the ritual, only one Labtse has been erected for every Zhidak (*gzhi bdag)*[16] in Fudi. Among these, the Labtse of Amnye Dragmar, considered the "natal deity" (*skyes lha)* of every villager, is the most important.[17]

2. Construction

Preparation

Usually the Labtse ritual in Fudi is an annual one-day event in which one or two young or middle-aged men of every family participate. However, in this special case of the reconstruction in 2012, it was a five-day event, involving the whole village, including the women. The main construction activities took place on the third day under the instructions of an Alag. For the reconstruction of the Labtse in Fudi, a circular camp of tents was set up about 2 km away from the village at the foot of the hill, where the Labtse of Amnye Dragmar is situated. The women stayed in the camp, while the men moved

---

13 Karmay 2005: 67.

14 Lit. "divine village," villages with tax, labor and ritual duties and commitments to the monastery.

15 Social unit.

16 Territorial deity, lit. "master of the ground."

17 Sa mtsho kyid 2011: 250.

between camp and construction site.

When I arrived with my guest family at the festival site on the first day, the old Labtse had already been removed and the old spears were carried down the hill by village men. The old arrow-spears were used to make fire for cooking or for incense offerings *(bsang)*.[18] A special beautifully ornamented tent was set up in preparation of the visit of the village's main lama, Alag Hortsang.

The first two days were spent in construction preparations. As for the annual Labtse ritual every family has to provide an arrow-spear. In Fudi the arrows-spears are usually called wooden arrows (*mda' shing)*, or sometimes just arrows (*mda')*. Written sources often use the term arrow-spears *(mda' mdung*). These arrows-spears are understood to be weapons of the deity.[19] In the Labrang area the shaft is made of local wood as fir (*som shing*) or pine (*thang shing*). In other areas the shaft is taken from Xining lumber yards[20] or, as I saw in the Rebgong area, made out of bamboo. At the front end of the arrow shaft an arrowhead (*mda' rtse*) was carved in the wood. Toward the rear end of the shaft, the fletching (*mda' sgro, shing sgro*) was made out of three painted wooden panels that were fastened to the shaft with a cord. The ornaments of the panels were chosen according to the family's preference, and represent tiger stripes and leopard spots.[21] In Labrang, these panels were sold in the shops of the town. Most villagers just bought them, but some prepared and painted their own.

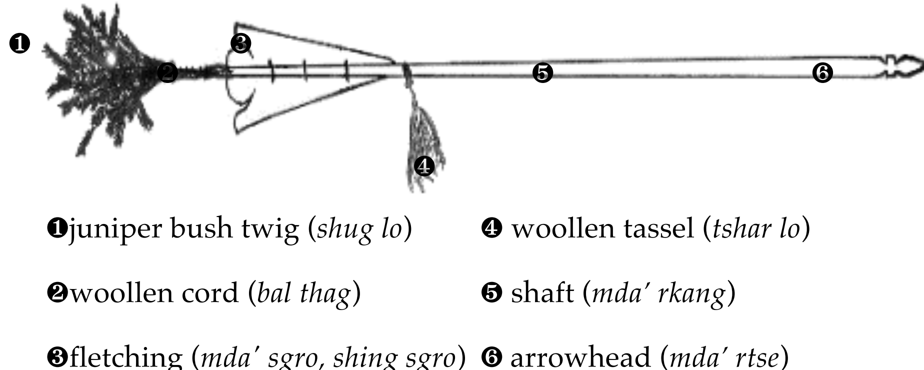


Figure 2: The Arrow Spear (*mda' shing, mda' mdung*).

Another preparation activity, which included the women, was the

18 Fumigation or (incense) smoke offering.
19 sTobs stag lha 2013: 60.
20 Tsemdo 2009: 351.
21 sNying bo rgyal, Rino 2009: 102.

spinning of sheep wool into several cords. One of these ropes was used to affix a twig from a juniper bush as a kind of nock on the rear end of the arrow, below the fletching. Just above the fletching a woollen tassel was tied to the shaft, as a symbol of fortune and prosperity (*g.yang*). The arrows with this woollen tassel are thus also called fortune arrows (*g.yang mda'*). Other woollen cords were prepared for later use in installing the arrow-spears and fastening them to each other. Some women prepared small tsampa[22] balls. These were later burned during various smoke offerings (*bsang)* as food for the deity. Villagers explained that the Zhidag values the numbers of offerings, so many small food offerings are more pleasant to the deity than a big one. Whereas the woman stayed in the camp, the men were busy carrying all kind of materials to the construction site up the hill. Some tents were also pitched on the hillside. Beside the preparation for the Labtse construction itself, the first two days were used to prepare for the festive celebration. Two sheep were slaughtered by the men and blood sausages and other foods prepared by the women.

Beyond the preparation bustle there was still enough time for villagers to sit together, chat and play games. Several families shared each of the tents, kitchen equipment and a temporary clay stove. As there was not enough space in the tents for all people to eat at the same time, the men usually ate first and the women took their turn later. The villagers of Fudi only rarely smoked or drank alcohol, especially since Labrang monastery discouraged this for both health and safety reasons. Every evening after dinner most villagers returned home for the night, and only some of the men stayed at the campsite.

Arranging the Altar

On the third day at 7:45 am the men of the village met at the village square, dressed in their best clothes and riding their motorbikes. They departed as group to the monastery to escort Alag Hortsang to the Labtse construction site. Meanwhile the women walked to the campsite and waited for the Alag's arrival. About forty-five minutes later the convoy, consisting of the lama and his attendant in their cars together with the village's men on their motorbikes, reached the campsite. The women greeted the guests also wearing their best dresses (*ras lwa)*. They formed an honour guard along the way to the entrance of the campsite, on either side of which juniper bushes were ritually burning on small altars. The lama was welcomed in the tent that had been specially prepared for him, where he was offered food

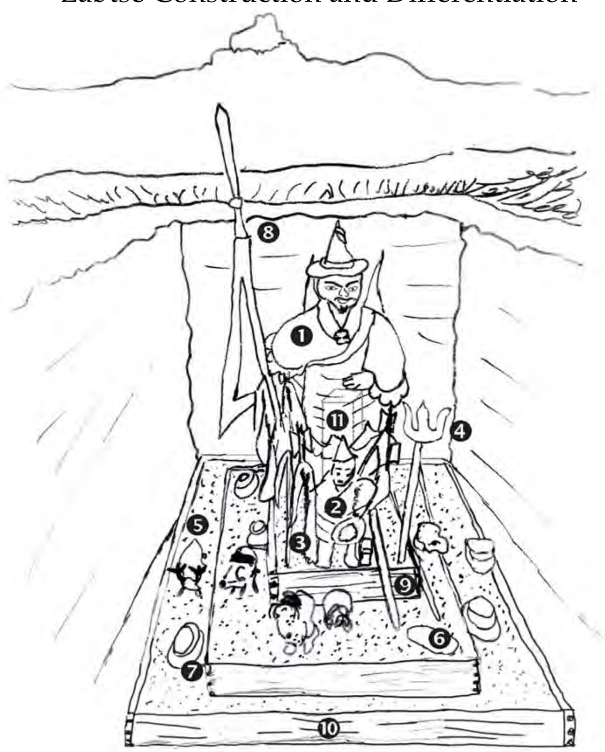
22 Roasted barley (*rtsam pa).*

and drink. The men also ate some food and climbed up the hill to the constructions site. The Alag rode up the hill on a beautifully decorated horse. The men spent the following hours on the hill performing the rites, that are required by the Labtse manuals under the guidance of Alag Hortsang and arranging the subsurface altar in the foundation. Meanwhile the women sat in the tents drinking milk tea and watching what was happening on the hill from a distance.

From the women's perspective, which I too adopted, as I was not allowed to climb the mountain, the men were standing quietly in a circle around the construction site. An offering altar (*bsang khri*) was situated only a few metres from to the Labtse structure. At 10:45 am an offering of roasted barley, bread, fruits, silk and juniper and birch branches topped by a big tsampa cake (*gtor ma)* was set on fire on that altar. In the *bsang*-ritual text of the village the *gtor ma* is identified as *'brang rgyas.*[23] Fire crackers were burned and paper lungta[24] thrown into the air. There was the sound of the conch shell trumpet (*dung dkar*) and the shouting and cheering of the men. After it became quiet again, the construction of the Labtse soon resumed. At 11:40 am fire crackers were again set off, the conch shell sounded, lungta papers were thrown, and the men shouted and yelled "*kye kye so so lha rgyal lo*"—"victory to the deities." Again it became quiet and the construction continued until about 12:30 pm, when once more fire crackers were set off, the conch shell blown, and paper lungta were thrown into the air.

During those three and a half hours on the hill, the Labtse was rebuilt under the instructions and ritual service of the Alag. From my position with the women in the camp, I was not able to observe the rites closely. However, these ritual practices are described at great length in several Tibetan sources and Labtse manuals, as well as in the research of Davaa-Ochir.[25] Here I will focus on the architectural aspects and material offerings of the ritual.

[23] Hortsang 2012: 8.
[24] Small papers with wind horse (*rlung rta)* prints.
[25] Davaa-Ochir 2008: 65–103.



⓫Effigy of Amnye Dragmar

❷Effigy of Tselo Khachog

❸Ritual arrows adorned with silk in the five cosmological colours (*dar tshon sna lnga*)

❹Trident (*sba lcags dkar po tshigs gsum)*

❺Animal representations (*spyan gzigs*)

❻Chunk of butter (*mar*)

❼Treasure vase (*gter bum)*

❽Big spear

❾Offerings of weapons (*mtshon 'bul)*

❿Grain filled altar (*gter sgam, zlum po gru bzhi)*

Central pillar (*srog shing)*

Figure 3: The Foundation of the Labtse Structure in Fudi.

The excavation for the foundation of the Labtse already had been prepared earlier. It measured about two and a half cubic metres. Under the instructions of the Alag the central pillar (*srog shing* ⓫) was planted into the ground and wrapped with yellow silk.[26] The Tibetan Labtse manuals put great emphasis to this central pillar. Tulku Lobsang Tsondi's text Lha rten brtsigs tshul gyi cho ga dge legs dpal ster[27] describes the decoration of a *srog shing* with inscriptions of dharanis and mantras,[28] as well as representations of the sun, moon, stars and garudas.[29] The central pillar, as a representation of the *axis mundi,* also plays quite a prominent role in several other types of architecture in Tibetan culture (e.g. Chorten).

A large effigy of the mountain deity, Amnye Dragmar, was fastened to the central pillar. In front of this was set up a smaller effigy of the deity's newly installed helper and minister (*blon po*), Tselo Khachog (Tshe blo kha chog), a former "hero" of Fudi village with the official title of Btsangi Huawo Dorje (bTsan gi dpa' bo rdo rje).

Very little is known about the foundations of Labtse constructions and the deity effigies inside. However, the rebuilding of a Labtse is an infrequent event at which usually only local participants are present. A rare representation of the foundation of a Labtse with its deity effigies appears in an article by Hildegard Diemberger.[30]

Tulku Lobsang Tsondi refers to the space surrounding the central *srog shing* as *gter 'khor,*[31] that is, a mandalic environment of the receptacle. In Fudi, this space was horizontally and vertically ordered by three frames (*gter sgam* ❿),[32] each filled with grain (*'bru sna*) and thus creating elevated platforms on which the deity's offerings and gifts were arranged. Ritual arrows adorned with silk in the five cosmological colours (*dar tshon sna lnga)* were planted into the grain. Additional offerings were hunting weapons (*mtshon 'bul* ❾*),* animal representations (*spyan gzigs* ❺),[33] food offerings, tea, money and tools. All of these were carefully arranged on the grain platforms.

The Tibetan text *Lab rtse'i srog shing 'bri tshul*[34] lists the following as religious gifts (*chos sbyin*) that have to be arranged in the

26 See also Tsemdo 2009: 353, figure 5.

27 Chab 'gag rdo rje tshe ring 2006: 5–6.

28 Skt. *dhāra ī* and skt. *mantra*: magic texts.

29 Skt. *garu a*, tib. *khyung*, a mythical humanoid bird.

30 Bulag, Diemberger 2007: 124.

31 Chab 'gag rdo rje tshe ring 2006: 8.

32 Information by informants, translated as "receptacle box."

33 Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 387.

34 *Lab rtse'i srog shing 'bri tshul.* Place and publisher unspecified.

excavation hole (*shong*): (representations[35] of) a tiger (*stag*), a lion (*seng*), a garuda (*khyung*), a dragon (*'brug*), a horse (*rta*), cattle (*nor*), a sheep (*lug*), a peacock (*rma bya*), a crane (*khrung khrung*), a parrot (*ne tso*), a *shang shang* (mythological bird), a cuckoo (*khu byug*), thirteen white stones (*rdo dkar bcu gsum*), swords (*ral gri*), armour (*go khrab*) and a vajra. In order to protect the four directions, the tiger has to be arranged in the east, the dragon south, the bird (*bya*) west and the tortoise (*rus sbal*) north. Another term for some of the offerings are treasure items *gter rdzas*.[36] This term can refer to either minerals or terma objects[37], and possibly also treasure vases (*gter bum* ❼). Treasure vases are offered in many circumstances. Tulku Lobsang Tsondi describes *gter bum* as new clay pots that are filled with twenty-five substances (*bum rdzas nyer lnga*) and subsequently closed and sealed during Tantric rites (*bya rgyud*).[38]

The big spear (❽) next to Amnye Dragmar with a flag in the colours white and red is quite often found in representations of mountain deities. These are the colours associated with Buddhist lay practitioners (*dge bsnyen*), and thus probably indicate the submission of the Zhidak to the Buddhist teaching. Another item included is a trident (*sba lcags dkar po tshigs gsum* ❹) that is mentioned in the *bsang* ritual text of Amnye Dragmar as well.

After planting the central pillar, fixing the effigy, building the altar and arranging the offerings, yellow silk was wrapped around the altar as a final decoration.

Raising the Arrow-Spears

At 12:45 pm the foundation was completed by adding the arrow-spears. According to my informants, the biggest arrow-spear was planted directly into the grain filled altar (*gter sgam* ❿) of the foundation. Bands in the five cosmological colours were fastened to the top of the longest arrow-spear and the villagers raised it by hoisting on the bands. The length of the spears represented social position in the village. The longest central spear, according to my informants, was thus attributed to the former *dpon po* (lord, "king") of Fudi village.

---

[35] That also can be visual representations.
[36] Chab 'gag rdo rje tshe ring 2006: 59.
[37] THL Tibetan to English Translation Tool.
[38] Chab 'gag rdo rje tshe ring 2006: 9.

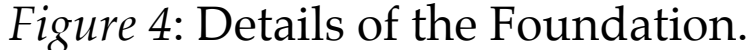


Figure 4: Details of the Foundation.

Figure 5: Raising the Arrow-Spears.

The next step in raising the Labtse was to add the other arrow-spears, prayer flags and unicolor flags to the "king's spear" in order of their size. The longest ones were added first and the smaller ones last. However, before they could be fastened, the arrow-spears and prayer flags had to be purified. As they circumambulated the nearby *bsang* altar in a clockwise direction, the villagers soaked the spears in the smoke of the *bsang* offering. The middle-aged men of every family, whose duty it is to engage in deity cults and Labtse rituals, then added the spears to the Labtse. Sometimes younger boys from the participating families would also bring their own smaller spears. To fasten the whole construction together, sheep's wool cords (*dmu thag*) and silk bands in the five cosmological colours were wrapped around the arrow-spears. Finally, some juniper bushes were added in the spaces between the spears and the cords. Quite often Labtse structures are linked by *dmu thag* cords to neighbouring prayer flag structures.[39] In Fudi, about one hundred metres east of the Labtse a Victory Banner prayer flag structure (*rgyal mtshan tse mo)* was set up. However, in Fudi this structure was not linked by a *dmu thag* to the main Labtse construction. Wooden frames were built later around both the Labtse and the *rgyal mtshan tse mo* structures to support the

[39] For further details on the mythical relevance of the *dmu thag* robe, see Karmay 1998: 282, Karmay 2005: 57–58 and Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1972: 552.

poles of the prayer flags and the arrow-spears. In other places I saw these supporting structures being made using masonry or just piles of stones (see Figure 6, 7 and 8).

At about 2 pm the construction was finished. The Alag and the villagers returned back to the tent camp. The women served them the lunch which they had prepared in the meantime. After lunch, another *bsang* offering was lighted at the altar next to the tent camp with shouting and cheering *"kye kye so so lha rgyal lo"* (victory to the gods). Offerings included grain, fruits, bolt of silk fabric, juniper branches, etc. After two hours the Alag took his seat in front of his tent and received the villagers according their rank, starting with the oldest down to the youngest males, followed by the oldest to the youngest females. Each villager presented a Katag (*kha btags*) to the Alag, and the Alag in return blessed them. His accompanying monks distributed blessed green ribbons to each villager that they were supposed to wear around their necks.

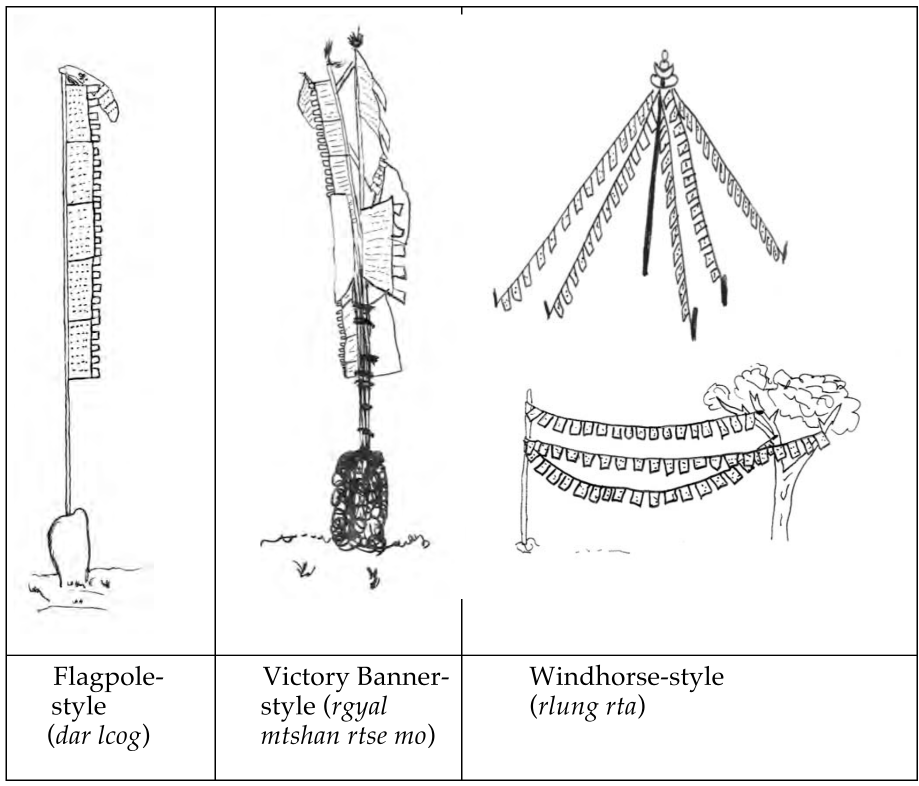
After these exchanges, the Alag's car drove up to the tent and he took his seat inside it. Escorted by the village men on their motorbikes, he returned to the monastery in Labrang. After some time, the men came back and started to play games and eat snacks. Besides the simple tents of the families, there was a specially decorated tent, equipped with soft cushions and tables stacked with food. Groups of villagers took turns sitting and eating in the special tent. At 6 pm a noodle soup was served for dinner, and afterwards most villagers returned to the village. The festival continued for two more days. Because of the sacredness of the place that was created through the Alag's visit, an immediate disassembling of the camp would not have been considered appropriate.

3. Differentiation

Demarcating Between Similar Structures

When discussing the meaning and definition of the term Labtse with various Tibetans, it became obvious that in informal conversations it was sometimes used in a general way to denote all kinds of similar "flag/pole" structures (e.g. Labtse structures, prayer flag structures). However, when going into more depth and discussing the ritual purposes of the particular structure, Tibetans in my research area assigned the term Labtse only to ritual structures designed to venerate the local deity, Zhidak, which they clearly distinguished from other structures. In Tibetan textual sources the term Labtse always refers to the structure that is linked to the local Zhidak-cult. In Western language sources, the differentiation between the Labtse

structure and apparently similar prayer flag structures is often unclear. Therefore, it is important to demarcate these two kinds of structures.



Flagpole-style (*dar lcog*)	Victory Banner-style (*rgyal mtshan rtse mo*)	Windhorse-style (*rlung rta*)

Table 1: Different Prayer Flag Structures.

Prayer flags are frequently raised in Amdo in connection with architectural structures or prominent landscape features. Often they are positioned at the top of mountains, passes, or at specific landmarks such as gorges, bridges and the confluences of rivers. There are different designs of prayer flags. Sometimes the flags are fixed directly to a flagpole. Other designs fix the prayer flags to ropes and suspend them between two points, possibly also poles. These prayer flag structures are usually not understood as abodes of a specific deity. Instead, they are prayers for well-being and luck, and for a general honouring of all kinds of deities by both the people who hung the flag and those who pass by the landmark or architectural structure. In Amdo the prayer flags that are fixed to ropes and suspended between elevated points often display wind horse prints

and are therefore usually called Lungta *(rlung rta*).[40] Another design that is found in front or next to many houses is the Flagpole-style (*dar lcog)*. This is a single big flagpole on which a long multi-coloured prayer flag is fastened.

In addition, there is a quite popular structure in Amdo, called Victory Banner (*rgyal mtshan rtse mo*).[41] It has prayer flags that are fixed to poles. Their prints often contain a long text, the Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit text *Āryadhvajagrakeyūranāmadhāraṇī*, in Tibetan *'Phags pa rgyal mtshan rtse mo'i dpung rgyan*.[42] In contrast to the Flagpole-style of prayer flags, the Victory Banner-style consists of many flagpoles. Beside the flags with the specific text, other unprinted or windhorse flags can also be added. The flags and poles are then fixed together by ropes and are often supported by a wooden frame similar to those of the Labtse structure. Victory Banners are often built next to a Labtse and are sometimes connected with them through a sheep wool rope (*dmu thag*). Sometimes a structure for veneration of a minor Zhidak, which is not considered as the natal deity (*skyes lha)* of a community, might not have an elaborated Labtse with arrow-spears, but rather a smaller Victory Banner structure.

The following points are highlighted in order to show the differences:

	Labtse Structure	Prayer Flag Structures
Location	Usually at a prominent, elevated places, highly visible but not easy accessible.	At landmarks (passes, gorges, bridges etc.), next to roads, easy accessible.
Pole	Arrow-spears as weapon for the deity.	Flagpoles to which prayer flags are fastened or poles to which ropes with prayer flags are fastened
Ritual	Annual Labtse ritual, private offerings when required.	Every time when passing by.
Flag	No flags necessary, sometimes prayer flags or multicoloured flags are added.	Prayer flags with prints. Different designs.
Purpose of ritual	Maintaining a long-lasting relationship with the local deity to secure its goodwill for the family and community.	Winning the goodwill of all kind of deities for the short travel period. To "air" continuous prayers.
Fletching	Wooden and coloured fletching.	No fletching.
Targeted Group	Exclusive for the community. Usually the village males.	Inclusive to all who pass by.
Basement	Often elaborate basement with an altar and offerings for the deity.	No elaborated basement. Basement only to fix the pole.

[40] For more on *rlung rta*, see Karmay 1998: 413–22.

[41] Not to be confused with the victory banner (*rgyal mtshan*) that is one of the Eight Auspicious Symbols. The fabric version of that victory banner can also be found in connection with prayer flags, such as those in the Flagpole-style.

[42] Berounský 2009: 28.

Table 2: General Differences between Labtse and Prayer Flag Structures.

Different Labtse Structures

In the Labrang area, every village has one or several local mountain deities that are exclusively worshipped by the local community. Additionally, there are also regional and supra-regional deities with Labtse structures that are venerated by their respective communities. There are, for example, several Labtse of the extended Labrang community (*lha sde shog pa bzhi*). One is situated on the hill northwest of the Labrang monastery. Another example of a supra-regional Labtse was described by Li An-che in the 1930's: "Then each tribe has its annual offerings of arrows to the local mountain god. The time differs in accordance with mythological associations about individual deities. Several tribes in one general region have a common mountain god of a higher rank. The offering of arrows for Grandfather Niangchen in Kan-su, for example, took place on July 31, 1939, when all the tribes around Bla-bran participated in the ceremony."[43]

Beyond the veneration of a mountain deity and its shrine by entire territorial communities, there are also several special forms of Labtse for specific groups within a community. For example, there is a very small Labtse structure accessibly located within the village of Sayinang, called *zha yas lab tse* (Children Labtse in Amdo dialect). I was told that the village's main Labtse structures are very far away and high in the mountains, where only adult men will go. The children thus have their own Labtse ritual at the Children's Labtse.

Labtse can also be differentiated according to their arrangement. In some areas, such as Rebgong, there are Labtse that comprise a main Labtse Structure and thirteen smaller ones. According Davaa-Ochir this formation is called "Labtse of a mother with 13 sons" (*la btsas ma bu bcu gsum)*. Similar *ovoo* seem to be quite common in Mongolia.[44] More research is needed concerning the material culture and the different types of Labtse mountain deity cults.

[43] Li 1994: 14.
[44] See Davaa-Ochir 2008: 58–63.

Figure 7: "Mother and Sons" Labtse in the Rebgong Area.

Figure 6: Children Labtse in a Village Close to Labrang.

Figure 8: Labtse of the lHa sde shog pa bzhi Community with a Conjoined Prayer Flag Structure.

4. Conclusion

Labtse structures are landmarks, displaying spiritual, social, cultural, as well as political bonds and power claims. The purpose of this paper has been to shed more light on the construction process and the involved rituals. Though that is not an exhaustive description it suggests avenues for further comparative research in other areas of Amdo and Tibet.

Bibliography

Except for the photographs of Figure 4 *and* Figure 5, *which were taken by villagers of Fudi, the drawings and photographs are the author's.*

Bellezza, John Vincent. 2008. *Zhang Zhung: Foundations of Civilization in Tibet: A Historical and Ethnoarchaeological Study of the Monuments, Rock Art, Texts, and Oral Tradition of the Ancient Tibetan Upland.* Wien: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Denkschriften, 368).

———. 2010. *Antiquities of Zhang Zhung: A Comprehensive Inventory of Pre-Buddhist Archaeological Monuments on the Tibetan Upland, Volume II: Archaic Ceremonial Monuments*. THL Digital Text License. http://www.thlib.org/bellezza/#!book=/bellezza2/wb/b2-1.

Berounský, Daniel. 2009. "'Soul of enemy' and warrior deities (dgra bla): Two Tibetan myths on primordial battle." In *Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia '09 Linguistics, Ethnolinguistics, Religion and Culture Volume 2, No. 2*, 19–57. Prag: Charles University.

Bulag, Uradyn Erden. Diemberger, Hildegard. 2007. *The Mongolia-Tibet interface. Opening New Research Terrains in Inner Asia. PIATS 2003. Tibetan Studies. Proceedings of the Tenth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies.* Oxford, 2003. Leiden Netherlands, Boston: Brill.

Chab 'gag rdo rje tshe ring. 2006. "Lab tse." In *Mtsho sngon dmangs khrod kyi rig gnas dpe tshogs: 10.* Lanzhou: *Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang*.

Davaa-Ochir, Ganzorig. 2008. *Oboo worship: The Worship of Earth and Water Divinities in Mongolia.* M.A. Thesis, University of Oslo, Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages.

Hortsang, Sertri Rinpoche Jigme Dragpa Gyatsho. 2012. *Dge bsnyen chen po brag dmar gyi bsang yig 'dod don myur 'grub ces bya ba bzhugs so.* Place and publisher unspecified. Private copies in Fudi village.

Karmay, Samten Gyaltsen. 1998. *The Arrow and the Spindle. Studies in History, Myths, Rituals and Beliefs in Tibet.* Kathmandu: Mandala Publication.

———. 2005. *The Arrow and the Spindle: Studies in History, Myths, Rituals and Beliefs in Tibet.* (Vol. II), Kathmandu: Mandala Publication.

Lab rtse'i srog shing 'bri tshul. Place and publisher unspecified.

Li, An-che. 1994. *History of Tibetan religion. A study in the field.* 1. Aufl. Beijing: New World Press.

Nebesky-Wojkowitz, René de. 1975. *Oracles and Demons of Tibet. The Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities.* [New ed.]. Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt.

Pallas, Peter Simon. 1801. *Sammlungen historischer Nachrichten über die mongolischen Völkerschaften, 2. Teil.* St. Petersburg: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Sa mtsho skyid, Roche, Gerald. 2011."Purity and Fortune in Phug sde Village Rituals." In *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 10, 231–284.

Samuel, Geoffrey. 1993. *Civilized Shamans. Buddhism in Tibetan Societies.* Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press. Xining City: Plateau Publications.

Stobs stag lha. (Stuart, Roche, Mckinlay, Thurston eds.). 2013. A Multi-ethnic Village in Northeast Tibet: History, Ritual, and Daily Life in Chu cha. *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 24.

Snying bo rgyal, and R. Salomon Rino. 2011. Deity Men: Reb gong Tibetan Trance Medium in Transition. *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 3. Xining: Plateau Publications.

Tsemdo. 2009. Lazi (Lab rtse) Construction in Karmatang (Skar ma thang) Village. In *Asian Highland Perspektives* 1, 349–366.

❖

Coming to Terms with Tibet: Scholarly Networks and the Production of the First "Modern" Tibetan Dictionaries

Markus Viehbeck

(University of Heidelberg)

The production of dictionaries has been a standard feature in Europeans' initial engagement with foreign cultures, an activity that aimed to enable intellectual understanding as well as political domination of "the other." In the case of Tibet, many early dictionaries were produced in a specific historical and political setting, in the contact zones between non-Tibetan and Tibetan agents, which the Himalayan region provided in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries.

The article uses "modern" dictionaries—that is, dictionaries that organize their entries alphabetically and present these in adjoining columns—as a means of investigating the entanglements between Christian missionaries, British-Indian colonial officials, European academics, and Tibetan scholars as well as the knowledge that these people produced in this context.[1]

1. Introduction

On February 19th, 2013, a new app containing the well-known dictionary of dGe bshes Chos grags, a Buryat Mongolian who had entered Se ra Monastery in the 1920s, was released via iTunes. This dictionary was completed in Lhasa in the 1940s and is commonly considered the first modern Tibetan-Tibetan dictionary. The announcement of the app's release stressed that this dictionary is unique insofar as it "was written in a purely Tibetan situation without another culture overseeing the work." [2] While this

1 I would like to thank John Bray for numerous valuable comments as well as Jonathan Samuels and Kim Friedlander for suggestions regarding the English in this article.

2 See the description on iTunes, https://itunes.apple.com/de/app/geshe-chodrak-tibetan-tibetan/id602452248?mt=8; accessed March 31, 2016.

Markus Viehbeck, "Coming to Terms with Tibet: Scholarly Networks and the Production of the First 'Modern' Tibetan Dictionaries," *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 37, December 2016, pp. 469–489.

description was intended to emphasize the dictionary's independence from Chinese influence, it did not really do justice to the complex historical setting out of which this work emerged. In this article, I will start from a diametrically opposed vantage point, using the production of modern Tibetan dictionaries as a way to explore knowledge production in this context as a highly entangled enterprise, which brought together Tibetan scholars, who are associated with forms of knowledge commonly characterized as "traditional," and Western agents, often missionaries, colonial officials, or global academics, who are seen as representatives of "modern" types of knowledge. In doing so, I do not intend to give a comprehensive account of Tibetan lexicography;[3] rather, I would like to investigate how crucial knowledge about Tibet emerged in this interplay between Tibetan and Western worlds, and how it shaped modern Tibetan studies.

First, I will briefly trace the historical connections between important dictionaries, starting with dGe bshes Chos grags and going back in time to the work of Csoma de Kőrös in the early nineteenth century and the early missionary projects of the eighteenth century. Then I will proceed in the opposite direction to show, although rather tentatively, that the connections between these endeavours also had a direct impact on the publications arising from them.

2. Historical Entanglements in the Production of Modern Tibetan Dictionaries

The most obvious feature that connects these different dictionaries is the layout and alphabetical organization of terms in adjoining columns, a system which should enable the user to look up individual entries quickly. While this was the accepted system for modern dictionaries in Europe,[4] in comparison to traditional Tibetan lexicographical works in *dpe cha* format, which presented their contents as continuing text that was often learned by heart as a whole, this was a *novum*.[5]

---

[3] Due to limitations in the length of this article, I will only consider the most crucial steps in bringing modern lexicography into a Tibetan language context. For comprehensive (but still incomplete) overviews, see the summaries by Simon 1964 or Goldstein 1991, or, most extensively, Walter 2006.

[4] In the European context too, mechanical alphabetization only emerged gradually as the standard, and in the Middle-Ages different systems were used to organize glossaries and dictionaries; see Miethaner-Vent 1986 and Daly 1967 for an overview.

[5] However, in the Tibetan context as well alphabetization played an increasing role over time; see Goldstein 1991: 251.

dGe bshes Chos grags (1898–1972)

As Pema Bhum noted, it is the feature of textual organization and presentation that marks Chos grags's work as bringing something radically new to Tibetan lexicography:

> This dictionary is likely the first instance of the transformation of what Tibetans call "*dag yig*" or glossaries into the structure of the modern dictionary.[6]

In the introduction to this dictionary, which was completed in 1946 and carved on wood blocks in 1949, Chos grags felt compelled to explain some of the modern features that he introduced along with this form of presentation.[7] Yet he does not discuss in any detail the rationale for adopting this system in the first place, apart from mentioning in passing that this should facilitate an "easy search" for individual terms.[8]

Chos grags's intellectual network might, however, provide some clues as to why he chose this form of presentation. Among the scholars with whom he discussed his work are the Lhasa grammarian Tsha sprul Rin po che and the A mdo intellectual dGe 'dun chos 'phel. The latter is also said to have contributed vernacular vocabulary to the dictionary.[9] Both of these scholars were well acquainted with modern techniques of dictionary compilation. Tsha sprul Rin po che, for example, must certainly have learned such principles while he was helping to correct Basil Gould's *Tibetan Word Book* in 1940, which was one of several smaller manuals and word books developed by British colonial officials for practical rather than scholarly purposes.[10]

Another scholar who contributed to Gould's enterprise was Dorje Tharchin (rDo rje mthar phyin), who by that time had made a name for himself as the editor of the Tibetan-language newspaper *Me long* (or Tibet Mirror) and who emerged as a crucial bridge between Tibetan and European scholars. dGe 'dun chos 'phel and dGe bshes

---

6 Pema Bhum 2005: 27. This article summarizes the general features of the dictionary. A narrative account of the conditions of its production by Hor khang Byams pa bstan dar is included in the same volume; see Jampa Tendar 2005.

7 Chos grags 1980: 2.

8 Tib. *btsal bde ba*, Chos grags 1980: 9.

9 See Stoddard 1986: 219.

10 See Fader 2002–2009, vol. III: 10ff., for details on these meetings between Gould, Tsha sprul, Tharchin and others. A forthcoming article by Emma Martin, "Knowing Tibet in the Borderlands: The Knowledge Making Networks of Himalayan Hill Stations," to be published in *Transcultural Studies* in 2016, gives a detailed general account of British colonial officials' involvement in producing dictionaries and language manuals in this context.

Chos grags had known Tharchin in his role as a connecting figure since they left Tibet to accompany Rahul Sankrityayan to India. In fact, dGe 'dun chos 'phel had very close contact with Tharchin during the 1930s and 1940s and not only contributed several articles to his newspaper, but also collaborated with him on other linguistic ventures.[11]

Dorje Tharchin (1890–1976)

Among these projects was a more practical English-Tibetan-Hindi pocket dictionary (1965), but also a large Tibetan-Tibetan dictionary, which Tharchin envisioned as his *magnum opus*. He worked on this dictionary from 1930 until his death in 1976, involving several scholars and workers at his Tibet Mirror Press in it. Interestingly, as can be learned in a rather crude letter Tharchin wrote to Hugh Richardson in 1962, dGe bshes Chos grags became familiar with the details of dictionary production in the 1930s as an employee for this enterprise:

> I am grateful that you are still in favour of my Tibetan Dictionary. [...] I think You know the mongolian Geshe Chhodrag, who also brought out a Tibetan to Tibetan Dictionary. Actually I was the man [...] who tought and imployed him for nearly two yars in 1930 and 1932, then he went back to Tibetan and again came in 1935 and worked about a year. So he got the idia and later on he printed on a block print as Tibetan ways. But his explanation of the words are not so good and clear, besid mine one is four time more words then his. [12]

This letter also indicates that there was some rivalry between the two intellectuals over their respective dictionary projects.[13] This seems to have evolved especially against the backdrop of the immense difficulties that Tharchin faced in producing his own work. While his smaller dictionary and various linguistic manuals had been

---

11 According to Fader 2002–2009, vol. III: 92ff., dGe 'dun chos 'phel and Tharchin met for the first time in Kalimpong in 1935, introduced by Sankrityayan. dGe 'dun chos 'phel lived with the Tharchin family for eighteen months and he probably also contributed to Tharchin's large dictionary project.

12 Letter from Tharchin to Richardson, Feb. 10, 1996, Richardson Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford University, MS. Or. Richardson 41; the spelling mistakes in the original letter have been retained. A copy of this document was kindly provided by Isrun Engelhardt.

13 Based on passages like this, Tharchin's main biographer, H. Louis Fader, constructs a narrative about Chos grags having extensively appropriated Tharchin's work for his own purposes; see Fader 2002–2009, vol. III: 1–35. As will be shown below, the actual content of the dictionaries does not support such a claim.

published and were reasonably successful, his *magnum opus*, consisting of almost 60,000 entries in five volumes,[14] was never completed. Tharchin received some funding from the University of Washington, which Hugh Richardson and Turrell Wylie facilitated. Later, Mrs. D.S. Still, the daughter of Dr. Shelton, the famous missionary in Eastern Tibet, put Tharchin in touch with Beta Sigma Phi, an American social and cultural service organization. Drawing on the educational mission of the sorority, Tharchin was able to gain support for various publications for Tibetan refugee schools, but also his large dictionary. Nevertheless, the first two volumes of this work were the only ones that were actually printed, while the other three remained in draft manuscript form.[15] Tharchin seems nowhere to have set out the precise sources of his dictionary, which he refers to as a "compilation" (*phyogs bsgrigs*) in some verses at the beginning of the first volume.[16] Given his scholarly connections, one can point to numerous related publications that both preceded and followed Tharchin's work, e.g., the various text books, word lists, and even gramophone records that Charles Bell, Basil Gould, and Hugh Richardson created, mostly for Colloquial Tibetan, or George Roerich's Tibetan-Russian-English dictionary and the dictionary project of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences initiated by Helmut Hoffmann.[17]

Among dictionaries produced by his predecessors, the one of Sarat Chandra Das stands out as the work that was most closely related to his own. Indeed, Tharchin received his personal copy of this dictionary in September 1934,[18] and in 1945 he even managed to purchase the Tibetan matrices that were used to print Das' dictionary

---

[14] In a letter to the American Consulate General, Calcutta, from June 16, 1965, Tharchin speaks of "over 58,000 words." This letter is found among the correspondence preserved in the Tharchin Collection, C.V. Starr East Asian Library, Columbia University. I would like to thank Isrun Engelhardt for providing me with a copy of this document. In later letters, Tharchin mentions 60,000 words; the missionary Margaret Urban lists a more precise number of 58,551 words. See Fader 2002–2009, Vol. III: 227; 231.

[15] Following Isrun Engelhardt's lead, I discovered these remaining volumes, thought to be lost, among various dictionaries at the Tharchin Estate in September 2014. I would like to thank Nini and Daniel Tharchin for giving me access to these documents. In January 2016, Lauran Hartley acquired these volumes for the Tharchin Collection at the C.V. Starr East Asian Library, Columbia University.

[16] Tharchin Dictionary: Vol. I: 1.

[17] All of these individuals were in close contact with Dorje Tharchin. See Fader 2002–2009, Vol. III: especially, 1–35, and also the forthcoming article by Emma Martin (note 10). For details on the dictionary of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, see Uebach 1998 or 2010.

[18] This copy is still in Tharchin's office. I would like to thank Daniel Tharchin for providing access to it.

for his own Tibet Mirror printing press.[19]

Sarat Chandra Das (1849–1917)

As an official of the British-Indian government, Das made three journeys into Tibet and from 1889 to 1899 worked on his dictionary.[20] His work was published in 1902, only after it was revised and edited by August Wilhelm Heyde, a member of the Moravian Mission, and Graham Sandberg, a chaplain who had developed an interest in Tibetan during his tenure in Darjeeling.

In his introduction, Sarat Chandra Das makes reference to Csoma de Kőrös and Jäschke, and, in contrast to these earlier works, proposes to include Sanskrit equivalents as well as more modern vocabulary. He does not, however, provide a more detailed account of how his dictionary was compiled. Interestingly, the Tibetan title page of the dictionary gives very concrete clues in this regard, and explicates the distribution of labour in its compilation:[21] while Das acted as the main editor and translator, several others played important roles. For example, mKhan chen Shes rab rgya mtsho, the abbot of Ghoom (also Ghum) Monastery in Darjeeling, was responsible for the Tibetan terms, which he gathered and explained in accordance with a number of traditional Tibetan sources that are listed in detail.[22] The Indian professor Satis Chandra Acharya worked on the Sanskrit terminology, and U rgyan rgya mtsho, who had accompanied Das in Tibet, took care of Bon-related terminology.

In addition, Sandberg and Heyde, the dictionary's editors, are rather outspoken about the European sources and models for Das' work. In their preface to the dictionary, they make it clear that Das' entries depend, often considerably, on the earlier work of Csoma de Kőrös, and, most importantly, that of Heinrich August Jäschke:

> In place of the innumerable excerpts from Jäschke, already referred to, we have had to examine and to treat *de novo* the grammar and general usage of a large number of the commoner nouns, adjectives, and verbs, notably the verbs. To illustrate these new articles, we have had

[19] See Fader 2002–2009, Vol. III: 186–7, for details.
[20] Details of his beginnings in the Himalayas are provided in his autobiography, see Das 1969.
[21] See Das 1902.
[22] Donald Lopez even went so far as to consider Shes rab rgya mtsho as "the true author" of Das' dictionary (Lopez 2011: 159). This is an extreme position, but it addresses the crucial question of intellectual property, which is equally relevant to the other dictionaries produced in this context. See Emma Martin's forthcoming article for details on the encounter between Das and Shes rab rgya mtsho (note 10).

> to substitute for Jäschke's examples a large number of original quotations from Tibetan authors as well as a certain number of made-up sentences put together to exhibit various phrases of ordinary employment. In other articles, also, where Sarat Chandra Das had not thought it necessary to do more than repeat Csoma's or Jäschke's illustrative sentences, we have looked out fresh examples to replace them.[23]

Heinrich August Jäschke (1817–1883)

Along with Heyde and several other Christian missionaries, Jäschke was attached to the outposts of the Moravian Church that were established in the Western Himalayas in the second half of the nineteenth century. In their missionary zeal, these scholars exhibited an unprecedented interest in Tibetan linguistics. Jäschke, who lived in the region from 1857 to 1868, emerged as a particularly gifted intellectual, who could draw not only on his own studies of other languages, but also on the knowledge of his local interlocutors. This was especially important to achieve his declared aim, namely to consider temporal and geographical differences and to account for the meaning of a term not only by a translation, but also with a concrete example, taken from scriptures or ordinary conversation.[24] To this end, Jäschke collaborated with local scholars from different regions, but there is only very limited information about the details of these encounters.[25] At first, he worked with a certain Sonam Stobgyes (bSod rnam stob rgyas) from Stok, further with the monk Tsultrim (Tshul khrims) from Zangskar, and two lamas from Central Tibet. From 1864–65, he stayed in Darjeeling to improve his Lhasa dialect and had contact with various learned lamas. Back in Keylang, he studied for three years with Blo bzang chos 'phel, a monk from Tashilhunpo who was well versed in religious literature.[26]

Despite this intense and long lasting exchange with Tibetan scholars and the knowledge he gained from them, Jäschke's enterprise primarily had a missionary character:

> The chief motive of all our exertions lay always in the desire to facilitate and to hasten the spread of the Christian religion and of the Christian civilization, among the millions of Buddhists, who inhabit

[23] Das 1902: XII.
[24] See Jäschke 1881: IIIf.
[25] See Bray 1983; in a forthcoming article ("Heinrich August Jäschke (1817–1883): translating the Christian scriptures into Tibetan"), John Bray gathers information on Jäschke's indigenous instructors and informants, which I refer to here.
[26] Some details of this scholar's life and his work with Jäschke were only recently unearthed; see Bray 2015.

Central Asia, and who speak and read in Tibetan idioms.[27]

The dictionary that emerged as a by-product of these endeavours brought modern Tibetan lexicography to a new level, but must also be seen as a continuation of earlier works. In contrast to the limited information on his Tibetan interlocutors that he provides, Jäschke is rather outspoken about the European dictionaries of Tibetan he used, and he discusses the efforts of earlier pioneers, such as Schmidt, Csoma de Kőrös, and Schroeter critically.

Isaak Jacob Schmidt (1779–1847)

Schmidt's Tibetan-German dictionary must naturally be considered important for Jäschke, as Jäschke too published his large Tibetan dictionary first in German, between 1871 and 1876, before producing a translated and expanded version in English, in 1881.[28]

In contrast to Jäschke's extensive references, Schmidt's dictionary merely provides a translation of a Tibetan term, and, in this regard, clearly follows the earlier model of Csoma de Kőrös. In fact, Schmidt readily admits that he is largely building on Csoma's work, with the important difference that he organizes the words alphabetically, according to the base letter (*ming gzhi*), rather than the first letter, as Csoma did—something for which Schmidt had also criticized his predecessor. Further, Schmidt consulted three indigenous glossaries, which enabled him to add new vocabulary. When he published his dictionary in 1841, he therefore estimated that it would contain over 5,000 entries not included in Csoma's work.[29]

While Schmidt had come to know about Mongolian and Tibetan culture during a stay in Kalmykia in 1804–1806, his work on the Tibetan dictionary seems to have been done without the direct involvement of native scholars, based solely on written accounts, and in concrete dependence on the work of Csoma de Kőrös, which was published after Schmidt had started to work on his dictionary.[30]

---

[27] Jäschke 1881: III.

[28] Though he started off with a *Romanized Tibetan and English Dictionary* of much smaller scope in 1866.

[29] See Schmidt 1969: V; these three works are the Tibetan-Mongolian *Ming gi rgya mtsho* and *Bod kyi brda yig rtogs par sla ba*, and the Manchu-Mongolian-Tibetan-Chinese *Skad bzhi shan sbyar ba'i me long gi yi ge*. For a brief account of his scholarly activities, see Walravens 2005.

[30] For a detailed account of his life and scholarly works, see Walravens 2005. In the introduction to his dictionary, Schmidt openly admits the close relationship between his and Csoma de Kőrös' work; see Schmidt 1969: Vf.

Alexander Csoma de Kőrös (1784–1842)

Csoma de Kőrös finalized and published his work eight years before Schmidt, as a result of an extended stay in the Western Himalayas. Initially, Csoma had come to the region to explore the origins of Hungarian, which was his native language. There, he met with William Moorcroft, a British-Indian officer, who in this function must have been well aware of the importance of linguistic expertise for interacting with Tibet. Moorcroft quickly realized Csoma's linguistic potential and hired him on his own initiative, clearly with wider political and commercial agendas in mind.[31]

He was also the one who put Csoma in contact with his main local interlocutor, Sangs rgyas phun tshogs, an influential lama in Zanskar, who too was paid by the British-Indian government for linguistic services. Csoma studied and worked with Sangs rgyas phun tshogs for seven years, and even acknowledges his contribution on the title page of the dictionary—a major gesture, expressing how much he valued indigenous scholarship.[32]

While on the English title page Sangs rgyas phun tshogs is referred to as an "assistant," in the Tibetan version he is called *slob dpon* or "teacher," which corresponds to Csoma de Kőrös' appellation as *slob gnyer pa* or "student." Again, it is the Tibetan version that tells us more about the actual distribution of labour in producing the dictionary: according to that text, Sangs rgyas phun tshogs was responsible for compiling the words for the dictionary, which Csoma then translated and established their meaning in English.[33] In so doing, Csoma de Kőrös depended heavily on the scholarship of his local interlocutors, a fact that he declares openly in the introduction to his work:

> With respect to the Dictionary [...] the author begs to inform the public that it has been compiled from authentic sources, after he

[31] Moorcroft states this quite clearly in a letter that is quoted in Terjék 1984: XIV: "... A knowledge of the language alone is an acquisition not without a certain commercial, or possibly, political Value."

[32] Such an attitude seems to have prevailed also among Csoma's British-Indian superiors: when he received further funding to complete his work in 1827, he was asked to share the money equally with Sangs rgyas phun tshogs, see Terjék 1984: XXV.

[33] Csoma de Kőrös 1834: title pages. This accords with the method described by Terjék (1984: XX): "At his request, the Lama collected in the course of three months several thousand words according to definite thematical groups; names of the gods of the Buddhist pantheon, of the parts of the human body, of animals, of different furniture and objects, of grammatical terms, of numbers, of colours, of monasteries, of sects, and of plants and minerals, and wrote them down according to Csoma's directions."

> himself became sufficiently acquainted with the language, with the assistance of an intelligent Lama [...] in whose intellectual powers the author had full confidence, and whom he found to be thoroughly versed in Buddhistic literature in general, well acquainted with the customs and manners of his nation, and possessed of a general knowledge of those branches of science that are more essential for the preparation of a Dictionary.[34]

The dictionary was published with British funding in 1834 and quickly gained fame as the first modern European dictionary of Tibetan. This appellation is historically not entirely correct. During the same period that the British hired Csoma for his efforts in the Western Himalayas, they also arranged for the printing of another Tibetan dictionary in the Eastern Himalayas.

Friedrich Schroeter (d. 1820) and Eighteenth-Century Christian Missionaries

In the East, British colonial officials also understood the benefit of linguistic knowledge for their diplomatic relations with Bhutan, Sikkim, Tibet, and Nepal. Therefore, they supported Friedrich Schroeter, a Lutheran minister from Saxony who worked for the Anglican Church Missionary Society. To further his linguistic studies, he was given access to material that had been gathered by earlier missionaries, notably, the work produced by the Capuchin Francesco Orazio della Penna, during his stay in Lhasa in the middle of the eighteenth century. The Tibetan-Italian and Italian-Tibetan dictionaries that he produced served as the basis for Schroeter's work, and, together with the even earlier Latin-Tibetan dictionary by Giuseppe da Ascoli, Francesco Maria de Tours, and Domenico da Fano, these must be seen as the first modern Tibetan dictionaries, in the sense outlined above.[35]

However, as Schroeter died before completing his task, his unfinished manuscript was edited and finalized by John Marshman and William Carey, who had no knowledge of the Tibetan language and therefore must have introduced numerous errors into the publication that appeared in 1826.[36] These circumstances explain also why the influence of this work on the later dictionaries remained

---

[34] Csoma de Kőrös 1834: IX.

[35] On the history of these earlier dictionary projects, see Bray 2008: 34–36 and Simon 1964: 85–87. At least a part of della Penna's original manuscript survives in private hands in Italy, see Lo Bue 2001. I would like to thank John Bray for bringing this to my attention.

[36] See Schroeter 1826. A detailed account of the production of this dictionary is provided in Bray 2008.

marginal. Csoma saw only some sample entries of it and dismissed the work as a whole.[37] Jäschke and Das make reference to it, but seem to have used it only minimally.

3. From Context to Content: Transformations and Appropriations in Producing Modern Tibetan Dictionaries

As this brief historical sketch demonstrates, the various enterprises of early modern Tibetan dictionary production were indeed closely connected: some of them involved similar networks of individuals, some of them were driven by similar motives and paid for by the same institutions, some used the same technologies, and all of them borrowed and incorporated material from their predecessors into the works they created. It is therefore not surprising that the various historical connections pointed out above also left their mark in the contents of the dictionaries. While a comprehensive analysis of the contents of all these works is clearly beyond the scope of this essay, some observations of their principal connections will be laid out, based on a more detailed analysis of a couple of significant samples.[38]

As mentioned earlier, the published outcome of Schroeter's work was rather flawed and therefore had no major influence on the dictionaries that were produced later. Hence only with Csoma de Kőrös' dictionary does one see closer relationships in the form of different processes of appropriation and transformation.

From Csoma de Kőrös to Schmidt

In going from one dictionary to another, it is clear that the works of Csoma de Kőrös and Schmidt are the ones most intimately connected. Schmidt acknowledges this close relationship in the introduction to his dictionary, but he also mentions "considerable gaps" as well as "incomplete, at times even entirely mistaken explanations" in Csoma de Kőrös' work, problems that he tried to overcome in his own dictionary.[39] Given these rather harsh comments, it is surprising how closely Schmidt actually follows

[37] In the introduction to his dictionary, Csoma emphasizes that he did not have access to Schroeter's dictionary, edited by Marshman (Csoma de Kőrös 1834: X); but as detailed in his biography, he must have seen some excerpts of it (Terjék 1984: XXIV).

[38] This analysis is limited to a detailed comparison of all entries and derivatives under *kun*, *tha*, and *cho*, which were chosen due to their semantic range as well as their overall length and the ratio between main entries and subentries. The picture that emerges is consequently rather tentative.

[39] See Schmidt 1969: Vf.; quotations translated from German by author.

Csoma's rendering of Tibetan terms. In both cases, the individual entries are limited to listing equivalents of the Tibetan term, without providing any clarifying examples of its syntactic or semantic usage, more detailed explanation, or reference to any sources. The contents of Schmidt's dictionary therefore appear mostly as a close German rendition of Csoma de Kőrös' English explanation. The only major difference lies in the organization of entries, which, as mentioned above, in Csoma's case are listed according to the first letter, and in Schmidt's dictionary are listed according to the base letter (*ming gzhi*).

From Schmidt to Jäschke

This close relationship was also noted by Jäschke, who spoke of Schmidt's dictionary as a German "adaption" of Csoma's work, and criticized Schmidt not only for his belittling comments about his predecessors, but also for failing to implement a strict alphabetic organization in the case of subentries to a specific term.[40]

Jäschke fully acknowledges that he incorporates terms from Csoma and Schmidt, for which he provides references to sources for individual usages and nuances in meaning. In terms of the scope of terminology, Jäschke's work is similar to his predecessors, while its innovative character unfolds in the ways in which these contents are organized and explained. Rather than offering mere English (or German) equivalents, Jäschke ventures to explore the relationship between individual terms, occasionally provides Sanskrit equivalents, and, most importantly, accounts for their meaning by offering examples taken from Buddhist scriptures or conversational Tibetan.

The investigation of a single entry can serve as an example illustrating this change in presentation: the Tibetan term *cho nge* and its variant *cho nges* were rendered by Csoma as "a sob, sigh."[41] In the German version of Schmidt this was translated as "ein Seufzer, Geweine, Geschluchze." In addition, Schmidt listed the verb *cho nges byed pa* ("seufzen, weinen, schluchzen") as a subentry—indeed one of the very few additions not found already in Csoma.[42] In the work of Jäschke, *cho nge* / *cho nges* is given as "lamentation, wailing," along with the additional explanation that this refers especially to "lamentations for the dead." Jäschke then lists several derivative verbal constructions and provides a concrete reference to every single

[40] Jäschke 1881: VI.
[41] Csoma de Kőrös 1834: 47.
[42] Schmidt 1969: 162.

one of these: *cho nge - 'debs pa* (Dzl. = Dzanglun);[43] - *'bod pa, - 'don pa* (more recent literature); - *byed pa* (Sch. = Schmidt). These verbs are translated as "to lament, wail, cry, clamour," to which is added the grammatical explanation that the object of lamentation ("to cry to a person") is constructed with the particle *la*; moreover, another example with a reference is given, i.e., "the crying of a new-born child" (Thgy. = Thargyan).[44]

In providing such clear references Jäschke stands out even amongst many later dictionaries, and exhibits a scholarly rigor that must also be seen as an effect of the classical education he received at the Moravians' theological college. The list of (abbreviated) references at the beginning of his dictionary further reveals that Jäschke had access to a broad range of sources, not only indigenous texts and glossaries, but also the academic works about Tibetan culture that started to emerge in Europe at the time.[45]

From Jäschke to Das

A similar, but even more extensive list is found in the dictionary of Sarat Chandra Das.[46] While it does not attempt to provide references for all entries, the sources for more specialized terms are given, which is just one of several features adopted from Jäschke. The strong connection between the two dictionaries was noted also by the editors Sandberg and Heyde, who complained that Das had his own work "interlarded with lengthy excerpts from Jäschke's Dictionary."[47]

Indeed, a closer look at the examples that are given to illustrate the usage of a term reveals these borrowings. Again, a single case should suffice to illustrate the point: to explain the usage of the syllable *kun* in context, Jäschke provided the following examples: *spu'i khung bu kun nas* (taken from Dzl. = Dzanglun), *de dag kun, gzhan kun, kun thams cad, kun gyis mthong ba / thos pa*.[48] All these exact usages are listed again in Das, to which the further examples *me tog 'di kun bkram par bya, dus rnam pa kun, rnam pa kun,* and *kun la* are added. Das, however, does not point to Jäschke as a source, which he clearly was, nor does he include the reference (Dzl.) that Jäschke provided.[49] While Sandberg and Heyde obviously had made an effort to distance

43 This text was edited and hence made accessible by Schmidt and is frequently referred to in Jäschke's work.
44 Jäschke 1881: 161.
45 See Jäschke 1881: XXI–XXII.
46 Das 1902: XXVII–XXXIV.
47 Das 1902: XI.
48 Jäschke 1881: 4.
49 Das 1902: 20.

Das' work from Jäschke through their revisions, the contents remained closely connected.

Nonetheless, the newer dictionary also featured various innovations such as a much stronger focus on providing Sanskrit equivalents, the provision of synonyms, and, most importantly, a drastic increase in the number of entries. In this regard, however, it should be noted that many of the words that appear as independent entries in Das were already contained in Jäschke, except there, they were mentioned in the explanations and examples for individual terms and their derivatives. In the sample of *kun* just mentioned, various names like Kun tu bzang po, Kun tu rgyu, Kun dga' bo and composites like *kun dkris*, *kun khyab*, *kun mkhyen*, *kun brtags*, etc. are listed and explained within the main entry in Jäschke. In Das' dictionary, all of these are included, but listed as separate subentries in their respective order, and hence add to the significant overall increase in vocabulary.

From Das to Tharchin

Similar mechanisms are also at work in the transition from Das' Tibetan-English to Tharchin's Tibetan-Tibetan dictionary. While Das distinguishes clearly between main entries, derivative sub-entries, and related terms in his explanations, Tharchin seems to draw his entries from all of these sources and lists them as separate main entries. This procedure can be observed clearly by taking a look at the entry *tha dad pa*. In Das' dictionary this figures as the main entry, which is then explained and detailed by providing the distinctions of the *tha dad lnga*. The derivative sub-entry *tha dad du* is discussed next, explained by, among others, the phrase *tha dad du mi gnas pa*. Then follows the next and last sub-entry, *tha dad phreng ldan*.[50]

In Tharchin's dictionary, the entries related to *tha dad* mirror precisely the same semantic range, only they are placed according to their strict alphabetical order and not according to their internal relations. The respective sequence hence starts with *tha dad lnga*, then *tha dad du*, *tha dad du gnas pa*, *tha dad pa*, and ends with *tha dad phreng ldan*. The only significant variation is that Das' phrase *tha dad du mi gnas pa* is turned into its opposite *tha dad du gnas pa*, to which a longer explanation is given.[51] This rearrangement of explanations, examples, and sub-entries as separate main entries also accounts for a further increase in the number of terms, which was estimated to amount to a

50 Das 1902: 564.
51 Tharchin Dictionary, Vol. II: 1046–47.

total of 60,000.[52]

These similarities in the structure and semantic field of individual entries seem not to be just a coincidence or caused by the nature of the Tibetan language. Rather, they must be seen as a result of active borrowing, as the consideration of two striking examples under the syllable *cho* suggests. In Das, the term *cho babs skor* is paraphrased as *tshur yong babs* (revenue, income), and its usage is illustrated by the example *'bras khul cho babs skor*, that is, "the earnings or income from the state of Sikkim."[53] While this phrase seems to have been chosen rather randomly, we find the exact same explanation in Tharchin's dictionary: here too, the term is paraphrased as *tshur yong babs*, and exemplified by pointing to the example of Sikkim: "*'bras khul cho babs skor zhes pa lta bu*."[54] Two phrases later, another, even more remarkable example of direct and, in this case, infelicitous borrowing is found. Das explains the phrase *cho ma* as referring to the name of a number. While he does not specify which number, he provides a reference for his explanation, that is, Ya-sel (Vaidūrya g-ya' sel), and even provides a concrete number (56) to locate the passage, presumably referring to a page or folio number, a system that he commonly uses for other references. In Tharchin's dictionary then, *cho ma* is explained as *grangs gnas lnga bcu nga drug pa.* The term *grangs gnas* usually refers to larger numerical units, especially the decimal multiples, such as tens, hundreds, thousands, etc. Thus, the phrase in Tharchin's dictionary points to the fifty-sixth position of such units. But while there is in fact a system of counting up to sixty units in ancient India, *cho ma* is not part of these.[55] Rather, the entire entry can only be understood as an act of unfortunate borrowing from Das. Quite obviously his dictionary was taken as a model, but the creator of the later entry had not fully understood Das' system of providing references.

While these are minor examples and a more thorough analysis would be required to determine the precise relations between the dictionaries of Das and Tharchin, they are nevertheless significant. As far as the earlier modern dictionaries attributed to non-Tibetan authors go, not only does an investigation of their contents reveal close connections between them, their authors even openly admitted such relations in the introductions to these works. With the dictionary of Tharchin and the examples just discussed, there is clear proof that these primarily missionary and colonial knowledge-

---

52 A thorough calculation is required to confirm this figure that is provided by Tharchin himself, see earlier.
53 Das 1902: 462f.
54 Tharchin Dictionary, Vol. II: 792.
55 See Krang dbyi sun 2008, Vol. 1: 394–95.

making projects fed back directly into an entirely Tibetan language context. The impact of that, however, remained limited, due to the special history of Tharchin's work.

From Tharchin to Chos grags?

As financial and other problems prevented the completion and full publication of Tharchin's dictionary, it is not surprising that its influence on later modern Tibetan lexicography was much smaller than the potential of his work promised.

The first modern Tibetan-Tibetan dictionary that was actually published and more widely distributed was that of dGe bshes Chos grags in 1949. When a complete Chinese translation of every single entry of the dictionary was added in a new edition published by the Nationalities Publishing House in Beijing in 1957, this further increased its importance and also its influence on the later production of Tibetan and Chinese dictionaries.[56]

With the modern appearance that Chos grags had chosen in printing his dictionary in a tabular form, it is obvious that he was adopting a system that had been accepted as standard by Tharchin, as well as the European-trained scholars with whom both he and Tharchin were conversing. However, the conclusion that these similarities indicate more substantial processes of borrowing would seem to be premature, as a look into the contents of Chos grags's dictionary reveals: A tentative comparison of explanations of individual terms does not show any significant similarities to Tharchin's dictionary. Rather, there are fundamental differences even on a larger structural level. While Tharchin had used the system of alphabetical organization rigorously, not only implementing it to order the first syllable of a Tibetan term but also using it to place multisyllabic terms, this practice is not found in Chos grags. There, only the first syllable is strictly ordered and multisyllabic terms seem to be placed rather randomly. With regard to alphabetical organization then, Chos grags's dictionary should in fact not be closely linked to the modern tradition of producing Tibetan dictionaries associated with Csoma de Kőrös, Schmidt, Jäschke, *et al.*, where such an order was enforced with increasing strictness, and which was employed in an exclusively Tibetan context by Tharchin. At least on a structural level, it seems likely that Chos grags draws on the Tibetan indigenous lexicographical tradition, where alphabetization came into common use by the eighteenth century,

[56] See Pema Bhum 2005: 26. Detailed effects on later dictionaries remain to be investigated.

but was not used to order subsections or derivatives beyond the first syllable.[57]

4. By Way of Conclusion: The Entangled Nature of Early Tibetan Studies

Given the complexities of these relationships, is it accurate to describe Chos grags's dictionary as "purely Tibetan," as its app on Itunes advertises it—or not? The discussion above is not trying to give a straightforward answer to this question. Instead, in tracing the production of early modern Tibetan dictionaries, I have presented a case that illustrates the potential of an approach that goes beyond looking at knowledge production from a limited cultural perspective. As my emphasis on considering the different agents, their respective motives, sources, and resources for knowledge production has revealed, the creation of modern Tibetan dictionaries was in fact a highly transcultural affair that brought Christian missionaries, European linguists, British colonial officials, and Tibetan scholars together. The knowledge they created through their interactions is very much hybrid in nature and combines a modern European with a Tibetan scholarly tradition.

Not all of these agents and threads of knowledge are visible to the same extent. Early European dictionaries were heavily dependent on indigenous scholarship. They often acknowledge this dependence in passing, but do not explain it in detail. In contrast, they usually discuss their relationship to earlier European works at length, often speaking critically of their predecessors. This difference certainly reflects larger asymmetries of power in which indigenous agents are not given equal weight in recognition and are depicted as informants rather than as scholars in their own right. But beyond these mechanisms, which are typical for a colonial setting, in which many of these works were in fact produced, this asymmetry might also be related to cultural differences in notions of authorship and intellectual property.[58] Whereas the European academic tradition is very focused on the individual in its understanding of how knowledge is produced and how it should be attributed, in Tibet, knowledge production is seen more as a communal enterprise, related to a larger scholarly tradition to which individuals belong. Thus, this Tibetan perspective might also explain the fact that in the

[57] See Goldstein 1991: 2549.

[58] For a fundamental article on the different conceptions of authorship in the European and the Tibetan traditions, see Cabezón 2001. This topic has only recently received much more attention.

cases of Tharchin and Chos grags, who produced dictionaries mainly for a Tibetan audience, no detailed attempts to clarify contributors or sources, either European or Tibetan, are found in their introductions.[59] With their works, a tradition of producing dictionaries understood as modern emerges in Tibet, which is, effectively, a result of complex entanglements between European and Tibetan indigenous agents and their respective forms of knowledge.

However, dictionary production is not the only potentially fruitful domain for the investigation of such entanglements. As a central practice in the initial engagement with another cultural sphere, lexicography also had direct repercussions on other fields of study, such as religion, philosophy, anthropology, history, etc. But beyond purely linguistic issues, these areas of interest developed and were shaped through interactions between foreign and indigenous agents in crucial ways. The focus on viewing knowledge production as a transcultural affair, as it has been put forth in this essay, might therefore not only provide us with a more nuanced and historically accurate picture of how modern Tibetan dictionaries came into being, but could also serve as a model for investigating a wide range of disciplinary approaches and areas of interest that were pursued with the emergence of modern Tibetan studies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Bibliography

Tibetan Dictionaries

Chos grags, dGe bshes. 1980. *Brda dag miṅ tshig gsal ba. A Comprehensive Dictionary of the Tibetan Language by Sog-po Dge-bśes Chos-grags, Reproduced from a Clear Print from the 1949 Lha-sa Hor-khaṅ Gzim-śag blocks from the Personal Collection of Sixth Tshe-mchog-gliṅ Rinpoche Bstan-'dzin-dge legs*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.

Csoma de Kőrös, Alexander. 1834. *Essay towards a Dictionary, Tibetan and English*. Calcutta: The Baptist Mission Press.

Das, Sarat Chandra. 1902. *A Tibetan-English Dictionary with Sanskrit Synonyms*. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Book Depôt.

[59] In the introduction to his dictionary, Chos grags does refer to various Indian and Tibetan treatises; he does so, however, not to explain his sources, but to establish the benefit (*dgos pa*) of his work (Chos grags 1980: 3ff.).

Jäschke, Heinrich August. 1871. *Handwörterbuch der tibetischen Sprache*. Gnadau: Unitätsbuchhandlung.

———. 1881. *A Tibetan-English Dictionary—with Special Reference to the Prevailing Dialects*. Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Schmidt, Isaak Jacob. 1969. *Tibetisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch, nebst deutschem Wortregister*. Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag [1841].

Schroeter, Frederic Christian Gotthelf. 1826. *A Dictionary of the Bhotanta, or Boutan Language*. Serampore: Baptist Mission Press.

Tharchin Dictionary. Dorje Tharchin's Tibetan-Tibetan dictionary; Vol. I and II were printed, most likely at the Tibet Mirror Press in Kalimpong, Vol. III–V are in manuscript form, to be preserved in the Tharchin Collection, C.V. Starr East Asian Library, University of Columbia.

Secondary Literature

Bray, John. 1983. "Heinrich August Jaeschke: Pioneer Tibetan Scholar." *The Tibet Journal* 8(1), 50–55.

———. 2008. "Missionaries, officials and the making of the 1826 *Dictionary of the Bhotanta, or Boutan Language*." *Zentralasiatische Studien* (37), 33–75.

———. 2015. "A Himalayan Encounter: Lama Lobsang Chospel and Heinrich August Jäschke." *The Tibet Journal* 40(2), 153–161.

Cabezón, José. 2001. "Authorship and literary production in classical Buddhist Tibet." In *Changing Minds (Jeffrey Hopkins festschrift)*, edited by Guy Newland, 233–264. Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications.

Daly, Lloyd W. 1967. *Contributions to a History of Alphabetization in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Bruxelles: Latomus.

Das, Sarat Chandra. 1969. *Autobiography: Narrative of the Incidents of My Early Life*. Calcutta: R.D. Press.

Fader, H. Louis. 2002–2009. *Called from Obscurity: The Life and Times of Gergan Dorje Tharchin*. Vols. I–III. Kalimpong: The Tibet Mirror

Press.

Goldstein, Melvyn. 1991. "Tibetan Lexicography." In *Wörterbücher: Ein internationales Handbuch zur Lexikographie*, edited by Franz Josef Hausmann et al., Vol. III, 2548–2550. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Jampa Tendar. 2005. "The Geshe Chödrak I Knew and His Dictionary." *Latse Library Newsletter* (Vol. III, Fall 2005), 19–25.

Krang dbyi sun. 2008. *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*. 2 vols. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang [1993].

Lo Bue, Erberto. 2001. "A Note on the Dictionaries Compiled by Italian Missionaries in Tibet." *The Tibet Journal* 26(2), 88–92.

Lopez, Donald S., Jr. 2011. *The Tibetan Book of the Dead: A Biography*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Miethaner-Vent, Karin. 1986. "Das Alphabet in der mittelalterlichen Lexikographie: Verwendungsweisen, Formen und Entwicklung des alphabetischen Anordnungsprinzips." In *La lexicographie au Moyen Age*, edited by Claude Buridant, 83–112. Lille: Presses Universitaires de Lille.

Pema Bhum. 2005. "Geshe Chödrak's Orthographical Dictionary." *Latse Library Newsletter* (Vol. III, Fall 2005), 26–27.

Simon, Walter. 1964. "Tibetan Lexicography and Etymological Research." *Transactions of the Philological Society* 63(1), 85–107.

Stoddard, Heather. 1986. *Le mendiant de l'Amdo*. Paris: Soc. d'Ethnographie.

Terjék, József. 1984. *Alexander Csoma de Kőrös, 1784–1842: A Short Biography*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Uebach, Helga and Jampa L. Panglung. 1998. "The Project 'Dictionary of Written Tibetan'—An Introduction." In *Lexicography in the Indian and Buddhist Cultural Field*, edited by Boris L. Oguibénine: 149–163. München: Kommission für Zentralasiatische Studien, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Uebach, Helga. 2010. "Einleitung." In *Wörterbuch der tibetischen*

Schriftsprache, edited by Herbert Franke *et al*.: ix–xix. München: Verlag der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Walravens, Hartmut. 2005. *Isaak Jacob Schmidt (1779–1847): Leben und Werk des Pioniers der mongolischen und tibetischen Studien—Eine Dokumentation*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Walter, Michael. 2006. "A Bibliography of Tibetan Dictionaries." In *Bibliographies of Mongolian, Manchu-Tungus, and Tibetan Dictionaries*, edited by Hartmut Walravens, 174–235. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Characters in Modern Tibetan Fiction Set in Pre-1950s Central Tibet: Aristocrats, Common Folk and Others

Riika J. Virtanen

(University of Helsinki)

Literary characters play a central role in fictional stories and examining characters in modern Tibetan literary works is both productive and revealing.[1] In this article characters are examined in two literary works which depict life in Tibetan society before Tibet was invaded by the People's Liberation Army of the Chinese Communist Party in the 1950s. However, both stories were written in Tibet later under Chinese Communist rule. Tibetan traditional society is represented in the two novels by looking back to the past through the lenses of a later, different time. Therefore, when examining them, one has to bear in mind the general situation of writing and publishing in Tibet under the People's Republic of China (PRC): there can be some norms or restrictions of a political nature to the content and topics of the literary works and thus complete freedom of expression cannot be expected.[2]

[1] I am grateful to the Kone Foundation for supporting my postdoctoral research on characters in Tibetan literature during 2012–2014. Participating in the conference in Leipzig, where I presented this paper, was made possible by a travel grant from the Department of World Cultures, University of Helsinki. I also wish to thank the two anonymous reviewers who presented valuable comments which helped me to improve this article and Dr. Mark Shackleton for improving its English expression. All the remaining errors are of course my own.

[2] Information on the limiting and guiding nature of party policy can be found, for example, in Shakya 2004: 86–93 and Schiaffini-Vedani 2008: 216. A situation can also occur when a literary work is first published, but then for some reason it is found unacceptable by the authorities. See, for example, Hartley and Schiaffini-Vedani 2008: xvi concerning the banning of an essay collection *Xizang biji* ("Notes on Tibet") by Weise ('Od zer) in 2003, and the reaction of the authorities to the private publishing of Tshe ring don grub's novel *Rlung dmar 'ur 'ur* (*The Red Wind Scream*) described in Erhard 2013: 114.

Riika J. Virtanen, "Characters in Modern Tibetan Fiction Set in Pre-1950s Central Tibet: Aristocrats, Common Folk and Others", *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 37, December 2016, pp. 490–514.

1. The Two Novels

Two works are discussed in this article. The first is dPal 'byor's (1941–2013) well-known novel *gTsug g.yu* ("The Turquoise Head-Ornament"). According to information provided about the author's life in rNam sras's book about modern Tibetan prose, Glang mdun dPal 'byor was born in Lhasa and studied both in India and then later at the Institute of Nationalities in Beijing. He published his first literary work in 1980, when he also started to work on *gTsug g.yu*.[3] The novel has 15 chapters and appeared in Lhasa in 1984,[4] published by the People's Press of Tibet. For my research I have used the second edition, published in 2003. It is considered to be the first modern Tibetan novel originally written in Tibetan.[5] In his essay about his writings dPal 'byor himself tells how he wished to write to his readers in their own language in a style which would not be too complicated for ordinary farmers and nomads to comprehend.[6] For his literary works dPal 'byor was honoured with several literary prizes.[7] He was active in several writers associations.[8]

The other novel is Brag gdong bKras gling dBang rdor's (b. 1934) *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud*.[9] It is set in the first half of the 20th century and its main events are depicted as taking place approximately in the 1930s and 1940s.[10] Brag gdong bKras gling dBang rdor was born in the region of rGyal rtse and information on him is provided in the catalogue on contemporary Tibetan writers

3 rNam sras 2005: 135–137. See also his brief biodata in mTsho sngon bod yig gsar 'gyur khang 2006: 2.

4 This year is given by dPal 'byor himself in his essay about his writings (dPal 'byor 2006: 4) and also in rNam sras 2005: 137. However, the 2nd edition of *gTsug g.yu* from 2003 gives the year of the first edition as 1985.

5 For information on dPal 'byor and his life and works, see rNam sras 2005: 135–137 and mTsho sngon bod yig gsar 'gyur khang 2006: 2. rNam sras also mentions that a Chinese translation of *gTsug g.yu* has appeared published in parts as a series in the magazine *Bod kyi rtsom rig* (rNam sras 2005: 137). See also Erhard 2011: 425–26. On November 29, 2013 the Tibetan website mChod me bod kyi rtsom rig dra ba published the news of dPal 'byor's death on the previous day.

6 dPal 'byor 2006: 4–5.

7 As told in rNam sras 2005: 135.

8 See mTsho sngon bod yig gsar 'gyur khang 2006: 2 and Erhard 2011: 426.

9 I am grateful to Veronica Leo for bringing me a copy of *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud* from Dharamsala.

10 There is an exact indication of time in the fifth chapter of the novel. In its beginning 'Brug rgyas tells how he marked with signs on the wall the time of his arrival in prison, which was "Wood Pig (year), the 2nd day of the 11th month" and in the English translation of the novel the year 1935 is given in brackets. (Brag gdong bKras gling dBang rdor 1997: 57; Tailing 1998: 75). In Chapter 3 of the 2nd Part, 1938 is mentioned as the year when Pad ma starts her studies in the English school in Darjeeling (Brag gdong bKras gling dBang rdor 1997: 183).

edited by Hor gtsang Klu rgyal. He went to school both in rGyal rtse and Lhasa and later worked as a teacher in these places. He also held some other positions in Central Tibet, including working in the Tourism Bureau of Tibet Autonomous Region (Bod rang skyong yul skor cus).[11] Like *gTsug g.yu, bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud* (1997) was also published in Lhasa by the People's Press of Tibet. The author states in his foreword that he started writing the work in 1993[12] and that before its publication in book form the novel was published serially in the Tibetan literary magazine *Bod kyi rtsom rig sgyu rtsal* between 1994 and 1995. The book was translated into English by the writer himself and appeared in 1998 in Beijing under the title *The Secret Tale of Tesur House: A Tibetan Novel, A Chronicle of Old Tibet*. I have mainly used the Tibetan original for my discussion of the novel, but also made some use of the English version, especially when translating quoted passages, the titles of persons, and so on. Brag gdong bKras gling dBang rdor has also engaged in other literary activities. He has written and translated school books, translated a book about Tibet from Chinese into English, compiled a dictionary and written a book in English *A Tour Guide's Diary*, as told in his biodata in the catalogue of Tibetan contemporary writers and their writings.[13]

Both writers were born before the 1950s, and it was thus possible for them when they were children to see how life was in Tibetan society in those days. However, both novels were written much later, *gTsug g.yu* in the 1980s and *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud* in the 1990s. Both writers locate their stories in places that are familiar to them. Part of *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud* is located in India, but the author is familiar with life and conditions in India having spent several years studying in an English school in Darjeeling.[14]

In this paper I discuss how the main characters are depicted in these two novels and how the relations between different social

---

[11] Hor gtsang Klu rgyal 2012: 48.

[12] In his essay about *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud*, he mentions that he started writing it only after his retirement in 1992. He also tells how he first started to translate Shakespeare's *Hamlet* into Tibetan, but then decided to write a literary work of his own, resulting in *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud*. (Brag gdong bKras gling dBang rdor 2011: 1.) This essay, published on the website mChod me bod kyi rtsom rig dra ba in 2011, was originally published in *Bod kyi rtsom rig sgyu rtsal* in 2001 (4: 62–67) as catalogued in the Byara Database of the Latse Library.

[13] Hor gtsang Klu rgyal 2012: 48.

[14] This information is also given in *ibid*.: 48.

classes are represented.[15] My main focus is thus on characterization and the representation of relations between characters in fiction, and by examining the characters in the two novels I wish to provide some information on Tibetan modern literature. I do not try to examine aspects of actual Tibetan life in those times (nor do I claim that the novels would actually represent aspects of real life)—that is the task of some other fields of Tibetan studies such as social historical research.

I will make some critical use of the notion of literary type deriving from Marxist literary criticism, which has been widely employed in Tibetan literary critical writings, and also some use of an approach from Western narrative theory, namely James Phelan's rhetorical theory of characters. According to Phelan's views, characters can be understood as combinations of three components: the mimetic, the thematic and the synthetic.[16] These components are helpful in discussing the various aspects of literary characters in both Western literature and in Tibetan literature as well. The mimetic component refers to the qualities of the character which make him/her a possible person. The thematic component relates to the idea that the characters have some significance, that they represent something. The synthetic component is related to the way in which characters are fictional and artificial constructs, and thus the synthetic component is always found in fictional characters. These components may stand in different relations with each other. The synthetic component may remain in the background or be more noticeably foregrounded, and the mimetic and thematic components may sometimes be less developed by the writer.[17]

In accordance with Phelan's theory of components, when speaking about the mimetic component of characters in this article, it is not meant that this aspect of the characters would be some kind of direct imitation of traits of people in that time in Tibet. Instead, the mimetic component is understood as a collection of traits which appear to the reader in a way that they *could* be real, but are not. Mimetic traits help the reader create an image of the character in his/her mind by giving information on, for instance, the character's appearance,

---

[15] dPal 'byor himself has mentioned "the complicated relations" between different social categories of people in traditional Tibetan society as one of the topics of his novel, describing these categories as ranging from "high ministers to low beggars." See dPal 'byor 2006: 4.

[16] See Phelan 1989: 2–3.

[17] Phelan 1989: 2–3, 11–14. For description of the three components of characters, see also a more recent article by Phelan and Rabinovitz 2012: 111.

behaviour, way of speaking and personality traits.[18] They are fictitious and, as mentioned earlier, the synthetic component is always present in fictional characters. Although a character might have abundant mimetic features and when appearing in the narrative may cause a feeling of "realness" in the reader, this is an illusion.[19] By examining and comparing characterization in these two novels, the paper will also throw light on the question: do the two works share features in how they represent people of different social classes, or does the character construction in the two works differ in some essential ways?

Both novels have been previously researched. dPal 'byor's *gTsug g.yu* has, for example, been discussed separately by Franz Xaver Erhard, Tsering Shakya, and rNam sras, and Françoise Robin discusses both novels along with several others in her article about Tibetan historical novels.[20] However, I feel there is still a need for more discussion especially on the characters in these two novels.

2. Servants and Aristocrats in dPal 'byor's gTsug g.yu

I shall first discuss characters in dPal 'byor's *gTsug g.yu*. As suggested by its title, a certain very special turquoise jewel plays an important role in this novel. Its main character, dPal ldan, arrives in Lhasa with his father, and the two offer a turquoise jewel to the statue of Buddha in the Jo khang temple. They stay in the house of a merchant whom his father knows, and dPal ldan becomes an unpaid servant to the merchant's family. Before the death of his father, dPal ldan hears from him about the sufferings his family experienced at the hands of a greedy local district commissioner (*rdzong dpon*), who had tried to obtain the turquoise jewel for himself. dPal ldan's parents had had no

[18] For Phelan's explanation of what is meant by the mimetic component, see Phelan 1989: 2. He writes: "To identify the concept implied in the phrase 'this person,' I propose that we recognize a second component of character, what I will hereafter call the *mimetic*."

[19] See *ibid*.: 11. For a discussion of mimetic and synthetic components and the illusion present in realistic fiction, see Phelan and Rabinowitz 2012: 113.

[20] See Erhard 2011; Shakya 2000, 2004, rNam sras 2005: 135–151 and rNam sras 2006, and Robin 2007: 29–30. Hartley and Schiaffini (2008: xxi) also mention *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud*. There is also a short essay about *gTsug g.yu* by dPal ldan in a book compiled by mTsho sngon bod yig gsar 'gyur khang (2006) about contemporary Tibetan writers and their writings. According to information in the Byara Database of the Latse Library, there is also an essay by bKra shis dbang 'dud about *gTsug g.yu* in *Bod kyi rtsom rig sgyu rtsal* from 1986 (6: 92–97) and an article by Mā li hwa (Ma Lihua) discussing *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud* in the same literary journal from 1999 (3: 99–104).

choice but to escape from their home region. dPal ldan connects his father's heart problems to the sufferings caused by the district commissioner, blaming him for his father's death, and vows revenge.[21] What follows are dPal ldan's attempts to find the district commissioner and his efforts to take revenge, first by seeing justice served through legal means and, when that fails, by making an unsuccessful attempt to kill the aristocratic general (*mda' dpon*), who by then he has come to understand is the same former district commissioner.

In this novel, which is narrated by an external extra-diegetic narrator,[22] the servants are represented as positive characters and the aristocrats as negative. As also pointed out by other scholars,[23] the main character in this novel can be viewed as a type or a typical character (or "model figure") which is often found in socialist realist literary works. The Tibetan critic rNam sras has characterized dPal ldan as "a model of a wonderful slave."[24] The notion of typical characters comes from Marxist literary criticism and was mentioned by Engels in a letter to Margaret Harkness in 1888. He connects realism with "the truthful reproduction of typical characters under typical circumstances."[25] In Tibetan, the concept of a typical or representative character is *dpe mtshon mi sna*[26] (or *tshab mtshon mi sna*). In Tibetan literary critical writings this concept has been quite widely applied, its use ranging from reference to typical characters or types in socialist realist sense to characters in fiction written in various styles, who can be interpreted as representing a more general issue or phenomenon in society. According to some Tibetan theoretical writings about literature, such as Bu bzhi's *rTsom rig gzhung lugs* (2007) and Klu thar rgyal's *rTsom gzhung spyi bshad* (2008), for something to be considered "typical" or "representative" (*dper mtshon rang bzhin can*), it must have both its special own nature as well as some general characteristics.[27] Tibetan critics have also discussed the

---

21 dPal 'byor 2003: 77.

22 As a result of this narrative technique, the audience understands many matters before dPal ldan has any idea about them or about which he cannot have any knowledge.

23 Erhard 2011: 427; Shakya 2004: 148.

24 *ngo mtshar can gyi zhing bran zhig gi dpe gzhi,* rNam sras 2005: 149.

25 Engels 1888 in Eagleton 2006: 39.

26 Bu bzhi in his book *rTsom rig gzhung lugs* explains that the concept of *dper mtshon snang brnyan* derives from the Greek word 'tupos,' and in brackets after the Tibetan concept he gives the English word 'type' (Bu bzhi 2007: 256). In theoretical Tibetan writings the term *dper mtshon mi sna* is also used (see, e.g., Klu thar rgyal 2008: 188).

27 Bu bzhi 2007: 263. Klu thar rgyal 2008: 188–189. Klu thar rgyal enumerates three essential qualities for a character to be considered a type: "1) the necessity of having special qualities revealing the character's own nature, 2) being able to

connection of typical characters and their typical environments.[28] It seems to me that the use of the expression 'typical or representative character' is nowadays understood in Tibetan theoretical writing to cover a wide array of characters. These characters can be interpreted as representing something, for instance an idea, phenomenon in society or a class of people, in a literary work, and do not necessarily represent a socialist realist type or model character.

I shall now look at the synthetic, mimetic and thematic components of dPal ldan and certain other characters in *gTsug g.yu*, showing how these components relate to the notion of a typical character. dPal ldan is, of course, a fictional character. However, the style of the work is so apparently realistic that the synthetic component of his character may remain unnoticed at first reading.

The mimetic component of dPal ldan includes features such as his name, descriptions of his appearance (e.g., his worn-out clothing) and descriptions of his work as a servant (e.g., house chores and other tasks). These and other descriptions help the reader form some idea of his character as both honest, diligent and obedient but also naïve, as he is often unable to discern the motivations behind others' words. He likes to help others; he and bDe skyid, the servant girl of the merchant's family, are on several occasions depicted as assisting each other in many ways. However, a negative shadow is cast on dPal ldan's character when he is shown to ponder thoughts of revenge. He has hatred in his mind, which is aroused by hearing about the sufferings of his family.[29] Later in the story this hatred leads him to attack his enemy mDa' dpon, the former district commissioner.[30] Though the commissioner survives the attack, dPal

---

manifest a complex and coherent personality, and 3) being endowed with the characteristic of generalizing and encapsulating the essence or nature of social life." *1) thun min rang gshis mngon par gsal ba'i khyad chos dang ldan dgos pa dang/ 2) sna mang rnyog 'dzing che la gcig gyur rang bzhin ldan pa'i gshis rgyud kyi khyad chos mngon thub pa/ 3) spyi tshogs 'tsho ba'i ngo bo'am chod nyid gsal ston gyi thog nas yongs khyab kyi rang bzhin dang snying bsdus kyi don snying che tsam yod pa'i khyad chos ldan dgos te/* (Klu thar rgyal 2008: 191).

[28] Bu bzhi 2007: 261–262; Klu thar rgyal 2008: 192–194.

[29] dPal 'byor 2003: 66–78.

[30] In this novel some of the aristocrats are repeatedly referred to by their titles rather than their personal names. Even though referring to a character by title is a mimetic trait which helps to identify the character, its use is more generalized and thus can be viewed as a feature associated with types. (I am grateful to one of the anonymous referees for drawing this to my attention). However, the way in which mDa' dpon is referred to with a generic term rather than his personal name can also be viewed as working towards the development of the plot—dPal ldan does not first understand that mDa' dpon is the former district commissioner against whom he seeks revenge, but comes to realize that these two are one and the same person only later in the story.

ldan ends up striking another person with his knife in a fight which immediately follows.

Some of the good qualities associated with dPal ldan's nature are also connected to the character of bDe skyid, namely honesty and helpfulness. She is also dressed in worn-out clothes. Of course each character has some individual qualities, such as their different names, and bDe skyid is a young woman who has a long, black plait of hair, expresses her feelings quite openly through songs and often thinks carefully before she speaks. Overall, however, their mimetic traits resemble each other to a great extent and in both stories these features contribute powerfully towards thematization. Thus, their general and typical elements could be viewed as more strongly developed and emphasized in comparison to their individual features. Their mimetic and thematic components function together to convey the idea of poor but honest servants who deserve good treatment, yet nevertheless suffer in a society which is characterized by social inequality and injustice. Although in this novel the differences between characters from different social classes are fictional representations, nevertheless some social classes in traditional Tibetan society have of course been more highly appreciated and considered 'higher', as shown in Heidi Fjeld's research on social categories in Tibet.[31]

One scene depicting social inequality can be found in chapter 2 of *gTsug g.yu*, when dPal ldan, bDe skyid and the merchant's daughter Ye shes mkha' 'gro are still teenagers. One evening they spend time together dancing and singing in the courtyard. However, the merchant's wife does not like her daughter spending time with servants and she stops their play, commenting that her daughter would get polluted by spending time with the other two.[32] Here, a class difference is perceived between people engaged in trade and servants. dPal ldan's and bDe skyid's reactions and thoughts about what just happened are revealed in the following passage:

> Ye shes mkha' 'gro and we are similar in being children of the same age, but since the social statuses of people are different, we are scolded as beggar children. Moreover, by saying that Ye shes mkha' 'gro gets polluted when she stays just for a while with us means obviously that we are regarded as very dirty. We have not been doing any improper deeds such as telling lies or slandering or stealing. We felt very sad thinking what could be the reason why others looked

---

31 Fjeld 2005: 25–34.

32 In Tibetan she says: *nga tsho'i bu mor grib shor gyi red* (dPal 'byor 2003: 27).

down upon us like this.[33]

The merchant's daughter Ye shes mkha' 'gro is depicted as a kind-hearted, sympathetic person in the novel. However, her mother, gSal sgron, the merchant's wife, is depicted in a negative light as a person who looks down on and mistreats persons in servant positions.

In the characterization of the aristocrats, their mimetic features are also used to contribute towards thematization in the novel. The aristocrats are depicted as class-conscious[34] and rich: they dress in beautiful clothes and are concerned about obtaining the wonderful turquoise jewel and living in magnificent houses. They are also represented as corrupt: they cooperate with each other to hide the truth when it might be harmful to them. dPal ldan's enemy, the aristocratic general (mDa' dpon), is depicted as someone who can convince people with attractive but deceptive words. He is so cruel that he can take a child from its mother, who herself later dies in suspicious circumstances.[35] When he understands that dPal ldan is planning revenge, the general causes him to be put in prison and sends a murderer after him. Accordingly, this aristocratic character is depicted in very negative terms—he is a type of rich person who misuses his position for his own benefits, causing sufferings to the poor. However, his representation is not completely without nuance—he is depicted as agreeing to teach privately the merchant's daughter Ye shes mkha' 'gro (who is revealed to be actually mDa'

---

[33] *ye shes mkha' 'gro dang nga tsho ni lo mnyam gyi byis pa 'dra 'dra yin rung mi dang mi yang rigs mi 'dra bar nga tshor sprang phrug ces gshe gshe gtong ba ma zad/ ye shes mkha' 'gro nga tsho dang mnyam du tog tsam bsdad par yang grib shor gyi red zer ba ni nga tsho ha cang gi btsog pa zhig tu rtsi ba ni smos mi dgos pa red/ nga tshos rdzun dang khra ma bshad pa dang/ yang na brku rgyag pa sogs tshul min gyi bya ba ni gang yang byas med/ gzhan gyis nga tshor mthong chung 'di ltar byed pa'i rgyu mtshan gang yin nam snyam ste sems pa ha cang skyo po byung/* (*ibid*.: 27–28).

[34] One proverb illustrating an upper-class way of thinking about the differences between different classes of people in society during those times appears twice in the novel, with times in chapter 8. Once it is uttered by a merchant's wife when criticizing her daughter Ye shes mkha' 'gro for her unwillingness to visit 'Jigs med grags pa, the son of an aristocrat referred to with his title Sa dbang chen mo and instead spending time with dPal ldan. The second time the same proverb is used by Sa dbang chen mo when he advises his son to avoid the company of the merchant's daughter, who according to him belongs to "the ordinary people" (*dmangs rigs*). The proverb goes: *seng phrug lus stobs chung yang seng ge'i rgyud/ ab sog ral pa rdzig kyang sgo khyi'i rgyud/ skye sa rus khungs med na spre'u yin/ rigs rus 'chol bar spyad na dud 'gro yin/*, which in English is: "Though a lion cub has little physical strength, it is of the race of lions. Though an apso has magnificent fur, it is of the race of pet dogs. If one does not have a family with authentic lineage, one is a monkey. If one mixes the races, one is an animal." (*Ibid*.: 150–152, 154–157.)

[35] See *ibid*.: 52, 63–64.

dpon's own daughter) and dPal ldan, who accompanies her to the private tuition sessions, also learns some writing skills from mDa' dpon. Thus mDa' dpon first acts kindly towards him before he realizes that dPal ldan is actually seeking him out. After that his attitude changes completely even though he first tries to hide it. [36]

The novel contrasts the aristocrats and the rich, who are depicted as enjoying a wide variety of food at a wonderful party, and the poor, who sometimes do not even have *rtsam pa* [roasted barley flour] to eat.[37] The aristocrats and servants are portrayed in a relation of enmity and struggle: in the novel dPal ldan and the aristocratic general mDa' dpon try to kill each other, though without success. dPal 'byor's representation of the relation between aristocrats and servants in his novel would seem to have been influenced at least to some extent by socialist realist style and the requirements of the communist policies of the time in which it was written. An idea of the importance of literature to serve the needs of ordinary people is conveyed in Mao's *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art.* An explanation is also given on how to serve the masses: "To serve them, we must take the class stand of the proletariat and not that of the petty bourgeoisie."[38] In *gTsug g.yu* the contrast between aristocrats and servants and the way in which the servants are depicted in a heroic light appears to be in line with this guideline. However, the novel shows the aristocrats in pre-1950s Tibet to be so powerful, that even though they engage in negative deeds, their positions remain unaltered and the servants fail to receive fair treatment. [39] The position of dPal ldan and bDe skyid does not improve during the story, although the ending can be considered positive as dPal ldan is not caught by his enemies and he and bDe skyid manage to escape from Lhasa, carrying the turquoise jewel with them.

3. The Harmonious Family in Brag gdong bKras gling dBang rdor's bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud

Brag gdong bKras gling dBang rdor's *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud* (*The Secret Tale of Tesur House*) is a fascinating and complex novel which catches the reader's imagination. The novel follows the adventures of its four main characters, which lead to the formation in Lhasa of a new household and family, called the bKras

36 See *ibid*.: 46–61, 196–200, 211.

37 dPal ldan is depicted thinking about this in *gTsug g.yu* (*ibid*.: 113–114).

38 Mao Tse-Tung 1962: 12–13.

39 See dPal 'byor 2003: 246, 281–283.

zur tshang or bKras zur House. The book is divided into two parts: the first part has eight chapters and is titled *'Grul pa'i mtshan mo'i har sad* ("A Traveller's Nightmare"); the second part has nine chapters including an afterword (*mjug byang*), and is titled *Pad ma* after the heroine of the novel.

The story is narrated by a first-person narrator and focalizer[40] called 'Brug rgyas. He is from a poor family that lives on the lands of an estate in rGyal rtse. He is sent as a muleteer (*drel pa*) of the aristocratic bKras rab family to Lhasa. En route, he happens to arrive at the scene of a terrible tragedy in a postal relay station which also functions as an inn for travellers. There are several dead bodies in the postal station, though one wounded man is still alive. 'Brug rgyas helps the man, whom he does not recognize at that time and takes him to the next postal station. Only later does he realize that he has known this man since childhood. He is the son of Lord bKras rab, referred to in the story as "Elder Master." However, in the next postal station the postman's wife tries to kill them both, and 'Brug rgyas shoots her in self-defence without any intention of killing her. The woman, however, dies, this terrible event being witnessed by her little daughter, who becomes one of the main characters of the story and is later renamed "Pad ma" (literally, "lotus"). On his later trip, 'Brug rgyas sees that the little girl has been reduced to beggarhood and wishes to help her. He takes her with him to Lhasa to join the household where he lives with Elder Master and his wife mTsho rgyal. They send Pad ma to study in India and there she develops the idea of a wool trade between India and Tibet, which turns out to be such a good business that the family becomes rich. When Pad ma reaches adulthood, she and 'Brug rgyas get married. The end of the novel is very tragic, but I won't reveal it here so as not to spoil the reader's excitement of reading the story himself/herself.

Thus, the story has four main characters who come from family backgrounds of different social status. What is special is that they are depicted as deciding to form one family and to co-operate and help each other on equal terms. mTsho rgyal, the Elder Master's wife, is also a member of this new family.[41] The narrator, the muleteer 'Brug rgyas, is from a poor family that is in debt and must pay the

---

[40] The term focalizer is used in reference to perspective in a literary work. For the meaning of this concept, introduced by Gérard Genette, see Neumann and Nünning 2011: 31–32.

[41] In this article less attention has been paid to her character, since the role of the other three main characters appeared to me to be even more central in the story. However, in his essay about this novel the writer himself has included her among the main characters and writes how all four are indispensable for the story (Brag gdong bKras gling dBang rdor 2011: 2). These four are all members of the new bKras zur tshang family.

rent of a field in the form of work to the estate. Because the story is told through this first-person narrator, the reader only learns about events when they are known to the narrator character. This narrating technique also has its limitations, and thus a colophon (*mjug byang*) is added to the story, explaining some matters which were not known to the first-person narrator.

The mimetic features of the character of 'Brug rgyas include the fact that he appreciates honesty in people and work, and has a non-prejudiced and open-minded nature and concern for others. Even though he ends up shooting two people in the story, it is for reasons of self-defence and the character is depicted as feeling distraught about these killings. In fact, after shooting Pad ma's mother, 'Brug rgyas contemplates suicide. He had no intention of killing her, but had just tried to wound the hand in which she was holding a knife. These suicidal thoughts resurface later in the novel in a moment of extreme suffering,[42] and a tendency towards suicide is one of the qualities connected with his personality. In the character of 'Brug rgyas, some of the same qualities are represented which in *gTsug g.yu* were associated with the two servant characters: 'Brug rgyas is depicted as obedient and hard-working, willing to help others and he values honesty. In an essay the author himself has told about his particular sympathy for this character, who according to him is courageous but humble in manner.[43] The open-mindedness of this character can also be interpreted as contributing towards thematization in the novel: this relates both to the theme of the development of trade in the story and that of his relation with a girl from a family of blacksmiths. The theme of trade development can be viewed as one aspect of the larger theme of modernization. As discussed by Tsering Shakya, the new theme of modernity started to appear in Tibetan literature in the 1980s.[44] However, in *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud* this theme appears in a story located in time almost half a century earlier in traditional Tibetan society in relation to the activities of the bKras zur tshang family.

Considering the character of 'Brug rgyas, a special surprise which is clear to the reader only towards the end of the story, is that 'Brug rgyas becomes a writer and is the author-character of the very story that the reader is holding in his hands. This foregrounds the synthetic component: the reader knows that this authorship by a character is fictitious and only possible in the story-world, since the reader knows the name of the real author of the novel, which is

---

42 See Brag gdong bKras gling dBang rdor 1997: 307.
43 Brag gdong bKras gling dBang rdor 2011: 3.
44 See Shakya 2000: 34–38.

printed on the front page. Thus, the story is also a *künstlerroman*, a story about becoming a writer: 'Brug rgyas has had an exciting life and experienced terrible suffering and he wishes to tell others about it. Even though he was illiterate earlier, he later learnt some letter-writing skills from Pad ma. He stays in a retreat hut in a mountain hermitage and reads and writes there, and as a result he produces a book manuscript.

One aristocrat in *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud* behaves differently to the aristocrats in *gTsug g.yu*. The Elder Master (*sras sku bgres*) in this novel is from an aristocratic background, but leaves his family house and heritage, and to the opposition of his parents marries a girl who has been a servant in their family.[45] The Elder Master is also depicted as a generous and considerate person who does not wish the other three main characters, who come from a lower social class, to be especially respectful towards him. This character is thus very different from the greedy, deceptive and cruel aristocratic type we find in *gTsug g.yu*. Therefore, the Elder Master does not appear to be a typical aristocrat in the earlier socialist realist sense. Also, his synthetic component becomes particularly noticeable in Chapter 6 of Part Two, when he and 'Brug rgyas are introduced by Pad ma as the actors (*byed po*) of Part One: "A Traveller's Nightmare."[46] Of course, here it is left open to interpretation whether with the title of the first part of the novel refers to fiction or to a kind of "real life" story of the fictional story world.[47]

Especially interesting is the character of the little girl from the postal station, Pad ma. Her mimetic component is well developed. She is depicted as an outstanding person with many good qualities.

---

[45] I suspect that this kind of marriage between an aristocrat and an ordinary person would have been special or at least less common in traditional Tibetan society. Fjeld reports that in contemporary Tibetan society some parents still oppose marriages between ordinary folk and aristocrats, although attitudes have changed in modern Tibetan society and marriages between persons of different family backgrounds are common. Using a range of sources Fjeld gives some information on marriage practices in traditional Tibetan society and writes that people usually married a person from a similar kind of family background, although romantic relations did exist between people from ordinary and aristocratic family backgrounds (Fjeld 2005: 73–79, 83–89).

[46] See Brag gdong bKras gling dBang rdor 1997: 241.

[47] There is the feeling of someone telling a story also in the beginning of part two of the novel, when the narrator starts like this: *«'grul pa'i mtshan mo'i har sad» mdo rdzogs/ 'on te thun mong du shes par 'dod pa'i don zhig gam du lhags pa ni/ bu mo chung chung gang du yod dam/ zhes pa de'o/ de la lan zhig 'debs par brtsams na tshig gi phreng bar spel ba'i gtam rgyud 'di skad yod pa gsan par zhu/* (Brag gdong bKras gling dBang rdor 1997: 146). The same passage is given in English in Tailing 1998: 163: "The tale *A Traveller's Nightmare* is finished. But a question in common remains unknown. 'Where is the little girl?' The answer is yet another tale."

Even though she is very young at the time, she is able to talk courageously and honestly in the court proceedings about the tragic event of her mother's death. She is also diligent in any task she does, and is so intelligent that she is able by means of symbols to keep a record of the sale of the bKras zur tshang shop even before she learns to read and write. Her open-mindedness becomes evident when she is able to conceive the idea of starting to sell wool to a British factory in Calcutta. Her appearance, her name and her personal qualities help us to identify her as a certain kind of person in the story world, in line with Phelan's mimetic component of character. It can be noticed that several of these features also contribute to the formation of her thematic component. She comes to represent a type of model heroine who overcomes the difficulties caused by her family background and develops into an educated and appreciated member of society.

Pad ma's good qualities would seem to exceed that of real people in real life. However, she cannot be regarded only as a model character, for her lively depiction with rich mimetic features gives her character an individual nature. Her character might, nevertheless, be considered somewhat artificially constructed, the synthetic component being rather foregrounded in the way she is depicted as falling in love with the first-person narrator, 'Brug rgyas. Although he acted in self-defence without intending to kill, he is after all the person who shot her mother. Pad ma is a fictitious character, and it is possible to construct characters in fiction who differ in one way or another in their capacities for feeling and emotion in comparison to normal real life persons–fictional possibilities also make for exciting reading. This incongruence foregrounds the synthetic component of this character: The reader starts to wonder whether such a person could exist in real life or is it a question of the writer playing with the fictitious nature of characters.[48] The portrayal of characters as plausible persons who could exist in real life is usually connected to the notion of typical characters,[49] so in this sense the character of Pad ma appears somewhat unusual and thus the occasional foregrounding of her synthetic component also gives her some individual features.

[48] In his essay the author mentions how important it is that stories have some wonderful or surprising elements (*ngo tshar dang ldan pa'i rkyen*). He gives examples of some events in the plot which the reader is unlikely to have anticipated happening (Brag gdong bKras gling dBang rdor 2011: 3).

[49] Klu thar rgyal (2008: 195–196) and Bu bzhi (2007: 260, 263) both mention how writers take inspiration from real life to create typical images, although they may modify them in imaginative ways, such as gathering together the characteristics of several people into one character, or viewing life through special aesthetic insights.

Like dPal ldan in dPal 'byor's *gTsug g.yu*, Pad ma becomes an orphan.[50] However, in her quality of not harbouring any bad thoughts towards the persons who killed her relatives in self-defence, Pad ma in this sense differs greatly from dPal ldan. The theme of revenge does occur in *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud*, but the character who takes revenge in a terrible way is a negative character and not one of the main characters.

The story, especially its second part, also has generic features of a female *bildungsroman*. In it Pad ma develops from a poor, dirty beggar child with lice in her hair[51] into an attractive, well-dressed and much admired young woman. Her looks are described on several occasions during the story: her image is vibrant and the narrator depicts her dressed in various styles of clothing. It can be said that she turns into a *sras mo sku zhabs*, a young Mistress—a term which is also used in the novel to refer to her when she starts her studies in India.[52] However, her background as a blacksmith's daughter causes her trouble at first. She has to be withdrawn from a school in Lhasa[53] because parents of other pupils start taking their children out of the school for fear that they will be polluted by being near someone from a blacksmith's family.[54] When Pad ma asks 'Brug rgyas about the reason why her schooling stopped so abruptly, the first-person narrator replies:

> It is difficult to understand. Those stupid people do not do what they should be doing, but unnecessarily keep talking about who is an aristocrat, who is an ordinary person, who is a blacksmith and who is a butcher. Because of this the school teacher came to our house and

---

[50] Tsering Shakya (2004) has made some insightful observations on protagonists who are orphaned or semi-orphaned in relatively early modern Tibetan literature in stories such as rDo rje rgyal po's *Ye shes lha mo dang mgar ba stobs rgyal* (Ye shes lha mo and Blacksmith sTobs rgyal), 'Jam dpal rgya mtsho's *sKal bzang me tog* (An Auspicious Flower) and dPal 'byor's *gTsug g.yu.* According to him, the orphan protagonist could be viewed as an archetype of the "new socialist man" in Communist literature (see Shakya 2004: 136, 148).

[51] See Brag gdong bKras gling dBang rdor 1997: 153–157.

[52] Brag grong bKras gling dBang rdor 1997: 183.

[53] Alice Travers's article contains a great deal of valuable information about private schools in Lhasa before the 1950s. Based on various sources, she discusses how pupils in these schools came from different backgrounds, including commoners and the nobility and pupils of both sexes could join (Travers 2016: 126–128). However, she does not discuss whether children from lower-class families like blacksmiths went to these schools.

[54] See Kapstein 2006: 182–183 on the association of pollution with some lower-class sections of Tibetan traditional society. See also Fjeld 2005: 49–50, 79. Fjeld explains that these beliefs about pollution may restrict certain areas of social contact with persons of lower class, for instance, sharing cups, sexual relations and marriage.

you had to be withdrawn from the school.[55]

He criticizes how people pay unnecessary attention to the family background of a person, highlighting the inequality and discrimination between different social classes in traditional Tibetan society. In Heidi Fjeld's *Commoners and Nobles* she presents a story that happened in more contemporary times in Western Tibet. Although in this real life story from more contemporary times the children did not need to be withdrawn from school, it does show that they faced problems even though only one of the parents had a blacksmith family background.[56] In *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud*, Pad ma is sent to a school in Darjeeling in India to provide her with an education and to improve her social status. She is a good student who progresses faster than a grade a year. When returning to Lhasa after her studies, many people want to meet her and she is depicted as a much admired person. Thus, here the novel presents a view that no matter what kind of family background and social status one is from, it is possible to improve one's social status through education, and one's economic status through business, becoming rich after being poor. Some of the evil characters in the story are relatives of Pad ma and are also from a blacksmith family background. Choosing to have both a positive heroine and negative characters involved in terrible crimes coming from the same social class and family background appears to convey a view that any person can become well-educated and an appreciated member of society and their status is not predetermined by their family background.

Pad ma is depicted in a lively way, and her behaviour, her laughter when they arrive in India and her way of dressing and arranging her hair all give the impression that her character has been depicted in considerable mimetic detail. Partly these mimetic details also have a thematic function: for example, describing her attractive appearance gives the reader the idea of her transformation from a

---

[55] *gang shes/ lkug pa de tshos dgos pa'i las ma las par mi dgos pa'i su zhig sku drag dang/ su zhig phal pa yin/ su zhig mgar ba yin/ su zhig bshas pa yin lugs kho na gleng bzhin sdod/ rkyen de la brten nas slob grwa'i dge rgan rang tsho'i khyim du slebs nas/ khyod slob grwa las 'then dgos pa byung ba red/* (Brag gdong bKras gling dBang rdor 1997: 168). This is quite a literal translation of the passage. I did not supply the translation in Tailing 1998: 192 here, for the simple reason that my copy of the English version of the novel is slightly unclear in this place and some letters are not visible in the inside margin of the page.

[56] The story was told to her by someone telling about the difficulties that his friend of ordinary background encountered when marrying a woman from a family background of blacksmiths. The most difficult problem appeared to be that their children became socially isolated from other children at school. See Fjeld 2005: 80–81.

poor child into an educated and beautiful adult woman. Pad ma has both typical and individual features, the artificial or constructed nature of her character making her appear highly individualistic. The individualistic quality achieved with foregrounding a character's synthetic component appears somewhat different from individual qualities of typical characters. Typical characters can of course possess individualistic features, but these usually draw some inspiration from qualities of people in real life. Often this can be achieved through a writer's observation of real people, who then combines into one person the features of several individuals.

Although they are from different social and family backgrounds, the relations between the four main characters are friendly and close in this novel. I suspect that it would be unlikely or at least very uncommon that an aristocrat, a servant girl, an ordinary muleteer and a girl from the family background of blacksmiths could truly have formed a family and household together in this way in Tibet during the 1930s and 1940s. Blacksmiths were considered low-class in traditional Tibetan society and the idea of being polluted was connected with them, so it sounds very open-minded of 'Brug rgyas and the Elder Master to choose to take the little girl Pad ma into their family. [57] The family group with its new members could be considered somewhat idealistic and even viewed as an artificial and fictional creation. The family as a group seems to represent the idea of equality and harmonious co-existence and co-operation of persons from different social status. The family is, moreover, progressive: they develop together their business and trade and even take an interest in establishing a factory in Tibet, which is not however permitted by the conservative people in the administration. While each of the three characters are defined by their different mimetic features and nature, some of their qualities, such as open-mindedness, also function as thematic components in how they contribute to the theme of the development of trade relations and progress.

4. Summary and Conclusions

To summarize the preceding discussion, several observations were made concerning the characters in both dPal 'byor's *gTsug g.yu* and Brag gdong bKras gling dBang rdor's *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i*

[57] Still in contemporary Tibetan society, as reported by Fjeld (2005: 81–83), there may be opposition from friends and family if a person from an ordinary family background would like to marry someone from a low class background, such as a member of a blacksmith's family.

gtam rgyud. There are both shared features and differences in the characterization in these two novels.[58] They both have a main character coming from an ordinary or lower-class section of society. dPal ldan is from an ordinary family and works as a servant, whereas Pad ma comes from a family of blacksmiths, a group whose social status was considered an outcaste in traditional Tibetan society. In both novels, the main character becomes orphaned during the story. However, their reactions to their situation are quite different: dPal ldan wishes to take revenge, whereas Pad ma falls in love with the person who has shot her mother, and befriends the person who has shot her father. Both of these shootings in the *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud* were in self-defence, in situations where the (fictional) lives of the characters had been in danger. There is also a difference in the family background of the main characters: Pad ma's parents had been working in a postal relay station and had been involved in terrible crimes against innocent travellers, whereas dPal ldan's parents are depicted as good religious people who become innocent victims of a greedy aristocrat who wishes to obtain a valuable turquoise jewel from them by any means. The contrast is noticeable, and the crime-tainted family background of Pad ma serves to highlight the transformation her character undergoes when she receives a good education. It is possible to estimate from some details in the story that during her schooling she has learned to read and write, to do calculations with numbers, and to speak English. She also acquires new ideas about trade from the family of her British classmate when she visits them in Calcutta and sees their factory. Together with the rise in her educational level, her appearance also undergoes improvement and she is depicted as turning into a beautiful woman and even wears Western dress in the form of jeans.[59] That said, it is clear that she had a good character since childhood, and has always been honest and truthful. Considering the way in which Pad ma's development into an educated young woman has been depicted in the second part of *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud*, the novel has some generic features of a *bildungsroman*.

Another difference in the two novels is that the principle evil characters come from different social classes. In *gTsug g.yu*, the aristocrats are depicted as deceptive, cruel or corrupted, whereas in *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud* the principle evil characters are the blacksmith brothers, two of whom work as postal station workers. The novel also suggests that the district governance is corrupt. However, in the *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud* we

[58] Although the original abstract of the conference paper emphasized the differences, there are also some shared features in the characterization.

[59] See Brag gdong bKras gling dBang rdor 1997: 201–214, 231.

can find a character who is an aristocrat but is nevertheless represented positively: he befriends the other main characters, who come from lower social classes, and even marries a girl with a servant background. The aristocratic Elder Master can thus be considered an untypical representative of his class, at least if compared to the aristocrat characters in dPal 'byor's *gTsug g.yu*.

The two novels have different kinds of narrators. In *gTsug g.yu* there is an external narrator, who often has information or knowledge which the main character dPal ldan is not yet aware of. In the *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud* there is a first-person narrator, who is also a character in his own story. He tells only what is experienced or known to him and additional information which is not known to this first-person narrator is only supplied in the "afterword" to the novel. Even though the novel was supposedly written by this character narrator and character writer, the brief afterword is not written by him, but is narrated by an external narrator.

In the *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud* we paid attention to how the family group formed by the main characters also functions as a kind of combined unit presenting an idealistic picture of equal relations between people from different social classes living harmoniously together and helping each other. This kind of family unit could be interpreted also having a certain artificial or synthetic nature. In *gTsug g.yu* the servants help each other whereas hostile relations exist between the servants and the upper-class aristocrats and merchants.

When examining the characters in the novels Phelan's three components of character are helpful when discussing the different aspects of these characters. Paying attention to the mimetic components of characters, it is apparent that in *gTsug g.yu*, the servants shared many mimetic features: both are depicted as generally good, obedient, honest and helpful, and both dress quite poorly. At the same time, dPal ldan's character is overshadowed by his negative quality of harbouring a wish to revenge. However, in the *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud*, the three main characters possess quite different mimetic features, lending each an individualistic flavour. Thus the Elder Master is an open-minded aristocrat who marries a servant girl—quite unlike the evil district commissioner in *gTsug g.yu*. In the character of 'Brug rgyas, a muleteer who becomes a writer of a novel, there is an element of surprise.[60] The character of Pad ma, a poor girl from a low-class

[60] His tendency to suicidality may also be viewed as an individual characteristic, although two other characters in the novel also end their life through suicide.

background who becomes a well-educated and successful businesswoman and a young lady, also has the individual quality of being able to befriend and love even characters who caused the death of her parents. It was also observed that the synthetic component of the characters is foregrounded in *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud*, whereas it remains hidden in *gTsug g.yu*. The foregrounding of the synthetic component in the former novel may at times remind the reader of the fictive nature of characters and events, whereas in the latter novel the mimetic illusion is more likely to be preserved while reading even though the reader knows that the story is fictitious. In *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud* the social status of the heroine is greatly improved, although her end is tragic. In *gTsug g.yu* the status of the servants does not improve at all, and their only means to manage in life is to escape from Lhasa.

As discussed, the typical or representative characters have both individual and general features. In both works characters can be found who have some qualities of typical or representative characters, but the extent to which individual and generalized features are depicted is different. The characters in *gTsug g.yu* appear to a greater extent typical, whereas in the *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud*, even though Pad ma can be considered in some sense a model character, she has some more individualistic qualities. In both *gTsug g.yu* and *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud* the main characters' (and in the latter also the family unit's) mimetic and thematic components are developed. The mimetic component seems to be more carefully developed in the character of the lively Pad ma than in that of dPal ldan. This gives her a more individualistic appearing nature, which, however, also possess some qualities of a model character. In fact, her goodness is represented to an almost excessive degree, which may give her some artificial features and may foreground at times her synthetic component to the reader. This foregrounding of the synthetic component makes her fictitious nature more prominent and also contributes some individualistic nature to her character, making her appear to be somewhat different from a real-life person. Also the character of 'Brug rgyas, the muleteer, has some qualities which appear to be common with the servant characters in *gTsug g.yu*, namely he is hard-working and values honesty. In *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud* the group of characters making up the new family of bKras zur tshang can be viewed as representing the idealistic co-operation of people from different social classes in a socialist society which works towards progressive goals. However, this vision of harmonious co-operation is projected onto the traditional Tibetan society from the past. Thus the group of characters in this novel can be considered representative

as a whole, even though each of the main characters have their own special individual features.

In general, it could be suggested that if most of the mimetic features also contribute to thematic functions and if several of the mimetic features of different characters of persons from the same social class resemble each other, the character may appear to be more a person who represents a class of people and less a special person with individually unique qualities. However, if a character has rich mimetic features which make them especially vivid and vital (as was the case with the character of Pad ma), or qualities only possessed by an individual character which are different from other characters of the same social class (as was the case with the Elder Master being a kind aristocrat and 'Brug rgyas the muleteer becoming a writer), the individual side of the character is more salient and emphasized. Also foregrounding the synthetic component in the character (as in the case of Pad ma being almost "unbelievably good" and 'Brug rgyas functioning as the supposed author of the story) gives this character some unique quality and makes it different from the character types found in socialist realism, who are usually depicted in their typical environments in a realistic manner. The synthetic components of characters sometimes appear noticeable to the reader in the *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud*, whereas in the realistic *gTsug g.yu* they remain unnoticed and in the background. The mimetic component seems to be largely subordinated to the thematic component and works in its service in *gTsug g.yu.* The fact that the characters in *gTsug g.yu* appear to be more typical than in the other later novel could also be connected to the earlier time of writing of *gTsug g.yu*: in some Tibetan literary works published in the 1980s, the influence of socialist realism seems to be stronger than in many later works.[61] The socialist realist style of writing also had an influence on characterization with its ideal of characters being types or typical characters. In *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud* the main characters also have the quality of being open-minded and interested in economic progress, nor do they discriminate between people of

[61] The other early Tibetan modern novel published in 1982 in Tibetan (but originally written in Chinese) is 'Jam dpal rgya mtsho's *sKal bsang me tog* [An Auspicious Flower]. It has been studied by Yangdon Dhondup, who points out that the style of the novel could be characterized as revolutionary romanticism in line with the views presented by Lan Yang on this style. She writes that according to Lan Yang this style was influenced by Mao's *Yan'an Talks* and socialist realism (see Yangdon Dhondup 2004: 84–85). If we consider a later Tibetan monumental novel published in 1999, bKra shis dpal ldan's *Phal pa'i khyim tshang gi skyid sdug*, its style is different from these two early modern Tibetan novels and it depicts the life of Tibetan villagers in a realistic style. For information on bKra shis dpal ldan's novel in English, see Shakya 2004: 151–174.

different class background, which makes each of them a representative character. They can be seen to function as representing ideas of modernization and equality between people.

Both novels represent traditional Tibetan society as a society characterized by lack of equality between different classes of people, and both see the need for this situation to be corrected, but they do this in different ways. *gTsug g.yu* shows the inequality and contrasts the social classes,[62] while *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud* creates a vision of a harmonious group of people from different social statuses forming a family in which the members co-operate with each other. In *gTsug g.yu*, the main characters also have their individual features. Similarly, in *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud*, the characters also possess some special features, which are sometimes quite surprising and even mysterious. But ultimately the main characters of *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud* come together as a harmonious family, and this has the thematic function of conveying the idea of equality and co-operation between people. These people are also depicted as open-minded towards the development of business and improved infrastructures. The theme of progress in the later novel could be influenced by the ideas of modernization which were politically favoured after the 1980s, though the novel is set fifty years earlier in the 1930s and 1940s.

Bibliography

bKra shis dpal ldan 2006 [1992]. *Phal pa'i khyim tshang gi skyid sdug* [The Life of an Ordinary Family]. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang. (2nd edition).

Brag gdong bKras gling dBang rdor. 1997. *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud* [The Secret Tale of Tesur House]. Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang.

———. 2011. "«bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud» kyi grub tshul dang myong tshor 'ga'" [On Writing *bKras zur tshang gi gsang ba'i gtam rgyud* and Some Impressions]. mChod me bod kyi rtsom rig dra ba. Accessed April 5, 2016.

[62] rNam sras also interprets *gTsug g.yu* as representing the kind of relations between different classes of people in the pre-1950s Tibetan society. To him the novel criticizes problems in traditional Tibetan society and expresses a wish for improvements, including gaining equality and justice. He also mentions that the novel represents aspects of traditional Tibetan culture, such as the celebration of festivals (rNam sras 2006: 8).

http://www.tibetcm.com/ comtemporary/literary-essays/2014-12-11/6747.html.

Bu bzhi bsam pa'i don grub. 2007. *rTsom rig gzhung lugs* [Theory of Literature]. Lan gru'u: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Eagleton, Terry and Drew Milne, eds. 1996. *Marxist Literary Theory: A Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Erhard, Franz Xaver. 2011. "Constructed Identities and Contemporary Tibetan Literature: the Fiction of the A mdo ba Skyabs chen bde grol and the Lha sa ba Dpal 'byor." In *Mapping the Modern in Tibet*, edited by Gray Tuttle, 419–34. Andiast: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies GmbH (IITBS).

———. 2013. "Remembering History in Amdo: Three Literary Accounts for the Years from 1956 to 1976." In "Current Issues and Progress in Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Third International Seminar of Young Tibetologists," edited by Tsuguhito Takeuchi, *et. al.* Special issue, *Kobe City University of Foreign Studies Journal of Research Institute* 51, 103–23.

Fjeld, Heidi. 2005. *Commoners and Nobles: Hereditary Divisions in Tibet*. Copenhagen: NIAS Press.

Hartley, Lauran R. and Patricia Schiaffini-Vedani. 2008. "Introduction." In *Modern Tibetan Literature and Social Change*, edited by Lauran R. Hartley and Patricia Schiaffini-Vedani, xiii–xxxviii. Durham: Duke University Press.

Hor gtsang Klu rgyal , ed. 2012. *Deng rabs bod kyi rtsom pa po'i lo rgyus dang brtsams chos dkar chag* [The Catalogue of the Lifestories and Writings of Tibetan Contemporary Writers]. Lan gru'u: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Kapstein, Matthew T. 2006. *The Tibetans*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.

Klu thar rgyal. 2008. *rTsom gzhung spyi bshad* [General Explanation of the Theory of Literature]. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang.

Neumann, Birgit, and Ansgar Nünning. 2011 [2008]. *An Introduction*

to the Study of Narrative Fiction. Stuttgart: Klett.

rNam sras. 2005. *Dus skabs gsar pa'i bod kyi sgrung gtam la dpyad pa blo gsar dgyes pa'i dga' ston* [The Festival Delighting the Youths: Examining New Era Tibetan Stories]. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

———. 2006. "sGrung gtam ring po «gtsug g.yu» bklags pa'i myong tshor" [Impressions on Reading the Novel *gTsug g.yu*]. In *Nags klong khu byug 'du gnas* [The Forest Abode of Cuckoos], edited by mTsho sngon bod yig gsar 'gyur khang, 7–13. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Mao Tse-Tung. 1962 [1956]. *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*. Peking: Foreign Languages Press. (3rd edition).

dPal 'byor [Glang mdun dPal 'byor]. 2003 [1985]. *gTsug g.yu* [The Turquoise Head-Ornament]. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang (2nd edition).

———. 2006. "rTsom 'bri'i myong tshor" [The Impressions of Writing Literary Works]. In *Nags klong khu byug 'du gnas* [The Forest Abode of Cuckoos], edited by mTsho sngon bod yig gsar 'gyur khang, 3–6. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

dPal ldan. 2006. "brTsams sgrung «gtsug g.yu» las 'phros pa'i gtam" [Words Inspired by the Story *gTsug g.yu*]. In *Nags klong khu byug 'du gnas* [The Forest Abode of Cuckoos], edited by mTsho sngon bod yig gsar 'gyur khang, 14–16. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Phelan, James. 1989. *Reading People, Reading Plots*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Phelan, James and Peter J. Rabinowitz. 2012. "Character." In *Narrative Theory: Core Concepts and Critical Debates*, edited by David Herman *et. al.* Columbus: The Ohio State University Press.

Robin, Françoise. 2007. "Stories and History: The Emergence of Historical Fiction in Contemporary Tibet." In *Contemporary Tibetan Literary Studies*, edited by Steven J. Venturino, 23–41. Leiden: Brill.

Schiaffini-Vedani. 2008. "The 'Condor' Flies over Tibet: Zhaxi Dawa

and the Significance of Tibetan Magical Realism." In *Modern Tibetan Literature and Social Change*, edited by Lauran R. Hartley, and Patricia Schiaffini-Vedani, 202–24. Durham: Duke University Press.

Shakya, Tsering. 2000. "The Waterfall and Fragrant Flowers: The Development of Tibetan Literature since 1950." In: *Song of the Snow Lion*, edited by Frank Stewart, *et. al.*, 28–40. *Mānoa* 12(2). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

———. 2004. *The Emergence of Modern Tibetan Literature - gsar rtsom*. PhD dissertation. School of Oriental and African Studies.

Tailing, W. 1998. *The Secret Tale of Tesur House: A Tibetan Novel, A Chronicle of Old Tibet*. Beijing: China Tibetology Publishing House.

Travers, Alice. 2016. "Between Private and Public Initiatives? Private Schools in pre-1951 Tibet." In: *Himalaya, the Journal of the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies* 35(2). Accessed 12.7.2016; http://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/himalaya/vol35/iss2/30.

mTsho sngon bod yig gsar 'gyur khang (ed.) 2006. *Nags klong khu byug 'du gnas* [The Forest Abode of Cuckoos]. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Yangdon Dhondup. 2004. *Caught Between Margins: Culture, Identity and the Invention of a Literary Space in Tibet.* PhD Diss., School of Oriental and African Studies.

❖

Between Family and Transmission Lineage: Two Historical Works of the rNgog bKa' brgyud pa

Marco Walther

(Ludwig-Maximilians Universität München)

This paper presents two historical works on the transmission of the rNgog bKa' brgyud pa that were recently republished as copies of the works existent in the library of 'Bras spungs monastery in Tibet.[1]

1. Overview

The works in focus are titled *The Jewel Garland of Spiritual Biographies of the Teachers of rNgog from gZhung, Fathers and Sons, who themselves stemmed from the venerable Mar pa* (*rJe mar pa nas brgyud pa'i rngog gzhung pa yab sras kyi bla ma'i rnam thar nor bu'i phreng ba*), written by Bodhiśrī (Byang chub dpal, 1360–1446) and *The Jewel Garland of Spiritual Biographies of the Teachers of rNgog, Fathers and Sons, that appeared in succession* (*Bla ma rngog pa yab sras rim par byon pa'i rnam thar rin po che'i rgyan gyi phreng ba*), written by Puṇyaśrī (bSod nams dpal ba, 14th/15th centuries,). Both works are part of the collection *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs*, which chiefly contains reprints of texts belonging to the library of *'Bras spungs* monastery in Tibet. They have been published at dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang under the guidance of A lags gzan dkar Thub stan nyi ma (b. 1943). In the *'Bras spungs* catalogue Byang chub dpal's *rJe mar pa nas brgyud pa'i rngog gzhung pa yab sras kyi bla ma'i rnam thar nor bu'i phreng ba* is found under No. 017030 on p. 1511 and bSod nams dpal bas work *Bla ma rngog pa yab sras rim byon pa'i rnam thar rin po che'i rgyan gyi phreng ba* under entry No. 016990 on p. 1508.[2] Both

[1] I would like to express my gratitude to Cecile Ducher for the fruitful exchange on the topic as well as for the drawings of the family trees of the rNgog.

[2] See bsTan 'dzin phun tshogs, *Drepung Catalogue*: 1508 and 1511. Already in 2007, Sørensen and Hazod pointed toward those two texts, which by the time they were listed the *Drepung Catalogue*, were not available. They refer to No. 017051

Marco Walther, "Between Family and Transmission Lineage: Two Historical Works of the rNgog bKa' brgyud pa", *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 37, December 2016, pp. 515–533.

manuscripts are written in *dbu med* script and are comprised of twelve and thirteen folios respectively. The contents of both works are almost identical, sometimes one or the other provides slightly more information, yet the orthography of both is riddled with mistakes.[3]

The authors of these works are rNgog Byang chub dpal and bSod nams dpal ba, who might have been the former's successor. In these texts the genealogy of the rNgog-family is presented along with the succession of family members that acted as custodians for the lineage of Buddhist tantric teachings.

In the colophon of *rNam thar nor bu'i phreng ba*, the "Yogin Bodhiśrī" (Byang chub dpal ba), who held the two teaching lineages of rNgog (gTsang tsha and rGyal tsha), states that he based his text primarily on the compilation of the Mantradhāra dPal gyi rdo rje whilst also providing his own supplementations at times. In view of the fact that no person bearing the exact name dPal gyi rdo rje is mentioned anywhere in the text, the given compiler could be Don grub dpal (1331–1398), his own father.

A gloss in the colophon of the second text, *rNam thar rin po che'i rgyan gyi phreng ba*, informs us that bSod nams dpal ba (Puṇyaśrī) composed this text during the year of the male iron rat (1420) in response to repeated requests from an unnamed person. In the year of the tiger (most likely in 1410 or 1422) he had received the teaching-cycles of the rNgog-Tradition from rNgog Rin po che Byang chub dpal and was asked to write these down. This indicates that he had taken notes from the teaching he attended beforehand or had finalised his original composition at this point. The given exposition could thus have been taught at occasions when the transmission of the rNgog were imparted to groups of students in order to instill respect for the transmissions as well as of the family.

In that case the *rNam thar nor bu'i phreng ba* and likely the *rNam thar rin po che'i rgyan gyi phreng ba* of bSod nams dpal is the source for the *lHo rong chos 'byung* and the *Deb ther sngon po*.[4]

---

and No. 016991 which do not correspond to the version of the catalogue, available to me. See Sørensen and Hazod 2007: 175.

3 Both works have been published in 2011 as computerised versions. *rNgog slob brgyud dang bcas pa'i gsung 'bum*. Vol. 1, 1–68.

4 See gZhon nu dpal, *Deb ther sngon po*: 483–499 and rTag tshag tshe dbang rgyal, *lHo rong chos 'byung*: 48–63.

In order to facilitate the understanding of the work's structure, the *rNam thar nor bu'i phreng ba* can be divided into chapters:

Introductory Verses		1b1–1b2
[I]	Genealogy and Biography of Mar pa (1010–1098)	1b2–2a6
[II]	Genealogy of rNgog Chos rdor, family lineage of gTsang tsha	2a7–4a4
[III]	Genealogy of the family lineage of rGyal tsha	4a4–4b3
[IV]	Dharma lineage	4b4–5a5
[V]	Biography of rNgog Chos kyi rdo rje (1036–1102)	5a5–6a7
[VI]	Biography of rNgog mDo sde (1090–1166)	6a7–7b4
[VII]	Biography of Slob dpon Jo tshul (1115–1158)	7b4–8b4
[VIII]	Biography of Slob dpon rGyal tsha Ra mo (1146–1182)	8b4–8b6
[IX]	Biography of Bla ma Kun dga' rdo rje (1157–1234)	8b6–9a7
[X]	Biography of Bla ma gZi brjid (1202–1281)	9a7–9b1
[XI]	Biography of Slob dpon rGyal po dga' (1205–1284)	9b1–9b3
[XII]	Biography of Slob dpon Seng ge sgra (1235–1308)	9b3–10a1
[XIII]	Biography of Bla ma Rin chen bzang po (1243–1319)	10a1–10a8
[XIV]	Biography of Bla ma Chos rgyal ba (1283–1359)	10a8–11a4
[XV]	The buddha-qualities of the teachers	11a4–11a5
[XVI]	The translations	11a5–11a7
[XVII]	Works composed by the lineage holders	11a7–12a6
[XVIII]	Years of conception and lifespan	12a6–12b8
[XIX]	Close disciples	12b8–13b2
[XX]	Concluding verses	13b2–13b6

2. The Genealogies

The exposition of the genealogy and biography of Mar pa here follows the genealogical approach in not strictly separating the successions of familial and spiritual lineage. In this case, the text states that Mar pa is preceded by five ancestors, whose names are listed, yet no further information about them is given besides an indication that they originate from the valley of Mar, hence the name.[5] His sons are yet again mentioned by name and among them can be found his destined spiritual successor, mDo sde, who suffered a tragic death due to a horse riding accident that happened after attending festivities at his uncle's place. It concludes with the statement that all of Mar pa's sons died, save for Ja rid 'khor lo and that only he had continued the family lineage. Following this, a short biographical overview of Mar pa's life is given that is very much in line with known presentations.[6] The reason for this passage might be to present the rNgog family as the true possessors of the teaching lineage, as Mar pa's family had ceased to maintain the transmission.[7]

Now, the text describes the main family lineage of rNgog, known as gTsang tsha. Again it begins long before the appearance of rNgog Chos kyi rdo rje, the first holder of Mar pa's bKa' brgyud pa teachings. The first forebear of the family, rNgog rJe gTsang pa (also called bZings po), is said to have lived at the time of Lha tho tho ri snyan shal, the son of king Khri de thog btsan (ca. $4^{th}/5^{th}$ centuries) who is the twenty-seventh in the line of Tibetan mythical kings.[8] According to legend, this king witnessed the descent of the *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra*, the *Hṛdayaṣaḍakṣarī,* the *sPang skong phyag brgya pa' mdo* and other objects of veneration upon the roof of his palace in 'Um bu glang mkhar, which was understood as a positive indication of the later spread of Buddhism in Tibet.[9] rNgog rJe gTsang pa himself is not of human ancestory either but is said to have descended straight from the assembly of gods to earth by means of a nine-stepped ladder, just as the early Tibetan kings are believed to have done.[10]

---

[5] The valley or Mar (mar lung) is located in south-west of Tibet, near the border with Nepal. See Sørensen and Hazod 2007: 642.

[6] For an extensive discussion of the known sources on Mar pa's life, see Ducher (forthcoming).

[7] See Byang chub dpal ba, *rNam thar nor bu'i phreng ba:* 1b2–2a6.

[8] See Haarh 2003: 159 and list of kings (*ibid*.: 166–167).

[9] See Sørensen 1994: 150–151.

[10] See Byang chub dpal ba, *rNam thar nor bu'i phreng ba:* 2a7–2a8. For the Mythology of descending from heaven to earth see Bacot 1940: 85. The nine stepped ladder is found in the old Tibetan annals and served precisely the same function as a means for descending from heaven to earth, see Zeisler 2011: 123.

His grandson rNgog rTa gu snyan gzigs was installed either by King gNam ri srong bstan or Srong bstan sgam po as a common lower grade officer (*spyi dpon*)[11] stationed in the southern region of Nepal. His rank was confirmed by a golden badge of rank (*yig tshang*) bestowed upon him.[12]

His son rNgog dPal khrom is then said to have accompanied Thon mi saṃ bho ṭa on his travel to India during the lifetime of Srong tsan sgam po to and as being responsible for bringing the Tibetan script to Tibet, offering it to the King alongside Thon mi saṃ bho ṭa. Following this he was educated together with the ministers (*zhang blon*)[13], descendants and subjects. It is further mentioned that at this time the four great and small councils were held in order to make administrative decisions, which are similarly mentioned in the *dBa' bzhed*.[14] Units of measurements like weight and length were standardised at this time. Tibetans were divided into the "military" and "non-military"[15] and Tibet itself into four horns and 1000 districts. A certain 'Chims was the commander in chief and rNgog dPal khrom acted as his regent. In the following years there must have been a conflict between king Srong btsan sgam po and rNgog dPal khrom as the latter was granted six wishes and praised by 21.000 households as a token of farewell, yet was murdered shortly after. By way of compensation his family received extensive weregild (*stong mnyam* or *myi stong*).[16] This passage is quite ambiguous since it does not give any further information as to the reasons for this conflict, who acted as the murderer and thus who paid the blood money. As it further states that rNgog dPal khrom was the king's tantric priest (and special weregild was given for that) it appears rather unlikely that the king would have had him killed.[17]

---

11 "'General officer' designates the lowest grade functionary at the village level. The main duty of such rank is to carry government messages between the *rdzong* and the village, hence the title 'village messenger.'" See entry in Martin (2003).

12 See Byang chub dpal ba, *rNam thar nor bu'i phreng ba:* 2a8–2b2. A *yig tshang* is a badge of rank that is attached to the shoulder. These differ according to rank. The *yig tshang* here cannot be classified precisely. See Kapstein and Dotson 2007: 9.

13 Though *zhang* as a term of family relations means uncle, the meaning of *zhang blon* is simply "minister," since *zhang* here is employed only as a form of respect. This denomination was used particularly for high ranking ministers, who were not necessarily uncles in regards to their familial relations. See Dotson 2004: 79–80.

14 For a mention of the councils in *dBa' bzhed* see Wangdu and Diemberger 2001: 74.

15 The terms *rgod* and *g.yung* are translated here following Uray as "military" and "non-military," see Uray 1971: 553.

16 The text gives a list of different items regarded as weregild (*stong mnyam* or *myi stong*). For a list of compensations given in the case of murder according to military and social status refer to Kapstein and Dotson 2007: 8.

17 See Byang chub dpal ba, *rNam thar nor bu'i phreng ba:* 2b2–2b6.

After this incident, his son mDo gzigs khrom bstan was apparently demoted to a rank lower than his father, for he took up the position of his forefathers to act as representatives of the Yar klung empire in Nepal.[18]

His five sons in turn were accredited with the subjugation of neighboring countries: Tsan rta nag po subjugated the kingdom of Persia and Rin la nag po subjugated the kingdom of Hor in the west. Rin chen ldan po is said to have carried an elephant, exactly as reported in Buddhist historiographical literature.[19] Tsan rto ri gel po is said to have acted as chancellor of the king, to have later subjugated the kingdom of Gru gu[20] and to have conquered the four fortresses that were subject to quarrel between Tibet and the Tang dynasty. Again insignia were bestowed upon him as mark of the king's recognition.[21]

rNgog bTsan gnya', the middle of his five sons,[22] was said to have taken up the succession of his father at the age of twelve, just as king Khri Srong lde btsan (742–c. 800) had seized power, at which point he met with a minister and served him as a wise person. In the following years, he served in the army in the war between China and Tibet and when he was fourteen years old, a certain rNam ral [from 'Ching phu] bestowed offerings upon him, whereupon he restored temples and defeated the tribes of rGya drug at the border. He then led the Tibetan Army against China, Tibet having 30.000 people at the time. This army, here unusually termed *dra ma drangs* in old Tibetan,[23] crossed the pass of Gong bu me ru.[24] After the main army was defeated, rNgog managed to defeat a small troop of 30 Chinese soldiers that were about to harm the Tibetan ruler. Here the term

---

18 See Byang chub dpal ba, *rNam thar nor bu'i phreng ba*: 2b6–2b7.

19 In *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* it says, too: "Carrying a baby-elephant (all the way from Nepal)." Sørensen 1994: 349.

20 *Tshig mzod chen mo*, 401 gives an entry for Tsan rta nag po: "Earlier [he ruled] northern Tibet and the adjacent Xijiang along with Kokonor in the corners [of the empire] and the attached principalities." (*sngar bod byang rgyud dang shin cang mtsho sngon bcas kyi sa 'brel khul du chags pa'i rgyal phran zhig*).

21 See Byang chub dpal ba, *rNam thar nor bu'i phreng ba*: 2b7–3a1.

22 An entry in *Tshig mzod chen mo*, 2197 under *btsan snya* states: "[…] during the 35th generation of the kings, at the time of Sron mang btsan, he was a minister and great brother of mGar ston stong btsan." (*bod rgyal gdung rabs so lnga pa mang srong mang btsan skabs kyi blon chen zhig yin zhing mgar stong btsan gyi bu che ba'o*).

23 For a discussion of the old Tibetan term *dra ma drangs* and its translation as "army" see Uray 1962: 219–230.

24 The place Gong bu ma ru at the border of China and Tibet plays a central role in the treatises of both countries from 730–734 and 821/823. Gong bu me ru could be the Chinese Ch'ih ling south-east of lake Kokonor, or it could be located further east and thus south-east of Ch'ih ling. See Uebach 1991: 502–522.

used for "harm" reads *glo ba 'dring*, again an old Tibetan term.[25] Overall this account remains sketchy and ambiguous. It is mentioned that the Fortress of Guazhou was defeated and the iron bridge of Bum gling, which can be identified as the bridge of Hongji, spanning over the Huang he, was severed.[26] rNgog bTsan gnya' had a retinue of 936 men and he was given presents of recognition and large fields for taxation in the region Grwa'i yi gur by the king.[27] The regions Bran gzi, 'Or rgyad, Chu ma, Kha bze and others offered twenty households as his subjects. In the *Deb ther sngon po* we find a similar mention, of a yet personally unnamed minister "the great rNgog," who protected king Khri Srong lde btsan's life in the face of threat from Chinese soldiers.[28]

Also his son rNgog bTsan pa rin po che was given subjects and lands for taxation. His son, rNgog bTsan gzigs snang pa is also mentioned in the *Gung thang dkar chag*[29] and is said to have acted as the preceptor (*upādhyāya*) of tantric teaching for king Khri srong lde btsan and to have held the office of the great commissioner of the Bhagavan.[30] He was also given subjects and lands for taxation.[31]

The following family members in succession are mentioned by name only, with the added information that two generations after Yul sbyin a certain rNgog Lo was born. This might point towards rNgog Lotsāwa Lo chung legs pa'i shes rab (11th century) and provide the missing link to the famous rNgog Lotsāwa Blo ldan shes

---

25 A discussion of the old Tibetan term *glo ba 'dring* and its translation 'to harm' can be found in Li 1959: 55–59.

26 See Dotson 2009: 132, n. 358.

27 The term *zhing dor* (plow unit) is defined as the size of a field that can be plowed by one person in one day. It measures ten units of 1.5 acres. See Dotson 2009: 50.

28 See Byang chub dpal ba, *rNam thar nor bu'i phreng ba:* 3a1–3a8. A passage on the relation between rNgog bTsan gnya' and Khri Srong lde btsan is found in Kramer 2007: 33: "An early member of the rNgog clan had been a minister to the Tibetan king Khri Srong lde btsan (born in 742). His personal name has not been handed down, but he was known by the epithet "the Great rNgog" (rNgog chen po). This minister was apparently a loyal supporter of his king, since he once defended Khri Srong lde btsan's life by killing some Chinese soldiers who assaulted him. The fact that he held the position of a minister at the royal court would allow us to assume that the rNgog family was of high rank, having probably obtained wealth and influence by that time. This is based on gZhon nu dpal: *Deb ther sngon po*: 391–392. For a translation see Roerich 1959b: 324.

29 He was born in Yar 'brog do, was a disciple of Padmasambhava and served as *sku rim pa* of king Khri srong de btsan. See Sørensen and Hazod 2007: 175.

30 *bCom ldan 'das kyi ring lugs* is the highest office that could be held by a monk in the government. This office goes back to the increasing influence of monks in the 8th century. See Dotson 2006: 115.

31 See Byang chub dpal ba, *rNam thar nor bu'i phreng ba*: 3a8–3b1.

rab (1059–1109) as his nephew.[32] All in all eighteen ancestors preceded rNgog Chos kyi rdo rje and his son mDo sde, who were both disciples of Mar pa and thus belonged to the first and second generation of the lineage holders of the school of the rNgog bKa' brgyud pa. With the descendants of mDo sde, the family branched into two sections: out of his six sons, Slob dpon Jo tshul, whose mother was called Thul skyid, continued the main family lineage of gTsang tsha. Slob dpon Jo thog, whose mother was called Jo skyabs, began the family-branch of rGyal tsha.

Also, Chos kyi rdo rje is the first family member to be mentioned as residing in gZhung sPre'u zhing situated in a valley south of the Tsang po river not far from Gong kar, as did the holders of the lineage of gTsang tsha after him.[33]

Apart from gZhung sPre'u zhing, the residence of the rNgog-family, no other residences or temples founded by family members are mentioned within Tibet. However, early on in Bhutan some dependencies seem to have been founded by rNgog Chos kyi rdo rje. These Monasteries in Bhutan include that of Glang mo gling which still stands in the sTang valley of Bum thang, just south of Mar pa's home region in lHo brag.[34]

Kaḥ thog Si tu Chos kyi rgya mtsho (1880–1923/25) visited gZhung, in the early 20th century and found the place to be in a neglected and derelict state, indicating the decline of the rNgog-family at the time.[35]

---

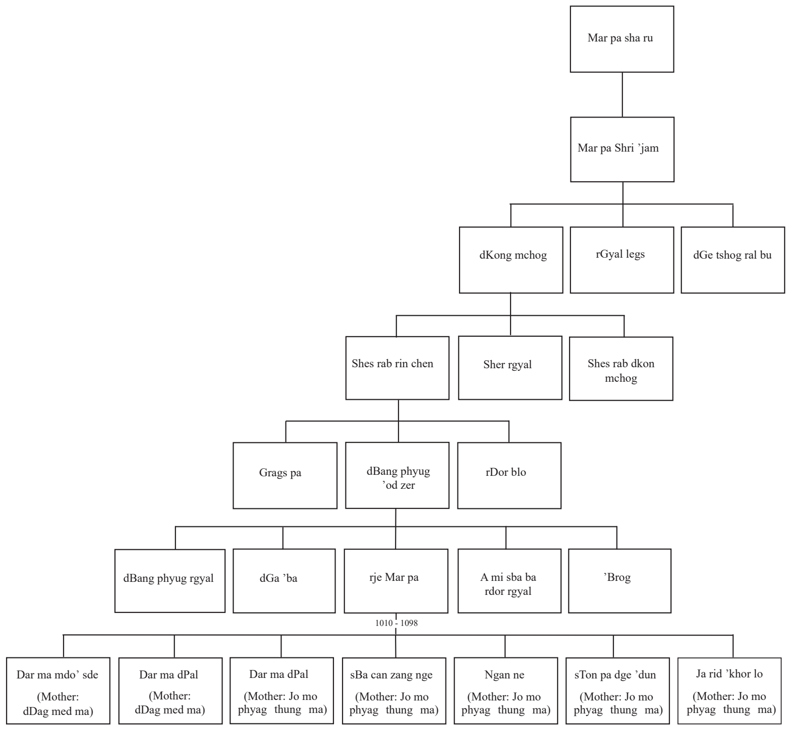
[32] This is only mentioned in Byang chub dpal ba, *rNam thar nor bu'i phreng ba*: 3b6–3b7. Both rNgog Lotsāwa Blo ldan shes rab (1059–1109) and rNgog Chos skyi rdo rje lived at the same time and stood in the same generation. For a mention of a distant cousinage rNgog Blo ldan shes rab see Kramer 2007: 21. This finds further mention in Mi bskyod rdo rje, *rJe btsun mar pa lo tsā'i rnam thar ngo tshar sa ma ya*: 159 with the note: "Notably with rNgog Lotsāwa there was a relation of uncle-nephew and as the teacher, he was a contemporary of the father's offspring" (*khyad par rngog lo ts'a ba khu dbon dang bla ma ni / phas spun tshe mnyam yin no /*). Padma dkar po, *Chos 'byung bstan pa'i pad ma rgyas pa'i nyin byed*: 348 makes a connection with rNgog Lotsāwa with the statement: "The uncle-nephew[-lineage] of rNgog Lotsāwa and his father Tshan drung po were yak herds in the beginnig." (*rngog lo ts'a ba khu dbon dang yab tshan drung po / dang po 'brog pa yin la /*). Here nevertheless the name of the father differs entirely.

[33] See Byang chub dpal ba, *rNam thar nor bu'i phreng ba*: 5b1. For a detailed description of gZhung see Sørensen and Hazod 2007: 174–175.

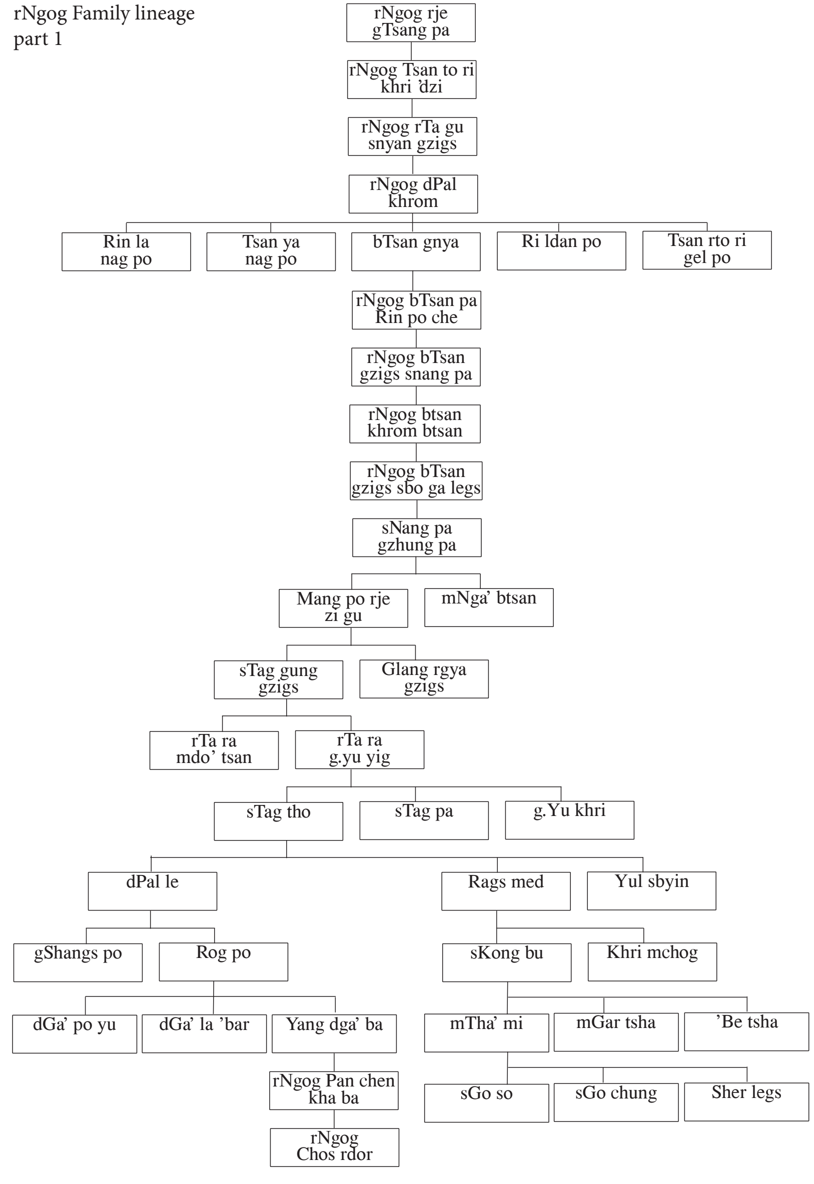
[34] See Aris 1979: 167 and Phuntso 2013: 137. The source for the accounts of Aris and Phuntso is the *lHo 'brug chos 'byung* of dGe 'dun rin chen (1926–1997), see dGe 'dun rin chen, *dPal ldan 'brug pa'i gdul zhing lho phyogs nags mo'i ljongs kyi chos 'byung blo gsar rna ba'i rgyan:* 181.5–182.3. About this work see also Ehrhard 2008: 62, n. 1)

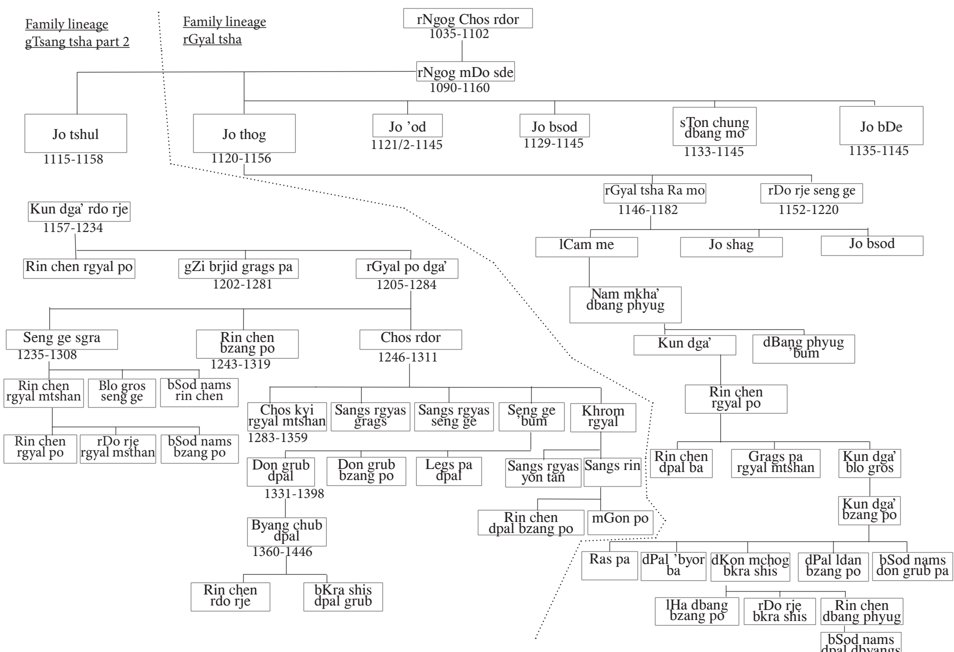
[35] See Chos kyi rgya mtsho: *Si tu chos kyi rgya mtsho'i gangs ljongs dbus gtsang gnas bskor lam yig nor bu zla shel gyi se mo do*, 119–120. Another rather short description

3. Family Trees



of gZhung was given by mKhyen brtse dbang po (1820–1892) who visited the place in 1848. See Ferrari 1958: 134, n. 334).


rNgog Family lineage
part 1
rNgog rje
gTsang pa
rNgog Tsan to ri
khri 'dzi
rNgog rTa gu
snyan gzigs
rNgog dPal
khrom
Rin la
nag po
Tsan ya
nag po
bTsan gnya
Ri ldan po
Tsan rto ri
gel po
rNgog bTsan pa
Rin po che
rNgog bTsan
gzigs snang pa
rNgog btsan
khrom btsan
rNgog bTsan
gzigs sbo ga legs
sNang pa
gzhung pa
Mang po rje
zi gu
mNga’ btsan
sTag gung
gzigs
Glang rgya
gzigs
rTa ra
mdo’ tsan
rTa ra
g.yu yig
sTag tho
sTag pa
g.Yu khri
dPal le
Rags med
Yul sbyin
gShangs po
Rog po
sKong bu
Khri mchog
dGa’ po yu
dGa’ la ’bar
Yang dga’ ba
mTha’ mi
mGar tsha
’Be tsha
rNgog Pan chen
kha ba
sGo so
sGo chung
Sher legs
rNgog
Chos rdor



4. The Dharma Lineages

Chapter [IV] of the *rNam thar nor bu'i phreng ba* is devoted to the lineage of Buddhist tantric teachings held by the family lineage. The slightly simplified version of the *rNam thar nor bu'i phreng ba* serves as the basis for the list. This begins with the general lineage of bKa' brgyud pa teachings:

> Vajradhara, Saraha, Ācārya Nāgārjuna, Ḍākinī Subhaginī, Ācārya Lawapa > Tilopa > Nāropa > Mar pa > rNgog Chos kyi rdo rje > mDo sde > Kun dga' rdo rje > gZi brjid grags pa > Rin chen bzang po > Chos kyi rgyal mtshan > Don grub dpal

1.) *Hevajramūlatantra* and *-vyākhyātantra*: Nāgārjuna > Tilopa > Nāropa > Mar pa >[36] mDo sde > Kun dga' > gZi brjid grags pa

[36] The author omits rNgog Chos kyi rdo rje, since mDo sde received this transmission alongside his father Chos kyi rdo rje from Mar pa.

> Rin chen bZang po > Chos kyi rgyal mtshan > Don grub dpal

2.) *Catuśpīṭhatantra*: Nāgārjuna > Āryadeva > Prajñābhadra > Nāropa > Mar pa etc. The short lineage: Vajradhara > Ḍākinī Chu shing gi rnye ma can > Mar pa > mDo sde etc.

3.) [*Mahā-*]*māyātantra*: Nāropa, Maitripa, Śantibhadra > Mar pa > to the same lineage as before

4.) *Saṃpuṭatantra*: Vajradhara > Ḍākinī Kamala > Amkila > Krisnācārya > Tilopa > Nāropa > Prajñārakśita > the Newar sPyi ther pa > Rwa Lo tsā ba rdo rje grags > mDo sde >> Don grub dpal

5.) [*Mañjuśrī-*]*nāmasaṃgītitantra*: Ārya Mañjuśrī > Līlavajra > Sūryasimha > Dharmavajra > Mūdrasiddhi > Deveśvara > Śāntigarbha and Smṛti > Ngag gi dbang phyug > Khams pa shes rab rdo rje > Chos rdor >> Don grub dpal. Also: Śāntigarbha > Sūryasiddhi > Kyi bye ma lungs Chos kyi seng ge > Chos rdor etc.

6.) [*Mañjuśrī*]*guhyapannakatantra:* Up to mDo sde the transmission lineage is the same as for the *Nāmasaṃgīti,* from him it went to Tshar dar ma rgyal po > 'Tshur dum bu kha pa > dGe bshes bzang mo ba > Rin chen bzang po > Chos kyi rgyal mtshan > Don grub dpal

7.) [*Pañjara*] *Rigs bsdus Tantra*: up to mDo sde it is the same as for Hevajra. Then it went to Ram rdo rje grags > bKa' lung pa sNyan bsgom > sNga ris pa Byang chub tshul khrims > rGya pho ba lung pa > Slob dpon Rāja Ānanda and Bla ma Siṃhanāda > Chos kyi rgyal mtshan > Don grub dpal

8.) *The vyākhyātantra of the far-reaching Downfalls*: Mañjuśrīkīrti > Birvapa > Padma > Somatri > Vajrahasa > Vajrayanta > Āryadeva > Candrakīrti > Paiṇḍapa > Pham gting pa, dPe mtha' bzhi pa Lotsāwa > sKu ston chos rgyal > dPug rgya ga ra dza > A sang kirti > lHo nag smon lam khri > Kun dga' etc.

9.) *TheTantra of Black Mañjuśrī*:[37] Chag Lo tsā ba Chos rje dpal > Bla ma mDo sde > rGyal tsha ra mo > > Kun dga' >> Don grub dpal.[38]

In contrast to these nine transmission lineages stand the "seven Maṇḍalas of rNgog" *(rngog dkyil bdun*), which form the basis for the collection *bKa' brgyud sngags mdzod* compiled by Blo gros mtha' yas (1813–1899). It is in this format that the transmissions of the rNgog are widely passed on nowadays. These seven Maṇḍalas are:

> 1.) The nine deities of Hevajra; 2.) the consort of Hevajra, the 15 deities of Nairātmya.; 3.) the 49 deities of Vajrapañjara; 4.) the 97 deities of the Catuśpīṭhatantra; 5.) the consort of the Catuśpīṭhatantra, the 13 deities of Jñānaḍākinī; 6.) the five deities of Mahāmāyā; 7.) 53 deities of Mañjuśrīguhyapanna, coming from Smṛtijñānakīrti.[39]

These seven are the main Maṇḍalas to be transmitted via initiation, when the above listed nine streams of tantric teachings are passed on to students.

In *rNam thar nor bu'i phreng ba* and *rNam thar rin po che'i rgyan gyi phreng ba* no mention of the later known set of the seven Maṇḍalas of rNgog is to be found. 'Gos Lotsāwa gZhon nu dpal (1392–1481) had received the transmissions from rNgog Byang chub dpal ba, the last of the seven holders of rNgog, in the year 1441 at the behest of the Phag mo gru pa ruler Grags pa 'byung gnas. On this occasion the young bSod nams rgya mtsho (1424–1482) was present as an attendant. It is thanks to his biography that this event can be traced back to this date.[40] It can be assumed that the rNam thar nor bu'i phreng ba written by rNgog Byang chub dpal ba was used to introduce the background of the transmission and its lineage to the audience. Later, this event was included into the *Deb ther sngon po* in the context of the biography of bSod nams rgya mtsho.[41]

---

37 This could be the Krisnayamaritantra. The given transmission cannot be fully identified. For a list of the works translated by Chag Lotsāwa see Roerich 1959a: XLIV.

38 See Byang chub dpal ba, *rNam thar nor bu'i phreng ba*: 4b4–5a5.

39 Shes rab rgya mtsho, *rNgog dkyil bdun las brtsams pa'i gtam du brjod pa snyan bskul lha'i rnga sgra*: 3a. (kye rdor lha dgu / de'i yum bka' bdag med lha mo lha bco lnga / rdo rje gur rigs bsdus lha zhe dgu / rdo rje gdan bzhi'am rnal 'byor nam mkha' lha go bdun / de'i yum bka' ye shes mkha' 'gro lha bcu gsum / rgyu ma chen mo lha lnga / smṛ ti nas brgyud de rngog pa la byung ba 'jam dpal gsang ldan lha nga gsum ma'i dkyil 'khor rnams so / /).

40 See Ehrhard 2002: 38, 38 n. 5, for Grags pa 'byung gnas see Ehrhard 2004: 258.

41 For a descriptive list of the seven Maṇḍalas of rNgog see Shes rab rgya mtsho, *rNgog dkyil bdun las brtsams pa'i gtam du brjod pa snyan bskul lha'i rnga sgra*: 3a. The mention in *Deb ther sngon po* can be seen in See gZhon nu dpal, *Deb ther sngon po*:

After Byang chub dpal grub the destiny of the rNgog family remains largely in the shadows as they lost the monopoly over their own transmission lineage. Single family members of rNgog do find mention at later times, yet it is not clear if and to what extent they were charged with responsibility to hold the lineage of rNgog. One example for this is rNgog Karma Blo bzang (17 th century), who upheld an important position within the Karma bKa' brgyud pa as resident priest of Brag dkar rta so. In his biography there is no mention of him being involved in the Buddhist lineage represented by his family.[42]

Chapters V to XIV contain the individual biographies of the family members that acted as Buddhist teachers. The main difference here is that *rNam thar nor bu'i phreng ba* concludes the biographies with the account of Don grub dpal whereas *rNam thar rin po che'i rgyan gyi phreng ba* gives the biography of Rin chen rgyal mtshan instead. These biographies are for the most part well represented in the *Deb ther sngon po*. Chapter XV is devoted to praising the qualities of the lineage's teachers, XVI gives a list of Indian tantric source texts and their Tibetan translators that are important for the Buddhist transmissions held by the rNgog family, and XVII lists titles of works composed by the lineage holding family members, many of which can be found in the collection *rNgog chos skor phyogs bsgrigs* published in 2007. XVIII presents the Years of conception and the individual lifespan of the teachers of rNgog, the dates have been incorporated into the biographies in the *Deb ther sngon po*. XIX lists the close disciples of each. This chapter starts out with a prophecy attributed to Nāropā: "Your lineage will be blessed for seven [generations], [then] I [personally] will come."[43]

Byang chub dpal ba, the author of the work, was considered to be the seventh holder of rNgog.

---

948 and Roerich 1959b: 809.The biography of bSod nams rgya mtsho has been included into the *Deb ther sngon po* at the time when the wood blocks for printing were carved, as stated in the colophon of the print.

[42] In Karma Blo bzang, *mKhas grub chen po karma blo bzang gi rnam thar mchod sprin rgya mtsho*: 664 he calls himself "I, the teacher of rNgog" (*rngog ston nga*). For him holding the position as resident priest of Brag dkar rta so see Ehrhard 2013: 229–230.

[43] Byang chub dpa, *rJe mar pa nas brgyud pa'i rngog gzhung pa yab sras kyi bla ma'i rnam thar nor bu'i phreng ba*: 13a1–2 (/ khyad par du jo bo n'a ro p'a'i gsung nas / khyod kyi rgyud pa bdun tshun chad du / byin gyis brlabs pa la nga rang gis 'ong pa yin gsung nas lung bstan mdzad par gnang /).

5. Concluding Remarks

The history of the rNgog family along with the transmission of bKa' brgyud pa teachings held by its members has so far only been accessible via biographies contained in religious chronicles such as the *Deb ther sngon po* and the *lHo rong chos 'byung.* The historical works treated here, namely the *rNam thar nor bu'i phreng ba* and the *rNam thar rin po che'i rgyan gyi phreng ba*, preceded those religious chronicles and provide a much deeper insight into the history of the family along with its genealogy. These works were most likely taught to students when the transmissions of Buddhist teachings pertaining to the family were passed on to students and thus reveal further detail about the mode of transmission of this once very important branch of the bKa' brgyud pa school. They show the indivisibility of familiar and Buddhist lineage descent as it was handed down in the 14th/15th centuries.

Bibliography

Tibetan-Language Sources

Karma Blo bzang (17th cent.). *mKhas grub chen po karma blo bzang gi rnam thar mchod sprin rgya mtsho*. Gangs can dol po khul du byon pa'i ris med kyi bstan 'dzin skyes chen dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar phyogs gcig tu bkod pa. Editor: The Venerable Menlha Puntsok, 589–665. Kathmandu: Dolpo Education and Research Committee.

Kun dga' dpal 'byor (1428–1476). 1982. *dPal ldan bla ma dam pa'i mdzad pa rmad du byung ba ngo mtshar bdud rtsi'i thigs pa.* gSung 'bum kun dga' dpal 'byor. Darjeeling: Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang, Vol. 1.

Krang dbyi sun, ed. 1993. *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*. 2 vols. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

dGe 'dun rin chen (1926–1997). 1976. *dPal ldan 'brug pa'i gdul zhing lho phyogs nags mo'i ljongs kyi chos 'byung blo gsar rna ba'i rgyan*. rTa mgo: rTa mgo par khang.

Chos kyi rgya mtsho, Kaḥ thog si tu (1880–1923/25). 1999. *Si tu chos kyi rgya mtsho'i gangs ljongs dbus gtsang gnas bskor lam yig nor bu zla shel gyi se mo do.* Gangs can rig mdzod. Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang.

bsTan 'dzin phun tshogs, ed. 2004. *Drepung Catalogue: 'Bras spungs dgon du bzhugs su gsol ba'i dpe rnying dkar chag.* Ed: Dpal brtsegs Bod yig Dpe rnying Zhib 'jug khang. Beijing: Mi rigs Dpe skrun khang.

rTag tshag tshe dbang rgyal (15th cent.). 1994. *lHo rong chos 'byung.* Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang.

Padma dkar-po, 4. rGyal-dbang 'brug-pa (1527–1592). 1973–1974. *Chos 'byung bstan pa'i pad ma rgyas pa'i nyin byed.* gSung 'bum Padma dkar po. Darjeeling: Kargyud sungrab nyamso khang.

dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, ed. 2011. *rNgog slob brgyud dang bcas pa'i gsung 'bum*. 34 vols. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang.

———. 2007. *rNgog chos skor phyogs bsgrigs*. 10 vols. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang.

Blo gros mtha' yas, 'Jam mgon kong sprul (1813–1899). 1982. *bKa' brgyud sngags mdzod*. 8 vols. edited by Lama Ngodrub and Sherab Drimey. Paro.

Byang chub dpal (1360–1446). 2011. *rJe mar pa nas brgyud pa'i rngog gzhung pa yab sras kyi bla ma'i rnam thar nor bu'i phreng ba.* Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs. Ed: dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang. Vol. 22, 25–50. Xining: mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Mi bskyod rdo rje (ca. 14th–15th cent.). 2011. *rJe btsun mar pa lo tsā'i rnam thar ngo tshar sa ma ya*. lHo brag mar pa lo tsā'i gsung 'bum. Vol. 1, 94–163. Lhasa: dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang.

gZhon nu dpal, 'Gos Lotsāwa (1392–1481). 1984. *Deb ther sngon po.* Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Shes rab rgya mtsho (1803–1875). 1998–1999. rNgog dkyil bdun las brtsams pa'i gtam du brjod pa snyan bskul lha'i rnga sgra. *gSung*

'bum shes rab rgya mtsho, Vol. 2, 847–854. Zhol par khang. Lhasa.

bSod nams dpal ba. 2011. *Bla ma rngog pa yab sras rim par byon pa'i rnam thar rin po che'i rgyan gyi phreng ba.* Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs. edited by dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang. Vol. 22, 1–24. Xining: mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Other-Language Sources

Aris, Michael. 1979. *Bhutan: The Early History of a Tibetan Kingdom*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd.

Bacot, Jaques, Frederick W. Thomas, and Gustave C. Toussaint 1940. *Documents de Touen-Houang Relatifs a l'Histoire du Tibet.* Paris: Libraire Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.

Dotson, Brandon. 2004. "A Note on źaṅ: Maternal Relatives of the Tibetan Royal Line and Marriage into the Royal Family." *Journal Asiatique* 292(1–2), 75–99.

———. 2006. "Administration and Law in the Tibetan Empire: The Section on Law and State and its Old Tibetan Antecedents." D.Phil. diss., University of Oxford.

———. 2009. *The Old Tibetan Annals: an Annotated Translation of Tibet's First History. With an Annotated Cartographical Documentation by Guntram Hazod.* Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Ducher, Cecile. *Forthcoming*. Building a Tradition: the Lives of Mar-Pa the Translator. München: Indus Verlag. (=Collectanea Himalayica 5).

Ehrhard, Franz-Karl. 2002. *The Life and Travels of Lo-chen bSod-nam rgya-mtsho.* Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute.

———. 2004. "Spiritual Relationships Between Rulers and Preceptors: The Three Journeys of Vanaratna (1384–1468) to Tibet." In *The Relationship Between Religion and State (chos srid zung 'brel) in Traditional Tibet. Proceedings of a Seminar held in Lumbini, Nepal, in March 2000,* edited by Christoph Cüppers, 245–265. Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute.

———. 2008. “Addressing Tibetan Rulers from the South: mChog-ldan mgon-po (1497–1531) in the Hidden Valleys of Bhutan.” In *Chomolangma, Demawend und Kasbek. Festschrift für Roland Bielmeier zum 65. Geburtstag,* edited by Brigitte Huber, Marianne Volkart and Paul Widmer Band I: Chomolangma. (= Beiträge zur Zentralasienforschung, 12), 61–91. Halle/Saale: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies.

———. 2013. “Religious Geography and Literary Traditions: The Foundation of the Monastery Brag-dkar bSam-gling.” In *Buddhism in Tibet & the Himalayas: Texts and Traditions*, edited by Franz-Karl Ehrhard, 229–238. Kathmandu: Vajra Publications.

Ferrari, Alfonsa. 1958. *mKhyen brtse’s guide to the Holy Places of central Tibet*. Rome: Istituto italiano per il medio ed estremo oriente. (= Serie Orientale Roma 14).

Haarh, Erik. 2003. “Extract from ‘The Yar Lung Dynasty.’” In *The History of Tibet*, edited by Alex McKay, Vol. 1, 142–56. London and New York: Routledge Curzon.

Kapstein, Matthew and Brandon Dotson. 2007. *Contributions to the Cultural History of Early Tibet*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publications (=Brill Tibetan Studies Library 14).

Kramer, Ralf. 2007. *The Great Tibetan Translator Life and Works of rNgog Blo ldan shes rab*. München: Indus Verlag. (=Collectanea Himalayica 1).

Li, Fang-Kuei. 1959. “Tibetan glo-ba-’dring.” In *Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren Dedicata. Sinological Studies Dedicated to Bernhard Karlgren on his Seventieth Birthday, October fifth, 1959*, edited by S. Egerod and E. Glahn, 55–59. Copenhagen: E. Munksgaard.

Martin, Dan. 1994. Entry in Tibetan Vocabulary Version April 14, 2003. Accessed January, 6. 2012. https://collab.itc.virginia.edu/wiki/toolbox/Dictionaries Available.html.

Phuntso, Karma. 2013. *The History of Bhutan*. Nodia: Random House India.

Roerich, George N. 1959a. *Biography of Dharmasvāmin (Chag lo tsa-ba Chos-rje dpal).* Patna: K.P Jayaswal Research Institute.

———. 1959b. *The Blue Annals*. Delhi: Moltilal Banarsidass.

Sørensen, Per K. 1994. *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography: The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies: An Annotated Translation of the XIVth Century Tibetan Chronicle: rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Sørensen, Per K. and Guntram Hazod. 2007. *Rulers on the Celestial Plain. Ecclesiastic and Secular Hegemony in Medieval Tibet. A Study of Tshal Gung-thang*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Uebach, Helga. 1991. "dByar-mo-thaṅ and Goṅ-bu ma-ru. Tibetan Historiographical Tradition on the Treaty of 821/823." In *Tibetan History and Language. Studies dedicated to Uray Géza on His Seventieth Birthday,* edited by Erich Steinkellner, 497–526. Vienna: Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien Universität Wien.

Uray, Géza. 1962. "Old Tibetan dra-ma-drangs." *Acta Orientalia Academia Scientiarum Hungaricae* 14, 219–30.

———. 1971. "A propos du tibétain rgod-g.yuṅ." *Études tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou,* edited by Ariane Macdonald, 553–57. Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve.

Wangdu, Pasang and Hildegard Diemberger. 2001. *dBa' bzhed: The Royal Narrative Concerning the Bringing of the Buddha's Doctrine to Tibet; translation and facsimile edition of the Tibetan text.* Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Zeisler, Bettina. 2011. "For love of the word: a new translation of Pt 1287, the Old Tibetan Chronicle, chapter I." In *New studies of the Old Tibetan Documents*: *philology, history and religion,* edited by Yoshiro Imaeda, *et.al.*, 97–213. Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa. Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

Preservation and Continuity: The *Ache Lhamo* Tradition Inside and Outside the Tibet Autonomous Region

Daniel Wojahn[1]

(University of Leipzig)

The Tibetan performing art *A lce lha mo* (hereafter *ache lhamo*)—a form of opera accompanied by cymbals and drums—has been subject to continuous contestation since its first development in the fourteenth century CE. The aim of this paper is to show that *ache lhamo* has become the centre of hegemonic interests and cultural policies—a contested site. By looking at the different methods of preservation it becomes evident that thereby new Tibetan identities are constructed. In order to generate authenticity claims of continuity within the *ache lhamo* traditions are (re-)developed and used as an economic tool in terms of tourism and a unifying one in the creation of identities.

1. *Introduction*

In order to understand the various assertions of continuity it is important to first briefly outline the history of *ache lhamo*.

Intended as a creative way to communicate basic Buddhist morality, *ache lhamo* became institutionalized in the seventeenth century by the fifth Dalai Lama. He had new masks and costumes designed in accordance with a dream he had about the future of these performances. Manufactured from silk, precious stones and embroidery these were all paid for by the state bursary. From then on the bursary's officers in charge of the subsidization ordered the various opera troupes to perform for them once a year as a form of tax. At the same time, they could review the quality and content of the plays. When actors could not keep up with the expectations of

[1] I am deeply grateful to Mareike Pampus, Gareth Richards and Prof. Dr. Per Kjeld Sørensen for their invaluable help in the process of writing this paper. I would like to acknowledge the two anonymous reviewers and my editor whose critical comments prompted me to clarify my theoretical arguments.

Daniel Wojahn, "Preservation and Continuity: The Ache Lhamo Tradition Inside and Outside the Tibet Autonomous Region", *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 37, December 2016, pp. 534–550.

their patrons they were replaced. These inspections also led to the advent of an annual event, the *Zhotön festival* (*Zho ston dus chen*),[2] which was held from the eighteenth century CE in the Dalai Lama's summer residence Norbulingka (*Nor bu gling kha*).[3] From all parts of Tibet people undertook pilgrimage to these festivities which also promoted the exchange of goods and information. A central meeting point was thereby established where most of the scattered population of the Tibetan plateau could come together and at which organizers could mediate specific content since they were also managing the performing groups. Dieter Schuh reports that the thirteenth Dalai Lama would consult with the partaking *ache lhamo* troupes and decide on the plays which should be performed.[4]

The troupes were also encouraged to travel to Tibet's more remote areas. Since consistent access to monasteries and a working information system had yet to be firmly established, the *ache lhamo* groups functioned as transmitters of the latest news from Lhasa and served as a medium for moral and spiritual instruction.[5]

For the eighteenth century there is a lack of source material for *ache lhamo*. This could be explained by a shift of focus towards spiritual liberation and away from mind-distracting activities, as Isabelle Henrion-Dourcy has suggested.[6] It is only from the latter half of the nineteenth century onwards that there are detailed documents from the state bursary that describe the systematic levy of taxes on performing arts and its performers.[7] Through the control of almost every aspect of these performances the Tibetan government was explicitly involved in the imparting of Buddhist education to lay people with otherwise limited access to educational institutions.

According to Nicolas Cull "the spread of controversial attitudes is propaganda, the spread of accepted attitudes and skills is education."[8] Although *ache lhamo* was contested in its function as a medium for moral instruction it cannot be seen to have served as a mere propagandistic tool.

---

2 See Snyder 2001 for an account of the legendary circumstances.
3 See Wang 1986: 24; Fromaget 1991: 324; Schuh 2001: 97–101.
4 Schuh 2001: 115.
5 Norbu 1986: 2.
6 Henrion-Dourcy 2005: 198–99.
7 Schuh 2001: 106–08.
8 Cull 2003: 319.

2. Challenging Authenticity and Methods of Preservation

A new level of contestation became apparent in the aftermath of Tibet's forceful integration into the People's Republic of China in 1949. Shortly after the Fourteenth Dalai Lama's flight into Indian exile he established a number of institutions, such as the Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts (hereafter TIPA) and other institutions to safeguard and rebuild Tibetan culture in exile. One of the art directors of TIPA, Jamyang Norbu, describes the first years as follows:

> When I joined, the Society was then only performing propaganda plays, folk dances and so-called 'historical plays' (*rgyal rabs*) which were rather wooden dramatizations of Tibetan history, interspersed with song and dance routines that seemed jointly inspired both by Chinese opera and by the musical routines of Hindi Films.[9]

An essential function of performing arts, as noted by the musicologist Keith Howard, is its supporting role "in our exercises of collective memory and our efforts to retain memory as something alive."[10] This is also acknowledged by Norbu when he describes these early attempts by TIPA as an "effective morale booster to the refugee population" and as "an elementary history lesson on Tibet's glorious imperial past."[11]

Due to the protest of Jamyang Norbu and others these 'historical plays' were soon abandoned and traditional plays[12] found their way back into the repertoire. But this undertaking turned out to be more difficult than expected. Because the actors involved with *ache lhamo* were invariably illiterate they had to memorize the verses and melodies of full operas. Only a handful of manuscripts (*'khrab gzhung*) were ever written down and were kept in the state bursary in Lhasa. Since it was impossible to save them in the commotion of the 1950s the team of TIPA would ask refugees if they would remember certain passages and lines from the operas in order to restore the performances. One of the few actors who succeeded in arriving in India was Norbu Tsering. In 1962 he was appointed new art director of TIPA, a position he once held in the renowned *ache lhamo* troupe Kyormo Lungpa (sKyor mo rlung pa).[13]

---

[9] Norbu 2001: 143. The predecessor of TIPA was then called the Drama and Dance Society.
[10] Howard 2012: 3.
[11] Norbu 2001: 143.
[12] This means the traditional way of singing, dancing and costume-making.
[13] See Norbu 2001; Schuh 2001; Ama Tsering 2009.

In the years that followed TIPA's agenda was to preserve and recreate the operas as "traditional" and "authentic" thus inventing a unified tradition of *ache lhamo* which became homogenized and canonized although actually compiled from different traditions. The preservation of a uniform lineage is rather a folkloristic concept which was fabricated by the government-in-exile and its cultural politics to serve the present.[14]

Let us now look briefly at the situation under which *ache lhamo* is approached by the Central Tibetan Administration (hereafter CTA) nowadays, and at two aspects that characterize the political activities of the government-in-exile in general as theorized by Yossi Shain. On the one hand, the CTA presents itself as a lawfully elected organization that enjoys a legitimate status to rule a nation–its people and territory. On the other hand, it claims a "traditional representation," an argument that emphasizes the legitimacy of its political aims.[15] In this context, the CTA is in a weak position as it lacks effective power over its claimed territory and people. Effectively, the CTA only has an unenforceable claim over what is "traditional and authentic" in Tibetan tradition.

But a performance is seen by Richard Handler and William Saxton as experiential authenticity that focuses upon a replication of a past and a structural form "between a living history activity or event, and that piece of the past it is meant to re-create."[16]

It is the TIPA's approach not only to preserve the performing arts for future generations but also to authenticate what constitutes "Tibetan" and what does not. From my own field visits[17] and the results of other field research by Divya Chandramouli,[18] it is apparent that there is a popular understanding that the transformation of Tibetan art forms in occupied Tibet is altering the very Tibetan-ness of these art forms. The one thing that can counteract this transformation is, according to TIPA and its members, a dedicated

---

14 Ahmed 2006: 168–71; Morcom 2011: 413.

15 Shain 1989: 27–28; see also Römer 2008.

16 Handler and Saxton 1988: 242.

17 The author conducted these interviews in English in March 2012 at TIPA with various staff members and two actors by the age of 22–51 and in March–April 2016 at Esukhia Institute in Tibetan. The first set of interviews at TIPA dealt with the history of the Performing Arts Institute, its organization and daily routine in terms of rehearsals, costume-making and stage design. The second set of interviews which were carried out at Esukhia, were conducted with two former actors of TIPA aged 27 and 28. The two informants talked about their personal opinion towards the *ache lhamo* tradition in India and the transforming music culture in Tibet and in exile.

18 Divya Chandramouli carried out her interviews in March 2013 in English at TIPA. This was an independent study project for SIT Study Abroad/ Graduate Institute. See Chandramouli 2013.

reassertion of cultural preservation. As a former student at TIPA states:

> Performing [*ache*] *lhamo* is my small service to the Tibetan community and to Buddhism. It is also about preserving my culture. These days, everyone is on their mobile phones getting the latest songs from Tibet and China. Nobody seem to care about what's right in front of you. Because of that we are in danger of extinction.[19]

It is because of this new responsibility affixed to the art form that the artists at TIPA have determined to professionalize their performances. A senior opera instructor says:

> In older times, when we performed Tibetan opera, or circular dance, people had their own freedom. If you want to sing, you can sing, if you don't want to sing, you don't. But nowadays, we have to put it in regulation, since people are watching you. You are entertaining these people […] so one cannot stare with mouth like this, like that.[20]

These adjustments to *ache lhamo* should not be seen as unfavourable alterations to a tradition since "the nature of tradition is not to preserve intact a heritage from the past, but to enrich it according to present circumstances and transmit the result to future generations."[21]

This has also been attested by another opera instructor of TIPA who mentioned *ache lhamo's* improvisational character and its constant reflection on and relation to the current period:

> It has [a] lot of improvisation which is not related to the story. […] You're telling a story of twentieth century, and in the improvisation you'll find these days what's happening—sometimes they'll talk about politicians, sometimes they'll talk about health issues, sometimes about human rights. It might not be related with the story. Like this, a lot of things are involved in Tibetan opera.[22]

Despite this stated openness to new developments in *ache lhamo* a new opera by Jamyang Norbu, outside of the 'traditional eight',[23] faced harsh criticism and made the invention of new plays virtually impossible. Norbu sees the problem also in the appointment of TIPA directors, after his departure in 1985, solely from within the ranks of

---

19 Ngawang Choeden at Esukhia Institute Dharamsala 04/05/16.
20 Sonam Phuntsok 4/22/13 at TIPA in Chandramouli 2013: 17.
21 Aubert 2007: 10.
22 Samten Dhondup 4/16/13 at TIPA in Chandramouli 2013: 8.
23 Originally there are eight different stories that were adapted into *ache lhamo* performances. See TIPA 2015; Snyder 2001; Schuh 2001.

the bureaucracy, with no background in the performing arts required. Furthermore, TIPA's autonomous status was revoked and the Institute was put under the Council for Religious and Cultural Affairs.[24]

The scholar of theatre Antonio Attisani remarks that "lhamo risks becoming obsolete if it is considered by the exiled government as something to be 'conserved,' a mere aspect of cultural identity and loyalty to tradition."[25] Although four new operas were adapted into TIPA's repertoire *ache lhamo* is still the focus of bureaucratic control. Therefore, its status as state property also implies its application defined and directed by law.

3. Unity Through Continuity of ache lhamo *in China*

A similar trend towards standardisation can be seen in the People's Republic of China (hereafter PRC). After the successful annexation of Tibet *ache lhamo* became a decisive tool in re-educating the Tibetan people from 1954 onwards.

Although the Chinese party convention in 1949 stated that "all minorities shall have the freedom […] to preserve or reform their traditions, customs and religious beliefs,"[26] attitudes became more restrictive in the years that followed. A complete assimilation of all minorities within the PRC could only be brought about through education and propaganda. In face of the vast variety of languages, religions and customs the PRC leaders required pliable and comprehensible means to communicate their political objectives: the unity of all minorities within China. Henrion-Dourcy résumés:

> […] lhamo has been seen in a favourable light by the government. In its mind-boggling search for entirely secular elements within Tibetan Culture, it saw in Tibetan Opera the instrumental token it was looking for, probably because it appeared as the most established 'lay' performing tradition, with […] the largest scope of popularity in Central Tibet.[27]

The Communist Party of China began to systematically organizing art, literature and theatre. Out of eight traditional *ache lhamo* plays, it was the text *Gyasa Belsa Namthar* (*rGya bza' bal bza' rnam thar)* that was preferred as the basis for the rewriting of scripts in order to serve the

---

[24] See Norbu 2001.
[25] Attisani 1999: 3.
[26] Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, September 1949; cited in Meserve and Meserve 1979: 104.
[27] Henrion-Dourcy 2001: 4.

new communist ideology. Originally composed as a clever role-play between a crafty Tibetan minister and his Asian counterparts in soliciting Chinese and Nepalese princesses for his king, the revised text became a symbol of the long friendship between China and Tibet. Now simply called *Princess Wencheng*, and excluding the kingdom of Nepal, it emphasized the Tibetan dependency on China for economic and technological development. As Byung-Ho Lee argues, this demonstrates China's approach to assimilating *ache lhamo* in order to create a Chinese identity:

> China has a long history of imagining primordial kinship ties modelled on the myth of common descent. The Chinese have constructed a sense of "imagined commonalities" with non-Chinese, […] The *mentalité* of conceiving commonalities through fictive kinship ties, which endures into the present, is a mainstay of modern Chinese nationalism.[28]

In other words, the past no longer serves a revolutionary purpose but a nationalistic one.

Soon after the death of Chairman Mao and the end of what Trevor Sofield and Fung Li call "cultural vandalism", Deng Xiaoping started his new "open-door" policy in 1978. This not only allowed tourism to flourish but also enabled the rehabilitation of China's heritage as an economic resource. Although in 1949 the PRC disapproved of tourism as an appropriate form of economy, tourism became a revitalizing factor and an acceptable form of development. This led to the Heritage Conservation Act in 1982. The introducing paragraph states that the Act is designed "to strengthen the conservation of China's heritage" and "to carry out nationalism, to promote revolutionary traditions, and to build up socialism and modernization".[29]

This shift in China's attitude continued with the ratification of the World Heritage Convention of the UNESCO in 1985. Further to the Chinese state's first National Cultural Heritage Survey and Registration in the 1950s, a second one was conducted in the 1980s and a third was recently completed in 2011.[30]

In 2004, *ache lhamo* became part of the Preservation Programme of the National and Folk Culture of China, alongside all performing arts under which *ache lhamo* is generally subsumed.[31] This was based on a UNESCO provision, the Convention for the Safeguarding of the

---

[28] Lee 2013: 74–75.
[29] Sofield and Li 1998: 368–70.
[30] Silverman and Blumfield 2013: 6.
[31] China Heritage Project 2006.

Intangible Cultural Heritage (hereafter ICH), issued the previous year.

In 2005 the Tibetan Autonomous Region's Intangible Cultural Heritage Protection Centre was established which employs twelve 'survey teams' and according to vice director Ngawang Tenzin "published a lot of books, audios and videos dealing with the protection on intangible cultural heritage such as 'the History of China Tibetan Opera'."[32] Then, in 2006, *ache lhamo* was listed as "intangible cultural heritage property no. 224" by the Chinese state administration.

In the following year the Ministry of Culture of China held an exhibition with the title 'Festival of China's Intangible Cultural Heritage' at UNESCO Headquarters in April 2007. The accompanying catalogue explains the main goals of China's cultural heritage politics:

> [It] is the symbol of the Chinese nation, the precious source for fostering the self identity of the Chinese nation, the solid basis for promoting unity of nationalities and safeguarding the unification of the country as well as the important force of unifying all peoples.[33]

A closer look at Chinese opera—'a synthesis of literature, music, dance, acrobatics and fine arts'—reveals how this unification can be achieved. Although all the components give it a Chinese identity it is composed of a variety of 'ethnic operas', including *ache lhamo*.[34] Dawson Munjeri, a member of UNESCO and the Experts Draft Group of the ICH Convention states that "the linkage between the local, provincial and the national ensures consistency and unity of the country's cultural expressions."[35] This implies that safeguarding intangible cultural heritage is synonymous with safeguarding the unity of the People's Republic of China.

Former Minister of Culture Sun Jianzheng expounded that the protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage should be undertaken "in good faith instead of with the sole goal of fueling [*sic*] local tourism or enhancing publicity."[36]

As part of tourism on the Tibetan high plateau, *ache lhamo* has become a valuable economic resource and an attractive element of the "traditional Tibetan performing arts experience," as documented by Ellen Bangsbo.[37] The show *O²—Himalaya* in Lhasa combines *ache*

---

[32] China Tibet News 2015.

[33] Ministry of Culture, PRC 2007: 30; cited in Munjeri 2009: 145.

[34] Ministry of Culture, PRC 2007: 28; cited in *ibid*.

[35] *Ibid*.

[36] China Daily 2005.

[37] Bangsbo 2013: 9–26.

lhamo and other Chinese elements into a two-hour long performance that showcases the long history of unity between Tibet and China. Another recent example is the grandiose staging of *Princess Wencheng* in Lhasa since April 2013, in a version which is demanding on requisites and actors. With an average entrance fee of RMB300 this is more suitable for rich tourists than for the average local population. The newly built stage, which cost RMB750 million and holds up to 500 actors per performance, is part of the new wave of tourist attractions in Tibet proper.[38] With a total revenue of USD4.3 billion and roughly 20 million tourists in 2015 in Lhasa alone, Tibet has become a new market in the Sino-Tibetan enterprise.[39] But this consumption also generates a range of contradictions, such as the praise for the Tibetan civilization but not for the Tibetan society. This becomes even more apparent from the Tourism Law of the People's Republic of China from 2013. The first article deals with the protection and rational usage of tourism resources and the promotion of a "sustainable and sound development of the tourist industry." It is further explained in the eighth article that the organizations responsible are subject to self-regulation. No mention is made of the local inhabitants who are subject to tourism as well. Article ten affirms the respect towards the "tourists' human dignity, ethnic customs and religious beliefs" but does not include the local's protection thereof.[40]

Fundamental issues attend to the management of this form of tourism. While the Chinese state authorities define tourism in Tibet as a tool of economic development, outside critics condemn it as an assimilation policy designed to erase Tibetan cultural identity. In the critics' view, state-directed tourism aims to transform "Tibet" as a semiotic image into a depoliticized space of "culture" and "tradition" securely embedded within the People's Republic of China.[41]

The cultural anthropologist Robert Shepherd questions the assumption that mass tourism in Tibetan cultural areas promotes the disappearance or dilution of Tibetan culture. But he too sees it as part of "a state strategy aimed at the pacification of Tibet through the simultaneous aesthetisation [*sic*] of Tibetan culture."[42]

The anthropologist Pál Nyíri employs more critical tones and calls Chinese tourism 'indoctritainment'.[43] When asked about the *Princess Wencheng* performance in Lhasa a former dance instructor who was

---

[38] Woeser 2013.
[39] CNC News 2016.
[40] Standing Committee of the National People's Congress 2013.
[41] Buffetrille and Blondeau 2008: 280–83.
[42] Shepherd 2006: 246.
[43] Nyíri 2009: 159.

invited to the show and is the mother of a partaking Tibetan actress is cited by the newspaper China Daily:

> Through this performance, I was transported back to the Tang Dynasty, and able to experience the cultural communication between Tang Dynasty and Tubo Kingdom with my own eyes. It was quite thrilling![44]

Many performing arts today are seen by social scientists as cultural endorsement and as attractions for tourists. Although this may bring tourist revenues to a country or community and offer a glimpse onto its culture, it creates new forms of presenting the performing arts in the process and transforms certain elements important to the tradition. Performances recorded by twentieth century travellers in Tibet are described as being held under a tent to guard the actors and audience from the sun since it is an all-day event, and being staged with minimal stage design which was limited to masks, costumes and a handful of additional papier-mâché stage props as the imagination of the audience was crucial to the performance.[45] This stands in stark juxtaposition to the grand staging of Princess Wencheng in Lhasa with its 500 actors, the use of 70 cows and 30 horses as stage props and its playtime of simply 90 minutes.[46]

4. UNESCO and the Application of Heritage

The aforementioned presentation of *Princess Wencheng*, labelled as *ache lhamo,* employs the notion of heritage. Heritage is an interpretative process that often tries to portray a desired past and is aimed at a specific audience. In the postmodern approach to heritage, the concept of objectivity is challenged. Representing this position, David Lowenthal states:

> [H]eritage clarifies pasts so as to infuse them with present purposes. But heritage, no less than history, is essential to knowing and acting. Its many faults are inseparable from heritage's essential role in husbanding community, identity, continuity, indeed history itself.[47]

In the context of what Robert Perks and Alistair Thompson call the assumption that "in totalitarian regimes power is maintained in part

---

[44] China Daily 2015.
[45] See Maraini 1952.
[46] TripAdvisor 2015.
[47] Lowenthal 1998: xv.

through the control of memory,"[48] it seems striking that the Communist Party of China (CPC) embraced UNESCO's proposal of adding intangible heritage to its roster of responsibilities. The Convention defines intangible cultural heritage as

> the practices and representations […] that communities […] recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups […] and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity. […] For the purposes of this Convention, consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements […] of sustainable development.[49]

The purpose of the Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention is to a) safeguard, b) ensure respect, c) raise awareness, and d) provide for international cooperation and assistance.[50] By designating *ache lhamo* as intangible cultural heritage, according to Shepherd, UNESCO is internationally affirming China's control of Tibet. He argues that "UNESCO plays into the ongoing Chinese state project of creating an 'imagined community' across space and through time."[51] In addition, since UNESCO defines intangible cultural heritage as having "the requirements of sustainable development," the political questions of what precisely is "sustainable development" and, more importantly, who has a right to take part in this discussion are ignored.

Moreover, China's heritage trend reveals aspects of its cultural policy. On the one hand China has been employing a national strategy of cultural soft power on the global stage. By setting up a mechanism that brings 'properties' of 'Outstanding Universal Value' (UNESCO's terminology) "into the national cultural treasury through a comprehensive national system of heritage administration and then by placement in the international repository of wonders."[52] UNESCO's system facilitates China's strategy, for it is states (states parties) that nominate sites to the Intangible Cultural Heritage list.

Thereby UNESCO reaffirms that China has the absolute and exclusive rights over Tibet's creative works and therefore partially over its history. But then again, any effort to reduce it to solely a form of commodity would be merely exclusionary, estranging it from anyone who might enjoy it, enrich it, inhabit it.[53]

---

48 Perks and Thompson 1998: 185.
49 UNESCO 2003: Paragraph 1, Article 2.
50 *Ibid*.: Article 1.
51 Shepherd 2009: 64.
52 Silverman and Blumfield 2013: 6.
53 See Comaroff and Comaroff 2009: 30–31.

5. Conclusion

The fact that there are flourishing traditions both inside Tibet's borders and in exile creates many dichotomies. The entire project of preserving a culture and civilization is theoretically problematic since it posits culture as something that can be identified, mapped, practiced, and preserved.[54]

The aim of this article has been to show that *ache lhamo* has become the centre of hegemonic interests and cultural policies—a contested site. In cultural policy debate, the Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts asserts a Tibetan identity through the preservation of "how-it-once-was" prior to 1949 by constructing a unified Tibetan *ache lhamo* tradition in exile. But preservation itself can be seen to be a means of stifling its further development through the constant employment in official and public rhetoric of notions of cultural continuity and 'authentic' heritage, and may render it less attractive to future generations.[55]

The Communist Party of China is subsuming the different ethnic minorities under the patronage of China and is thus trying to create a unified Chinese identity within its multi-ethnic nation-state. This is approached in part through developing the performing arts, such as *ache lhamo* which not only serves as an economic tool in terms of tourism but also fits the dominant narrative of Chinese civilization.

As for UNESCO, the state support of heritage preservation is taken as a good, in and of itself, thus ignoring the political question of why certain state authorities seek world heritage status for particular item(s). As Wade Davis wrote in his novel *Light at the Edge of the World*:

> Cultural survival is not about preservation. Change itself does not destroy a culture, since all societies are constantly evolving. Indeed, a culture survives […] when it has enough confidence in its past and enough say in its future to maintain its spirit and essence through all the changes it will inevitably undergo.[56]

The different means of preservation and continuity face a variety of threats. On the one hand from things that are artificially recreated for fear of becoming extinct, and on the other hand of being endorsed as a mere attraction for tourists.

---

[54] See Ahmed 2006; Fitzgerald 2014.
[55] Pyburn 2007: 172.
[56] Davis 2007: 127.

Bibliography

Ahmed, Syed Jamil. 2006. "Tibetan Folk Opera: Lhamo in Contemporary Cultural Politics." *Asian Theatre Journal* 23(1), 149–78.

Ama Tsering. 2009. "Bod kyi lha mo dang skyor mo lung lha mo tshogs pa'i skor." In *Bod kyi lo rgyus rig gnas dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha bdams bsgrigs*, Volume 2, 507–19. Khreng tu'u: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Attisani, Antonio. 1999. "Tibetan Secular Theatre: The Sacred and the Profane." *PAJ: A Journal of Performance and Art* 21(3), 1–12.

Aubert, Laurent. 2007. *The Music of the Other: New Challenges for Ethnomusicology in a Global Age*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Bangsbo, Ellen. 2013. "Contemporary Performing Arts on the Tibetan Plateau and amongst Tibetans: Reflections on Transformation, Authenticity and Value." *Himalayan Discoveries* 1(1), 9–26.

Buffetrille, Katia, and Anne-Marie Blondeau. 2008. *Authenticating Tibet: Answers to China's 100 Questions*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Chandramouli, Divya. 2013. "Evolving Stages: Duty and Fate in the Construction of Tibetan Tradition." *Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection*, Paper 1568.

China Daily. 2005. "Future Brightens for Cultural Heritage." China Daily, June 13. Accessed March 21, 2016. http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/english/doc/2005-06/13/content_450823.htm.

———. 2015. "Tibetan Mother and Daughter: Ethnic Exchanges Through Drama." China Daily, August 6. Accessed March 21, 2016. http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/tibet50years/2015-08/06/content_21517815.htm.

CNC News. 2016. "Outdoor Opera 'Princess Wencheng:' New Cultural Attraction in Tibet." CNC News, April 26. Accessed April 26, 2016. http://en.cncnews.cn/news/v_show/56192_Outdoor_opera__Princess_Wencheng_:_new_cultural_attraction_in_Tibet.shtml.

China Heritage Project. 2006. "Editorial and Feature." *China Heritage Quarterly*, 7.

China Tibet News. 2015, "Tibet: Four-level Intangible Cultural Heritage System." China Tibet News, September 17. Accessed March 21, 2016. http://english.chinatibetnews.com/wh/whtp/201509/t20150917_816753.html.

Comaroff, John and Jean Comaroff. 2009. *Ethnicity, Inc.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cull, Nicholas J., David H. Culbert, and David Welch. 2003. *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion: A Historical Encyclopedia, 1500 to the Present.* Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.

Davis, Wade. 2007. *Light at the Edge of the World: A Journey through the Realm of Vanishing Cultures.* Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre.

Fitzgerald, Kati. 2014. "Tibetan Opera In and Outside the Tibet Autonomous Region." *Asian Theatre Journal* 31(1), 270–78.

Fromaget, Alain. 1991. "Lhamo." In *Chos dbyangs. The Voice of Tibetan Religion and Culture*, edited by Pedron Yeshi and Jeremy Russell, 319–35. Dharamsala: Council for Religious and Cultural Affairs of H.H. the Dalai Lama.

Handler, Richard and Saxton, William. 1988. "Dissimulation: Reflexivity, Narration, and the Quest for Authenticity in Living History." *Cultural Anthropology* 3(3), 242–60.

Henrion-Dourcy, Isabelle. 2001. "Introduction." *Lungta* 15, 3–7.

———. 2005. "Women in the Performing Arts: Portraits of Six Contemporary Singers." In *Women in Tibet*, edited by Janet Gyatso and Hanna Havnevik, 195–258. New York: Columbia University Press.

Howard, Keith. 2012. "Introduction: East Asian Music as Intangible Cultural Heritage." In *Music as Intangible cultural Heritage: Policy, Ideology, and Practice in the Preservation of East Asian Traditions,* edited by Keith Howard, 1–22. Farnham: Ashgate.

Lee Byung-Ho. 2013. "Imagined Commonalities: Making Sense of China's Genealogical Nationalism." *Journal of Northeast Asian History*, 10(2), 71–104.

Lowenthal, David. 1998. *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Maraini, Fosco. 1952. *Secret Tibet.* New York: Viking Press.

Meserve, Walter, and Ruth Meserve. 1979. *Theatre for Assimilation: China's National Minorities.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Morcom, Anna. 2011. "History, Traditions, Identities and Nationalism: Drawing and Redrawing the Musical Cultural Map of Tibet." In *Tibetan Studies: An Anthology*, edited by Saadet Arslan and Peter Schwieger, 385–417. PIATS 2006: Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Eleventh Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Königswinter.

Mountcastle, Amy. 2010. "Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Inevitability of Loss: A Tibetan Example." *Studia Ethnologica Croatica* 22, 339–59.

Munjeri, Dawson. 2009. "Following the Length and Breadth of the Roots: Some Dimensions of Intangible Heritage." In *Intangible Heritage. Key Issues in Cultural Heritage*, edited by Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, 131–50. New York: Routledge.

Nyíri, Pál. 2009. "Between Encouragement and Control. Tourism, Modernity and Discipline in China." In *Asia on Tour*, edited by Tim Winter, Peggy Teo and T.C. Chang, 153–169. Milton Park: Routledge.

Norbu, Jamyang. 1986. *Zlos Gar. Performing Traditions of Tibet.* Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works & Archives.

———. 2001. "The Wandering Goddess: Sustaining the Spirit of Ache Lhamo in the Exile Tibetan capital," *Lungta* 15: 142–58.

Perks, Robert, and Alistair Thomson. 1998. "Advocacy and Empowerment: An Introduction." In *The Oral History Reader*, edited by Robert Perks, and Alistair Thomson, 183–88. London: Routledge.

Pyburn, Anne. 2007. "Archaeology as Activism." In *Cultural Heritage and Human Rights*, edited by Helaine Silverman and Fairchild Ruggles, 172–83. New York: Springer.

Römer, Stephanie. 2008. *The Tibetan Government-in-Exile: Politics at Large.* London: Routledge.

Schuh, Dieter. 2001. "The Actor in the Tibetan Lha-mo Theatre." *Lungta* 15, 97–118.

Shain, Yossi. 1989. *The Frontier of Loyalty: Political Exiles in the Age of the Nation-State*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press.

Shepherd, Robert. 2006. "UNESCO and the Politics of Cultural Heritage in Tibet." *Journal of contemporary Asia* 36(2), 243–57.

———. 2009. "Cultural Heritage, UNESCO, and the Chinese State: Whose Heritage and for Whom?" *Heritage Management* 2(1), 55–79.

Silverman, Helaine. 2011. *Contested Cultural Heritage: Religion, Nationalism, Erasure, and Exclusion in a Global World*. New York, London: Springer.

Silverman, Helaine and Tami Blumenfield. 2013. "Cultural Heritage Politics in China: An Introduction." In *Cultural Heritage Politics in China*, edited by Tami Blumenfield, and Helaine Silverman, 3–22. New York: Springer.

Snyder, Jeanette. 2001. "Preliminary study of the lhamo." *Lungta* 15, 8–35.

Sofield, Trevor H., and Fung Mei Sarah Li. 1998. "Tourism Development and Cultural Policies in China." *Annals of Tourism Research* 25(2), 362–92.

Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. 2013. "Tourism Law of the People's Republic of China." Accessed July 2, 2016. http://english.xzxw.com/zt/Expo/ich/201509/t20150924_831627.html.

Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts (TIPA). 2015. "Ache Lhamo (Tibetan Opera)." Accessed on October 12, 2015. http://tipa.asia/opera-ache-lhamo/.

TripAdvisor, 2015. "Information about Seeing the Show: Princess Wencheng", TripAdvisor, August 28, 2015. Accessed March 21, 2016. https://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowTopic-g294223-i8162-k8814655-Information_About_Seeing_the_Show_Princess_Wencheng-Lhasa_Tibet.html.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO]. 2003. *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, 17 October 2003,* MISC/2003/CLT/CH/14, Accessed April 28, 2016. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001325/132540e.pdf.

Woeser. 2013. "The Potala Palace and Princess Wencheng Myth (with English translation)." *Woeser's Blog*, July 20. Accessed July 15, 2015. http://woeser.middle-way.net/2013/07/blog-post_9773.html.

Xinhua News Agency, 2006. "Senior Official Calls for Protecting Intangible Cultural Heritage." Xinhua News Agency, February 14.
Accessed July 15, 2015. http://www.china.org.cn/english/culture/157882.htm.

Tracing the *Chol kha gsum*: Reexamining a Sa skya-Yuan Period Administrative Geography

Eveline Yang

(Indiana University)[1]

A common understanding of the geo-political divisions of the *chol kha gsum* (i.e. dBus gtsang, mDo stod, and mDo smad) is that they were geo-administrative units introduced during the Sa skya-Yuan administration of Tibetan areas. The concept of dBus gtsang, mDo stod, and mDo smad as geographic (but not administrative) regions can be found in Tibetan literature prior to the incorporation of those areas into the Mongol Yuan military-administrative system. The geo-administrative term, *chol kha,* on the other hand, was introduced during the Sa skya-Yuan period. However, its precise meaning in the Tibetan context of this period remains unclear: How did it fit into the broader Mongol Yuan administrative system? What other uses and meanings may have developed from it specific to the Tibetan context? By tracing the etymology of this geo-administrative term through a study of Tibetan, Chinese, and Mongol sources from the Yuan and Ming periods, this paper will pose the possibility that the *chol kha gsum* and its donation to 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan was a later creation that can be better understood as part of an aggrandized remembering of Sa skya history rather than a geo-administrative term with concrete administrative applications during its time.

1. Sources and Time Frame of Study

This paper focuses on the meaning of the term *chol kha* in the context of the Sa skya-Yuan administration of Tibet. Mongol contacts with Tibetans, particularly in eastern Tibet, date to the time of Chinggis Qaan (1162?–1227),[2] and actual administration of Tibetan areas can be

1 I would like to thank Elliot Sperling, dGe 'dun rab gsal, Tshangs dbang dGe 'dun bstan pa, and Karma bde legs for the generosity they have shown in sharing texts and spending time to help me think through the many questions raised by them.

2 Atwood 2014, Haw 2014.

Eveline Yang, "Tracing the *Chol kha gsum*: Reexamining a Sa skya-Yuan Period Administrative Geography," *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 37, December 2016, pp. 551–568.

seen to begin with the distribution of princely appanages by Mongke Qan (1209–59) in 1251. However, the beginning of Sa skya authority on behalf of the Mongol Yuan can be dated to Qubilai's (1215–94) rise to power and his consolidation of control over Tibetan areas, i.e. the installation of 'Phags pa as National Preceptor (Chi. *guo shi*) in 1260, 'Phags pa's return to Sa skya in 1265, and the first Mongol census of Tibet in 1268/69.[3] The end of Sa skya control of Tibetan areas on behalf of the Yuan court can be dated to 1354, when Ta'i si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan (1302–73) conquered Sa skya.[4] However, Mongol Yuan control of eastern Tibetan regions may have remained in varying degrees in different areas up to and perhaps even beyond the fall of the Yuan Dynasty in 1368.[5] Thus, for the purpose of analysis, this study will take the period of the 1260s to the mid-14th century as a rough time frame of the Sa skya-Yuan rule in Tibet.

Sources used for this study include Tibetan works that were written in the period just prior to and during the early Sa skya-Yuan administration of Tibet. These include religious histories and royal genealogies such as Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer's *Chos 'byung me snying* (late 1100s), Grags pa rgyal mtshan's *Bod gyi rgyal rabs* (late 1100s/early 1200s), lDe'u Jo sras' *Chos 'byung chen mo* (mid-13th century), mKhas pa lDe'u's *rGya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa* (later than 1261), and Ne'u Paṇḍi ta's *sNgon gyi gtam me tog phreng ba* (1283). Other Tibetan sources studied include the collected works of Sa skya Paṇḍita (1182–1251) and 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235–80) and the Zha lu documents dating from the late 1200s to the first quarter of the 1300s.[6] Works dating to the late Sa skya-Yuan period include the *Tā si tu byang chub rgyal mtshan gyi bka' chems mthong ba don ldan*, authored by Byang chub rgyal mtshan sometime in the mid-1300s, and 'Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje's (1309–64) *Deb ther dmar po*, written sometime between 1346–63. Other sources examined from the Sa skya-Yuan period were the Sino-Mongolian stone inscriptions from the first half of the 14th century.[7]

Sources dating to just after the Sa skya-Yuan period include Tibetan works such as Yar lung jo bo Śākya rin chen sde's *Yar lung jo*

---

[3] Petech 1990a: 16–18, 46–48.

[4] For a detailed study of the Rlang clan, including the rise and fall of the Phag mo gru pa, see Czaja 2013.

[5] Petech 1988.

[6] Published in Tucci 1980: 747–55. The Zha lu documents are a set of imperial edicts issued to the Zha lu myriarchy in Central Tibet (dBus gtsang).

[7] Published in Cleaves 1952. These include fragments of a stele erected at the order of Emperor Toɣon Temür to commemorate the refounding and renaming of the Buddhist temple of Xing Yüan Ge at Qara Qorum. It is one of half a dozen of Sino-Mongolian bilingual monuments documenting written Mongolian of the first half of the 14th century.

bo chos 'byung (1376), and dPal 'byor bzang po's *rGya bod yig tshang chen mo* (1434). For Chinese language sources, the *Yuan shi* (1369–70) was examined.

2. Overview of Yuan Period Administrative Structures in Tibet and Chol kha *as a Geo-Administrative Unit*

Contemporary Tibetan communities and scholars of Tibet alike often refer to the cultural, linguistic, and geographical regions of Tibet by means of the three *chol kha,* which are commonly understood as dBus gtsang, Khams, and A mdo.[8] The term *chol kha* itself is often attributed to the Mongol period in Tibet. In the collected works of sGo mang mkhan zur Ngag dbang nyi ma, a 20th-century author, we find references to Tibetan sources that identify the term *chol kha* as being a Mongol word brought into the Tibetan lexicon during the time of Qubilai and 'Phags pa. He lists his sources as Dharmabhadra, a 19th-century author, and the *Hor chos 'byung,* written by Tshe 'phel, an 18th-century Mongolian scholar.[9]

Indeed, following the study of Paul Pelliot, the Tibetan word *chol kha* is a transcription of an originally Mongol word *čölgä,* meaning "district."[10] Its correspondence to the Chinese administrative unit *lu* (Ch. 路), often rendered in English as "route,"[11] was first attested only by its transcription in 'Phags pa script in monuments such as the edict of Dharmapala's widow (1309/1321/1333) and a 'Phags pa-Chinese bilingual inscription of 1314.[12] *Čölgä* as an equivalent of *lu* was later also attested in Uighur-Mongolian script in monuments such as the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1346.[13] Interestingly, in this inscription from the reign of the last emperor of the Yuan Dynasty, To on Temür (r. 1333–70), both the word *čölgä* and a transcription of its Chinese equivalent, *lu,* appear together: *urida ön čang łu neretü čölge bölege,* which Cleaves translates as "Formerly was the district called Ön-čan-lu, i.e. Yuan-čan-lu." In this way, the Mongol term *čölgä* is used as a general noun while the Chinese term *lu* is a specific noun to which a place name is attached. This is perhaps similar to saying: "There is a mountain called Mount Everest." If so, could this

8 Khams and A mdo are often assumed to be equivalent to mDo stod and mDo smad, respectively. However, this is an assumption that requires further study.

9 sGo mang mkhan zur Ngag dbang nyi ma 1982: 106–107. Thanks to Tshangs dbang dGe 'dun bstan pa and dGe 'dun rab gsal for pointing me to this source.

10 Pelliot 1930: 21.

11 Hucker 1985: 322.

12 Pelliot 1930: 21.

13 Cleaves 1952: 155, n. 237.

then indicate that *čölgä* conveyed a more abstract sense of place? What did *čölgä* mean in the context of the Mongol Yuan empire?

The *čölgä* or *lu* was a geo-administrative unit based on the Mongol military decimal structure that was in turn determined by population units counted by the Mongol census. The decimal structure, whereby households were grouped by 10s, 100s, 1000s, etc., was a method of administrative and military organization common in Inner Asia.[14] The decimal structure was also used in Tibet from as early as the imperial period, as evidenced by units such as the divisions of a thousand (Tib. *stong sde*) found in Tibetan documents from Dunhuang and other texts attributed to the Tibetan Empire.[15] The early Mongols, possibly influenced by the Jin Dynasty (1115–1234), whose founders were the Jurchens from Manchuria, also adopted a decimal structure.[16]

Later, under Qubilai, the Yuan borrowed its formal administrative structure from the Jin, namely a Central Secretariat (Ch. *zhong shu sheng*, 中书省) and branch secretariats (Ch. *xing zhong shu sheng*, 行中书省) whose jurisdictions were based on the above military-administrative units.[17] Thus the influence of Inner Asian decimal organization on the Chinese provincial structure can be seen to originate with the Jin and develop further during the Yuan.

However, Tibet remained outside of this secretariat system until 1312.[18] Instead, it was ruled as a frontier territory, with military-administrative units that, at least in the case of dBus gtsang and mNga' ris, reported not to the Central Secretariat or branch secretariats, but directly to the Department for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs (Ch. *xuan zheng yuan*, 宣政院) or its predecessor, the Department of General Regulation (Ch. *zongzhi yuan*, 总制院).[19] The largest of these military-administrative units were the pacification commissions (Ch. *xuanweisi duyuanshuaifu*, 宣慰司都元帥府), whose jurisdictions at least in China proper were over a *dao* (Ch. 道), often rendered in English as "circuit." Each "circuit" was comprised of two or more "routes" (Ch. *lu*).

In the *Yuan shi,* we indeed find three different pacification commissions for Tibetan areas named: Tufan Regions Pacification

---

14 See the entry for "Decimal organization" in Atwood 2004: 139.

15 For example, in dBang rgyal 1980: 36.97. See also the laws attributed to Srong btsan sgam po, "Chos rgyal srong btsan sgam pos gtan la phab pa'i khrims srol tshangs pa'i thig shing," in Tshe ring bde skyid 1987: 1–12.

16 Atwood 2004: 139.

17 *Ibid*.: 606.

18 *Ibid*.: 606.

19 Petech 1990a: 33–35. For another discussion of the history of these departments, see Franke 1981: 311–12.

Commission (Ch. *tufan deng chu xuanweisi duyuanshuaifu*, 吐蕃等處宣慰司都元帥府), Tufan Routes Pacification Commission (Ch. *tufan deng lu xuanweisi duyuanshuaifu*, 土蕃等路宣慰司都元帥府), and the Three Routes of Wusizang Nalisu Gulusun Pacification Commission (Ch. *wu si zang na li su gu sun deng san lu xuanweisi duyuanshuaifu*, 烏思藏納里速古魯孫等三路宣慰司都元帥府).

According to Chen Qingying, the earliest pacification commission established in Tibetan areas was the Tufan Pacification Commission (Ch. *tufan xuanweisi*, 土蕃宣慰司). He thinks it was created prior to 1269 and that its name was later changed to Tufan Regions Pacification Commission (Ch. *tufan deng chu xuanweisi duyuanshuaifu*) after the other two *xuanweisi* were set up.[20] Petech gives the years 1268/69 for its founding, and thinks it was headquartered at Hezhou (i.e. present-day Linxia, Tib. Ka chu).[21] In the *Yuan Shi*, it seems to have also been called the Duosima Pacification Commission (Ch. *duo si ma xuanweisi*).

Petech and Chen disagree on the year that the Wusizang Pacification Commission (Ch. *wu si zang xuanweisi*) was established. Petech admits the sources are unclear, but suggests that it was likely established in 1268 in connection with the first Mongol census of Central and Western Tibet.[22] Chen Qingying proposes that a pacification commission may have been set up in mNga' ris from earlier campaigns, but that the Wusizang Pacification Commission was not established until 1280. He also puts forth the possibility that it was headquartered in 'Dam gzhung.[23]

The Tufan Routes Pacification Commission (Ch. *tufan deng lu xuanweisi duyuanshuaifu)* was possibly created in 1288, according to Petech.[24] Chen Qingying considers that it may have been headquartered in Yul shul or northern dKar mdzes.[25] In Tibetan and Chinese sources, it is also called the Duogansi xuanweisi (Ch. *duo gan si xuanweisi;* Tib. *mdo khams swon wi si*).

Finally, in 1292, according to Chen Qingying, the mNga' ris Pacification Commission and the Wusizang Pacification Commission were merged at the suggestion of Samgha (d. 1291),[26] a protege of

20 Chen 2006: 267.
21 Petech 1988: 370.
22 Petech 1990a: 40.
23 Chen 2006: 259.
24 Petech 1988: 375.
25 Chen 2006: 266.
26 In Chinese sources, his name is spelled Seng ge; in Persian sources, it is spelled Sanga; and in Tibetan sources, it is spelled Sam gha along with other variations. According to Petech, these appear to be transcriptions of the Sanskrit word *sangha.* He appears to have been either a Tibetanized Uighur or a border Tibetan

'Phags pa, to create the Three Routes of Wusizang Nalisu Gulusun Pacification Commission (Ch. *wu si zang na li su gu sun deng san lu xuanweisi duyuanshuaifu*).[27]

In these studies, both Petech and Chen Qingying take the three pacification commissions to have had jurisdiction over the three *chol kha* of Tibet: the one of Wusizang Nalisu Gulusun over dBus gtsang and mNga' ris skor gsum, Duosima over mDo smad, and Duogansi over mDo khams (i.e. mDo stod).[28] However, questions arise about whether dBus gtsang, mDo smad, and mDo stod were *chol kha* if we consider that the standard administrative jurisdiction of pacification commissions were not over *chol kha,* but a unit larger than a *chol kha.*

Furthermore, even if we take these three pacification commissions to be our three *chol kha,* their establishment, from 1268 to 1292, would mean that only one, or at most two, of the *chol kha* were in existence during the lifetime of 'Phags pa, who, according to Tibetan narratives, received all three from Qubilai as an offering for the second of three initiations he bestowed on Qubilai.[29]

3. The Question of the Chol kha *in Tibet*

We may consider for a moment the possibility proposed by Chen and Petech, namely that the three pacification commissions discussed above are indeed our *chol kha gsum.* In this case, each *chol kha* would be equivalent not to a "route" as it was in other regions held by the Mongol Yuan dynasty, but rather to a "circuit" (Ch. *dao*), as Petech has suggested.[30]

Because the Mongol system of administration was sometimes adapted to the local conditions of its territories, variations such as these are a possibility. So what did the Mongol decimal organization look like in Tibet? According to the *rGya bod yig tshang* (*GBYT*),

---

belonging to a Uighurized family. Under 'Phags pa, he rose to high levels within the Yuan bureaucracy, but the two eventually became alienated and his abuse of power led to his downfall. For a detailed study of Samgha, see Petech 1980b. See also Franke 1981.

27 Chen 2006: 259.

28 The term *mdo stod* does not seem to enter Tibetan sources as a replacement for *mdo khams* until the late Yuan period. For a discussion of these terms, see my forthcoming article "Geographies of Tibet in the Pre-Mongol Period: Literary Mappings in Tibetan Literature."

29 To give a few prominent examples, see mentions of this narrative in Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1980: 96, gZhon nu dpal 1984: 268, dPa' bo gTsug lag phreng ba 1986: 1421, Shakabpa 2010 [1976]: 218, and sGo mang mkhan zur Ngag dbang nyi ma 1982: 107.

30 Petech 1990a: 39.

written in 1434,[31] the basic population unit under the Mongols was the *hor dud*,[32] also spelled *hor dus*.[33] One complete *hor dud* was comprised of: a house the size of six pillars; fields with land to grow twelve bushels (Tib. *khal*) of Mongol seed; six people consisting of husband and wife, children, and attendants; three domesticated work animals for carrying loads, plowing, and riding; and two *mgo chen* of sheep and goats consisting of twenty-four *mgo swe*.[34] Fifty *hor dud* comprised one *rta mgo;* two *rta mgo* made for one centurion (Tib. *brgya skor*); ten centurions comprised a chiliarchy (Tib. *stong skor*); ten chiliarchies made for one myriarchy (Tib. *khri skor*); ten myriarchies made for one route (Tib. *glu*); and finally, ten routes made for one province (Tib. *zhing*). Of note is that the *GBYT* states here that although the three *chol kha* of Tibet did not form a complete province (Tib. *zhing*), because it was the residence of lamas and the place from which Buddhism disseminated, it was elevated to the level of a province.[35]

Here in our Tibetan source, *chol kha* in Tibet was quite possibly being equated with a "route" (Ch. *lu*): because there were only three *chol kha*/"routes" and not ten, it did not form a complete province. The passage does not explicitly equate *chol kha* and "route," but this interpretation is a strong possibility. Following this, if the *chol kha* in Tibet was truly equivalent to the "route" (Ch. *lu*) in China proper, then that would mean the *chol kha gsum* referred to a smaller region than what in later works has been identified as dBus gtsang, mDo smad, and mDo stod.

As discussed above, the three main regional administrative structures in Tibetan areas were the pacification commissions (Ch. *xuanweisi duyuanshuaifu*), which scholars have identified with dBus

---

[31] I mainly follow the 'Bras spungs edition for this passage as it seems to be less corrupt than the other two editions; see dPal 'byor bzang po 2007: 137. On the dating of the *rGya bod yig tshang*, see MacDonald 1963.

[32] In the 'Bras spungs edition, it is spelled *hor dud*; see dPal 'byor bzang po 2007: 137. According to Laufer, this was likely not a term derived from its literal meaning as argued by Chandra Das, who defines it as (Laufer 1916: 499): "A Mongolian encampment, from *Hor* 'Tartar or Mongolian' and *du* 'smoke.' Each nomad's tent represents a fire-place and chimney, i.e. a family." Instead, Laufer believes *hor dud* was a Tibetanized rendering of the Mongol *ordu,* which meant "camp, encampment, tent of the Khan."

[33] It is spelled *hor dus* in the Chengdu and Thimphu editions; see dPal 'byor bzang po 1979: 386, dPal 'byor bzang po 1985: 270–71.

[34] In the 'Bras spungs edition, it is spelled *mgo swe* while in the other two editions, it is spelled *mgo se.* In the context of this passage, it appears to be a unit of measurement. See dPal 'byor bzang po 1979: 386, dPal 'byor bzang po 1985: 271, dPal 'byor bzang po 2007: 137.

[35] dPal 'byor bzang po 1979: 386–87, dPal 'byor bzang po 1985: 270–71, dPal 'byor bzang po 2007: 137.

gtsang and mNga' ris, mDo stod, and mDo smad. During the Yuan period, the jurisdiction of a pacification commission, at least in China proper, was over a "circuit" (Ch. *dao*). Each "circuit" was made up of two more "routes" (Ch. *lu*).[36] Thus the pacification commissions of dBus gtsang and mNga' ris, mDo stod, and mDo smad would have each been comprised of several *chol kha*, i.e. "routes." Perhaps then, the *chol kha gsum* during the Sa skya-Yuan period were not dBus gtsang, mDo stod, and mDo smad, but much smaller areas like dBus, gTsang, and mNga' ris.

These administrative units were in theory calculated by census. In the *GBYT*, we have detailed figures from the Mongol census only for mNga' ris, gTsang, and dBus.[37] Thus some scholars have argued that on the basis of the census records in Tibetan sources the three *chol kha* of the Sa skya-Yuan period were indeed restricted to mNga' ris and dBus gtsang, and Sa skya rule of Tibetan areas on behalf of the Mongol Yuan did not encompass the eastern regions known in later periods as Khams and A mdo.[38]

While Sa skya control may not have extended to the eastern areas of Khams and A mdo (except for some feudal estates), there is little doubt that these areas were under Mongol Yuan rule. In fact, in another passage of the *GBYT*, we find a reference to a Mongol census of Greater Tibet (Tib. *bod khams chen po*) carried out during the time of Qubilai; and from the census of mDo smad, an estate was granted to 'Phags pa.[39] Furthermore, the Mongol rule of its frontier territories was based not only on the census but on several additional administrative measures: the postal routes, tribute, and militia.[40] On the basis of the census, the postal routes were set up. The *GBYT* further records the 27 postal routes, which included seven in mDo smad, nine in mDo stod, and eleven in dBus and gTsang.[41] Thus, even if detailed census figures are lacking, we still have records in Tibetan sources that indicate the census took place in these eastern regions.

Nevertheless, I believe the question of whether or not the three *chol kha* of the Sa skya-Yuan period included the eastern regions of Tibet is a valid one; not in terms of whether the eastern Tibetan areas were under Mongol administration, but whether the *chol kha gsum* during the Sa skya-Yuan period meant something different from

---

[36] Hucker 1985: 251, 487–88.

[37] dPal 'byor bzang po 1979: 426–32, dPal 'byor bzang po 1985: 298–301.

[38] For instance, this is argued in the editorial introduction to Petech's "The Mongol Census in Tibet;" see Tuttle and Schaeffer 2013: 233.

[39] dPal 'byor bzang po 1979: 395, dPal 'byor bzang po 1985: 277.

[40] Petech 1980a.

[41] dPal 'byor bzang po 1979: 393, dPal 'byor bzang po 1985: 275.

what we see in later sources.

4. *Assessing the Historicity of the* Chol kha gsum

Since the term *chol kha* originates from the Mongol *čölge,* and is supposed to be from the time of ’Phags pa and Qubilai’s priest-patron relationship, it would seem that the Tibetan *chol kha* would be found in Sa skya-Yuan period texts. In an attempt to identify when the term *chol kha* entered the Tibetan literature and its meanings within specific historical contexts, I consulted sources from around this period, roughly from the 12th century to the first half of the 15th century. Even though the content of many of these sources are not directly concerned with the administrative history of Tibetan areas under the Mongols, one would think that the common geographical concepts of the period would be reflected in these works.

Surprisingly, this study is marked by the absence of the term *chol kha* in Tibetan sources until quite late in the Sa skya-Yuan period, i.e. well after the lifetimes of ’Phags pa (1235–80) and Qubilai (1215–94). It does not appear in works written just prior to or in the early period of the Sa skya-Yuan such as Nyang ral Nyi ma ’od zer’s *Chos ’byung me snying,* Grags pa rgyal mtshan’s *Bod gyi rgyal rabs,* mKhas pa lDe’u’s *rGya bod kyi chos ’byung rgyas pa,* lDe’u Jo sras’ *Chos ’byung chen mo,* and in the collected works of Sa skya Paṇḍita. It is notably absent from the collected works of ’Phags pa himself. Neither Ne’u Pandi ta’s *sNgon gyi gtam me tog phreng ba* nor the Zha lu documents contain the term. *Chol kha* is also absent from texts dating to the late Yuan period such as the chapters relevant to the Sa skya-Yuan period in the *Deb ther dmar po.*

Of interest is that within the Zha lu documents we do find the term *swon wi si,*[42] a Tibetan rendering of pacification commission (Ch. *xuanweisi).* Thus we have imperial edicts and other documents addressed to the dBus gtsang mNga’ ris skor gsum Pacification Commission, as well as to the mDo khams Pacification Commission. But we do not have any mention of the term *chol kha* in these official imperial documents.[43]

Among the works examined for this study, the earliest instance in which *chol kha* appears is in Byang chub rgyal mtshan’s *Si tu bka’ chems mthong ba don ldan.* Dated to the end of 1361 at the earliest,[44] the work is an autobiography of the very figure who brought about the downfall of Sa skya rulership on behalf of the Yuan in dBus gtsang and mNga’ ris.

---

42 As well as other variant spellings such as *swon we se* and *son hu si.*

43 Tucci 1980: 747–755.

44 Van der Kuijp 1991: 439, n. 2.

In this work, we find the phrase *bod chol kha gsum*, but the actual area it refers to is unclear. The passage in which it appears describes the visit in the female wood-bird year (Tib. *shing mo bya lo*; i.e. 1345) of Si tu Dar ma rgyal mtshan, rDo rje lcam hu shri, and A san bho kha tshe dben,[45] with their court officials[46] to fix the postal routes of Shag,[47] settle troubles in mNga' ris, and conduct a *phye gsal* of the *bod chol kha gsum*.[48] In short, the delegation arrived in 'Dam, where its investigation of a claim favored gTsang over dBus. Then it arrived in Tshong 'dus 'gur mo,[49] where it decided a claim in favor of mNga' ris over dBus.[50] After that, the Si tu and the mNga' ris retinue were invited to Yar lungs, where the Si tu was presented with many imperial documents, presumably regarding the dispute over territory between the myriarchs of g.Ya' bzang and Phag mo gru.[51]

In this passage, it is unclear as to what the term *bod chol kha gsum* refers. The author does not explicitly tell us, the way the *GBYT* does, that the *bod chol kha gsum* is dBus gtsang, mDo stod, and mDo smad. Instead it is curious that after mentioning that the delegation arrived to conduct the *phye gsal* of the *bod chol kha gsum*, only matters concerning dBus, gTsang, and mNga' ris are discussed.

At the same time, the context that Byang chub rgyal mtshan was writing in, namely the intrigues between the myriarchs under Sa skya control, was limited to the affairs of these areas. However, combined with the possibility that *chol kha* could be the equivalent of

---

45 Esen Boqa. Here *tshe dben* may be a rendering of president (Ch. *zhiyuan*), perhaps of the Bureau of Military Affairs; see van der Kuijp 1991: 432.

46 According to Petech 1990b: 258, while the term *khrim ra* could mean "court" or "office," in the context of this work, it often means an official attached to a court or department.

47 Located in dBus. Shag is listed among the seven postal routes in dBus established by Das sman at the orders of Qubilai Qan; see dPal 'byor bzang po 1985: 275.

48 The term *phye gsal* also appears in the *Deb ther dmar po.* According to gDung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las, the *phye gsal chen mo* during the time of the second Sa skya dpon chen, Kun dga' bzang po, was an evaluation of postal relay stations, quality of lands, and population counts in order to establish the amount of military and government taxes to be levied; see Kun dga' rdo rje 1981: 358, n. 296.

49 Located in gTsang. Tshong 'dus is listed among the four postal routes in gTsang established by Das sman at the orders of Qubilai Qan; see dPal 'byor bzang po 1985: 276.

50 Byang chub rgyal mtshan 1986: 165.19–166.6: *shing mo bya lo la si tu dar ma rgyal mtshan/ rdo rje lcam hu shri/ a san bho kha tshe dben rnams khrims ra dang bcas pa/ shag 'jam mo 'dzugs pa dang/ mnga' ris phyin gyi 'jags byed pa/ bod chol kha gsum gyi phye gsal byed pa la byon dus/ 'dam du gtugs bsher byed rtsis byas pa la/ dbus pa'i rta ro dmar po kha 'byed pa la mi 'thad/ gtsang 'khor ba dang 'thad zer nas/ dbus pa rnams kyis dbang ma byung/ de rting/ tshong 'dus 'gur mor gtugs bsher byed byas pas/ gtsang du dbus pa'i bla 'tshong don med/ mnga' ris 'khor ba dang 'thad zer/ yang dbus pa rnams kyis dbang ma byung/.*

51 For more on this, see Shakabpa 2010: 254–63. See also Petech 1990a: 102–103.

a "route" (Ch. *lu*), and that there were indeed three "routes" consisting of dBus, gTsang, and mNga' ris skor gsum under one pacification commission, then perhaps we need to consider the possibility that the *chol kha gsum* during the later Sa skya-Yuan period could simply have meant dBus, gTsang, and mNga' ris skor gsum.

Furthermore, the absence of the term *chol kha* from works contemporaneous with the time of 'Phags pa and Qubilai lends strength to the possibility that the narrative of Qubilai granting 'Phags pa the *chol kha gsum*, i.e. dBus gtsang, mDo stod, and mDo smad, was a later creation.

5. The Chol kha gsum *in Later Narratives*

At the tail end of the Yuan Dynasty (1206/1271–1368), the term *chol kha* does not turn up in sources like Bla ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan's *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* (1368). In the early post-Yuan period, it is also absent from Śākya rin chen sde's *Yar lung jo bo'i chos 'byung* (1376), although *swon wi si* and other Yuan titles appear.

Among the works consulted for this study, the earliest appearances of the narrative of 'Phags pa, Qubilai, and the *chol kha gsum* are notably found in 15th-century works by Sa skya figures connected to sTag lung Monastery in gTsang: sTag tshang lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen's *Sa skya pa'i gdung rabs 'dod dgu'i rgya mtsho* (1400s) and the aforementioned *rGya bod yig tshang* by dPal 'byor bzang po.

The common narrative found in later texts holds that Qubilai received initiations three times from 'Phags pa. In return, Qubilai offered 'Phags pa first the thirteen myriarchies of dBus gtsang (Tib. *dbus gtsang gi khri skor bcu gsum*); then the *chol kha gsum* of dBus gtsang, mDo stod, and mDo smad; and for the last initiation, he pardoned a large number of Chinese prisoners from execution.

However, in Shes rab rin chen's early *Sa skya pa'i gdung rabs*, we find a different version of this narrative. According to him, three offerings were given in return, not for three initiations, but for the creation of a new Mongol script, which later became known as the 'Phags pa script. In return for this script, first, the title of *bande shed skyed* was given.[52]

[52] The term *bande shed skyed* is a Tibetan rendering of a Mongol ecclesiastical title of sorts, sometimes also rendered as *pagshi*. Thanks to Tshang dbang dGe 'dun bstan pa for pointing this out (personal communication, 29 April 2016). For a discussion of the Sino/Uighur-Mongol term *pagshi* used as an honorific title in Tibetan areas with no well-defined function attached to it, see van der Kuijp 1995. Also of note is that according to the Fifth Dalai Lama's history, an edict for the *bandhe shed skyes* (Tib. *bandhe shes skyes kyi 'ja' sa)* was granted to 'Phags pa by

Then for a middle initiation offering, the *bod chol kha gsum* were given. Lastly, a great pardon was granted to Chinese prisoners.[53]

In this version, the first offering is clearly stated to be in return for the creation of the new Mongol script. The second offering is a bit mysterious, as it refers to a middle initiation (Tib. *dbang yon bar ma),* but we do not see references to other initiations. It should be noted that, as in Byang chub rgyal mtshan's *Si tu bka' chems mthong ba don ldan*, what is meant by the *bod chol kha gsum* here is also left undefined.

Several folios later, the term *sa chol kha gsum* appears in relation to the titles of office granted to 'Phags pa's younger brother, Phyag na rdo rje (1239–67). According to this passage, Qubilai granted him the title and golden seal of the Bailan Prince (Tib. *Pa'a len dbang*; Chi. *Bailan wang*) and vice prefect (Tib. *thong phyi*; Chi. *tong zhi*) of the right and left offices (Tib. *g.yas g.yon gyi khrims ra*), and appointed him magistrate (Tib. *khrims bdag*; Chi. *duan shi guan*; Mon. *jarghuchi*) of the *sa chol kha gsum*.[54] Even with the clues offered by titles and offices mentioned in relation to the *sa chol kha gsum,* because they appear to be more honorary in nature, their actual jurisdictions in practice are unclear.[55] Thus in this early narrative of Qubilai's three offerings in return for 'Phags pa's three initiations, not only do we find a slightly different account, but the *chol kha gsum* are also left undefined.

In dPal 'byor bzang po's *GBYT*, we finally encounter the familiar narrative found in later works: Because of the patron-priest relationship formed between the Mongols and Sa skya, 'Phags pa went to the Daidu Palace in China three times. Qubilai and the royal family thrice received the initiations for the three *tantra*s (Tib. *rgyud gsum)* specific to the Sa skya pa. For the first initiation offering, the thirteen myriarchies of dBus gtsang were given: the three fortresses of Glo dol under mNga' ris formed one myriarchy; Southern and Northern La stod, Chu zhal, etc. were four myriarchies; sBra, Ber, and

---

Qubilai in return for the creation of the new Mongol script. However, this exchange is mentioned separately from the set of three offerings for initiations that immediately follow in this passage. See Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1980: 96.

[53] Shes rab rin chen: 21a. Regarding the pardoning of Chinese prisoners from execution (Tib. *rgya'i mi yur chen mo*), during this period, a type of mass execution was performed by casting prisoners into a large aqueduct. A visual representation of this with a written inscription is recorded in a thangka painting dating to the late Ming period (Tshang dbang dGe 'dun bstan pa, personal communication, 29 April 2016).

[54] Shes rab rin chen: 23a.

[55] For a fuller discussion of the Bai lan and other princedoms connected to Tibet during the Yuan Dynasty, see Petech 1990b.

Khyung were one myriarchy; Yar 'brog and Tshal pa were two myriarchies; rGya, 'Bri, g.Ya', and Phag were four myriarchies; additionally, one thousand households (Tib. *hor dud)* of Bya yul and nine hundred households of 'Brug pa formed one myriarchy. Together these formed thirteen myriarchies.

For the middle initiation, the *bod chol kha gsum* were given: From mNga' ris Gung thang to Sog la skya bo, the *chol kha* of sublime religion; from Sog la skya bo to the bend in the rMa chu, the *chol kha* of the black-headed people; from the bend in the rMa chu to the white Chinese stupa, the *chol kha* of the horse. According to the tradition of giving the three offerings of people, horses, and religion, these were given. Each *chol kha* had a *dpon chen* appointed by mutual agreement of the king and court priest (Tib. *rgyal po yon mchod*).[56]

For the last initiation, according to the orders of the *bla ma* (i.e. 'Phags pa), a great pardon was given, thereby freeing from execution many tens of thousands of Chinese.[57]

Here, the narrative is much more elaborate than that in the abovementioned *Sa skya pa'i gdung rabs.* We also have a clear definition of the *chol kha gsum* as well as delineations of its boundaries. Furthermore, it is directly linked to the priest-patron relationship between Qubilai and 'Phags pa. Yet among the documents examined for this study, one does not find mention of this in 'Phags pa's works or other texts written during his lifetime.

6. Concluding Remarks

As we have seen, the Sa skya-Yuan administration of Tibetan areas was a process that developed, changed, and unfolded in the course of over a century. During this process, the administrative units were perhaps not so clearly defined as they came to be understood in later periods. Additionally, as we have seen, the administrative units governing the areas later called the *chol kha gsum* were likely not even fully established during the lifetime of 'Phags pa.

---

56 Here, *rgyal po yon mchod* could also be rendered as "the king, the patron." However, since the sentence goes on to say that the *dpon chen* were appointed through discussion and agreement, it seems possible that *yon mchod* here may refer to 'Phags pa. For the different contexts in which *yon mchod* appears and its different possible renderings, see Ruegg 1991: 444–45.

57 Although there are some slight differences in this passage between the 'Bras spungs edition and the Chengdu and Thimphu editions, they are for the most part the same. Some interesting divergences in the 'Bras spungs edition occur in the passage just preceding this one, concerning the postal routes. See dPal 'byor bzang po 1979: 396–97, dPal 'byor bzang po 1985: 277–78, dPal 'byor bzang po 2007: 142.

Instead, what seems more likely is that as an administrative unit, *chol kha* in Tibetan areas was indeed equivalent to the "route" (Ch. *lu*). While the term does not appear in official documents, it begins to emerge in Tibetan texts towards the end of the Sa skya-Yuan period. Its usage in these texts may be interpreted as referring to dBus, gTsang, and mNga' ris, but is ambiguous.

The narrative of 'Phags pa, Qubilai, and the *chol kha gsum* does not emerge until several decades after the fall of the Yuan Dynasty, sometime in the 15th century, and more than a century after the lifetimes of 'Phags pa and Qubilai. In this historical context, the once-dominant seat of Sa skya has lost its power to the Phags mo gru pa. It should be a point of interest that this narrative elevating the role of the Sa skya hierarch is written by two Sa skya figures in the decades after the fall of their sect from political power. It is in this light that we should view the narrative of the *chol kha gsum* as an offering from Qubilai to 'Phags pa: as a rewriting of history by those who were once powerful to secure and elevate their place in historical memory.

Bibliography

Atwood, Christopher P. 2004. *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire.* New York: Facts on File, Inc.

———. 2014. "The First Mongol Contacts with the Tibetans." In *Trails of the Tibetan Tradition: Papers for Elliot Sperling*, edited by Roberto Vitali, 21–46. Dharamshala (H.P.), India: Amnye Machen Institute.

Byang chub rgyal mtshan. 1986 [1361?]. *Tā si tu byang chub rgyal mtshan gyi bka' chems mthong ba don ldan.* In *Rlang kyi po ti bse ru rgyas pa,* 103–373. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang.

Chen Qingying. 2006. *Chen Qingying zangxue lunwen ji*. Vol. 1. Beijing: Zhongguo zangxue chubanshe.

Cleaves, Francis Woodman. 1952 "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1346." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 15(1/2), 1–123.

Czaja, Olaf. 2013. *Medieval Rule in Tibet*: *The Rlangs Clan and the Political and Religious History of the Ruling House of Phag mo gru pa. With a Study of the Monastic Art of Gdan sa mthil.* 2 vols. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

dBang rgyal (ed.) 1980. *Tun hong nas thon pa'i bod kyi lo rgyus yig cha*. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

dPa' bo gTsug lag phreng ba. 1986. *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston.* Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

dPal 'byor bzang po. 1979 [1434]. *rGya bod yig tshang mkhas pa dga' byed chen mo 'dzam gling gsal ba'i me long*. 2 vols. Thimphu: Kunsang Topgyel and Mani Dorji.

———. 1985 [1434]. *rGya bod yig tshang chen mo.* Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

———. 2007 [1434]. *rGya bod yig tshang mkhas pa dga' byed chen mo 'dzam gling gsal ba'i me long*. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang.

Franke, Herbert. 1981. "Tibetans in Yüan China." In *China under Mongol Rule*, edited by David Straub, 298–328. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Grags pa rgyal mtshan. 2007 [late 1100s–early 1200s]. *Bod gyi rgyal rabs*. In *Sa skya bka' 'bum dpe bsdur ma las grags pa rgyal mtshan gsung 'bum*, vol. 5, 142–47. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang.

'Gro mgon Chos rgyal 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan. 2007. *Sa skya bka' 'bum dpe bsdur ma las 'gro mgon chos rgyal 'phags pa'i gsung 'bum*, vol. 1. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang.

———. 2007. *Sa skya bka' 'bum dpe bsdur ma las 'gro mgon chos rgyal 'phags pa'i gsung 'bum*, vol. 2. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang.

———. 2007. *Sa skya bka' 'bum dpe bsdur ma las 'gro mgon chos rgyal 'phags pa'i gsung 'bum*, vol. 3. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang.

———. 2007. *Sa skya bka' 'bum dpe bsdur ma las 'gro mgon chos rgyal 'phags pa'i gsung 'bum*, vol. 4. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang.

gZhon nu dpal. 1984 [1476–78]. *Deb ther sngon po.* Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Haw, Stephen G. 2014. "The Mongol Conquest of Tibet." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 24(1), 37–49.

Hucker, Charles O. 1985. *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Kun dga' rdo rje. 1981 [1363]. *Deb ther dmar po.* Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

van der Kuijp, Leonard W.J. 1991. "On the Life and Political Career of Ta'i-Si-tu Byang-chub Rgyal-mtshan (1302–1364)." In *Tibetan History and Language: Studies Dedicated to Uray Géza on his Seventieth Birthday*, edited by Ernst Steinkellner, 277–327. Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien.

———. 1995. "'Baγši' and Baγši-s in Tibetan Historical, Biographical and Lexicographical Texts." *Central Asiatic Journal* 39(2), 275–302.

Laufer, Berthold. 1916. "Loan-Words in Tibetan." *T'oung Pao* 17(4/5), 403–552.

lDe'u Jo sras. 1987 [mid-13th century]. *Chos 'byung chen mo bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan.* Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang.

MacDonald, Ariane. 1963. "Préambule à la Lecture d'un rGya-bod yig chang." *Journal Asiatique* CCLI, 53–159.

Martin, Dan. 1997. *Tibetan Histories.* London: Serindia Publications.

mKhas pa lDe'u. 1987 [later than 1261]. *rGya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa.* Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang.

Ne'u Paṇḍi ta Grags pa smon lam blo gros. 1990 [1283]. *sNgon gyi gtam me tog phreng ba.* In *Bod kyi lo rgyus deb ther khag lnga*, 3–88. Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang.

Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho. 1980. *Bod kyi deb ther dpyid kyi rgyal mo glu dbyangs.* Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer. 1988 [late 1100s]. *Chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud.* Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang.

Pelliot, Paul. 1930. "Notes sur le 'Turkestan' de M.W. Barthold." *Toung Pao* 27, 12–56.

Petech, Luciano. 1980a. "The Mongol Census in Tibet." In *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson: Proceedings of the International Seminar on Tibetan Studies, Oxford, 1979*, edited by Michael Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi, 233–38. Warminster, England: Aris and Phillips.

———. 1980b. "Sang-ko, A Tibetan Statesman in Yüan China." *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 34(1/3), 193–208.

———. 1988. "Yuan Organization of the Tibetan Border Areas." In *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 4th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies Schloss Hohenkammer–Munich,* edited by Helga Uebach and Jampa L. Panglung, 369–80. Tring, U.K.: Institute of Buddhist Studies.

———. 1990a. *Central Tibet and the Mongols: The Yüan-Sa-skya Period of Tibetan History*. Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.

———. 1990b. "Princely Houses of the Yuan Period Connected with Tibet." In *Indo-Tibetan Studies: Papers in Honour and Appreciation of Professor David L. Snellgrove's Contribution to Indo-Tibetan Studies,* edited by Tadeusz Skorupski, 257–70. Tring, U.K.: Institute of Buddhist Studies.

Ruegg, D. Seyfort. 1991. "Mchod yon, Yon mchod and mchod gnas/yon gnas: On the Historiography and Semantics of a Tibetan Religio-Social and Religio-Political Concept." In *Tibetan History and Language: Studies Dedicated to Uray Géza on his Seventieth Birthday*, edited by Ernst Steinkellner, 441–53. Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien.

Sa paṇ Kun dga' rgyal mtshan. 2007. *Sa skya bka' 'bum dpe bsdur ma las sa paṇ kun dga' rgyal mtshan gyi gsung 'bum*, vol. 1. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang.

———. 2007. *Sa skya bka' 'bum dpe bsdur ma las sa pan kun dga' rgyal mtshan gyi gsung 'bum*, vol. 2. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang.

———. 2007. *Sa skya bka' 'bum dpe bsdur ma las sa pan kun dga' rgyal mtshan gyi gsung 'bum*, vol. 3. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang.

———. 2007. *Sa skya bka' 'bum dpe bsdur ma las sa pan kun dga' rgyal mtshan gyi gsung 'bum*, vol. 4. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang.

sGo mang mkhan zur Ngag dbang nyi ma. 1982. *Chol kha gsum gyi ming btags lugs yod*. In *sGo mang mkhan zur ngag dbang nyi ma'i gsung bum*, vol. 6, 106–107. New Delhi: Mongolian Lama Gurudeva. TBRC Resource ID W24052.

Shakabpa, W.D. 2010 [1976]. *One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet*, vol. 1 [*Bod kyi srid don rgyal rabs*]. Translated by Derek F. Maher. Leiden and Boston: Brill Publishing.

Śākya rin chen sde. 1988 [1376]. *Yar lung jo bo chos 'byung*. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang.

Shes rab rin chen. *Sa skya pa'i gdung rabs 'dod dgu'i rgya mtsho.* Manuscript, 34 fols. TBRC Resource ID W1CZ1883.

Song Lian. *Yuan Shi.* 1980. Taibei Shi: Ding wen shu ju.

Tshe ring bde skyid (ed.). *Zhal lce phogs bsdus.* 1987. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang.

Tucci, Giuseppe. 1980 [1949] *Tibetan Painted Scrolls.* Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co., Ltd.

Tuttle, Gray and Kurtis R. Schaeffer (eds.). 2013. *The Tibetan History Reader.* New York: Columbia University Press.

❖

Reorienting the Sacred and Accommodating the Secular: The *History of Buddhism in China* (*rGya nag chos 'byung*)

Fan Zhang[1]

(Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology)

The land of "China" occupies a marginal position in traditional Tibetan Buddhist historiography. For the early Tibetan Buddhist historians, "Indo-Tibetan Buddhism was the only religious system worth serious consideration, and Chinese Buddhism, Indian non-Buddhist religious philosophies, Bon, and Islam were dealt with in a polemical or (especially in the case of Islam) a frankly hostile fashion."[2] In the eighteenth century, when more and more high lamas took sojourns or residency in China proper, especially at the Qing imperial capital, they were exposed "to the cosmopolitan world of imperial Beijing, where they had ample opportunity to meet followers of non-Buddhist religions of a wide range of ethnicities."[3] Therefore they were increasingly aware of the regional, imperial and global situations, and inclined to take a broader geopolitical frame and a more balanced religious view in their historiographical production.[4] Not only was Christianity included,[5] Islam mentioned,[6] the origin of Buddhism in Korea (*ka'u li*) briefed,[7] but also the history of Buddhism in China was given special attention and even occupied an independent volume.

Historiography not only reflects "objective events," but also reifies subjectivity by providing "a field for the negotiation and renegotiation of identity"[8] and a site for the production of ideology. In this article, I argue that, on the one hand, the growing sense of

1 Here I want to thank Professor Leonard van der Kuijp, Dr. Charlotte Bruckermann, Dr. Enrique Galvan-Alvarez, my editor Jeannine Bischoff and the anonymous reviewer, for their insightful comments on this article.

2 Sweet 2006: 173–74.

3 *Ibid.*: 174.

4 Jackson 2006.

5 Sweet 2006.

6 Wang-Toutain 2005: 88.

7 mGon po skyabs 2013: 241.

8 Atwood 2014: 514.

Fan Zhang, "Reorienting the Sacred and Accommodating the Secular: The *History of Buddhism in China* (*rGya nag chos 'byung*)", *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 37, December 2016, pp. 569–591.

"being the cosmopolitan elites" among the Tibetan Buddhist intellectuals added gravity to their rapidly expanding worldview and a new centre to their historiography. By producing sacred history and geography in China, they reoriented to the "Eastern Land" as a source of empowerment to accommodate the emerging preeminence of Qing power in the Tibetan Buddhist world. On the other hand, I argue that this "cosmopolitan identification"[9] was accompanied by the concomitant religious, ethnic and regional identifications. By creating new ways of political legitimation and subordinating the Confucian deities, such as the War Lord Guandi,[10] to the Tibetan Buddhist system, they contested the Confucian orthodoxy and negotiated with the imperial power centre to claim spiritual and intellectual superiority. To further examine this reorienting and negotiating process, I choose to investigate *The History of Buddhism in China* (*rgya nag gi yul du dam pa'i chos dar tshul gtso bor bshad pa blo gsal kun tu dga' ba'i rna rgyan ces bya ba bzhugs so*, or simply *rgya nag chos 'byung*), written by mGon po skyabs (c.1690–1750).

1. mGon po skyabs and the Cosmopolitan Textual Production

mGon po skyabs was born in a noble family of the Ujimcin Mongols, a subgroup of the Chahar Mongols in present day Inner Mongolia. In 1637 the Ujimcin Mongols surrendered to the Manchus and later mGon po skyabs' family was granted the ducal rank (*gong* 公) by the Kangxi Emperor.[11] mGon po skyabs inherited this title in 1692[12] and married into the lineal Manchu royal family in 1709. In 1715, due to unknown reasons, he volunteered to take military service as penalty. However, he was spared any serious punishment and instead he was only degraded from the rank of Gong to the rank of Taiji (台吉). Meanwhile he was appointed the "head of the Tibetan school (Tanggute Xue 唐古特学)."[13] At this position, he "was responsible for

---

9 See Wang-Toutain's (2005) illustration of various scholarship of different traditions participated in shaping the politics at the imperial capital; also see the theorisation of Qing cosmopolitanism in the edited book (Hu and Elverskog 2016).

10 The widespread of the Guandi cult in various Chinese official and popular religions makes it difficult to justify Guandi as a pure and exclusive Confucian deity. Nevertheless, in this article I focus mainly on Qing's effort to Confucianise Guandi. Hence the term Confucian deity here refers to the divine bureaucracy and its associated divinities.

11 Wang-Toutain 2005: 60; Mala 2006: 145; Uspensky 2008; Wuyunbilige 2009: 120.

12 Wuyunbilige 2009: 121.

13 *Ibid.*: 122. Tanggute Xue was also called Xifan Xue (西番学) in some literatures. It was established in 1657 for the training of Tibetan language (Gangcuo 2010: 28).

Tibetan studies and translations of Tibetan and Mongol texts."[14] Besides Mongolian, Tibetan and Manchu language, he "had complete mastery of Chinese."[15] He called himself "the upasaka Gombojab from the Land of Winds, who speaks four languages."[16]

Despite his Mongol origin and Manchu affinitiy, mGon po skyabs was well embedded in the Tibetan intellectual community of the time. He had frequent correspondences with Tibetan high lamas like kaH thog rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu (1698–1755).[17] In fact, many influential intellectuals of Tibetan Buddhism were not ethnic Tibetan according to today's classifications, such as Sum pa mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor (1704–1788) and lCang skya khutukhtu Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717–1786). However, they were enrolled in the Tibetan Buddhist education system, contracted master-disciple relationship with high lamas in Tibet, possessed the required language proficiency to write in Tibetan, and contributed to the development of Tibetan literature. As Pamela Crossley suggests, by retrospectively endowing historical entities with the contemporary concept of ethnicity or nationalism, we are liable to overlook identity as a process and misunderstand indigenous criteria of identity.[18] In the eighteenth-century Qing Empire, the formation of cosmopolitan intellectuals and the sense of "being the ruling elites" intersected with regional, ethnic and religious variations. It created a grey zone for different actors to appropriate power through negotiating and adjusting ethnic and religious boundaries.

mGon po skyabs composed the text of the *History of Buddhism in China* at the requested of the Fifth Siregetü Khutugtu (1713–1751), as revealed in the colophon.[19] As one of the most politically influential

In the imperial bureaucratic system of Qing, it belonged to Lifan Yuan (理藩院). Only those who were trained in the Tibetan language school were qualified to work for the government as translators or interpreters (Kanaoka 1992: 56). For example, in office of the imperial Resident Ministers in Lhasa, some positions were filled with the students from the Tibetan language school.

14 Mala 2006: 145.

15 Sweet 2006: 175.

16 "*skad bzhi smra ba'i dge bsnyen rlung khams pa*" (Uspensky 2008: 59).

17 Tshe dbang nor bu 1973: 737–46. Tshe dbang nor bu was an active diplomat of the 7th Dalai Lama in the Himalayas, as well as a renovator of Buddhist sites in Nepal, a power broker for the 12th Karmapa, and an acquaintance of lCang skya khutukhtu (Ronis 2009: 86–99).

18 Crossley 1999: 48–49.

19 There are debates on when this work was composed and published. Wang-Toutain dates it in 1735 (2005: 82); Vladimir Uspensky (2008: 61) and Fengxiao (2013: 8) point out that it was written in 1736; Japanese scholar Kanaoka Hidero points out that this work was written in 1746 (1992: 56). Blo bzang bstan 'dzin (2013: 6) as well as Sun Lin and Chos 'phel (2009: 24) argue that it was composed at the end or at least in the later period of the eighteenth century.

lamas at that time, the Fifth Siregetü Khutugtu was appointed the Chief Priest of the Yellow Temple (Huangsi 黄寺) in Beijing and the Jasak Da Lama of Köke qota by imperial order.[20] mGon po skyabs was one of his students. In the writing process, mGon po skyabs consulted many important Tibetan historical texts[21] and also read extensively the relevant Chinese materials (*ma hā tsi na'i rgyal rabs kyi yig tshang*).[22] The *History of Buddhism in China* "remained the main source concerning the history of China available to Tibetan readers."[23] In the nineteenth century, the influential scholar 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse (1820–1892) proofread and printed it in the prestigious printing house of *sDe dge* (*sde dge lhun grub steng du legs par bsgrubs*).[24]

Guilaine Mala has summarised the five chapters[25] of the text and she concludes that "the use of a Tantric prophecy and non-Tantric arguments [was] made by an eighteenth-century Mongol historian to transform and reinterpret the history of China in the light of his own Buddhist beliefs."[26] I further demonstrate in this article the ways in which mGon po skyabs and the cosmopolitan Tibetan Buddhist intellectuals at large practiced multiple identifications, contested the intellectual sovereignty of the Confucian intelligentsia, reversed the superior-inferior hierarchy, and meanwhile participated in the production of Qing political legitimacy.

2. Reproducing the Sacred Eastern Land of Mahācina

The *History of Buddhism in China* was started with the delineation of "China." mGon po skyabs first took an etymological investigation: the Indians (*'phags yul ba rnams*) call China "*ma hā tsi na*," in which *ma hā* means great and *tsi na* is the phonetic transcription of the Chinese word "*qin*," the Qin Dynasty (秦朝, 221–207 BC). mGon po skyabs

[20] Mala 2006: 146; Ikejiri 2015. According to the study of Yoko Ikejiri, in the early eighteenth century, monks in Qinghai Region formed a close community. They took leading positions at the Qing court and connected the Tibetan cleric community and the central government.

[21] mGon po skyabs 2013: 262, 373. Such as the *Blue Annals*, the *Origin of the Buddhist Dharma* and the *Buddhist History of India*.

[22] *Ibid*.: 376; Uspensky 2008: 59; Sun and Chos 'phel 2009: 24. Such as the *Collection of Biographies of the Honorable Monks* (*bla chen rnam thar*, Gaosengzhuan 高僧传) and the *Catalogue of Chinese Buddhist Canons* (*sde snod gsum gyi dkar chag*, Zhiyuanlu 至元錄).

[23] Uspensky 2008: 61.

[24] mGon po skyabs 2013: 377.

[25] Mala 2006: 148–49.

[26] *Ibid*.: 164.

then introduced the Chinese territory: to the East, China reaches to the Eastern Sea; to the South, China is adjacent to Annam (*an nan*) and Champa (*tan theng*), both in present day Vietnam; the North and the West are surrounded by the Great Wall (*thang cheng*). mGon po skyabs further explained the administrative divisions of the Chinese territory: this vast land (*yul gru chen po*) was divided into thirteen provinces (*zhing*); but now with the increase of population, there are sixteen provinces.[27]

With these historical, geographical and administrative details, mGon po skyabs obviously referred "*Ma hā tsi na*" to a concrete geo-political entity. It significantly differed from the mythical or esoteric space "*ma hā tsi na*" occupied in previous literature. When "*Mahācina*" appeared in Indian literature of the tenth and the eleventh centuries, it implied a region or state roughly located to the north of India.[28] Tucci argues that as early as the seventh century the Tibetans had already known "Cina is Tsi-na and refers to a specific region adjacent to Spiti (to the northwest) and Uttarkasi (to the southeast) [of India]."[29] Despite Tucci's assertion, the confusion surrounding "*Cina*" and "*Mahācina*" lingered among the Tibetans for a long time. Taranatha (1575–1634) placed "*Cina*" and "*Mahācina*" amongst a group of mythical countries in the north of Jambudvipa on the way to the legendary Shambhala[30]. Tibetan scholar Gendun Chopel points out that "*Mahācina*" was occasionally adopted by the Tibetans abroad to refer to Tibet.[31]

Until the mid-sixteenth century, a clear definition of "*Mahācina*" and its identification with China appeared in *A Scholar's Feast* (*chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*):

> The land of China is called *Mahācina*, located in the northeast of the continent of Jambudvipa, reaching the ocean, and its territory is huge. According to the *Root Tantra of Mañjuśrī*, in the enlightened land, there is the King of Treasure. […] the illuminating Mañjuśrī manifests as a child in this holy land, and resides in the Mount Wutai (the Five-Peak Mountain). All the Enlightened ones such as Samantabhadra reside and enjoy in the Elephant Mountain.[32]

---

[27] mGon po skyabs 2013: 174.

[28] Cutler 1996: 43.

[29] Tucci 1971: 551.

[30] Tā ra nā tha 2008: 238.

[31] "[I]n Ogyenpa Ngawang Gyatso's biography, he says to a brahmin, 'I am not a Kashmiri; I am a Tibetan coming from Mahacina.' […] Some people say that because, for many panditas in ancient times, the name for us, Tibet, was known as Mahacina, the references to Mahacina in the Mañjuśrīmūlatantra must refer to Tibet alone." (Chopel et al. 2014: 356).

[32] dPa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba 2006: 711.

This narrative was possibly modeled on the story of "the King of Treasure" in China who lived for 150 years and the legend of the manifestation of Mañjuśrī as a child in China in the *Origin of the Buddhist Dharma* (*bde gshegs bstan pa'i gsal byed chos kyi 'byung gnas*).[33] However, the *Origin of the Buddhist Dharma* had not constructed the connection among *cina*, *mahācina* and China, while *A Scholar's Feast* explicitly built the connection and elaborated upon the geographical features of China. In the late seventeenth century, the Fifth Dalai Lama had a nuanced usage of the words. He used "ma hā tsi na" more in the sense of a political entity or territory, which often appeared in the combination "*Ma hā tsi na'i rgyal khams*" (the kingdom of *Mahācina*), while he used "*rgya nag*" more in the sense of ethnic belonging against other ethnic groups such as *hor* or *sog*.[34] In the *Crystal Mirror* (*grub mtha' shel gyi me long*), apparently Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi ni ma (1737–1802) confirmed the connection between Mahācina and China. Under the title "*ma hā tsi na'i yul du rig byed dang bon gyi grub mtha' byung tshul,*" Thu'u bkwan introduced the history of various fields of learning and believes such as Confucianism and Daoism in "the land/territory of China;" at other places of the book he used "*rgya nag gi yul du nang pa sangs rgyas pa'i chos lugs*" to emphasise "Chinese" Buddhism vis-à-vis "Tibetan" Buddhism.[35]

The Sanskrit etymology of *mahācina* was "discovered" in the eighteenth century. When Tshe dbang nor bu introduced the "tradition of Hwa shang from China," he suspected that "*ma hā*" should be the Sanskrit word "great" (*chen po*), but that the origin of "*tsi na*" was not clear and the "sign" (*ri mo*) of "*tsi na*" had many different interpretations.[36] Intellectually well connected to Tshe dbang nor bu, mGon po skyabs could have learnt this information from the Tibetan intellectual community. It is also possible that he learnt the Sanskrit root of *mahācina* from Chinese literature. In the seventh century, both *Cina* and *Mahācina* were identified as "China"

---

33 Bu ston rin chen grub 1988: 144.

34 For example, "*byang na chos rgyal rigs ldan gyi zhing khams cha bsags kyi grong khyer chen po shambha la dang lha min las chad pa'i 'thab rtsod dpa' bo'i gnas hor sog gi yu / shar na 'phags pa 'jum dpul gyi zhing ri bo rtse lnga sogs ma hā tsi na'i rgyal khams mi rnams klu las chad pa rtsis dang nor gyi 'byung gnas rgya nag rnams kyi phyogs bzhi nas mdzes shing shing kai la sha'i ra bas bskor ba'i yul*" (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 2009: 167). It is quite obvious in this example that, "north" is in correspondence to "east," "Shambala" to "Mahācina," and "*hor*" and "*sog*" to "*rGya nag*."

35 Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma 2000: 421–482. In the lan kru'u edition (1984), however, it was all put under the title "ma hā tsi na."

36 Tshe dbang nor bu 2006: 379.

in the *Great Tang Records on the Western Regions* (*Datang Xiyu Ji* 大唐西域记).[37] Nevertheless, *cina* appeared in Chinese diversely as "Qin 秦," "Jin 晋," "Han 汉" and "Zhina 支那." In the mid-seventeenth century, the Jesuit missionary Martino Martini (1614–1661) traced the origin of "*cina*" to "Qin"[38] and it was popularised among Chinese intellectuals. mGon po skyabs was both familiar with Xuanzang's work and the missionary work, which enabled him to relate "*tsi na*" with the Chinese word "*qin*" from their phonetic similarity.

In this sense, mGon po skyabs' specification of *Mahācina* and *Cina* and their final identification with China was the product of Qing's cosmopolitanism. Blo bzang chos kyi ni ma provided further explanation on this point in his *Crystal Mirror*.[39] When they renamed China as *Mahācina,* they relocated the "Middle Kingdom" in Buddhist cosmology. This renaming and relocating process reflected the active participation in and appropriation of Qing's cosmopolitanism by the Tibetan intellectuals in the eighteenth century.

3. Subordinating dao *Under* chos

In Chinese official dynastic historiography, Chinese rulers, be them of Han or non-Han origins, were portrayed as "Sage-kings" (*shengwang* 圣王). The idea of the "Sage-king" appeared in the fourth century BC and later was theorised in Mohist texts.[40] The Confucian political theory derived the legitimacy of the "Sage-king" from the "mandate of Heaven" (*tianming* 天命) and the "*dao* (the Way)" with an emphasis on virtuous deeds and its connection with supernatural power.[41] To subordinate it under the notion of the "cakravartin-

[37] Zhang 1977: 451–453; Shi 1972: 450.

[38] *Ibid.*: 449.

[39] Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma 1984: 391.

[40] Brown 2013: 143–174.

[41] The "mandate of Heaven" referred to the political legitimacy based on virtue instead of birth (Puett 2002: 54–60). In reality, as Sarah Allan has illustrated, the classic Chinese texts express quite conflicting ideologies of ruling by virtue and ruling by heredity. She argues that what is unique to Chinese tradition is "the idea of dynastic cycle, in which one dynasty is founded by merit and then carried on hereditarily until a depraved last king is overthrown by a good man, who then establishes a new hereditary dynasty" (Allen 2015: 16). The idea of "mandate of Heaven" also enabled the Sage-kings to become "superhuman beings whose wisdom allowed them to recognise the celestial patterns hidden in nature and bring mankind into accord with them" (Lewis 1990: 167). The core of the *dao* in Confucian political theory normally referred to "humane government" (*renzheng* 仁政) (Tu 1985: 81–92), although throughout Chinese history violence was mobilised more than virtue in order to gain power (Lewis 1990).

king," mGon po skyabs firstly redefined the concept "*dao*" as *dbang dha'u* (*wangdao* 王道) and *paa dha'u* (*badao* 霸道). He explained that the former implies that out of virtuous (*yon tan*) and altruistic (*lhag bsam*) intentions one achieves authority over a territory, where people depend on his virtous and altruistic rule and glorify him; the latter indicates that motivated by desire or sensual enjoyment (*'dod pa*) one achieves power through military might (*dpung stobs*), destroying and invading the others. mGon po skyabs asserted that *dao*, both as *wangdao* and *badao*, corresponded with Buddhist *dharma* (*chos*) and path (*lam*).[42] By this, mGon po skyabs implied that the Sage-king, following either the virtuous way (*wangdao*) or the military way (*badao*), ultimately followed the Dharma, and therefore, the Chinese Son of Heaven actually was the King of Treasure:

> He has many followers and strong power. He follows the Teacher extensively. He has many allies. Barbarians surrender and victories descend. […] [He] lives long, up to 150 years, and ascends to the land of the gods. After fully mastering the essence of Dharma, he will achieve enlightenment.[43]

By building the connection between "following the Teacher" and achieving imperial prosperity and personal longevity, mGon po skyabs changed the political legitimation of Chinese kingship from the "mandate of Heaven" to the Buddha's blessing. More specifically, mGon po skyabs categorised Chinese rulers within the typology of the Buddhist kingship system as "*cakravartinrājā*s" ruling with the power of merit (*bsod nams*). As mGon po skyabs quoted from the *bDen smra lung bstan pa'i mdo*, "*cakravartinrājā*" was one of the four types of kingship (*rgyal po rnam pa bzhi*).[44] Although cakravartin-kingship was adopted by Chinese Buddhists in the sixth century and "mixed with the characteristics and traditional attributes of the Son of Heaven"[45], nevertheless, "it generally seems to be of rhetorical nature and it is expressed neither in political claims nor in ritual practices"[46]. The Mongolian rulers made an exception in the fourteenth century when they were directly called cakravartin-kings

---

42 mGon po skyabs 2013: 177.

43 *Ibid.*

44 The four types are *cakravartinrāja* (*'khor los sgyur ba'i rgyal po*), overlord (*rgyal po chen po*), lord (*khams kyi rgyal po*), and chieftain (*rgyal phran*). (mGon po skyabs 2013: 194).

45 Zürcher 2013: 290. For example, the Buddhist Emperor Wu of Liang (464–549) was addressed as "Emperor Bodhisattva" (*huangdi pusa* 皇帝菩萨), "Bodhisattva who Save the World"(*jiushi pusa* 救世菩萨) and Son of Heaven Bodhisattva (*pusa tianzi* 菩萨天子).

46 *Ibid.*

and cakravartin-kingship was systematised for political legitimation.[47] mGon po skyabs further placed the model of the Sage-king under that of the cakravartin-king.

mGon po skyabs applied his cakravartin-kingship to recount the political history of China, in which the legend of the Emperor Wu of Han was remodeled. Although based on *Records of the Grand Historian* (*shiji* 史记), mGon po skyabs rearranged the order of the story: the Emperor Wu of Han acquired a giant golden Buddha statue (*ston pa'i gser sku che ba zhig*) from the *hor* as tribute; the Emperor placed the statue of Buddha in the inner palace with great honor and daily offering; when the Emperor was making sacrifices on the central peak of the Five Mountains (*lhun po lnga'i ri bo dbus mar*), the auspicious phrase of "*wan su'i*" descended from the sky three times; then the Emperor killed an evil dragon in the Eastern Sea, made a sacrifice with horse and jade to stop the twenty-years long flood of the Yellow River, and expanded his power greatly with his imperial edicts *('ja' sa*) and seals (*tham ka*) reaching the territory (*gnas pa*) of forty-thousand miles.[48]

The insertion and the sequence of mGon po skyabs' story is worthy of elaboration. By inserting the tale of the golden Buddha statue in the beginning, mGon po skyabs alluded to the connection between the Emperor's Buddhist piety and his magical experiences. According to the Confucian political theory, the sacrificial ritual on the Five Mountains (*wuyue* 五岳) "symbolized the legitimacy of a dynasty." [49] Nevertheless, in mGon po skyabs' story it was overshadowed by the magical occurrence of "*wan su'i*" descending from sky. In Chinese "*wan su'i*" (*wansui* 万岁) means "long live for ten thousand years," while in mGon po skyabs' Tibetan transliteration, it faded into an empty sign of auspiciousness. Through this narrative technique, mGon po skyabs transformed the mountain sacrifice for political legitimacy and the feudal ritual to demonstrate sovereignty over territory from the Sage-king tradition into the cakravartin-king tradition, in which political legitimacy and territorial sovereignty depended on Buddha's blessing.

The second relevant instance was the Mongol-Yuan Empire. Apparently, mGon po skyabs' ethnic identification with the Mongols overlapped with his political identification with the Qing Empire and his religious identification with Tibetan Buddhism. He titled the

---

[47] Franke 1978: 52–54.

[48] mGon po skyabs 2013: 198–99.

[49] It was believed to be initiated by the Sage-king Shun, including every five years "sacrificing to the higher gods at his capital and sacrificing from afar to the mountains, rivers, and various spirits." It also includes an audience with the feudal lords (Puett 2002: 300–301).

Mongol-Yuan Empire as *"da'i yu'an chen po hor,"*[50] which is the combination of the Chinese phonetic "Da Yuan" (*da'i yu'an*) meaning the Great Yuan and the ethnic signifier "*chen po hor*" meaning the Great Mongolia.[51] He wrote that Yuan's territory was twice as large as Han and Tang (*mnga' thang ni Han Thang gi skabs las nyis 'gyur gyi che la*).[52] For political legitimacy, mGon po skyabs invented a divine origin for Genghis Khan (*jin gir*):

> The family of the Genghis Khan belonged to the lineage of the God of Clear Light, like Brahma; when his mother, a beautiful widow, was mourning for her deceased husband, from the sky a light with rainbow-like hues shed on her body. With great happiness she conceived a baby and gave birth to a boy with signs of perfection.[53]

This origin story superscripted several layers of primordial myths from different traditions. After the *Shes bya rab gsal* (*Explanation of the Knowable*) was translated into Mongolian in the seventeenth century, the Mongolian historiography of the seventeenth century, of which *Erdeni-yin Tobči* (*Precious Summery*) or *Altan Tobči* (*Golden Summery*) are examples, started to claim a genealogical succession "whereby the clan of Chinggis Khan is derived in direct lineage from the Tibetan kings."[54] mGon po skyabs further developed this discourse to connect the Mongol ruler directly to the Indian royal lineages. This connection was openly celebrated in another work of his *yany-a-yin urusqal* (*The Branch of the Ganges)*.[55] mGon po skyabs consolidated his assertion on the divine origin of the Mongolian ruler by saying that the high lamas such as the Fifth Dalai Lama also held this view.[56] As a Buddhist, mGon po skyabs highlighted the Buddhist elements in the Mongolian kingship, such as the "signs of perfection" on Genghis, which appeared also on the body of Siddhārtha Gautama Buddha at birth, as well as considering Genghis Khan as the "brother of the

---

[50] mGon po skyabs 2013: 206.

[51] As Uspensky explains, the Tibetan ethnic names *hor* and *sog*, sometimes in combination as *hor sog*, "have a long history in Tibetan historical writings. The word *hor* is regarded as a loan word from the Chinese *hu* 胡. In ancient Tibetan texts it was used as a name of different Turkic peoples. Meanwhile, the Tibetan *sog* is regarded as a name for the Sogdians, a group of Iranian peoples who inhabited large areas of Central Asia in the first millennium AD. However, in the eighteenth century both terms were used as standard names for the Mongols" (Uspensky 2008: 59).

[52] mGon po skyabs 2013: 206.

[53] *Ibid*.

[54] Franke 1978: 64; Shen 2006; Kanaoka 2007; Fengxiao 2013: 19–20.

[55] Fengxiao 2013: 61.

[56] *Ibid*.

Thousand Buddhas" (*sangs rgyas stong gi nu bo*).[57] Meanwhile, building on his membership of the cosmopolitan elite, mGon po skyabs blended into the Mongolian kingship the same mysterious virgin birth of Genghis Khan modeled on those of the Three Emperors of China.[58]

With the model of cakravartin-kingship, mGon po skyabs turned the Han Chinese and the Mongolian rulers into cakravartin-kings and legitimated them through the political theory of Tibetan Buddhism. This theoretical frame enabled mGon po skyabs to reverse the "barbarian" image of the Mongols in Han Chinese literature and to glorify the Mongolian king as the descendent of the luminous Brahma.

4. Transferring Political Legitimacy From the Seal to Merit

The Confucian political legitimation of the Sage-king was signaled by the possession of the "Seal transmitting the State (*chuanguoxi* 传国玺)."[59] The official dynastic historiography polished a consistent historical narrative on the authenticity of the Seal to legitimate the authority of the imperial throne. In the early Qing period, the anti-Manchu activists spread the rumor that the Manchu Emperor was illegitimate because they did not receive the authentic Seal. As a reaction, the Qianlong Emperor formulated a counter-discourse in the *Inheritance of Heirloom composed by the Emperor* (Yuzhi Chuanbaoji 御制传宝记), declaring that legitimation by virtue was more important than by the Seal.[60] Against this background, mGon po skyabs reconstructed the story of the Seal:

> After the First Emperor of Qin took control of "all under the Heaven," and then he got it [the precious jade] and made a seal out of it. Minister Lisi wrote on the seal eight characters "shou ming yu tian ji shou yong chang" (受命于天 既寿永昌). In Tibetan, it can be paraphrased into eight words "gnam gyis bskos pas, tshe rgyun yun ring," which means regardless of whatever happens, one is guaranteed the position of the grand king through the merit one has accumulated, the life span of the king and royal lineage will continue forever steadily. […] The so-called eternal swastika is a Bon sign but also means enlightenment or Buddhahood.[61]

[57] mGon po skyabs 2013: 206–207.
[58] *Ibid.*: 207.
[59] Na 1970: 42–46; Li 2005: 22–23.
[60] Xiao 1989: 124.
[61] mGon po skyabs 2013: 210–11.

mGon po skyabs explained the meaning of the swastika because he retitled the Seal in Tibetan as the "Precious Seal with the Swastika of Eternity" (*mi 'gyur g.yung drung rin po che'i phyag rgyar grags pa'i tham ka*). By stamping the swastika on the Seal, he also stamped Tibetan discourse on the Chinese official historiography. Moreover, when introducing the origin of the jade, he claimed to have checked with Tibetan and Uyghur (*yu gur*) records.[62] The symbolic and textual testimony convincingly transplanted the Seal into the Tibetan religious and linguistic tradition.

More significantly, he diplomatically mistranslated the meaning of the eight Chinese characters on the Seal into eight Tibetan characters. In Chinese, it means "nominated by Heaven, the Emperor lives long and the Kingdom lasts forever." In Tibetan, it means "nominated by Heaven, it is long-lasting." It seems that the eight Tibetan characters corresponded to the eight Chinese characters not only in numbers but also roughly in meaning. However, mGon po skyabs connected the long-lasting life span of the emperor and the empire directly with merit instead of Heaven. As a result, the political specificity of the Chinese "*tian*" was lost in the Tibetan translation of "*gnam*." It was a significant replacement because in Tibetan Buddhist tradition political legitimacy is more derived from merit than Heaven.[63] In this way, mGon po skyabs reaffirmed the conversion of the Chinese "Heavenly son" to "cakravartin-king," and successfully turned the narrative of the Seal into the reiteration of the significance of ruling through merit to attain longevity and prosperity.

This new means of legitimation was actually a preparation of mGon po skyabs to legitimate the Qing Emperor. He argued that the

---

[62] *Ibid.*: 210.

[63] "Heaven" is conceptualised in various ways in Tibet. In popular believes, the benevolent gods (*lha*) occupy the upper world of heaven, mountain spirits (*gnyen* or *btsen*) and the earth lords (*sa bdag*) dwell in the middle zone of earth, and the human world can be connected with the "heaven" through mountains, the rope of light, and rainbow path for empowerment (Sumegi 2008: 23). It partly led to the political theory of Tibetan kings descending from the heaven (Powers 2007: 142; Tucci and Samuel 2000: 222–26). King Khri srong lde brtsan's inscription mentioned the concept of "*gnam chos*" (law of Heaven) (Tucci and Samuel 2000: 15). The Tibetan kings were titled "*lha btsan*," which signals some relation to the heaven. The widespread legend of "Dharma falling from the sky" (Stein 2010: 154–155, 220–29) also hints to the divine character of the heave. However, under the influence of Buddhism, "heaven" is generally considered as the celestial and formless space of higher planes for atman, buddhi, and manas; in contrast, "all under the Heaven" refers to the four lower planes, "usually reckoned as the lower mental, the astral, the etheric, and the physical" (Nath 1998: 757). Thus, compare to the systematic theorisation by Confucian scholars and the constant reiteration in Chinese historiography, the relation between Heaven, its mandate, and political legitimacy is fragmentary in Tibetan tradition.

Ming Emperor vied for the Seal with large quantities of soldiers, horses, labour and wealth, but still failed,[64] because the Seal could not be achieved by force. In contrast, he argued that Yuan received the Seal as a gift because the Mongols firmly believed in the Three Jewels. He further attributed the fall of the Mongol power to Ligdan Khan's collaboration with the Tibetan ruler of gTsang to harm the Gelug School.[65] The contrasting examples emphasised that the Seal with Swastika favored those following Tibetan Buddhism especially the Gelug School. With this premise, he started to demonstrate why Qing got the Seal without much effort: firstly, the Qing Emperor was the incarnation of Mañjuśrī; secondly, the Qing imperial court built up a patron-client relationship with the Gelug School.[66] Therefore the dharma guardian Mahakala (*srung ma gur mgon*) requested the Mongolians to submit their Seal to the Qing court.[67] Consequently, the Qing Emperor became the sovereign of all under the Heaven who turns the wheel of merit and power (*gnam 'og pa yongs la bsod nams dang stobs kyi 'khor los sgyur ba chen po'i dbang phyug*).[68]

In this way, the Seal, the symbol of sovereign power deeply ingrained in Confucian political theory, was transplanted into the Buddhist theory of cakravartin-kingship. The Qing Emperor, who was denounced as illegitimate by Han Chinese anti-Manchu intellectuals, became a fully legitimate cackravatin ruler, the manifestation of Bodhisattva.

5. Taming the Chinese War Lord into a Dharma Protector

Generally in Buddhism the legends of taming foreign deities are pervasive. In Tibetan Buddhism in particular, absorbing local cults was a mission of accomplished Tantric masters. The tamed local deities, widely including *yul lha*, *gzhi bdag*, and *sa bdag,* were often assigned to the category of Dharma Protector (*chos skyong*; Skt. *dharmapālas*) due to its ambiguity in definition and variety in manifestations.[69] In the eighteenth century, the Civil Lord (*wensheng* 文圣), the founder of Confucianism, Kongzi (*kong tse 'phrul gyi rgyal po*) was turned into a lesser deity of divination in Tibetan

[64] mGon po skyabs 2013: 212.
[65] *Ibid.*: 213.
[66] *Ibid.*: 215.
[67] *Ibid.*: 216.
[68] *Ibid.*: 215.
[69] Martin 2001: 9. Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1996) demonstrates the fuzzy categorisation of the protective deities. Mills (2013: 185–89) illustrates the non-standardised monastery-based categorising system.

Buddhism.[70] Paired with the Civil Lord, the War Lord (*wusheng* 武圣), Guandi (关帝) in Chinese, or Ku'an lo'u ye in Tibetan, underwent similar transformation:

> In China, the grand Dharma protector called Ku'an lo'u ye who is in total charge of religious and governmental affairs, was bound with a vow by this monk [Ye shes blo gros]. [Ku'an lo'u ye] took the position of a high military officer of the Great Han Dynasty when it was declining. He ran out of power and fell into the hands of the enemy. Like the great world protector King Ashoka, who with deep internal sorrow, suddenly passed away and turned into a water dragon, [Ku'an lo'u ye] generally did not commit any mistake in his thoughts and deeds; only seized by continuous hatred, he died and turned into a snake (*zhing skyong gi klu*) for four hundred years. […] The master asked the reason, gave [the snake] a Dharma teaching, conferred on [the snake] the five vows of a lay devotee, and appointed him as the Dharma protector. Then he became a Dharma protector in charge of the harmonious running of the political and religious affairs according to the Dharma, and he was fair in judging good from bad. He followed Wan cheng kung cu (*wencheng gongzhu* 文成公主, c.a. 623–80) to Tibet. rDzong btsan shan pa[71] and the famous Ge sar military king are all him [his manifestations].[72]

Ku'an lo'u ye was the phonetic transliteration of Guan Laoye (关老爷). *Laoye* in Chinese normally was used as honorary title addressing governmental officials. Thus Guan Laoye, meaning Officer Guan, highlighted the position of War Lord Guan Yu (关羽 162–220) in the celestial bureaucracy. Guan Yu, with courtesy name Guan Yunchang (关云长), was a military general in the period of the Three Kingdoms and is widely known for his bravery and loyalty. The virtue of loyalty matched well with the Confucian ethics of being loyal to the sovereign. Thus Guandi cult was officially promoted. By the sixteenth century, the Wanli Emperor of Ming Dynasty (r.1572–620) elevated Guan Yu to the position of *di* (帝, emperor)—"Sage Emperor Guan the Great God Who Subdues Demons of the Three Realms and

---

70 Lessing 1957: 111; Tseng and Lin: 2007. Ferdinand D. Lessing, from the prayer (*Kong tse gsol mchod hdod yon sprin spung*), discors that Confucius is portrayed as having "two faces and two hands in which he holds certain symbols and makes the symbolic gestures of giving protection. His headgear and other ornaments are described all in keeping with the rules governing the appearance of other Lamaist deities" (1957: 111). This image appears similar to the typical image of Dharma protector.

71 It possibly refers to Grib rDzong btsan who was said to be "a present from the Chinese princess Wen-cheng" (Hazod 2007: 573–74) and one of the many manifestations of Guandi in Tibet (*Ibid.*: 574, n. 7).

72 mGon po skyabs 2013: 268–69.

Whose Awe Spreads Far and Moves Heaven" (*Sanjiefumo Dashen Weiyuanzhentian Zun Guansheng Dijun* 三界伏魔大神威遠震天尊關聖帝君).[73] The Ming army brought Guandi cult to Korea and the Korean state sacrificial system incorporated Guandi in the seventeenth century.[74] The Ming court also spread the Guandi cult among the Mongols and Manchus.[75]

In 1652, the Shunzhi Emperor (r.1644–61) reissued the title of *di* to Guandi.[76] The Qing court invested "a massive effort to Confucianise Guandi" through compiling the hagiography of Guandi.[77] In the eighteenth century, court iconography and rites explicitly featured the presence of Guandi.[78] The promotion of the Guandi cult was also mobilised at local levels. From the mid-eighteenth century, a Guandi Temple (Wumiao 武庙 or Temple of Military Culture) was established in every county capital under the management of the bureaucratic system and sacrifices were performed to Guandi twice a year throughout the empire.[79] In popular religion, Guandi was worshiped as one of the Daoist Trinity (Sansheng 三圣).[80]

Ironically, Guandi, the great god who subdues demons, an imperial deity of high rank and wide popularity, was anonymised by mGon po skyabs as Ku'an lo'u ye, which does not mean anything in Tibetan. mGon po skyabs then re-identified Guandi as a Dharma protector (*chos skyong*). By drawing a similarity between Ku'an lo'u ye and King Ashoka, mGon po skyabs was able to explain away the "ethnic origins" of Dharma protectors. According to mGon po skyabs, Ku'an lo'u ye was tamed by a master (*slob dpon*) called Ye shes blo gros, who is the Chinese Zen master Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597), or Zhizhe Dashi (智者大师).[81] By translating Zhiyi into Ye shes blo gros, both meaning "wisdom," the story was tainted of Tibetan elements. The story of "Buddhist monk that subdues the snake" has been

73 Lu 2002: 95.
74 Juyinwo 2013.
75 Duara 1988: 783. Before the Manchus ascended to power, the Guandi cult had already been promoted by the Ming Dynasty in Manchuria and known to the Manchus. In 1650, shortly after the Manchus took over the imperial capital of Beijing and assumed the dynastic title of Qing, with the support of the Manchu royal house, the novel *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms (Sanguo Yanyi* 三国演义) was translated into Mongolian and Manchu languages (FitzHerbert 2015: 3; Crossley 1999: 244). By the late seventeenth century, the Guandi cult had already been so widely spread that the banner soldiers carried with them the image of Guandi to the frontier battlefield for blessing (di Cosmo 2007: 52).
76 "Great Saintly Emperor Guan (忠义神武关圣大帝)" (Li 1986: 454)
77 Duara 1988: 784.
78 Crossley 1999: 244.
79 Duara 1988: 785, 784.
80 You 2010: 222.
81 Hurvitz 1963: 100–182; Buswell and Lopez 2013: 911–912.

standardised and well documented for Indian Buddhism.[82] It "became the standard Buddhist approach to dealing with local gods."[83] It was applied to the conversion of Guan Yu into a Dharma protector in the *Buddhist Patriarchs* (*Fozu tongji* 佛祖统纪) composed by Zhipan (志磐, ca. 1195–74).[84] mGon po skyabs listed the *Buddhist Patriarchs* as a reference, so he probably borrowed the story from Zhipan. Nevertheless, mGon po skyabs' creatively connected Ku'an lo'u ye with Tibet. First, portraying Ku'an lo'u ye as being seized by the strong emotion of hatred to match the customary iconography of the Tibetan Dharma protectors such as King Gesar[85]. Second, Tang Princess Wencheng, a symbol of the Chinese-Tibetan connection, was taken as the transition.

In fact, it was not accidental that mGon po skyabs could rapidly position Guandi in the Tibetan pantheon. The merging process of the cult of Nurgaci, Guandi, Gesar and Vaisravana had taken place at the Qing court at that time.[86] lCang skya had correspondences with the 6th Panchen Lama, "featuring the identification of Kuan-ti—Chinese god of war and patron of the dynasty—with the Tibetan warrior gods, and the epic hero Gesar."[87] The 6th Panchen Lama dedicated various prayers to "*rgya yul gyi gzhi bdag*," the Chinese deity Guandi.[88] The collective effort of the cosmopolitan high lamas transformed Guandi, one of the highest deities of China, into Ku'an lo'u ye, tamed into a Dharma protector, and integrated into the heavenly bureaucracy of Tibetan Buddhism as a lesser deity.

6. Conclusion: Contested Intellectual Sovereignty and Multiple Identities

This article illustrates the ways in which mGon po skyabs reoriented to the "Eastern Land of *Mahācina*" for empowerment through projecting a sacred landscape onto the land of China and inventing new sites of pilgrimage in China proper. This empowerment was both religious and political. It granted legitimacy to mGon po skyabs and the Tibetan Buddhist intellectual community. mGon po skyabs

---

82 Faure 1996: 156.
83 Hansen 1993: 78.
84 Duara 1988: 779.
85 "Gesar's typical iconography depicts him clothed in metal armor, […] and wears boots and a helmet festooned with colourful flags. He rides a white wild donkey, while holding in his left had a bowl of jewels and in his right, a weapon such as a pear or dagger." (Kerin 2015: 49).
86 Crossley 1999: 245.
87 Stein 1983: 88–89.
88 dPal ldan ye shes 199?: 740–85.

negotiated intellectual sovereignty with the Confucian orthodoxy by overlaying the Confucian political theory of the Sage-king with the Buddhist theory of the cakravartin-king as well as by converting the Chinese supreme War Lord into a lesser Dharma protector. In this process, mGon po skyabs emphasised the legitimacy and the divine origin of the Mongol rulers. Meanwhile, he highlighted the significance of contracting patron-priest relationships between the Qing emperor and the Gelug School. Therefore, mGon po skyabs played out his multiple identifications as a member of the cosmopolitan elite, a Qing subject, a Mongolian noble man, and a Tibetan Buddhist.

Bibliography

Allan, S. 2015. *Buried Ideas: Legends of Abdication and Ideal Government in Early Chinese Bamboo-Slip Manuscripts*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Atwood, Christopher P. 2014. "Historiography and transformation of ethnic identity in the Mongol Empire: the Öng'üt case." *Asian ethnicity* 15(4), 514–534.

Blo bzang bstan 'dzin, 罗桑旦增. 2013. "译者说明 Instruction of the Translator." In *rgya nag chos 'byung*. Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue chubanshe 中国藏学出版社.

Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, Tu'u bkwan. 1984. *grub mtha' shel gyi me long*. Lanzhou: kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

———. 2000. *gSung 'bum/ blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma* Vol. 2. Lhasa: zhol par khang gsar pa.

Brown, Miranda. 2013. "Mozis Remaking of Ancient Authority." In *The Mozi as an Evolving Text: Different Voices in Early Chinese Thought*, edited by C. Defoort and N. Standaert. Leiden: Brill.

Bu ston rin chen grub. 1988. *bDe gshegs bstan pa'i gsal byed chos kyi 'byung gnas*. Beijing: krung go bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang.

Buswell, R.E., and D.S. Lopez. 2013. *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Cao, Yongnian 曹永年 1990. “传国玺"与明蒙关系 “The role of the Imperial Seal in the Ming-Mongolian relation.” *Neimenggu Shehui Kexue 内蒙古社会科学* (2), 60–64.

Chopel, G., T. Jinpa, and D. S. Lopez. 2014. *Grains of Gold: Tales of a Cosmopolitan Traveler*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

di Cosmo, H. and N. di Cosmo. 2007. *The Diary of a Manchu Soldier in Seventeenth-Century China: “My Service in the Army,” by Dzengseo*. Oxford: Taylor & Francis.

Crossley, Pamela Kyle. 1999. *A Translucent Mirror: History and Identity in Qing Imperial Ideology*. Berkely: University of California Press.

Cutler, Nathan Storer. 1996. *Mt. Kailasa: Source for the sacred in early Indian and Tibetan tradition*, PhD dissertation, California Institute of Integral Studies.

dPa’ bo gtsug lag phreng ba. 2006. *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

dPal ldan ye shes. 199? *gSung 'bum/ dpal ldan ye shes* Vol. 5. Shigatse: bKra shis lhun po’i par khang.

Duara, Prasenjit. 1988. “Superscribing Symbols: The Myth of Guandi, Chinese God of War.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 47(4), 778–795.

Faure, B. 1996. *Chan Insights and Oversights: An Epistemological Critique of the Chan Tradition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Fengxiao, 凤晓. 2013. 恒河之流"研究 *Research concerning “The Branch of the Ganges.”* Ph.D Dissertation, Mongolian Study Center, Neimenggu Daxue.

FitzHerbert, Solomon George. 2015. “On the Tibetan Ge-sar epic in the late 18th century: Sum-pa mkhan-po’s letters to the 6th Paṇ-chen Lama.” *Études mongoles et sibériennes, centrasiatiques et tibétaines* (45).

Franke, H. 1978. *From Tribal Chieftain to Universal Emperor and God: The Legitimation of the Yüan Dynasty*. München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Gangcuo, 岗措. 2010. "大唐西域记"藏译文研究 *On the Tibetan Translation of Datang Xiyu Ji*. Ph.D Dissertation, Department of Tibetan Studies, Zhongyang minzu daxue.

Hansen, Valerie. 1993. "Gods on Walls: A case of Indian influence on Chinese lay religion?" In *Religion and Society in Tang and Sung China*, edited by P. B. Ebrey and P. N. Gregory. University of Hawaii Press.

Hazod, Guntram. 2007. "In the Garden of the White Mare: Encounter with History and Clut in Tsha Gung-thang." In *Rulers on the Celestial Plain: Ecclesiastic and Secular Hegemony in Medieval Tibet: a Study of Tshal Gung-thang*, edited by Per K. Sørensen et. al. Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Hu, M., and J. Elverskog. 2016. *Cosmopolitanism in China, 1600–1950.* Amherst: Cambria Press.

Hurvitz, L. 1963. *Chih-I (538–597): An Introduction to the Life and Ideas of a Chinese Buddhist Monk*. Bruges: Imprimerie Sainte-Catherine.

Ikejiri, Yoko. 2015. "The Relationship between Monasteries in the Pa-jo Area and the Early Qing." Paper presented at the Fourth International Seminar of Young Tibetologists, Leipzig, 7–11 Septmember.

Jackson, Roger R. 2006. "Triumphalism and Ecumenism in Thu'u bkwan's Crystal Mirror." *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* (2), 1–23.

Kanaoka, Hidero 金冈秀郎. 1992. "清代蒙古翻译文献概史: '海比忠乃辞典' 成书背景 The Brief History of the Literature translated into Mongolian: Background of the *Haibizhongnai Dictionary*." *Mengguxue xinxi* 蒙古学信息(1), 51–57.

———. 2007. "Merged Garqu-yin orun (mGo)におけるモンゴルの伝統的歴史観の転換とタイジ・ゴンボジャブ (The Change of Traditional Mongolian Views of History in the merged Garqu-yin orun (mGo) and Taiji Gombujab)." 内陸アジア史研究 (22), 21–38.

Juyinwo, 具银我. 2013. "首尔的关帝庙和关帝信仰 The Guandi Temple and Guandi cult in Seoul." *Zongjiaoxue Yanjiu* 宗教学研究 (3), 269–273.

Kerin, M. R. 2015. *Art and Devotion at a Buddhist Temple in the Indian Himalaya*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Lessing, Ferdinand, D. 1957. "Bodhisattva Confucius." *Oriens* 10(1), 110–113.

Lewis, M. E. 1990. *Sanctioned Violence in Early China*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Li, Guangtao 李光濤. 1986. 明清檔案論文集 *Collections of studies on the Ming-Qing Archives*. Taibei: Lianjing Chuban shiye gongsi 聯經出版事業公司.

Li, Junfang 李俊方. 2005. "两汉皇帝即位礼仪研究 Study on Enthronement Rituals of the Han Emperors." *Shixue yuekan* 史学月刊 (2), 21–28.

Lu, Xiaoheng 卢晓衡. 2002. 关羽、关公和关圣: 中国历史文化中的关羽学术研讨会论文集 *Guan Yu, Guangong, and Guansheng: Seminar Papers on Guan Yu in Chinese History and Culture*. Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe 社會科學文獻出版社.

Mala, Guilaine. 2006. "A Mahayanist rewriting of the history of China by Mgon po skyabs in the Rgya nag chos 'byung." In *Power, politics, and the reinvention of tradition*, edited by Bryan Cuevas and K.R. Schaeffer, 145–170. Leiden: Brill.

Martin, Dan. 2001. *Unearthing Bon Treasures: Life and Contested Legacy of a Tibetan Scripture Revealer, With a General Bibliography of Bon*. Leiden: Brill.

mGon po skyabs. 2013 *rgya nag chos 'byung*. Beijing: Zhongguo zangxue chubanshe 中国藏学出版社.

Mills, Martin A. 2013. *Identity, Ritual and State in Tibetan Buddhism: The Foundations of Authority in Gelukpa Monasticism*. Oxford: Taylor & Francis.

Na, Zhiliang 那志良. 1970. 鉥印通釋 *A General Introduction to Seals*. Taibei: Tai wan shang wu 臺灣商務印書館.

Nath, S. 1998. *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Buddhism*. New Delhi: Sarup & Sons.

de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, René 1996. *Oracles and demons of Tibet: the cult and iconography of the Tibetan protective deities*. New Delhi: Book Faith India.

Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho. 2009. *gSung 'bum/ rgyal dbang lnga pa ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho.* Vol. 9. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang.

Powers, John. 2007. *Introduction to Tibetan Buddhism*. Boulder: Shambhala Publications, Incorporated.

Puett, M.J. 2002. *To Become a God: Cosmology, Sacrifice, and Self-divinization in Early China*.Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center.

Ronis, Jann M. 2009. *Celibacy, Revelations, and E Reincarnated Lamas: Contestation and Synthesis in the Growth of Monasticism at Katok Monastery from the 17th through 19th Centuries*. PhD dissertation, University of Virginia.

Shen, Weirong 沈衛榮. 2006. "再論《彰所知論》與《蒙古源流》 A Re-examination of the Shes bya rab gsal and the Erdeniyin Tobči." *Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan lishiyuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 77(4), 697–727.

Shi, Dongchu 釋東初 1972. 中印佛教交通史 *The history of Chinese-Indian Interaction*. Dongchu chubanshe 東初出版社.

Stein, Rolf A. 1983. *Tibetan Civilization*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

——— and A.P. MacKeown. 2010. *Rolf Stein's Tibetica Antiqua: With Additional Materials*. Leiden: Brill.

Sumegi, A. 2008. *Dreamworlds of Shamanism and Tibetan Buddhism: The Third Place*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Sun, L. 孙林, and 群培 Chos 'phel. 2009. "简论清代学者贡布嘉撰述的藏文史书'汉区佛教源'》的史料来源 On the Historical Sources of the Tibetan Historiogragy *Buddhist History of China* by Qing Scholar Gongbujia." *Xizang Minzu xueyuan xuebao (Zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 西藏民族学院学报(哲学社会科学版) 30(5), 23–41.

Sweet, Michael J. 2006. ”Jesus the World Protector: Eighteenth-Century Gelukpa Historians View ’Christianity’.” *Buddhist-Christian Studies* 26, 173–178.

Tā ra nā tha. 2008. *gSung 'bum/ tā ra nā tha,* Vol. 20. Beijing: Krung go’i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang.

Tseng, Te-Ming 曾德明, and Shen-Yu Lin 林纯瑜. 2007. “The Image of Confucius in Tibetan Culture 西藏文化中的孔子形象.” *Taiwan dongya wenming yanjiu xuekan* 台湾东亚文明研究学刊 4(2), 169–207.

Tshe dbang nor bu. 2006. *kaH thog rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu'i bka' 'bum* Vol. 2. Beijing: Krung go’i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang.

Tu, W. 1985. *Confucian Thought: Selfhood as Creative Transformation*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Tucci, Giuseppe. 1971. “Himalayan Cina.” In *Etudes Tibetaines dédiées a la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*, edited by A. Macdonald, 548–552. Paris: Librarie d'Amerique et d’Orient.

——— and Geoffrey Samuel. 2000. *The Religions of Tibet*. Cardiff: Kegan Paul International.

Uspensky, Vladimir. 2008. ”Gombojab — A Tibetan Buddhist in the Capital of the Qing Empire.” In *Biographies of Eminent Mongol Buddhists*, edited by J. Elverskog, 59–70. Halle: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies.

Wang-Toutain, Françoise. 2005. ”Circulation du savoir entre la Chine, la Mongolie et le Tibet au XVIIIe siècle. Le prince mGon-po skyabs.” *Études chinoises* (XXIV), 57–112.

Wuyunbilige, 乌云毕力格. 2009. “关于清代著名蒙古文人乌珠穆沁公滚布扎卜的几点新史料 Some new sources on the Ujimcin Mongolian scholar mGon po skyabs of Qing.” *Qingshi yanjiu* 清史研究 *[The Qing History Journal]* (1), 119–123.

Xiao, Gaohong 萧高洪. 1989. “传国玺与君权神授的观念 the Imperial Seal and the Divine Rights of the King.” *Jiangxi Shehui Kexue* 江西社会科学 (2), 120–125.

You, Zi'an 游子安. 2010. “敷化宇內:清代以來關帝善書及其信仰的傳播 The spread of Guandi worship through morality books in the Qing Dynasty.” *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo xuebao* 中國文化研究所學報 (50), 219–253.

Zhang, Xinglang 张星烺. 1977. 中西交通史料汇编 *Compilation of Hisotical Sources on Chinese-Western Interactions*. Vol. 1. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中华书局.

The *Wholesome Streams (dGe ba'i chu rgyun).* Tshe dbang nor bu's Treatment of the Chinese Monk's Simultaneist Approach to Awakening

Linghui Zhang[1]

(University of Virginia)

A stereotypical Tibetan understanding of Chinese Buddhism—particularly that of the Chinese Chan tradition—over the course of the late spread of the teaching in Tibet (*phyi dar*) has taken as its parameter the narrative of the debate believed to have occurred during the reign of Khri Srong lde brtsan (r.755–799). The debate narrative, which is laden with the rhetoric of the controversy over the two opposed doctrinal strands of the Subitism and Gradualism[2]—specifically, those of the simultaneist (*cig car ba*) and gradualist (*rim gyis pa*) approaches[3]—is traceable to the

1 I owe my gratitude to Professor Dorji Wangchuk, my academic advisor from the Master program of Tibetan Studies at the University of Hamburg, for painstakingly assisting me in editing and translating the text *dGe ba'i chu rgyun* authored by Kaḥ thog rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu. I am solely responsible for any mistakes and errors that have occurred in this article.

2 Paul Demiéville (1987a) first applied the pair of terms 'Subitism' and 'Gradualism' to describe the sudden-gradual contrast. His point of departure is the famous story of the verse exchange between Huineng 慧能 (638–713) and Shenxiu 神秀 (606?–706) in competition for the patriarchal title. Unconcerned with the polemical history as well a detailed investigation of the doctrinal issues as manifested by the verses, Demiéville attempts to formulate a typology of the sudden-gradual contrast. However, R. A. Stein (1987) investigates the precise semantic range of the term "sudden" in both Chinese and Tibetan contexts, and implied that Demiéville has missed the lexical variety of this term.

3 In the Tibetan context, the [*g*]*cig c*[*h*]*ar ba* and *rim gyis pa*, a pair of terms denoting Subitism and Gradualism respectively, are parallels to *dunmen* 顿门 and *jianmen* 渐门 in Chinese. The Chinese phrases have been rendered in turn phonetically as [*s*]*ton men*/*min* and [*br*]*tse*[*n*] *men*/*min* in Tibetan. As for the definition of both, *cig car ba* is characterised by its immediacy and innate spontaneity of realising the pure nature of the mind, while *rim gyis pa* involves a progressive course of cultivation on the factors conducive to the awakening. For further information regarding this contrasting pair of terminology, see Stein (1987). Two major works dealing with the debate as historical event are Tucci (1958) and Demiévile (1987b). Tucci has made an extensive historical investigation of the debate as an introduction to the presentation of Kamalaśīla's first *Bhāvanākrama*, while Demiéville has treated the same subject from the Chinese perspective.

Linghui Zhang, "The *Wholesome Streams* (*dGe ba'i chu rgyun*): Tshe dbang nor bu's treatment of the Chinese monk's simultaneist approach to awakening", *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 37, December 2016, pp. 592–610.

sBa bzhed, a text first compiled around the 12th century and allegedly the earliest extant Tibetan source on this subject. According to the normative discourse commonly held by Tibetan scholars, the Chinese Chan monk, customarily called Hwa shang Mahāyāna (Chin. *heshang moheyan* 和尚摩诃衍), was finally defeated by his opponent Kamalaśīla who had come from the Indian scholastic tradition, and his simultaneist approach, charged with being excessively quietistic and with excluding ethical and intellectual cultivations, was consequently prohibited by royal decree. The *sBa bzhed* documentation of Hwa shang's defense and Kamalaśīla's ensuing refutation in the debate, however, might have primarily copied from, or at least based itself on the same textual origin with, Kamalaśīla's third *Bhāvanākrama*, where the author devises a conversation with an anonymous opponent who proposed non-thinking (Skt. *na kiṃcit cintayanti*; Tib. *ci yang mi sems*) and non-action (Skt. *na kiṃcit karma kurvanti*; Tib. *ci yang mi byed*) as the effective path to liberation.[4] As the discourse of this sudden-gradual controversy went on, a simplistic and even distorted image of Hwa shang Mahāyāna as an advocate of sudden awakening denying any preceding cultivations began to assume an emblematic function. Representative of an erroneous kind of teaching, the figure Hwa shang was often put to the polemical use against certain traditions—mainly those of the bKa' brgyud pa and rNying ma pa—whose philosophical and meditative systems were vehemently rebutted by being labelled with terms such as "the tradition of Hwa shang" (*hwa shang gi lugs*).

This article will leave aside the issues revolving around the historicity of the debate itself, and turn to the significance of the image of Hwa shang Mahāyāna in the Tibetan Buddhist landscape through the case analysis of Kaḥ thog rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu's

---

4 The *sBa bzhed* does bear the mention of the three *Bhāvanākrama*s, which is said to have been composed by Kamalaśīla at the request of the Tibetan king after the debate. See *sBa bzhed*: 76.18–77.2. Kamalaśīla as the author of the third *Bhāvanākrama* renders his opponent's position as an abandonment of the Mahāyāna system: specifically, the non-thinking would finally lead to the abandonment of the supramundane (Skt. *lokottara*; Tib. *'jig rten las 'das pa*) *prajñā*, and the non-action, primarily the rejection of any benevolent conduct (Skt. *kuśalacaryā*; Tib. *dge pa spyod pa*), is equal to a complete abandonment of *upāya*s. For the Sanskrit original of pertinent passages in the third *Bhāvanākrama*, see Tucci 1971: 13–4. For its Tibetan translation, see the *sGom rim gsum*: 143. Is Kamalaśīla referring in his work intentionally to a specific contemporary—probably Hwa shang—he encountered in the real life, or merely to an imaginary opponent who was later identified by the sBa writer with Hwa shang Mahāyāna in the *sBa bzhed*? It is, however, barely easy to pin this down due to the paucity of earlier literature and the nature of our documentation.

(1689–1755)[5] treatment of the Chinese monk's simultaneist approach. Unlike many of his predecessors and fellows who distanced their own teachings from Hwa shang's and even sided against him in response to attacks, Tshe dbang nor bu in his *Wholesome Streams* (*dGe ba'i chu rgyun*)[6]—a historical treatment of the origination and transmission of Hwa shang's simultaneist approach in China and Tibet—adopted quite a different strategy of defense. Rather than rejecting any resemblance to or association with the Tibetan system of the rDzogs chen or Mahāmudrā, he attempted to prove Hwa shang's teaching as a valid path to awakening, thus cutting the ground from under his opponents' rebuttals.

To ground Tshe dbang nor bu's thesis in a broader historical setting of how the historical figure Moheyan made his way in the Tibetan milieu with his image changed to cater to the specific Tibetan agendas, I will first briefly introduce (i) the Chinese venue of the sudden-gradual controversy which possibly influenced the Tibetan perception of the Chinese Chan teaching, (ii) the Dunhuang witnesses to Moheyan's presence, from which the later mainstream discourse had diverged,[7] and (iii) the Indian precedent and Tibetan development of the *amanasikāra* (Tib. *yid la mi byed pa*; Chin. *buzuoyi* 不作意) doctrine toward which people's perception of Hwa shang's teaching had gravitated.

---

5 Born in 1698 in Eastern Tibet, Tshe dbang nor bu was soon recognised as the reincarnation of gNubs Nam mkha'i snying po's spiritual line, and then ordained in the Kaḥ thog monastery. Sources of his doctrinal inspiration came from both the rNying ma pa and Karma bKa' brgyud pa circles. He kept a tolerant attitude toward doctrines from different schools and later became a non-sectarian (*ris med*) activist. He also gave more weight to meditative practice than scholarly debate. See Richardson 1967: 7–8. All points mentioned above could be well reflected in his self-designation as unbiased and non-sectarian vagabond yogin (*phyogs med ris med rnal 'byor rgyal khams pa*), found in the epilogue of the text (*dGe ba'i chu rgyun*: B: 389.11–12; D: fol. 16a6–b1).

6 The full title of the text is *rGya nag hwa shang gi byung tshul grub mtha'i phyogs snga bcas sa bon tsam smos pa yid kyi dri ma dag byed dGe ba'i chu rgyun* (The Virtuous Stream which Purifies the Mental Stains: A Mere Brief Account of the Origin of Chinese Hwa-Shang's [Doctrine] together with Objections to the System). According to the epilogue (B: 389.11–15; D: 16b), the text was finished in 1744 with the assistance of two scribes at lJon pa lung of the Kong po area.

7 In order to differentiate between the legendary figure in the Tibetan *imaginaire* and the historical one who did leave his teaching in the Tibetan Buddhist landscape, especially in the Dunhuang Tibetan corpus, I will use the term *hwa shang* to designate the former, and *moheyan* the latter.

1. The Sudden-Gradual Controversy on Chinese Ground Prior to the Tibetan Event of Debate

The Chinese conflict, which took place in Tang China in the 730s, constitutes Shenhui's 神会 (684–758) attack on Shenxiu's theory of the gradual awakening, and marks the historiographical division of the Chinese Chan tradition into the South and North branches.

The intriguing story of the verse competition between Shenxiu and Huineng[8] has been long taken as the archetypical episode featuring the sudden-gradual conflict. However, this episode might be compromised by pieces of evidence in both figures' biographies.[9] Be that as it may, the *Platform Sūtra* (*Liuzu tanjing* 六祖坛经) which first recorded this story still holds its significance in telling us how Shenhui, or the Southern side he represented, perceived his antagonistic relationship with the Northern side across the isle. The distinction between the two poems attributed respectively to Shenxiu and Huineng corresponds to the doctrinal contrast between *linian* 离念 and *wunian* 无念 advocated by the Northern and Southern sides respectively. The notion of *linian*, literally separation of thoughts, requires the removal of the dust of discursive thoughts from the mirror of the mind, whereas *wunian* suggests that there is no necessity to do so. For Shenhui, who laid a claim to Huineng's legacy, the occurrence of suddenness or simultaneity derives from the identification of awakening and delusion, which entails no such extra efforts.

Despite the rhetoric of the sudden-gradual opposition fully engaging the persons involved, the Chinese context reveals distinct doctrinal and political concerns without necessarily being connected with the Tibetan one which emerged decades later. However, tenuous historical links do exist. One such link is that Shenhui's critique of his northern rivals is found incorporated into the

---

8 See Yampolsky 1967: 129–32; and McRae 1994: 126–28.

9 As McRae points out, since both Shenxiu's and Huineng's chronological lines of activity never overlapped, as revealed by their own biographies, the competition for the succession to the patriarchal title in the form of verse exchange must simply have never happened (McRae 1994: 129). Second, McRae considers the two verses as constituting "one single unit expressing a rarified understanding of the 'perfect teaching' of constant bodhisattvic practice," which is that, "one should labor unceasingly to save all other sentient beings from suffering even as one remained constantly in meditation, but without ever conceptualising sentient beings, salvic action, or meditation." (McRae 1987: 228) Furthermore, Shenxiu's 'perfect' teaching, which laid a focus on the constant practice as implied by the verse, was not really a gradualist method as advocated by Shenhui's side, whereas the sudden teaching probably espoused by Huineng was not exclusive to the Southern school (McRae 1994: 129).

ordination platform ceremony of bestowing the *bodhisattva* vow, which had been spread to Sichuan, and further to the Tibetan-occupied area in Northwest China.[10] This, more or less, contributed to the Tibetan awareness of the radical antipractice rhetoric from Chinese Chan teachings. Another more substantial link could be found in the lineage affiliation and doctrinal inspiration of the figure Moheyan (i.e. Hwa shang Mahāyāna): he was, on the one hand, connected to Shenxiu's Northern lineage in the Dunhuang Chinese source,[11] while on the other credited with the explicit Southern colour of apophatic rhetoric, which points to a possible connection with Shenhui. As van Schaik points out, Moheyan's teaching aims to reconcile meditation practice with Shenhui's antipractice rhetoric.[12]

2. Moheyan's Teaching in the Witness of the Dunhuang Chan Corpus

Hwa shang is the last, but most important, Chinese monk to appear in the *sBa bzhed*, where several instances are recorded of the Tibetan encounter—particularly that of Khri Srong lde brtsan's court—with Chinese Buddhists prior to Hwa shang's arrival.[13] As the narrative unfolds, Hwa shang was at first quite popular in the court, but soon tensions emerged regarding the method of cultivation on how to gain access to awakening. The Chinese master ended up losing to Kamalaśīla in the debate. However, according to the *Dunwu dacheng zhenglijue* 顿悟大乘正理决—a Dunhuang Chan text purporting to be the minutes of the debate written in Chinese favor compiled in the early 9th century, the debate did not necessarily take place alive on a stage as the *sBa bzhed* would like us to believe, but most likely by letter. Sam van Schaik connects the *Zhenglijue* form of question-and-answer exchange to the way Chan "was presented to a sympathetic audience [...] the questions in Wangxi's text generally set the stage for Moheyan's answers, just as in the Tibetan version of the debate, Moheyan's brief argument sets the stage for a lengthy refutation."[14] Thus, the setting of debate in both texts, from either the Tibetan or Chinese perspective, is more conventional in evoking the agenda of the author or compiler than indicative of a scene in real practice.

Despite the historicity of the event of debate itself, Moheyan,

---

10 Van Schaik 2015: 11.
11 The *Dunwu dacheng zhengli jue* 顿悟大乘正理决 ascribes to Moheyan a list of five or six masters, three out of which, Xiangmo 降魔, Xiaofu 小福 and Dafu 大福 respectively, are certainly followers of Shenxiu (Rao 1979: 357).
12 Van Schaik 2015: 12.
13 See Broughton 1983: 5–10; and van Schaik 2015: 13–4.
14 Van Schaik 2015: 16.

together with quite a few other teachers identified with the Chan master, did have their teachings and sayings left in the Dunhuang Tibetan corpus. However, the majority of the texts which bear the subject were not necessarily intended to simply record these masters' thoughts, but were used as source material for a larger ritual scheme. The texts functioned to instil the Chan ethos of non-conceptuality in participants of the ceremony represented by the compendium of which those Chan masters' sayings were part.[15] Those Chan teachings, grouped together regardless of factious attribution, are generally characteristic of "presentations of what is apparently a negation as a positive aspect of Buddhist practice and realization."[16]

The teachings found in the works attributed to Moheyan[17] shows a tendency to reconcile the practice of 'observing the mind' (Chin. *kanxin* 看心; Tib. *sems la bltas*)—which has been taught by Shenxiu as well—with the antipractice rhetoric of sudden awakening firmly held by Shenhui. According to Moheyan's thesis, the conceptual mind as the fundamental cause of *saṃsāra* should be brought to cessation through the meditative technique of observing the mind, the instruction of which contains repeated negations of mental engagement. However, instead of calling for an absolute suppression—which he himself actually deemed as inferior and incorrect—Moheyan attempted to achieve a certain form of meditative experience free from conceptuality, which he defined as the simultaneist approach (*cig car 'jug pa*).[18] Furthermore, his works show a positive attitude toward the perfections cultivation. Though it is only by subsuming all the six or ten perfections under one single method of *dhyāna* that one is guided through the simultaneist path,

---

15 Sam van Schaik regards the collection of Chan master's teachings found in PT 116 as "performative utterances" characterised by "repetition and redundancy" (*ibid.*: 43–4).

16 *Ibid.*: 45–6.

17 Gómez has extracted five works ascribed to Moheyan out of the Dunhuang Tibetan corpus: 1) parallel to the *Dunwu dacheng zhenglijue* 顿悟大乘正理决; 2) the *bSam gtan cig car 'jug pa'i sgo*; 3) the *bSam gtan gyi snying po*; 4) the *Myi rtog pa'i gzhung*; 5) the *bSam gtan myi rtog pa'i nang du pha rol tu phyin pa drug dang bcu 'dus pa bshad pa'i mdo*. (Gómez 1983: 86–7). Sam van Schaik has revised this list by pointing out that the inclusion of the third one was due to the confusion caused by the scribal error (van Schaik 2015: 139). For the English translation of those works, see Gómez 1983: 107–32; and van Schaik 2015: 121–9, 141–6. However, an alternative list of works attributed to Hwa shang occurs in the later indigenous Tibetan literature, the earliest available of which might be Sa skya Paṇḍita's work. For instance, the *Thub pa dgongs gsal* (48b5–6) groups five *śāstra*s, namely the *bSam gtan nyal ba'i khor lo*, the *bSam gtan gyi lon*, the *Yang lon*, the *lTa ba'i rgyab sha* and the *mDo sde brgyad cu khungs*, under the category of *dkar po chig thub*.

18 ITJ 468: 1a–2b. For its English translation, see Gómez 1983: 107–9; and van Schaik 2015: 141–2.

his schema does leave some room for the gradualist perfections cultivation.[19] At this point, we can see a difference to the later Tibetan impression of Hwa shang Mahāyāna.

3. Amanasikāra: the Indian Precedent and Tibetan Development

If the *sBa bzhed*'s divergence from the Dunhuang archives in terms of the picture of Chinese Chan teachings has much to do with the clannish rivalries traced back to the imperial era,[20] then what motivated Tibetans of later generations, up till Tshe dbang nor bu's time, to bring up this debate story from time to time? It involves a more complex discourse of the Buddhist transmission from India triumphing over that from China, and the new translation schools overwhelming the ancient one. Therefore, a subtle shift of emphasis occurred in later versions of the story: it was Chinese Buddhism as a whole—thought of as embodiment of the simultaneist approach—that became subject to criticism. To get a proper sense of this new thread of thought, so as to better contextualise Tshe dbang nor bu's thesis, we will look at how the *amanasikāra* doctrine became entangled with the discourse of the Chinese monk in the Tibetan Buddhist landscape.

The early canonical use of the term *amanasikāra*—literally 'to become mentally disengaged'[21]—pointed to a rejection of mental engagement with signs (*nimitta*s) while keeping the proper working of mental engagement (*manasikāra*).[22] Mahāyāna thinkers inherited this line of thought, and developed it along two strands: the traditional Madhyamaka analysis which leads to the realisation of emptiness and the Mahamudrā path where the nature of mind is experienced as luminosity. While Kamalaśīla considered *amanasikāra* as a result of the analytical *vipaśyanā* practice, Saraha equated his *mahamudrā* practice with *amanasikāra*, advancing a non-analytical

---

19 PT 116: 171–3. For its English translation, see Gómez 1983: 121–3; and van Schaik 2015: 50–1.

20 According to Ruegg, clannish rivalries among Tibetans might play a more contributing role than any possible conflicts of both political and religious benefits between Chinese and Indians (Ruegg 1989: 126–7). Both the *sBa bzhed* and *Zhenglijue* confirm that Moheyan, or the Tibetan Chan group, was supported by the 'Dro clan which had played a big role as the guardian of Tibet's northeast frontier. Thus, the story of Moheyan's party being defeated by the sBa family-supported party led by Kamalaśīla as was told in the *sBa bzhed*—a text celebrating the role of the sBa clan in introducing Buddhism to Tibet—could be seen as an attempt to lend the sBa clan a claim to the imperial Buddhist agenda.

21 Here I adopt Klaus-Dieter Mathes's way of translating this term. See, for instance, Mathes 2010.

22 *Ibid.*: 4–5.

path aiming at a direct access to the luminous nature of mind, even without necessarily going through tantric initiations.[23] However, both agree that it is only the *manasikāra* invested with *nimitta* that the *amanasikāra* aims to negate or transcend. It was only since Maitrīpa that the motif of non-analytical realisation started to be combined with Pāramitāyāna teachings, and made a certain kind of Madhyamaka-based Mahāmudrā which finally ended up in Tibet with the label 'sūtric Mahāmudrā' (*mdo lugs phyag rgya chen po*).[24]

The Tibetan bKa' brgyud pa tradition had reinforced Maitrīpa's role, probably as a response to the doubts raised regarding the authenticity of the transmission of sGam po pa's (1079–1153) non-tantric Mahāmudrā path. sGam po pa proposed a 'pointing-out instruction' (*ngo sprod*) method which constitutes a simultaneist approach to the *mahāmudrā* whereby one is introduced through the teacher's instruction (*gdams ngag*) directly to the nature of mind, as distinguished from the gradualist path of both the sūtric and tantric methods.[25] At some points, he even equated this Mahāmudrā path with the rDzogs chen.[26] The transcending nature of sGam po pa's Mahāmudrā presentation had succumbed itself to criticisms from communities either scholarly minded or tantric based. Sa skya Paṇḍita (1182–1251), one of the best-known critics in this regard, linked the self-sufficient white [remedy] (*dkar po chig thub*)—a metaphor of sGam po pa's *ngo sprod* method[27]—with Hwa shang's teaching which he identified with the 'Chinese-style rDzogs chen' (*rgya nag lugs kyi rdzogs chen*).[28] Instead of extending his reproach to the Mahāmudrā per se, Sa paṇ confined the object of his attack only to what he called 'neo-Mahāmudrā' (*da lta'i phyag rgya chen po*), a path taught outside of the Mantrayāna by bKa' brgyud pas, as contrasted with the tantric-based transmission from Nāropa.[29]

However, Sa paṇ had not necessarily levelled his criticism against Maitrīpa's *amanasikāra*,[30] neither was sGam po pa so much emphatic about Maitrīpa as the source of his Mahāmudrā transmission as

---

[23] *Ibid.*: 7–8.

[24] For issues regarding the Indian origin of the "sūtric Mahāmudrā," mainly surrounding Maitrīpa's contribution to a synthetical hermeneutical framework of the *amanasikāra* idea, see Mathes 2010.

[25] Jackson 1994: 23–8.

[26] *Ibid.*: 29–30.

[27] See Ruegg 1989: 102–4; and Jackson 1994: 1–12.

[28] Such a linkage is well established throughout Sa paṇ's narrative of the debate event. See, for instance, the *sKyes bu dam pa* (3a6–3b1): *rgya nag mkhan po na re | ... sems ngo 'phrod na dkar po chig thub yin*.

[29] *sDom gsum rab dbye*: 26a5–b2. Cf. Ruegg 1989: 101–2.

[30] Even in his criticism of Hwa shang, Sa paṇ had not used the term *yid la mi byed pa* (*amanasikāra*), but *rnam par mi rtog pa* (non-conceptuality), to characterise the Chinese monk's teaching (Jackson 1994: 73, n. 179).

about Nāropa. It was only in the subsequent centuries that Maitrīpa, together with his *amanasikāra* doctrine, was given higher regard within the tradition, partly as a strategy to defend the lineage legitimacy. The justifications made by later bKa' brgyud pas, nonetheless, showed a sūtric orientation in that the presentation of what was a third path had been fit into the sūtric category, with its equivalents being the '*pāramitā* Mahāmudrā' (*phar phyin phyag chen*), the 'Mahāmudrā of the quintessential meaning' (*phyag chen snying po'i don*), or 'Maitrīpa's Mahāmudrā' (*mai tri'i phyag chen*).[31] Thus, in the bKa' brgyud pa defense and elaboration, Sa paṇ has been portrayed as if he took Maitrīpa's *amanasikāra* doctrine considered to feature sGam po pa's Mahāmudrā path as having come from Hwa shang's *cig car ba* teaching.

Therefore, sGam po pa had not so much inherited from Maitrīpa in his doctrinal innovations as his successors would have people to believe. Then, is there any way to trace some more direct inspirations? Based on the currently extant sources, Sa paṇ's vision of a connection with the Chinese Chan, despite its potential polemical nature, does seem to have some historical validity. The *dkar po chig thub* as the metaphor of a soteriologically self-sufficient method finds itself a parallel in the *Zhenglijue* where Moheyan uses a medicine metaphor for his non-conceptual method.[32] Moreover, sGam po pa's elaboration of his simultaneist approach even shares quotations from Chinese Chan scriptures with the Tibetan Chan texts.[33] It is also worthy to note that the Chinese Chan continued to exert its influence upon the Tibetan circle even till the 11th century.[34] However, the possibility that sGam po pa had ever drawn his doctrinal inspiration from the Chan has yet to be confirmed by a closer reading of relevant materials.

---

31 *Ibid.*: 82–3.

32 Rao 1979: 349, cf. Ruegg 1987: 100–1; and Jackson 1994: 4.

33 Jackson 1994: 22–4.

34 Van Schaik 2015: 16–7. gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes (fl. 10th century) devised in his *bSam gtan mig sgron* (30b6–31b3) a doctrinal hierarchy which incorporates the simultaneist approach among the other three. This reflects an attempt to counter the then Tibetan tendency to mix Moheyan's teaching with Atiyoga. Cf. Dalton & van Schaik 2003. Moreover, A ro Ye shes 'byung gnas who flourished in the 11th century is said to be the point where the Indian and Chinese sevenfold lineages of reincarnated teachers (*bdun brgyud*) converged. See, for instance, *Deb ther sngon po*: 211.11–14.

4. A Case of Polemical Defense by an 18th-Century rNying ma pa Master in his Treatment of Hwa shang Mahāyāna

Tshe dbang nor bu's agenda in his *dGe ba'i chu rgyun* can be better examined against the background of the non-tantric Mahāmudrā discourse—which had been narrowly identified with Maitrīpa's *amanasikāra*—being intertwined with the *cig car ba* one. We also need to put his stance in the religio-political environment in the 18th century Tibet. With the rise of the rNying ma pa monasticism since the 17th century, the dGe lugs pa sectarian expansion no longer remained outside the scope of concern among the rNying ma pas who started to reinforce their self-consciousness as a unified community.[35]

Tshe dbang nor bu starts his work with the conventional obeisance. The incorporation of Arhat Mahākāśyapa (*dgra bcom pa 'od srung chen po*),[36] allegedly the first patriarch of the Chan tradition, into the list of objects of prayer reflects his acknowledgement of the Chan lineage. In the subsequent verse section, Tshe dbang nor bu assertively renders Hwa shang's system, synonymous with 'Chinese Buddhism' in the text, a legitimate position in the framework of Buddhist doctrines and practices, and criticises its refutation as an 'abandonment of the Dharma' (*chos spang*).[37]

What follows is nearly one third of the space devoted to introducing three major Chinese Buddhist traditions, namely, that of the profound view (*zab mo lta ba*, i.e. Mādhyamika), of the extensive conduct (*rgya chen spyod pa*, i.e. Yogācāra), and of the meditative practice (*nyams len bsgom pa*, i.e. Chan), all assumed to be comparable to contemporary Tibetan conventions.[38] In this survey, Tshe dbang nor bu had primarily drawn his sources from mGon po skyabs's *rGya nag chos 'byung*[39]—a work composed about eight years ahead of the *dGe ba'i chu rgyun*—but with a different organisation of the information showing his own program. In introducing each tradition, Tshe dbang nor bu adopts a uniform narrative structure: (1) listing the Indian patriarchs starting with the Buddha; (2) briefly presenting biographical information of the founding master in China; (3)

---

35 Van Schaik 2003: 198.

36 *dGe ba'i chu rgyun* B: 379.1–3; D: 1b1–2.

37 *dGe ba'i chu rgyun* B: 379.3–15; D: 1b2–2b3.

38 *dGe ba'i chu rgyun* B: 379.21–383.12; D: 2b6–7b2.

39 Tshe dbang nor bu has mentioned this work twice throughout his treatise, and called mGon po skyabs by *ching gir gung*, speculatively *fuguogong* 辅国公 in Chinese, a title of duke awarded by the Qing court. See *dGe ba'i chu rgyun* B: 383.4–5; D: 7a3 and B: 387.25–26; D: 14a6. As is pointed out by Leonard van der Kuijp (1984: 156, n. 8), Tshe dbang nor bu used to write mGon po skyabs a letter to query him regarding his newly composed work *rGya nag chos 'byung*.

enumerating succeeding lineage-holders up to the author's time. His purpose in doing this is obvious: to prove the legitimacy of these Chinese traditions by showing an uninterrupted transmission from the Buddha. Meanwhile, Tshe dbang nor bu in passing breaks the stereotypical Tibetan understanding of Chinese Buddhism as synonymous with Hwa shang's simultaneist teaching. The latter is no more than one major strand of the former.

Moreover, Tshe dbang nor bu places the third one, which he terms as the Tsungmen (Chin. *zongmen* 宗门, i.e. the Chan tradition), atop of the other two, due to its unbroken heart-to-heart transmission (*thugs nas thugs su brgyud pa bar ma chad pa*).[40] This Tsungmen transmission has been identified elsewhere (e.g. in the *rGya nag chos 'byung*) with that of the 'teaching of the quintessential meaning' (*snying po don gyi bstan pa*), or of the 'Mahāmudrā [characterised by the unity of] the gnostic awareness and emptiness' (*rig stong phyag rgya chen po*).[41]

Furthermore, Tshe dbang nor bu seems to be making an effort to ground his picture of the Chan in the Tibetan sources. He mentions that the *gtad rabs* (literally "successive patriarchs [to whom the Buddha's teachings were] entrusted") lineage unique to the Chan tradition is evidenced in the Tibetan histories, such as the *Bu ston chos 'byung* and the *Deb ther sngon po*.[42] He also cites the *Blon po bka'i thang yig*,[43] which he has erroneously taken as the *Lo paṇ bka' yi thang yig* in his text, to support the claim of the Indian and Chinese "sevenfold lineages of reincarnated teachers" (*sprul pa'i sku bdun brgyud*). The Chinese one is attributed to a lineage of seven Tsungmen masters from Huike 慧可 (c.487–593) up to Hwa shang.[44] So far, Tshe dbang nor bu has managed to put Hwa shang into a valid Buddhist transmission.

Concerning the time of Hwa shang's stay in Tibet, Tshe dbang nor bu refutes as incorrect the received view given in the annals such as the *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* that it was contemporaneous with Khri Srong lde brtsan's later years, and believes that Hwa shang arrived at Tibet towards the later years of Mes Ag tshom can (r.704–755), and was banished to China when Khri Srong lde brtsan had not yet come of age.[45] Thus, the author has tacitly cut the link between the Hwa

---

[40] *dGe ba'i chu rgyun* B: 380.8–12; D: 7a5–7b2. The term *zongmen* originally served in the Chinese context as "the general name for sects," but "later appropriated to itself" by the Chan tradition (*DCBT: s.v.* 宗门).

[41] *rGya nag chos 'byung*: 118.4–6.

[42] *dGe ba'i chu rgyun* B: 381.17–19; D: 5a2–3.

[43] *dGe ba'i chu rgyun* B: 383.16–24; D: 7b4–8a3. Cf. the *Blon po bka'i thang*: 454.14–20.

[44] *dGe ba'i chu rgyun* B: 383.13–16; D: 7b2–4. The list found in the Dunhuang sources places Bodhidharma as the first in the lineage (Karmay 1988: 93).

[45] *dGe ba'i chu rgyun* B: 383.24–384.7; D: 8a3–8b2.

shang he assumes to hold the authentic Buddhist doctrine which resembles rDzogs chen and Mahāmudrā and the Hwa shang who is taken as having debated with Kamalasīla.

Now Tshe dbang nor bu proceeds to evaluate Hwa shang's doctrinal system. First, he attributes Hwa shang's teaching, namely the Tsungmen cultivation on the quintessential meaning (*snying po don'i sgom pa*), to the Tathāgatagarbha teaching of the third turning of the wheel, and characterises it as a *sūtra*-based path in combination with special meditative techniques which could speed the progression towards the awakening.[46] Second, he attempts to show its inferiority to the tantric path by arguing that one could reach no further than the eighth *bhūmi* merely through the sūtric path.[47] In order to resolve the dilemma that the sūtric path does not directly lead to the ultimate result, Tshe dbang nor bu asserts that one of the sūtric path would automatically enter the tantric path from the eighth *bhūmi* onward. Through this strategic explanation, it is well established that one of the sūtric path equally possesses the opportunity of accessing the Buddhahood, but the tantric path constitutes the ultimate way, no matter which path was adopted at the very beginning.[48] Tshe dbang nor bu also endeavors to distinguish between the two terms *cig car 'jug pa* and *rim gyis 'jug pa*. Based on his definition, the former puts an exclusive emphasis on meditation, while the latter embraces a progressive program of study, reflection and meditation.[49] Here Tshe dbang nor bu equates the *cig car 'jug pa* taught by the Chinese Tsungmen with the mind-guiding instruction (*sems khrid*), a method pointing to the bKa' brgyud pa non-tantric Mahāmudrā.

Now after an evaluation of the simultaneist approach in terms of its sūtric basis, its position in a sūtric–tantric scheme, and its comparison to the gradualist approach, Tshe dbang nor bu outlines several speculative reasons for rejecting Hwa shang's teaching as inauthentic: first, debate as a universal form of doctrinal interactions among different schools and traditions throughout the history of Buddhism does not render any participating entity as inauthentic—quite the contrary; second, the Tibetan king prohibited the spread of

---

[46] *dGe ba'i chu rgyun* B: 384.12–385.2; D: 8b6–9b3. To counter the doubts regarding the efficiency of this sūtric path, Tshe dbang nor bu cites the *Tattvāvatāra* and the Chinese translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* to illustrate that, through the special meditative technique, one might be awakened within a short time.

[47] *dGe ba'i chu rgyun* B: 385.2–6; D: 9b3–6.

[48] *dGe ba'i chu rgyun* B: 385.6–15; D: 9b6–10a5.

[49] *dGe ba'i chu rgyun* B: 385.19–26; D: 10b1–6. Interestingly enough, Tshe dbang nor bu also mentions the presence of the gradualist approach in the *Nyi zla kha sbyor gyi rgyud*, one rDzogs chen text of the quintessential instruction cycle (*man ngag sde*).

Hwa shang's teaching in Tibet primarily out of the fear of causing confusions and indetermination; third, refutation and affirmation within Hwa shang's system were approached mainly in the context of debate.[50] These defenses, though hypothetical and partly fanciful, are quite strategic. Afterwards, Tshe dbang nor bu comes to conclude that Hwa shang's method of fixation-meditation (*'jog sgom*)[51] could withstand objections from any side but the tantric path.

Then Tshe dbang nor bu elucidates on the homogeneity between Hwa shang's teaching of quintessential meaning cultivations and the instructions found in the Indian *amanasikāra* cycle, which is also the Mahāmudrā taught by Saraha.[52] He further equates the latter with the rDzogs chen of the mind section (*sems phyogs*) in terms of the cognition of the innate nature of the mind, the absence of both abandonment and adoption, and the manifestation of all appearances as three *kāya*s.[53]

What follows is a criticism of the later misinterpretations of these archaic instructions by means of fabrication and contamination.[54] Unfortunately, from this point onward, the text is interrupted by a one-folio lacuna. Judging from the opening words of the folio which immediately follows,[55] the author may have given in the missing folio his personal exhortations. As a conclusion of the prose section, Tshe dbang nor bu enumerates his main references, including the *rBa bzhed*, the *Bhāvanākrama*, the *bSam gtan mig sgron*, the *rGya nag chos 'byung* and several other unnamed sources.[56] In the end, the concluding verses express his confidence in the validity of this work, criticism of a list of misdeeds and misinterpretation with regard to the Dharma, and wish of immediately attaining the Buddhahood.

Although this work of Tshe dbang nor bu purpotedly deals with the history of Hwa shang Mahāyāna as well as his doctrine, it is more appropriate to read it in some polemical light. Having rendered Hwa shang a valid position in the authentic Buddhist transmission of Tsungmen—listed among the three major Chinese Buddhist strands,

---

50 *dGe ba'i chu rgyun* B: 386.9–23; D: 11a4–12a1.

51 *dGe ba'i chu rgyun* B: 386.23–387.1; D: 12a1–4. According to Ruegg (1989: 111), there is a typological link between Tsong kha pa's fixation-meditation and Hwa shang's simultaneist approach.

52 *dGe ba'i chu rgyun* B: 387.2–5; D: 12a4–12b1. Here Tshe dbang nor bu associates Hwa shang's teaching directly with the Mahāmudrā taught by Saraha in India, which remains outside the scope of Sa Paṇ's criticism.

53 *dGe ba'i chu rgyun* B: 387.5–11; D: 12b1–4). Tshe dbang nor bu cites the verse from a bKa' brgyud pa master 'Gro'i ba mgon po Ye shes rdo rje (1161–1211) to illustrate the common ground shared by the Mahāmudrā and the rDzogs chen.

54 *dGe ba'i chu rgyun* B: 387.11–15; D: 12b4–6.

55 *dGe ba'i chu rgyun* B: 387.16; D: 14a1: [...] *shig 'dir gdams pa bya'o | |*.

56 *dGe ba'i chu rgyun* B: 387.19–388.2; D: 14a3–14b2.

a device some 18th century Tibetan writers (e.g. mGon po skyabs and Thu'u bkwan) applied to their understanding of Chinese Buddhism—through intentional arrangement of historical and legendary facts, Tshe dbang nor bu endeavors to confirm the link between the tradition he himself has derived from—i.e. that of the rDzogs chen and Mahāmudrā—and Hwa shang's *cig car ba* teaching. For Tshe dbang nor bu, Hwa shang's Tsungmen transmission lays an emphasis on the cultivation of the quintessential meaning extracted from sūtric scriptures of the Tathāgatagarbha category, a meditative practice which still prevailed in Tibet in his own time, and shares a common ground with the rDzogs chen and Mahāmudrā. He even links this quintessential meaning cultivation (*don sgom*) with Maitrīpa's *amanasikāra* instructions. However, tending to regard Hwa shang's approach as no more than a sūtric path, Tshe dbang nor bu gives priority to the tantric path in its providing the ultimate access to the Buddhahood. This being the case, Hwa shang's teaching is again vulnerable to attack since it does not directly lead to the awakening. In order to make conciliation, Tshe dbang nor bu adds that this sūtric path will automatically turn into the tantric path at a certain point. At this point, Tshe dbang nor bu has managed to dissolve in his own way the attack imposed upon the rDzogs chen and Mahāmudrā. He has admitted the typological resemblance the rDzogs chen and Mahāmudrā have with Hwa shang's *cig car ba* teaching which he took pains to prove as a valid Buddhist path, and meanwhile, has given preference to the tantric path over the *cig car ba* which he deemed as a sūtric path, in that the former directly leads one to the Buddhahood.

5. Concluding Remarks

The story of the bSam yas debate as it circulated in Tibet turns out to be a politically charged narrative. As the Dunhuang archives have shown us, Moheyan's instruction does not contain so much an extremist quietism excluding any mental engagement and virtuous conduct as it contains the meditation practice of 'observing the mind' combined with an antipractice rhetoric. His method even allows some room for the gradualist cultivation of six or ten perfections. This doctrinal presentation, in fact, does not seem to depart too much from that found in the three *Bhāvanākrama*s authored by Kamalaśīla who debated against Hwa shang Mahāyāna. Such a distortion had been reinforced by the *phyi dar* context of the sectarian constitution and conflict. The narrative initially served to support the sBa claim to the imperial Buddhist heritage. Latter contexts of its usage witnessed

a subtle shift of tone. Hwa shang Mahāyāna, who was said to have lost the debate, came to represent the Chinese Buddhist religion which was in turn considered to be invalid and even heretical, a general statement more or less echoing the *phyi dar* rhetoric of esteeming an Indic origin over the Chinese one. Sa paṇ's critique of sGam po pa's transcending Mahāmudrā path free from both the sūtric and tantric rubrics had pushed the figure Hwa shang Mahāyāna to the fore. The *cig car ba* teaching Sa paṇ as the 'Chinese-style rDzogs chen'—the antipractice rhetoric of which had been aggrandised in the debate story well received in the Tibetan milieu—was compared to sGam po pa's *dkar po chig thub* method which introduces the disciple directly to the luminous nature of mind without entailment of tantric initiation. However, it was the bKa' brgyud pa teachers of subsequent generations that emphatically linked this non-tantric Mahāmudrā with Maitrīpa's *amanasikāra* doctrine, probably as a response to the issues about the transmission authenticity. Tshe dbang nor bu, the author of the text under investigation in this article, inherited this line of thinking. He attributed the practice of cultivating on the quintessential meaning extracted from the Tathāgatagarbha *sūtra*s to Hwa shang's Tsungmen transmission, and confirmed that it shares a common ground with the Mahāmudrā transmitted from Saraha through Maitrīpa, as well as with the rDzogs chen. However, Tshe dbang nor bu's acceptance of Hwa shang's *cig car ba* teaching is not without reservation. The *don sgom* (quintessential meaning cultivation) as a sūtric path in Tshe dbang nor bu's doctrinal hierarchy still gives way to the tantric one in its proximity to the ultimate Buddhahood.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

DCBT. *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*. 1962. William Edward Soothill & Lewis Hodous, ed. Taipei: Fojiao wenhua fuwuchu.

SKKB. *Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum: The Complete Works of the Great Masters of the Sa skya Sect of the Tibetan Buddhism* (15 vols). 1968–9. bSod nams rgya mtsho, comp. Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko.

PT. Pelliot tibétain: Bibliotèque Nationale shelf mark for Tibetan manuscripts recovered by Paul Pelliot from Dunhuang.

ITJ. British Library shelf mark for Tibetan manuscripts recovered by Aurel Stein from Dunhuang.

Tibetan-Language Sources

sKyes bu dam pa. 1968–9. Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan. *sKyes bu dam pa rnams la spring ba'i yi ge*. In *SKKB*, vol. 5, 330–3.

dGe ba'i chu rgyun B. 2006. Kaḥ thog Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu. "rGya nag hwa shang gi byung tshul grub mtha'i phyogs snga bcas sa bon tsam smos pa yid kyi dri ma dag byed dge ba'i chu rgyun." In *Kaḥ thog rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu'i bka' 'bum, bar cha*, 379–89. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang.

dGe ba'i chu rgyun D. 1976–7. Kaḥ thog Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu. "rGya nag hwa shang gi byung tshul grub mtha'i phyogs snga bcas sa bon tsam smos pa yid kyi dri ma dag byed dge ba'i chu rgyun." In *Kaḥ thog rdo rje gdan gyi rig 'dzin chen po tshe dbang nor bu'i zhabs kyi gsung 'bum* (6 vols), vol. 5, 419–50. Dalhousie, H.P.: Damchoe Sangpo.

rGya nag chos 'byung. 1983. mGon po skyabs. *rGya nag gi yul du dam pa'i chos dar tshul gtso bor bshad pa blo gsal kun tu dga' ba'i rna rgyan*. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

sGom rim gsum. 2006. Kamalaśīla. *sGom rim thog mtha' bar gsum*. Leh: Shri Nalanda Dharma Center.

Thub pa dgongs gsal. 1968–9. Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan. "Thub pa'i dgongs pa rab tu gsal ba." In *SKKB*, vol. 5, 1–50.

Deb ther sngon po. 1984. 'Gos Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal. *Deb ther sngon po* (2 vols). Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

sDom gsum rab dbye. 1968–9. Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan. "sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba." In *SKKB*, vol. 5, 1–50.

Blon po bka'i thang. 1988. gTer ston O rgyan gling pa (revealed). *Blon po bka'i thang yig*. In *bKa' thang sde lnga*, 425–539. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

sBa bzhed. 1982. sBa gSal snang. *sBa bzhed ces bya ba las sba gsal snang gi bzhed pa*, edited by mGon po rgyal mtshan. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Sam gtan mig sgron. 1974. gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes. *rNal 'byor mig gi bsam gtan or bSam gtan mig sgron*. Leh: 'Khor gdon gTer sprul Chi med rig 'dzin.

Other-Language Sources

Broughton, Jeffrey. 1983. "Early Ch'an Schools in Tibet." In *Studies in Ch'an and Hua-yen*, edited by Robert M. Gimello & Peter N. Gregory, 1–68. SEAB 1. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Demiéville, Paul. 1987a. "The Mirror of the Mind." In *Sudden and Gradual: Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought,* edited by Peter N. Gregory, 13–40. SEAB 5. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

———. 1987b. *Le Concile de Lhasa : une controverse sur le quiétisme entre bouddhistes de l'Inde et de la Chine au VIIIe siècle de l'ère chrétienne*. Chinoises Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes 7. Paris: Impr nationale de France.

Gómez, Luis O. 1983. "The Direct and Gradual Approaches of Zen Master Mahayana: Fragments of the Teachings of Mo-he-yen." In *Studies in Ch'an and Hua-yen*, 67–167.

Gregory, Peter N., ed. 1987. *Sudden and Gradual: Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought*. SEAB 5. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Higgins, David. 2006. "On the Development of the Non-mentation (*amanasikāra*) Doctrine in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism." *JIABS* vol. 29 (2), 255–303.

Jackson, David. 1994. *Enlightenment by a Single Means: Tibetan Controversies on the "Self-sufficient White Remedy" (dkar po chig thub)*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Karmay, Samten. 1988. *The Great Perfection: A Philosophical and Meditative Teaching of Tibetan Buddhism*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

van der Kuijp, Leonard. 1984. "Miscellanea to a Recent Contribution on/to the Bsam-yas Debate." *Kailash* 11(3/4), 149–84.

Mathes, Klaus-Dieter. 2010. "Maitrīpa's *Amanasikārādhāra* (A Justification of Becoming Mentally Disengaged)." *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre* 13, 5–32.

McRae, John R. 1987. "Shen-hui and the Teaching of Sudden Enlightenment in Early Ch'an Buddhism." In *Sudden and Gradual: Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought*, edited by Peter N. Gregory, 227–78. SEAB 5. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

———. 1994. "The Story of Early Chan." In *Zen Tradition and Trasition*, edited by Kenneth Kraft, 125–39. New York: Grove Press.

Rao, Zongyi. 1979. "Wangxi dunwu dacheng zhengli jue xushuo bing jiaoji." In *Xiandai fojiao xueshu congkan 89*, edited by Zhang, Mantao, 307–67. Taipei: Dacheng chubanshe.

Richardson, Hugh E. 1967. "A Tibetan Antiquarian in the XVIII Century." *Bulletin of Tibetology* 4(3), 5–8.

Ruegg, David Seyfort. 1989. *Buddha-nature, Mind and the Problem of Gradualism in a Comparative Perspective: on the Transmission and Reception of Buddhism in India and Tibet*. Jordan Lectures 1987. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

van Schaik, Sam. 2003. "The Great Perfection and the Chinese Monk: Nyingmapa Defenses of Hashang Mahāyāna." *Buddhist Studies Review* 20(2), 189–204.

———. 2014. *The Tibetan Chan Manuscripts: A Complete Descriptive Catalogue of Tibetan Chan Texts in the Dunhuang Manuscript Collections*. Papers on Central Eurasia 1(41). Bloomington: Sinor Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, Indiana University.

———. 2015. *Tibetan Zen: Discovering a Lost Tradition.* Boston & London: Snow Lion.

Stein, Rolf A. 1987. "Sudden Illumination or Simultaneous Comprehension: Remarks on Chinese and Tibetan Terminology." In Gregory 1987, 41–65.

Tucci, Giuseppe. 1958. *Minor Buddhist Texts (Part II)*. Serie Orientale Roma 9 (2). Rome: Is. M. E. O.

———. 1971. *Minor Buddhist Texts* (*Part III*). Serie Orientale Roma 43. Rome: Is. M. E. O.

Yampolsky, Philip B. 1967. *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch: the Text on the Tun-huang Manuscript with Translation, Introduction, and Notes*. New York: Columbia University Press.

❖